DEBT-INDUCED MIGRATION FROM ODISHA:

A CASE STUDY OF KALAHANDI DISTRICT

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DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that the thesis entitled **"DEBT-INDUCED MIGRATION FROM ODISHA: A CASE STUDY OF KALAHANDI DISTRICT"** submitted by me for the award of the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** is a bonafide work and that it has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any degree or diploma of this university or any other university.

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LISTS OF ABBREVIATION

AI	Amenities Index
CD Block	Community Development Block
DAI	Durable Assets Index
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HH	Household
KBK	Kalahandi-Balangir-Koraput
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MPCE	Monthly Per Capita Expenditure
NFSA	National Food Security Act
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
OBC	Other Backward Class
PDS	Public Distribution System
RRB	Regional Rural Bank
SC	Scheduled Caste
SHG	Self Help Group
SLU	Standard Livestock Unit
ST	Scheduled Tribe
UT	Union Territory

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Migration is one of the major components of population change after fertility and mortality. It is responsible for the redistribution of population. The regional disparity and inequality are the driving force in the process of migration. According to the Multilingual Demographic Dictionary of the United Nation, the migration can be defined as "A form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility from one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change of residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival. Such migration is called permanent migration and should be distinguished from the other forms of movement which do not involve a permanent change of residence". There are large numbers of social, economic, cultural, political and other factors that are responsible for migration. India is a large country with vast regional disparities which lead to the movement of the people from one place to another. Such movements may be permanent or temporary.

Both the poor and the rich people take part in the process of migration. It may act as a survival and livelihood strategy for the poor who migrate due to push factors like unemployment, the backwardness of agriculture, landlessness, drought, famine, floods, indebtedness, lack of irrigation facilities, inadequate infrastructural facilities, etc. The pull factors also play an important role in migration. It attracts people to migrate to other areas where there are availability of employment opportunities, better wages, healthy environment, and better educational facilities. It is not only the poor who participate in the process of migration but also the economically well off. The availability of employment opportunities in the destination areas is the major pull factor that attracts the migrants. Due to the existence of inequality in India, there is out-migration of labour from agriculturally backward and poor regions such as eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, southern Madhya Pradesh, Western Odisha and Southern Rajasthan to the developed states like Maharashtra, Gujarat and Punjab (Balisacan and Ducanes, 2005 cited in Deshingkar and Akter, 2009). Based on the 1991 census of India Singh (2001) found that the states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Kerala, Rajasthan and Tamil

Nadu are major out-migrating states. The preferred destinations of these states are mainly the neighboring states apart from the big cities like Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Calcutta, and Delhi. Western Odisha has long been a major source area for migrants because of its highly unequal land distribution, high levels of poverty among landless and marginal farmers and low levels of human capital, industrialization, urbanization, and diversification into non-farm occupations along with poor governance (Deshingkar and Akter, 2009).

1.2 Statement of Problem

In India, it is found that the backward states like Odisha, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan have experienced more of out-migration where the migrants prefer to go to the developed states like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Delhi, and Karnataka. On the other hand, the developed states like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Delhi, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka have a large number of in-migrants due to the better employment opportunities, higher wage, better education, health, and amenities facilities, which are the attractive forces that pull the migrants to these states. It is not only the internal migration but also international migration is taking place in India. For Example- there is a large flow of skilled and unskilled labour forces from Kerala state to the Gulf Countries. Migration is a universal process. The evidence from the history in Ethiopia suggests that there were inter-regional movements of people from the dense and low economic opportunity areas to the less and greater opportunity areas (Ezra and Kiros, 2001).

Lipton (1976) in his study has stated that there are two categories of migrants. The first one belongs to very poor and landless and illiterates having a higher frequency of migration, which is due to the fact that their poor socio-economic condition forces them to migrate. The second important category of migrants falls within the highest economic group, well-educated workers who are more likely to be pulled. Dasgupta and Laishley (1975) based on the study of 40 villages during the 1950s and 60s found that the unequal distribution of resources in the village is a major factor in inducing migration but it is not necessarily the landless or the poorest who participate in the process of migration.

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Odisha is one of the backward states of India where out-migration outnumber the in-migration and push factors play a predominant role. Lack of livelihood options, overcrowding of agricultural sector, increasing the small size of land holding, indebtedness, crop failure, etc. compel the people to migrate in search of alternative livelihood options. It has negative inter-state net migration rate of -0.83 percent (Census, 2001). According to NSS 64th round (2007-08), the out-migration rate of Odisha is 10.6 percent.

There is a large number of literature which shows that Odisha migration is determined by push factors, can be found in the literature review part of this thesis. Among the push factors, indebtedness is one of them. In other words, the migration of Odisha is distress-led. The people of Odisha particularly Western Odisha are forced to migrate to Andhra Pradesh for working in the brick kiln industries, Gujarat for construction work, Chhattisgarh for rickshaw pulling and Uttar Pradesh for working in carpet industry (Pruseth, 2008). It has been found that they migrate not only for shorter distance but also for long distance. The migration of Odisha includes both permanent and temporary migration. In Odisha, the migrant labour is locally called as *Dadan* labour or *Dadan Shramik*. One important feature of Odisha's migration is the advance payment made by the labour contractors/middlemen to the migrant workers who are willing to migrate before their migration and rest of the amount is paid after the contract is over. This feature mainly   prevails over the backward districts of Odisha like Balangir, Nuapada, and Kalahandi.

Deshingkar and Akter (2009) in their study found that migration has taken place in Odisha because of excessive debt. In some districts of Odisha *Dalals* (local contractor and money lenders) are the main causes of household migration. The *Dalals* in this region provide advance money which varies from Rs. 3000 to Rs. 10000 depending on the number of working family members, the *Dalal* lends money to the households. The households cannot get such a big amount of money at a time from any other sources. The informal money lending system is too heavy for repayment and there is no provision for the villagers to avail loan from any formal sector for personal consumption needs. In this situation, the *Dalals* of the brick kiln factories give them chance to take advance money before work. This appears as a great opportunity for repaying the loan taken from the money lenders, releasing the mortgaged land, purchasing bullocks, and to sustain their families. The households then migrate to

repay the advance. The seasonal migration is often linked to debt cycles and the need for money for repaying debts or covering deficits faced by the losses in agriculture, or other forms of loss (Deshingkar, 2003).

Dash and Behura (2003) revealed that the people of Kalahandi (Undivided) usually migrate to Raipur (Chhattisgarh) in search for a job as an alternative to drought. The large scale migration of the people of Kalahandi to the various parts of the country in search of employment is due to the persistence of mass poverty resulted through droughts and inability of the local resource base to support a minimum livelihood (Panda, 2005). The study by Panda also shows that the forced out-migration from Kalahandi is a regular process for the male folk of the village every year, sometimes throughout the year and sometimes part of the year.

The lack of double-cropping restricts agricultural employment which resulted seasonal migration in search of work has become an annual exercise where large number of migrants from Nuapada and Kalahandi districts have begun to look for employment, particularly to Rourkela (Sundargarh, Odisha) and Vishakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh) for employment in steel mills and the construction industry (Currie, 2000).

It is clearly observed from the literature that there is found debt induced migration from Odisha and debt is one of the push factors among others. Though a larger number of studies have focused on the migration aspects of Odisha in general and pointed out that it is mostly caused by push factors rather than the pull but there is a negligible study on debt induced migration in particular. There is also a very few study on remittance aspects of migration in Odisha. Though the economic gain from the distress-led migration is minimal, it plays an important role in improving the condition of the migrants themselves as well as the migrants' households. Remittances sent by the migrants are the major economic gain and it becomes helpful to great extent in the repayment of debt of the depressed migrants' households. It is also used to bear the daily expenses of the day to day requirement. In this backdrop, the present research will be on the debt-induced migration from Odisha and will also focus on the role of middlemen and informal credit market in the process of such migration. The remittances sending behaviour of the out-migrants and its uses by the out-migrants household will also be discussed in details.

1.3 Review of Literature

Migration is a very complex process. It is not the poor only who are participating in the process of migration but the economically better off persons migrate to further enhance their standard of living as well. The process of migration may be seen as livelihood strategy and also plays a vital role in increasing the standard of living. A large numbers of studies show it, as a survival strategy for the poor (Bisht and Tiwari, 1997; Kumar et al., 1998; Srivastava, 1998; de Haan, 1999; Skeldon, 2002; Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003; Mosse et al, 2002; Mamgain, 2003; Sundari, 2005; Deshingkar, 2006; Bailey in Rajan, 2011). In contemporary studies of migration in developing countries, there is much emphasis on migration as an option of last resort for pauperised peasants (de Haan, 1999). He also stated that labour migration, between and within urban and rural areas, has to be seen as a central element in the livelihoods of many households in developing countries, poor as well as rich. Greenwood (1971) in his study on regression analysis of migration in urban areas pointed out that migration occurs on both the sides of the scale, poor and rich, both migrate from rural areas (Cited in Khan, 1986). Migration plays a positive role in improving livelihoods and reducing poverty (de Haan, 1999 and Skeldon, 2002).

There exist contradictory images of migrants. On the one hand, they are perceived as rational economic agents, armed with the ability to judge differences in opportunities and rewards at home and in the place of destination. On the other hand, migrants are seen as victims of economic deprivation, political or social discrimination, and environmental degradation (de Haan 2000). He has also stated that migration is understood to be largely a psychological reaction to 'distress', provoked by economic, social, and political conditions in the sending state rather than being generated by opportunity and better life chances. The analysis based on the NSS report by Kundu and Sarangi (2007) discloses that migration has been an instrument for improving the economic condition of migrants and also escaping poverty from them.

Deshingkar and Akter (2009) reiterated that migration is highly differentiated: at one extreme are the poorest such as the tribals from southern MP, western Odisha and the Musahar from Bihar for whom migration is no more than a coping strategy providing at best subsistence and the money for repaying debts; while for better educated and better-connected migrants, it provides additional income which can be used to fund

agriculture, education, housing and social functions which lead to economic and social gains.

1.3.1 Theories on Migration

Different scholars have put forwarded different theories on migration. The theories on migration developed with the presentation of papers by Ravenstein in 1885 and 1889 entitled "The Laws of Migration" where he cited seven laws of migration. They include- 1) Migration and distance- the great body of migrants only proceeds a short distance, 2) Migration by stages- there takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population, which produces current of migration, setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorbs the migrants, 3) Stream and counter-stream of migration- each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current, 4)Urban-rural differences in propensity to migrate- the natives of the towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country, 5) Predominance of females among short-distance migrant, 6) Technology and migration- an increase in the means of locomotion and a development of manufactures and commerce have led to an increase of migration, and 7) Dominance of the economic motive.

Lee (1966) defines migration broadly as an "A permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". He finds the following factors enter into the decision to migrate and the process of migration:

Factors associated with the area of origin
Factors associated with the area of destination
Intervening obstacles
Personal factors.

Stouffer's (1940) model of intervening opportunities assumes that there is no necessary relationship between mobility and distance and proposes that the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities.

Zelinsky (1971), in his hypothesis of mobility transition, suggests that there are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time

during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernisation process.

Todaro (1976) model suggests that migration proceeds in response to rural urban differences in expected rather than the actual earnings. The fundamental premise is that the migrant as decision makers decide the different labour market opportunities available to them as between the rural and urban sectors and choose the one which maximizes their expected gains from migration. Expected gains are measured by the difference in real incomes between rural and urban work opportunities and the probability of a new migrant's obtaining an urban job.

1.3.2 Internal Migration

Migration is not a new field of research. A vast number of studies have been done on the internal migration in India. The earlier studies of migration reveal that the population of Indian subcontinent was immobile (Davis, 1951). Another empirical study based on the census data during 1931-61 was carried out by Zacharia (1964) where he stated the internal migration scenario by sex and age of region and states in order to measure and describe its magnitude and indicate the areas of population gain and loss.

Gosal (1961) also did a similar kind of study by giving a geographical orientation to the study of migration by making use of district level migration data from the 1951 census. With the help of maps, he depicted the areas of net in-migration and net out-migration and also discussed the spatial variation in mobility. The study by Oberai and Singh (1983) based on the sample survey conducted in the district of Ludhiana, Punjab shows that out-migration from rural areas in Punjab is more than the combined rate of in-migration and return migration. He also stated that the majority of rural out-migrants are young adults and better-educated youth.

Basing on their observation on 1961 census data Gosal and Krishan (1975) found that the largest number of outflows of migrants from the region of low agricultural productivity due to high population density, small size agricultural land holding, and over-dependence of agriculture. The areas include the Ganga plain in U.P. and North Bihar, the northern Punjab plain, north-eastern Rajasthan, and the coastal tracts of Tamil Nadu, Odisha, and Konkan. The largest magnitude of out-migration had

experienced from the excessively populated, rural and predominantly agricultural Ganga plain (In Kosinski, 1975). They also found that out of the total migrants more than two-third (67 percent) are females who migrate due to marriage.

Zacharia (1968) made a detailed study of migrants to Bombay city from 1961 census data where he found that for every 1000 male there were 552 female migrants, and there is a notable decline in the sex ratio. On the basis of NSS 64th round data of India, it is observed that the phenomenon of out-migration is greater for rural areas (13 percent) compared to urban areas (8 percent), and its intensity is more for females (15 percent). The basic reason for this is marital mobility (Rajan and Mishra in Rajan, 2011).

Premi (1980) found that the problem of having a large number of out migrating towns is not peculiar to India; infact most of the countries have to pass through this stage in the process of their urbanization. Oberai et al. (1989) in their study on "Determinants and Consequences of Internal Migration in India: Studies in Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh" found that the rural out-migration flow is dominantly experienced in these three states.

There are only a few states which are in-migrating, and notable among these states are Delhi, Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra, and Karnataka. On the other hand, large numbers of other states are out-migrating states (Bhagat in Rajan, 2011). From the empirical analysis, it has found that the low-income states are the major sender of inter-state migrants and high-income states are receivers of migrants (Joe at al., 2001 cited in Rajan, 2011). There is incidence migration from western Odisha for brick kiln work in Andhra Pradesh and migration from Bihar for agricultural work in Punjab (Deshingkar and Akter, 2009).

A larger chunk of internal migration in India, particularly from the states of Rajasthan and Odisha, is 'distress-led'. It is mainly driven by the factors like a collapse in rural employment, the economic difficulties facing agriculture, and inadequate employment opportunities in the urban centers (Bhatt, 2009).While observing the trend of out-migration from the North-eastern region it was found that it is increasing and this increase may indicate the existence of better economic opportunities and facilities for better education outside the region (Chyrmang in Rajan, 2011). There was emigration

from southern India during the colonial period and it was shaped by the inequalities in the colonial economy. The countries like Malay, Burma and Sri Lanka were the great receiver of Tamils (Guilmoto, 1993).

The study of the beedi worker's household in Tamil Nadu reveals that there is out-migration of the beedi workers to the small extent and this is mainly due to the uncertainty of employment, particularly during the rainy season when beedi workers could not be carried out (Saravanan, 2003). In India, there are a large number of people migrate internally for domestic work due to regional inequalities. It is evident from many studies on the emerging pattern of internal migration that male migrants tend to be concentrated in the production and construction sectors whereas female migrants tend to be concentrated in specific service activities mainly domestic work (Neetha, 2011 in Rajan, 2011).

This is evident from a large number of cases of tribal girls from Odisha duped by relatives or agents and sold to brothels in Delhi and Mumbai. Marriage subsequently becomes difficult in their own community, as people suspect that the young women could be HIV-positive – the dreaded 'Delhi disease'. Former migrant girls may be socially boycotted, and their families ostracized. Those tribal women and girls who do resist exploitation face harsh consequences, albeit that their resistance has little impact on the employers. Evidently, these women suffer worst, whether they migrate as dependents or face what is often a gruesome fate if they migrate alone (Jha, 2005).

1.3.3 Factors Associated with Migration

There are large numbers of studies cited that both the push and pull factors are responsible for migration (Lee, 1966; Sridhar and Reddy **in** Rajan, 2011; Djurfeldt et al., 2008; Sundari, 2005). In his theory on Migration, Lee (1966) has emphasized the role of pull factors or those associated with the areas of destination, push factors or those associated with the areas of origin, intervening obstacles such as ethnic barriers, distance and cost, and personal factors.

The study based on the household level data in Tamil Nadu by Djurfeldt et al. (2008) indicated that higher rate of out-migration is among the landless and the smallest land owners. They are not only pulled by prospects of better town life but also pushed out

from the agrarian life where they were denied a decent life and human dignity because of the fact that most of them are *Dalits*.

The study based on the primary survey of migrants from the Bangalore reveals that the reasons for migration included both push and pull factors. The push factors are inadequate non-agricultural jobs in the place of origin, inability to grow much grains/crops, lack of adequate income, the large size of the household, the small size of agricultural holding and poor public services. The important pull factors in the urban area are job opportunities, higher expected income, etc. (Sridhar and Redd in Rajan, 2011). They also found that the lower the level of education of the migrant, the greater the importance of the push factors whereas with the increasing the level of education of the migrant, pull factors become more important in migration.

Economic deprivation is not is the most critical factor for migration. There is out-migration taking place from both the rich and poor households although the reasons for migration and the nature of the job sought by them are different (Kundu and Sarangi, 2007).

A study based on a sample study of female migrant workers in Tamil Nadu by Sundari (2005) reveals that migration is mainly based on the push and pulls factors. The major push factor is the lack of employment opportunities in the place of origin caused by drought and the pull factor is a favourable employment opportunity in the destination areas. The Migrant households have avoided the hunger, starvation, and death through migration of female in Tamil Nadu.

There are also some studies which show that push factor plays a significant role in the process of out-migration. The very limited life supporting activities mainly low agricultural production, lack of industrial development and other activities necessitate the working population of the hill region to migrate to other parts of the country for seeking livelihood (Bisht and Tiwari, 1997). They also found that out-migration from rural areas is generally motivated by several factors in which the economic factor plays an important role. The push factor rather than pull factor is mainly responsible for out-migration from rural Bihar (Kumar et al., 1998). The micro-studies on migration in India suggest that push factors like inequality in land ownership, poverty, and agricultural backwardness are responsible for out-migration (Srivastava, 1998).

The study on North-Western Uttar Pradesh based on 1991 census data by Singh and Aggarwal (1998) reveals that the reasons for out-migration from hill areas to cities are small land holding size, unemployment, underemployment and high natural growth of rural population. Mahapatra (1998) in his study finds that there is a considerable increase in the period of out-migration is mainly due to a widespread use of short duration crop and lower operational land holding which has reduced the days of employment in the village. Out-migration often takes place from Odisha, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, etc because of the inadequate development of agriculture and to a large extent the movements are associated with the absence of water resources development in the water scarce region (Shah, 2001).

There is forced migration in the East and North-East and the main aspects of forced migration that deserve attention are border and boundary conflicts, security, and refugee, the presence of internally displaced persons due to various conflicts and development projects, and mass-scale displacement due to natural disaster and environmental degradation (Dasgupta and Dey, 2010).

The earlier research on Ethiopia shows that landlessness, agricultural policy, land fragmentation, absence of farm oxen, introduction of commercial farms, environmental degradation, population pressure, recurrent drought and famine, war, and political crisis were major factors responsible for rural out-migration (Rahrnato, 1984; Cohen et al, 1988; Ezra, 1997, 2000; Berhanu and White, 1998 cited in Ezra and Kiros, 2001).

Samal and Meher (2002) in their study found that push factors rather than pull factors and higher current money income against the lifetime income play a greater role in migration decision. The study also reveals that it is not only the worse- off but also the better-off households in the village from which the people migrate to the urban areas in search of jobs. Tiwari and Goel (2002) in their study found that the rural push, owing to the low level of income, as a major determinant for the process of rural-urban migration. The study also reveals that generally, the intra-state migration occurred in Agra and Kanpur, while the inter-state migration occurs in Puri with the expectation of high earnings.

The relationship between poverty and migration is complex (Skeldon, 2002), but insignificant relationship between rural poverty ratios with out-migration indicates that push factors for migration are not effective. There are several reasons for this. The low level of education and skill of rural population is the most important reason combined with high cost of living in cities, lack of squatting places where people can encroach particularly in big cities, etc.

Sukla et al. (2006) in their study found that poverty is acting as the main push factor for out-migration from villages in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and it is followed by the attraction of getting a job at the place of destination. The study by Belwal (2007) reveals that push factors play the important role for migration in Uttrakhand and the main reason for out-migration from rural areas to urban areas is related to education followed by family moved and livelihood.

A detailed study on education and migration from the region of North-east revealed that people prefer to migrate to the nearest urban cities which have better connectivity and transport links (Chyrman, 2010 cited in Rajan, 2011). The migrants are motivated to migrate due to the availability of employment opportunities, higher wages, better quality of living, better education and better family considerations, and are promoted by the push of difficult conditions at home. Singh (2001) in his study found that the employment opportunities found in the urban labour market including both formal and informal sector are the important attractive force for the migrants of India.

In most cases, it is seen that the migrants do not migrate on its own having ignorance about the conditions of destination areas. Migrants' network plays a very important role in the process of migration. Massey et al. (1993) observed that migration networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through kinship, friendship, and shared community origin.

Migrant labour of various regions of a particular state is recruited through external contractors or agents for large construction schemes and other projects. This system is enormously prone to abuse with long working hours and very harsh working conditions (Bhatt, 2009).

1.4.4 Migration and Debt

The relationship between migration and debt is not straightforward. Some analysts have emphasized that migration increases debt levels because of higher expenditure during transit and at the place of destination; on the other hand others have argued that migration improves the creditworthiness of households and they are able to borrow more because of that (Ghate, 2005). For poor, the migration is critical to the management of debt and social dependencies, whereas, for household having some minimum food security, it provides a means to manage risk, and build assets. Younger male members undertake migration flexibly to repay seasonal and longer-term loans taken for agricultural inputs, the purchase of assets and to meet social obligations and emergencies (Mosse et al., 2002).

Deshingkar and Akter (2009) reiterated that rural people do not have adequate means at their disposal. Since income from agriculture is very low and in order to meet the scarcity conditions they often have to borrow from informal agencies/money lenders. These agencies supply credit at exorbitant interest rates which the farmers later find difficult to repay. In order to repay the current loan, the rural people prefer to migrate to places outside the districts. Deshingkar and Akter (2009) in their study also found that migration has taken place in Odisha because of excessive debt. In some districts of Odisha *Dalals* (local contractor and money lenders) are the main causes of household migration. They provide advance money which varies from Rs. 3000 to Rs. 10000 depending on the number of working family members and these advances are given to the households. Such a large amount of money at a time is very difficult to be in the hand of households from any other sources. The informal money lending system is too heavy for repayment and there is no provision for the households to avail loan from any formal sector for personal consumption needs. In this situation, the *Dalals* of the brick kiln factories give them chance to take advance money before work. This appears as a great opportunity for repaying the loan taken from the money lenders, releasing the mortgaged land, purchasing bullocks, and to sustain their families. The households then migrate to repay the advance.

Mosse et al. (2002) in their village studies found a picture of debt-induced migration from the Bhil area. They state that the poorer families have more members migrating for longer periods, but the productivity of this migrant labour is lower because of

systems of advanced payments, the higher costs of migrating as whole families to distant work sites, and because earnings are almost entirely diverted into the servicing of outstanding debt. The seasonal migration is often linked to debt cycles and the need for money for repaying debts or covering deficits faced by the losses in agriculture, or other forms of loss (Deshingkar, 2003).

1.4.5 Migration and Remittances

Remittances are amongst the most important aspects of migration, especially so for the migrants' areas of origin, and perhaps even more than the absence of migrants. There is now a large amount of literature on remittances, although general conclusions about both the amounts and uses of remittances differ (de Haan, 1999). He also stated that the way remittances are used depend on the form of migration, the characteristics of the migrants and those who stay behind (de Haan, 1999). Yadava et al. (1996) also found that the remittances improve the income of out-migrants households and decrease the inequalities in the overall income distribution.

It is observed from the field studies that a majority of seasonal migrants either remit or bring home savings. In many cases, a substantial proportion of household cash income is attributed to migrant earnings (Mosse et al, 2002). Khan (1986) in his study found that the remittances sent back home by the out-migrants mainly of young and educated workers generally considered to make up the loss as it adds to the regional income in the area of origin. The study by Rajan and Mishra in Rajan (2011) reveals that the economic benefits resulted due to out-migration is in the form of remittances. Out-migrants from rural areas are more likely to send remittances as compared to migrants from urban areas. Further, Rajan and Mishra observed that the remittance sending is more likely in the case of male out-migrants as compared to females.

The remittance sent by the migrants to home is not only important for their family but also for country's balance of payment. Remittances present a significant proportion of the GDP in most of the developing countries (Zacharia and Rajan in Rajan, 2011). Their study on Kerala reveals that the impact of remittances on Kerala is appeared in household consumption, saving and investment, quality of houses and possession of modern consumer durables. It also plays an important role in enhancing the quality of life and contributes for higher human development index for Kerala.

Oberai et al. (1989) found that the remittances sent by out-migrants are important aspects of the migration process. From the study of Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh, it reveals that there is a higher proportion of remitters in Bihar followed by Kerala and Uttar Pradesh. The reason behind the higher proportion in Bihar is due to chronic poverty which compels the out-migrant to remit. The proportion of remitters is lower among unmarried in comparison to married people in Uttar Pradesh but this difference does not exist in Bihar and Kerala. In all the three states, the remittances from the out-migrants with no formal education are lower than among those with some formal education which is probably due to the fact that such out-migrants are likely to below to allow remittances.

The study by Oberai et al. (1989) also show that in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Kerala the size of the remittances is higher for out-migrants from cultivating as compared to non-cultivating households, for wage or salary earners than for the self-employed, and for out-migrants who go the urban areas than for those who go the rural areas. They also figured out that the size of the remittances increases with the increase in the level of education of the out-migrants in the case of Bihar. The study shows that out-migrants from rural areas have a greater propensity to remit than those from the urban areas. It is largely because rural-urban migration is more individual than family in comparison to urban-urban migration.

The propensity of remitting differs across the household and personal characteristics of migrant workers. The caste-wise analysis shows that propensity to remitting is the lowest among the Brahmins (Mamgain, 2003). There is an increase in the propensity to remitting with the increase in the level of income of the migrant worker.

1.4.6 Uses of Remittances

Remittances most of the times are used for consumption expenditure in both rural as well as in urban households, except for less than 10 percent use it as debt repayment or investment (Rajan and Mishra in Rajan, 2011). The study by Rajan and Zacharia, cited in Rajan (2011) reveals that most of the households use the remittances for daily subsistence. Nearly one-third of the households use it for carrying the educational expense. The study by Mamgain (2003) also reveals that most of them are used to meet the daily consumption requirements of the households.

In terms of utilization of remittances sent back home by the out-migrants, it is evident from the study on eastern Uttar Pradesh that major use of remitted money is merely the maintenance of the out-migrants family. This shows that migration could provide only subsistence for out-migrants family (Khan, 1986). In terms of uses of remittances, it has been observed from the study by Oberai et al., (1989) that it is heavily consumption oriented. Whatever is left from the consumption purpose is mostly being spent on the purchase of stocks, land and residential building.

A very small proportion of remittances is used in the productive investment. The study by Karan (2003) reveals that there are two major heads of expenditure of remittances- daily consumption needs and medical treatment.

The resource flows in the form of remittances to the migrants' household occur as a result of migration which is the only one aspect, the other being savings brought home by migrants in cash or kind. Remittances are mainly used for purposes like consumption, repayment of loans and meeting other social obligations. These constitute, in effect the 'first charge' on migrant incomes (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003). Mosse et al. (2002) found that some migrants have surplus their earnings to which they invest in agriculture or other economically productive assets at home whereas others find their incomes already committed in relations of debt and dependency.

1.4.7 Issues of Migration in the state of Odisha

Migration is not a new phenomenon as far the state of Odisha is concerned. It is one of the most backward states of India. The level of urbanization and industrialization is very low. Agricultural activities are the main occupation where people mostly engaged but they face many problems due to different reasons like the small size of land holding, frequent drought, famine, floods, etc. Due to its backwardness, the push factors play a significant role in determining the migration here like the state of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan. Within the state also there varies in the nature of migration. As Odisha is known for its backwardness, it is the out-migration which outnumbers the in-migration. According to 2001 census, the net inter-state migration of Odisha is -0.83 percent.

The landless agricultural labourers comprise a larger segment of migrant labourers in Odisha who very often belong to the scheduled castes, backward castes or scheduled tribes. In few cases, those who have land did not possess the resources to develop their land and it remains uncultivated. So, they are forced to work as agricultural labourers in the land of big landlords or zamindars. With low wages and seasonality of employment, they are unable to fulfill their basic needs and this insufficiency in income becomes the basic underlying factor of their indebtedness (Tripathy, 1989 in Tripathy and Dash, 1997). Moreover, the social customs and obligations like births, marriage, death in families and drinking habits play a significant role in forcing the poor to resort to the borrowings. In this situation, the money lenders take the advantage and advance small loans from time to time in exchange of binding them to work as agricultural labourers till the final payment is done. Their debt accumulate fast due to exorbitantly high rate of interests and at this critical juncture, the *Sardars* or stone *Khadadars* the recruiting agents of brick-kiln owners or stone quarry lessees or construction project contractors, approaches such labourers with some advance money before work and the rest of money after the period of contract is over the practice of which is called *Dadan* labour. The *Dadan* labours of Odisha are taken to very distant places like Jammu and Kashmir, Meghalaya, Sikkim and even to Iraq and Iran. These labourers are mostly from the rural and tribal areas of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi, Ganjam and Puri districts (Tripathy and Dash, 1997). The ICSSR project study by Rath et al. as cited in Tripathy and Dash, 1997 examined the socio-economic conditions of *Dadan* out-migrant labourers of Ganjam district of Odisha. They also observed that such out-migrants reportedly suffer exploitation and harassment at the hands of agents who recruit them and also principal employers who provide them employment. The push factors are stronger than the pull factors in such out-migration.

One of the important aspects of migration in Odisha is that here both long duration and as well as short-duration migration prevails. The frequent drought and unemployment compels tens of thousands of people from Koshala region (Western Odisha) to migrate throughout the year but in the past it was a feature during the non-agricultural season ((Narasimham, 2004 in Pradhan et al. 2004). He also finds there is increased level of migration from Coastal region of Odisha but the nature of migrant differs between the Coastal and the Koshala region. Generally, the migrants from the

former region are economically better-off and educated; they migrate to other states mainly in search of better employment opportunities, and not so much because of the desperate search of livelihood whereas the migrants from the latter region are generally poor and illiterate; they migrate to work as casual labourers in the unorganized sectors such as construction sites, brick kilns, pulling rickshaws, textiles, etc.

It has been observed by the researchers that every year during the month of March to June thousands of tribals along with their wives and children from the districts of Balangir and Kalahandi migrate outside the state in search of employment. They are employed in brick-kiln industries located at Patrapur, Itchapuram, Palasa, and Srikakulam in the neighbouring state of Andhra Pradesh. The main push factors for this tribal migration are famines, loss of land through indebtedness, acute unemployment in the place of origin, caste disabilities, destruction of village crafts, etc. (Tripathy and Dash, 1997).

The frequent occurrence of drought and non-absorption capacity of the local agriculture compelled the landless and marginal farmers of western Odisha to large scale distress migration. They migrate to brick kilns of Andhra Pradesh, construction sites of Maharashtra, carpet industry in Uttar Pradesh and to Raipur of Chhattisgarh for rickshaw pulling (Pruseth, 2008). A former administrator of KBK[1] area and a senior bureaucrat of state government Dr. Hrushikesh Panda had reported "the bulk of migration is push driven rather than the pull of higher wages. The push factors are a higher rate of interest, inability to pay to the money lender, etc. Unless the circle of debt mortgage of land, bonded labour, migrant labour is broken unemployment, disease and misery will increase" (cited in Pruseth, 2008). The decades of chronic poverty, frequent droughts, unemployment, backwardness and developmental exclusion by the state have led to the emergence of the Koshala region as a source of large-scale distress out-migration in Odisha (The Hindu, 2004).

The prevalence of seasonal migration is evident from the study of Tripathy and Sandamini, 1991 in Tripathy and Dash, 1997 where they stated that due to the deforestation, increased pressure on land, lack of irrigation facilities and recurring

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[1] KBK comprises the Kalahandi-Balangir-Koraput districts of Odisha. These are the most backward districts of Odisha.

drought conditions, poverty and unemployment, tribals of the backward districts like Bolangir, Kalahandi and Kandhamal have been migrating to outside districts and states for periods ranging from 2 to 6 months for working in construction projects, bricks-kilns and tea estates. Based on the case study of a village in Western Odisha, Julich (2011) found that drought has led to the forced temporary migration from the village and it is seen a coping strategy of migrant labour if they are not able to get loans or help from the relatives.

Pattnaik (2012) in her study on the two villages of Odisha finds that migration is an important coping mechanism adopted by the sample households during the crisis and the people in the study area were observed to migrate out mainly to areas like Berhampur and Bhubaneswar inside Odisha; and to Raipur, Hyderabad, Rajkot, Bhilai and Mumbai outside Odisha. Tripathy and Dash (1997) observed that some agricultural labourers from Bolangir and Kalahandi are also found migrating to Raipur, Jagdalpur, Nagpur, and Surat for working in various construction projects and to pull a rickshaw.

From the study of Nuapada and Bolangir districts by Deshingkar (2010), it was revealed that these two districts are known for high migration rate. In Nuapada, the migrants went mainly to work in construction sites or brick kilns within the state or in the neighbouring state of Andhra Pradesh. Rickshaw pulling and agricultural works were the next priority for these migrants. But most of the migrants from Bolangir district were going to work in brick kilns in Andhra Pradesh. The experts on migration and activists working on the ground level expect large scale migration from Ganjam district of Odisha which recently affected by cyclone 'Phialin' (The Hindu, 2013).

The plight of migrant workers of Odisha is so worse that even the honourable Supreme Court slams the government of Odisha for turning a blind eye to the condition of migrant workers being taken to other states by crooked contractors or middlemen on the promise of good jobs but who were exploited and living in sub-human conditions. The court had taken suo motu cognizance of the newspaper report about the chopping off the workers' hands by an Andhra Pradesh-based labour contractor and his four henchmen after the workers refused to work in a brick kiln (Business Standard, 2014).

1.4 Objectives

The main objectives of the research are as follows:

1. To understand the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the migrant's households as well as non-migrants households of Odisha in general and study area in particular.

2. To know the type and distance of migration, and income of migrants.

3. To know the role of middlemen in the process of such migration.

4. To examine the role of the informal credit market in the migration.

5. To examine the frequency, amount, and use of remittances sent to the area of origin of the migrants.

6. To analyze the socio-economic factors affecting in remittances sending behaviour of the migrants belonging to the study area.

1.5 Research Questions

Which socio-economic and demographic background characteristics that are leading to the reporting of the out-migrants?

1. What type and distance of migration are preferred by the migrants, and are there any differences in the wages across two categories of migrants?

2. Are the middlemen or agent playing a role in the process of such migration?

3. How the informal credit markets play a role in the process of migration?

4. Which groups of migrants are sending remittances to their families in origin and how are they using the received remittances?

5. Whether the same socio-economic and demographic factors are influencing in sending remittances by the migrants belonging to indebted households and non-indebted households?

1.6 Chapterisation of the Present Study

Keeping in view from the objectives of the study, the whole research work has been divided into seven chapters. The brief summary of these chapters has been mentioned below:

Chapter-1: Introduction, Review of Literature, and Objective

This chapter primarily deals with an introduction to the topic, the statement of the problem, review of existing literature on migration, remittances, and informal credit market, objectives, research questions of the study, and chapterisation of the present study.

Chapter-2: Database, Methodology, and Study Area

This chapter includes the main sources of data that are taken for the study. It also includes the different statistical techniques and methods applied and the sampling design of the study. It also incorporates the detailed description of the study area.

Chapter-3: Pattern and Reason of Out-migration from Odisha

This chapter mainly deals with the out-migration from Odisha based on the secondary data sources. It shows the pattern of out-migration from Odisha. The reason of out-migration is also discussed briefly and an emphasis is given to the economic out-migrant. Apart from this, the flow of out-migrants from Odisha to the different states and union territories are discussed briefly in this chapter.

Chapter-4: Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics of the Migrants

This chapter analyses the socio-economic characteristics of the study population across different household categories like the indebted migrant household, non-indebted migrant households, indebted non-migrant households, and non-indebted non-migrant households. The profile of the migrants like the place of residence at the destination, state of destination, different socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the migrants and period of migration are discussed thoroughly. It also deals with the net effect of background characteristics of the household on the decision to migrate.

Chapter-5: Role of Middlemen and Informal Credit Market in the Migration Process

This chapter tries to see the role of middlemen in the process of migration. It also deals with the way middlemen advance money to the migrant and its uses. Under the role of the informal credit market, the sources of the loan and its purpose, collateral deposits, duration of the loan, monthly interest rate and the amount of loan are discussed. It also deals with the factors influencing in the availing of formal sources of credit by the indebted households.

Chapter-6: Pattern of Remittances, Its Uses, and Determinants

This chapter deals with the remittances sending behaviour of the both indebted migrants. It also analyses the average amount of remittances sent by the migrants across different socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the migrant population. The uses of remittances by the migrants' household is also given due emphasis in this chapter and finally, it also deals with the factors that are playing determining role in the remittance sending behaviour of the migrants.

Chapter-7: Summary and Conclusions

This final chapter mainly summarizes the findings of the whole study and concludes with some suitable and logical solutions.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The out-migration varies across different socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the population. There are some household level indicators like the religious group, social group, household size, land holding size, durable assets, housing amenities, livestock assets and access to different social security affects the migration and this, in turn, affects the remittances sending behaviour of the migrants. Similarly, the individual characteristics like the age of the migrant, sex of the migrant, marital status, educational level and history of previous migration influence in the decision of migration and remittances sending behaviour of the migrants.

It is not that only these household and individual level indicators influence the remittances sending behaviour of the migrant, but, these indicators except the

religious group, social group, and household size are also influenced by remittance sending behaviour.

Fig. 1.1 Conceptual Framework of Households Experiencing Migration and Sending of Remittances by the Migrants

Household Characteristics

- Social Group
- Household Size
- Land Holding Size
- Access to Irrigation Facilities
- Access to Credit
- Household Assets (Durable)
- Livestock Assets
- Basic Amenities facilities
- Access to social security

Individual Characteristics

- Age
- Sex
- Marital Status
- Educational Level
- History of Previous Migration

DEBT INDUCED MIGRATION

REMITTANCES SENT BY THE MIGRANTS
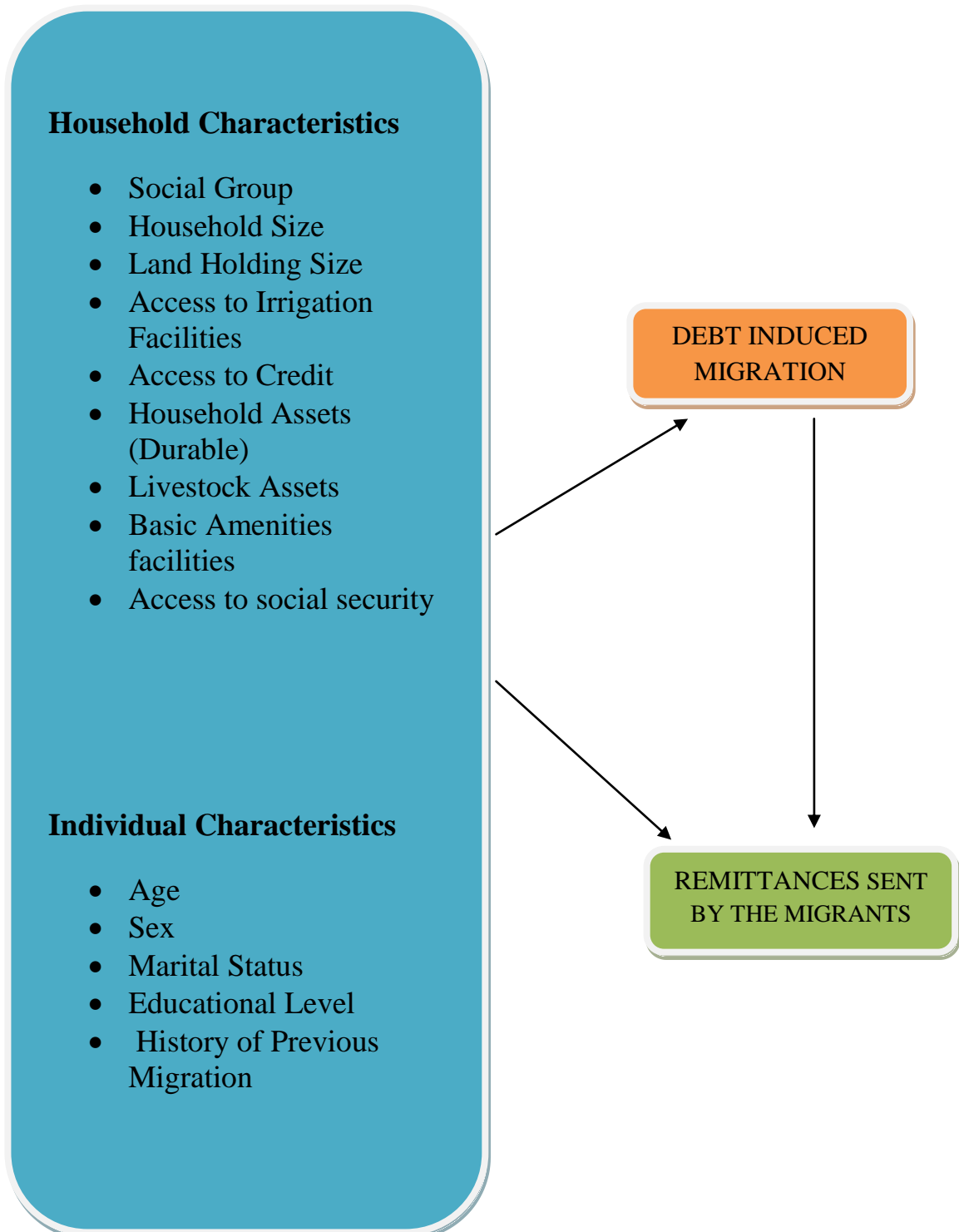
CHAPTER-2

DATABASE, METHODOLOGY AND STUDY AREA

2.1 Database

No one source of data is sufficient to fulfill the objectives of the present research. So, the multiple data sources have been used to attain the objectives. Both the secondary and primary sources of data are used in the analysis.

2.1.1 Secondary Sources

The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), a wing of the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India and the Census of India are the two main secondary sources which collect information on migration. The NSSO started to collect information on migration with the 9th round that took place between May-August, 1955 to assess the volume and structure of migration in India. In the 9th, 11th (August 1956 to January 1957) and 12th rounds (March - August 1957) of the survey, migration particulars were collected for the labour force population only. From the 13th round (September 1957 to May 1958) onwards, more detailed information on migration has been collected. In the 18th round, a survey on migration was conducted on a much larger scale.

The other rounds where the data on migration are collected are 28th round (October 1973 - June 1974), the 38th round (January 1983 - December 1983), the 43rd round (July 1987 - June 1988). Data on migration was collected during the 49th round (January – June 1993) survey had a comprehensive coverage including, inter-alia, housing condition and migration in India. In the sixth quinquennial survey on employment and unemployment during NSS 55th Round (July 1999-June, 2000) information on migration particulars was collected for each household member of the sample household through the employment-unemployment schedule. The latest round of NSS where the information on migration available is the 64th round that took place between July 2007 and June 2008. It was earmarked for a survey on 'Employment-Unemployment and Migration', 'Participation and Expenditure in Education' and 'Household Consumer Expenditure'. In this survey, information on various facets of employment and unemployment as well as on migration in India was collected through the employment-unemployment schedule.

In order to show the volume of out-migrants from Odisha across different socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the population, the NSS 6^{4th} round is used in this research. According to NSSO, out-migrant is defined in the following way- "Any former member of the household who left the household, anytime in the past, for a stay outside the village/town provided he/she was alive on the date of survey".

However, the Census of India is the single largest source of data on migration characteristics for the population. It provides data on migrants based on the Place of Birth (POB) and Place of Last Residence (POLR). It defines migrant as a person whose POB/POLR is different from the place of enumeration. Right from the 1881 census, Indian census provides data on migration based on the place of birth. It gives information on the duration of residence since 1961 census. The place of the last residence was included since 1971 census and the reasons for migration related to the place of the last residence were added from the 1981 census onwards. The Census of India, 2011 is the latest one but the migration data is not available to incorporate in this study. Therefore, the Census of India, 2001, D-series data is used to show the flow of out-migrants from Odisha to the different states or union territories of India.

The Primary Census Abstract, Census of India, 2011 has been used in this study to show the socio-economic characteristics of the population like sex ratio, percentage of SC and ST, literacy rate and work participation rate. It provides information in the sub-district and village levels. In addition to this, the District Census Handbook, Census of India, 2011 has been used to show the socio-economic characteristics of the population of Kalahandi district by CD Block wise.

Though the NSSO provides information on migration and remittances, it does not give information on the indebted migrants and its study area is limited up to the NSSO regions. Beyond the NSSO regions, the sample size is so small for the research. Similarly, the Census of India does not provide information on debt-induced migration and remittances. Moreover, the information on informal credit market is absence in both the NSSO and Census. Due to these limitations on the secondary data sources, the primary field survey was conducted to know the information on debt-induced migration, role of middlemen and informal credit market, and remittances sending behaviour and it uses.

2.1.2 Primary Sources

The Primary Field Survey of Kalahandi district is conducted to know the socio-economic characteristics of the study population, the migrants profile, informal credit market, remittances sending behaviour of the migrants, and the uses of remittances by the households. Two levels of information- Household and Individual are collected from the field survey.

The household level social indicators are the religious group, social group, education of the household head, and size of the household. The economic indicators include land holding size, main and secondary sources of livelihood, household assets, housing amenities and livestock assets. The information on social security programme like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) and the Public Distribution System (PDS) are also collected.

To know the various aspects of migration and remittances sending behaviour at the individual level, the indicators like type of migration, place of residence at destination, state of destination, sex of the migrant, age of the migrant, religious group, social group, education, marital status, occupation, period of migration, history of previous migration, information of work at destination, monthly income, and initial expenditure on migration are taken. An indebted migrant is defined as a person who has migrated due to debt and a non-indebted migrant is a person who has migrated for work or employment but not due to debt.

To know the role of middlemen in migration, the indicators that are taken include relation with middlemen, years since known to middlemen, mode of acquaintance of the middlemen, the advance amount received and their uses. The information on indicators like the sources of the loan, the purpose of the loan, collateral deposits, interest rate, the amount of loan borrowed, and loan outstanding is used to know the role of the informal credit market in the process of migration.

2.2 Methodology

Under the methodology section, the sample selection and the different statistical and cartographic methods used in the study are discussed which are as follows:

2.2.1 Sample Selection

The stratified random sampling method is used in the primary survey. The sample size of 460 households has been taken for the survey at the area of origin of the out-migrants for which Kalahandi district of Odisha has been chosen. The sample of indebted migrant households and non-migrant households, as well as non-indebted migrants and non-migrant households are taken. Within Kalahandi district, two community development blocks (administrative boundary) namely Golamunda and Dharmagarh were selected and for this, 230 samples were taken for each block. These blocks are known to be migration prone which is revealed from the interviewing the District Labour Officer of Kalahandi as well as from the pilot survey. These blocks are predominantly rural. Golamunda Block is located in the rainfed area and one hardly finds the irrigation facilities. On the other hand, Dharmagarh block has availability of irrigation facilities i.e. canal irrigation. Within each block, 5 villages were selected and 46 samples (13 indebted migrants' household and 10 indebted non-migrant households as well as 13 non-indebted migrant households and 10 non-indebted non-migrant households) in each village were taken for the survey. If the required number of sample sizes were not found in a particular village then the remaining samples were collected from other villages.

Kalahandi District

(460 Samples)

| **Dharmagarh CD Block** (230 Samples) | **Golamunda CD Block** (230 Samples) |

Surveyed Villages

- Tambachhada (54)
- Khanatara (43)
- Telipalas (50)
- Taranja (44)
- Khairpadar (40)

Surveyed Villages

- Jhulenbar (28)
- Naktikani (41)
- Amurlapadar (48)
- Manjhari (58)
- Khaliakani (54)
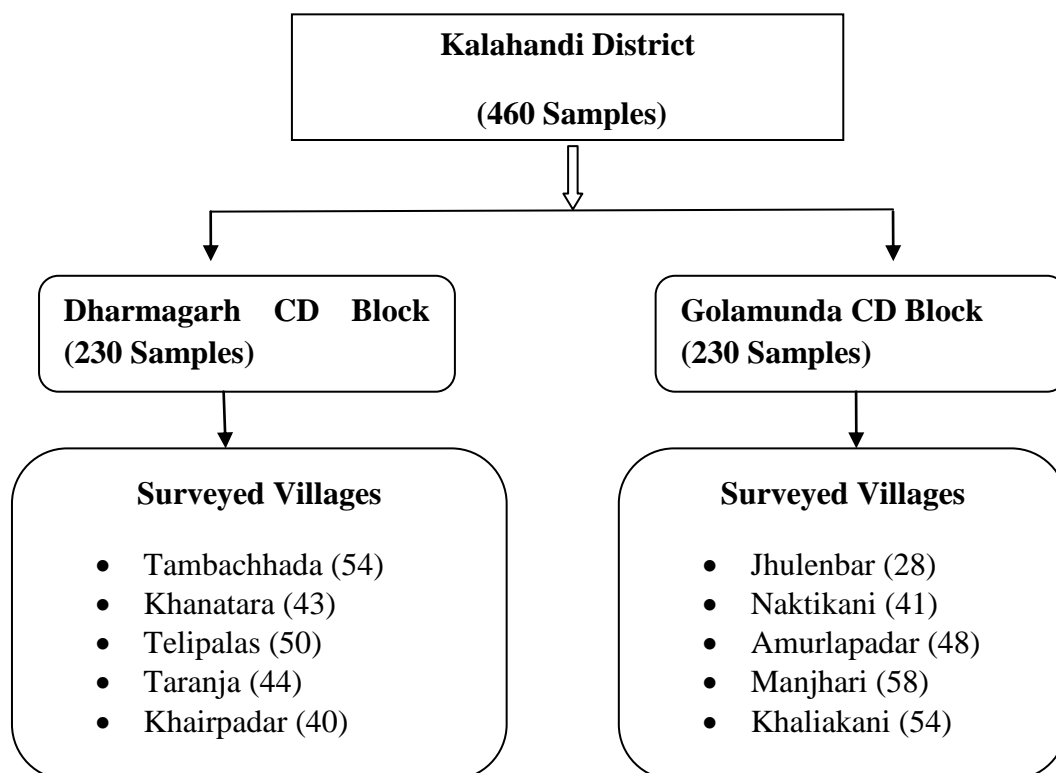
The selected villages of Dharmagarh block include Tambachada, Khanatara,Telipalash, Taranja and Khairpadar. Similarly, the selected villages under Golamunda Block are Jhulenbar, Naktikani, Amurlapadar, Manjhari and Khaliakani. The stratified sampling has been used in the selection of villages. Some villages were taken based on the criteria that it has at least 200 households having a population above 500 in each village and it has also higher sex ratio. The villages were also selected based on the information from migration register available with Panchayat and NGOs which has a history of migration in last 5 years or more. Sevajagat, a Non-governmental Organisation located in Golamunda Block provided a list of villages of Golamunda Block where out-migration is predominant. The house listings were done by asking the question whether the household has any debt or loan and whether any member of the household migrated due to debt.

Table 2.1 Village wise Distribution of Sampled Households across Different Household Categories

| Villages | Household Category | | | | Total |
	Indebted migrant HH	Non-indebted migrant HH	Indebted Non-migrant HH	Non-indebted Non-migrant HH	
Khairpadar	18	16	10	10	54
Amurlapadar	19	12	6	6	43
Telipalash	4	17	16	13	50
Taranja	13	12	9	10	44
Khairpadar	12	8	9	11	40
Jhulenbar	7	6	9	6	28
Naktikani	14	11	8	8	41
Amurlapadar	14	14	10	10	48
Manjhari	13	17	13	15	58
Khaliakani	16	17	10	11	54
Total	130	130	100	100	460

Source: Primary field survey, 2015

The distributions of sampled households are shown in Table 2.1. The samples collected from the village are not uniformly distributed. Large numbers of the sample are taken from the bigger village. A total of 54 samples are collected from Khairpadar and the sample distribution across household categories is indebted migrant household (18), non-indebted migrant household (16), indebted non-migrant household (10) and

non-indebted non-migrant household (10). In a smaller village like Jhulenbar, only 28 sample households are surveyed. Out of this, the sample taken from the indebted migrant household and non-indebted migrant household are only 7 and 6 respectively.

2.2.2 Methodology Involves in the Analysis of Migration

Several statistical and cartographic methods are used suitably in this task. The following are the methods used to complete the present exercise:

1. The rate and proportion are calculated to show the pattern of out-migration in India as well as in Odisha.

2. The migration rate is calculated by using the formula:

   Percentage of Migrant= (total number of migrants/ total population)*100

   In-migration rate (IMR) = (total number of in-migrants/ total population)*100

   Out-Migration Rate (OMR) = (total number of out-migrants/total population)*100

3. The statistical methods like cross tabulation, cartographic methods, etc. are also used to show the patterns and the reasons of out-migration.

4. The proportion is calculated to show the different socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the migrant's households and non-migrants households.

5. The GIS technique has been used for mapping the rate of out-migration in the form of choropleth map.

6. The indebted migration is obtained by asking question "whether any member of the household migrated out due to debt?"

7. The percentage of migrants who sent remittances is calculated by using the formula:

   Total migrants who send remittances/ total migrants*100

8. **Standard Livestock Unit (SLU)** index is prepared by considering the country-specific coefficients (weight) constructed by FAO (2011, p.37). The formula for preparing SLU index is as follows:

(No. of Cattle/Buffalo*0.50) + (No. of pigs*0.20) + (No. of sheep or goat*0.10) +
(No. of Poultry*0.01)

The higher SLU index score accrues more economic returns to the households.

9. With the help of the range of assets like radio, television, fan/cooler, telephone, LCD, refrigerator, washing machine, computer/laptop, bicycle, motorcycle/scooter and four wheelers, a **Durable Asset Index (DAI)** is constructed by using NSO methodology[2] (ASPBAE, 2010). The formula for preparing the DAI by using this method is as follows:

$$A_j = (1 - ā_1) * a_{j1} + ... + (1 - ā_N) * a_{jN}$$

Where,
Number of Households= $1...j$
Number of Wealth or Asset Variables= N

a_{j1} = The score of the *jth* household for the asset variable #1(this is either 0 or 1)

$ā_1$ = The mean of the household scores which can either be 0 or 1

$(1 - ā_1)$ = weight of the asset variable #1 (computed as the inverse of the proportion of households possessing asset variable #1)

All the variables are divided into two categories, viz., yes-1 for having a specific asset and no-0 for not having that asset. Therefore, the households with higher DAI indicate the higher assets possession.

Table 2.2 Variables used for the construction of Amenity Index (AI)

Variables	Category
Separate kitchen within or outside house	Yes-1, No-0
Lighting Source	Electricity/Solar enegy-1, Kerosene-0
Toilet Facility	Yes-1, No-0
Availability of Bathroom within premises of house	Yes-1, No-0
Cooking fuel	Clean fuel-1, Unclean fuel-0
Drinking water within 1/2 km of house	Yes-1, No-0

Source: Primary field survey, 2015

[2] The Philippine National Statistics Office developed a methodology to generate a socio-economic index and it was used by the Philippine EdWatch study, after which this approach was called as NSO Methodology (Orbeta, 2003). This methodology is considered as the variant and simple version of the approach first used by Filmer and Pritchett (1998) in India to study the effect of household economic status (Cited in ASPBAE, 2010).

10. By taking all the mentioned amenities variables of Table 2.2, **Amenities Index (AI)** is constructed with the help of Principal Component Analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation method. The first component explains total 45 percent of variance and it is taken to construct the Amenities Index. All variables are unidirectional. The higher score of the variable denotes a better condition in terms of amenities. Therefore, households with higher AI score reveal higher access to different amenities.

The formula used for preparing the index is as follows:

$$S_1 = W_1 * Y_1 + W_2 * Y_2 + \dots \dots \dots + W_6 * Y_6$$

Where,
S= Score of the component
Y= Standardised Variable
W= Component score coefficient (weightage)

11. The **binary logistic regressions** are used to show the net effect of socio-economic variables of the household on reporting of migration; on availing of formal credit, and to show the net effect of socio-economic variables on the sending of remittances by the out-migrants. In the binary logistic regression, the dependent variables are dichotomous indicating whether the household reporting out-migration (1= Yes and 0= No); whether the indebted households availing formal credit (1= Yes and 0=No); and whether the out-migrants sending remittances (1= Yes and 0=No). The odd ratio (Exp (B)) shows the likelihood of migration, availing of the formal loan and sending remittances by a category of variables with a comparison to the reference category of the same variable with controlling the other variables. In this model, we assume that P (the probability of occurrence of events) is related to the independent variables. The equation used in this analysis is:

$$Log\ (p/\ (1\text{-}p)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \dots \beta_k X_k$$

Where β_0=constant
X_1, X_2….independent variables
β_1, β_2….are the coefficients of X_1, X_2…
p= the probability of household reporting out-migrant/ the probability of availing of formal credit /the probability of sending remittances.

Logistic regression forms a best fitting equation or function using the maximum likelihood method, which maximizes the probability of classifying the observed data into the appropriate category given the regression coefficients. The Logits (log odds) are the b coefficients (the slope values) of the regression equation. The slope can be interpreted as the change in the average value of Y, from one unit of change in X. the odds ratio (OR), which estimates the change in the odds of membership in the target group for a one-unit increase in the predictor. It is calculated by using the regression coefficient of the predictor as the exponent or exp.

2.3 Study Area

The present research is focused on Odisha state, while the in-depth analysis has been carried out in Kalahandi district of Odisha. Kalahandi is one of the economically backward districts not only in Odisha state but also in India, though it is much enriched in its arts and crafts. It was notorious over India due to hunger, famine, and poverty. Geographically, it lies between 19° 3' N to 21° 5' N latitude and 82° 30' E to 83° 74' E longitude in the south-western part of Odisha. It is bordered by Balangir and Nuapada districts in its north; Nawarangpur district and Chhattisgarh state in the West; Rayagada district in the south; and Boudh and Kandhamal districts in the east. Kalahandi district has 13 community development blocks (CD Blocks) which are the administrative units below the district level. These CD blocks include Bhawanipatna Kesinga, Karlamunda, Kalampur, Narla, Lanjigarh, Madanpur Rampur, Jayapatna, Junagarh, Koksara, Dharmagarh, Golamunda, and Thuamul Rampur.

The economy of the district revolves around the agriculture. In other words, agriculture is the main source of employment and income of the people of Kalahandi. More than four-fifth of the total workforce depends on agriculture (Census, 2011). In 2010-11, about 49.74 percent of the total geographical area of the district is used for agricultural purposes (District Census Handbook, 2011). The forest resource accounts a significant proportion (about 32 percent) of total geographical area of the district in the year 2009. The district has mainly three types of soil- red laterite, black soil and sandy loam. The red laterite soil is uniformly distributed throughout the district. The black soil is predominantly found in Kesinga, Bhawanipatna and Dharmagarh tahasils and it facilitates for cotton cultivation. The plains of Dharamgarh and Jayapatna tahsils are agriculturally most prosperous and considered as the granary of the district

(District Census Handbook, 2011). The establishment of Indravati Irrigation Project made these areas agriculturally prosperous. Paddy is the predominant crop that is extensively grown in the district. Irrigation facilities are greatly lacking in the district and due to this only one crop i.e., paddy is grown in monsoon season in major part of the district, though multiple cropping is observed in some parts of the district where irrigation facilities are available. The uneven and untimely distribution of rainfall often results in drought in the district. Besides paddy, pulses like *arhar, moong* (green gram), *biri* (black gram), etc. are extensively grown in areas where moisture is available.

Map 2.1 Locational Map of Kalahandi District, Odisha

Table 2.3 shows the outline of some selected socio-economic indicator which is imperative to understand the study area vis-à-vis Odisha state. Based on the NSSO household expenditure data of 2004-05, it is found that of the total rural population of

Kalahandi, about 70 percent population are poor whereas the respective figure for Odisha is about 47 percent. In the case of urban areas, the percentage of poor is 60 percent and 45 percent respectively for Kalahandi and Odisha. This fact suggests that Kalahandi is one of the most backward districts in Odisha. In terms of the level of urbanization, Odisha has very low level of urbanization with only 17 percent of its population live in urban areas and within the state Kalahandi district has one of the lowest levels of urbanization rate (about 8 percent). Kalahandi has placed itself in a higher position in terms of sex ratio and it is favorable for females. The percentage of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population of the district are 18 percent and 28.5 percent of the total population respectively and it is higher than the state average. In terms of work participation rate, Kalahandi accounts about 48 percent of the total population whereas the state average is about 42 percent. However, the percentage of main workers is lower in the district as compared to the state average.

Table 2.3: Selected Socio-economic Indicators of Odisha State and Kalahandi District

Sl. No.	Socio-economic Indicators	Odisha	Kalahandi
1	Percentage of Poor (Rural)	46.9	70.5
2	Percentage of Poor (Urban)	44.7	60.3
3	Percentage of Urban Population (2011)	16.69	7.74
4	Sex ratio (2011)	979	1003
5	Percentage of SCs (2011)	17.13	18.17
6	Percentage of STs (2011)	22.85	28.5
7	Literacy Rate (2011)	72.87	59.22
8	Work Participation Rate (2011)	41.79	47.69
9	Main Workers WPR (2011)	25.51	23.89
10	Marginal workers WPR (2011)	16.28	23.79
11	Non workers (%) (2011)	58.21	52.31

Sources:
1 to 2 Chaudhuri and Gupta (2009), EPW, Feb. 28, 2009, Vol. XLIV, No.9.
3 to 11. Primary Census Abstract, Census of India, 2011

Table 2.4 shows the socio-economic characteristics of the population of Kalahandi by sub-district wise. More than half of the sub-districts have favourable sex ratio towards females. Madanpur and Biswanathpur have the lowest and highest percentage of SCs population respectively. Thuamul Rampur is predominantly tribal dominated sub-district and it accounts 58 percent of the total population. On the other hand, Dharmagarh has only 14 percent of Scheduled Tribe population. The literacy rate of the district is only 59 percent but it is very low in the tribal dominated sub-districts. Among females, it is observed in the district that less than half of them are literate.

Table 2.4: Sub-district wise Socio-economic Characteristics of the Population of Kalahandi District, 2011

Sub-District	Sex Ratio	% SC	% ST	P_LR	M_LR	F_LR	P_WPR	% Urban
Kesinga	984	17.1	23.4	67.0	78.0	55.9	43.6	13.6
Madanpur Rampur	998	15.1	29.0	65.4	76.3	54.6	47.2	5.7
Narala	998	18.8	28.6	66.1	76.9	55.4	46.2	0.0
Lanjigarh	1014	23.1	47.5	44.9	59.3	30.9	47.1	0.0
Biswanathpur	1059	28.4	39.1	45.2	60.0	31.4	49.8	0.0
Bhawanipatna (Sadar)	983	20.1	29.2	66.4	76.8	55.9	43.6	31.5
Kegaon	998	19.3	22.9	54.3	67.9	40.8	49.3	0.0
Junagarh	1003	16.1	15.9	58.1	70.9	45.4	47.0	10.8
Golamunda	993	15.8	24.4	56.8	70.5	43.1	47.9	0.0
Dharamgarh	986	20.1	14.4	57.1	71.5	42.6	49.4	0.0
Kokasara	1023	16.3	32.2	55.7	70.5	41.3	52.2	0.0
Jayapatna	1025	16.1	34.5	56.2	69.7	43.1	51.3	3.2
Thuamul Rampur	1042	25.4	58.2	45.0	59.4	31.3	48.3	0.0
Kalahandi (Total)	**1003**	**18.2**	**28.5**	**59.2**	**71.9**	**46.7**	**47.7**	**7.7**

Source: Primary Census Abstract, Census of India, 2011

Table 2.5 shows the Block wise distribution of social characteristics of the population of Kalahandi district. Most of the blocks have favourable sex ratio towards females. The district average sex ratio is 1008 females per 1000 males. Kalampur block has the highest sex ratio of 1034 whereas Karlamunda block has the lowest sex ratio (982). Thuamul Rampur block has the highest SCs and STs Population to the total population in rural areas. It has also the lowest literacy rate (rural) in comparison to the other blocks of the district. Karlamunda and Narla block has the highest rural literacy rate.

Table 2.5: CD Block wise Social Characteristics of the Population of Kalahandi District, 2011

CD Block	Population	Sex ratio	% of SC (Rural)	% of ST (Rural)	Literacy rate (Rural)		
					Persons	Male	Female
Golamunda	129499	995	17.36	25.22	55.11	68.69	41.53
Dharmagarh	139359	991	18.23	17.27	56.14	70.94	41.33
Junagarh	173660	1005	17.04	17.22	56.18	69.71	42.84
Kokasora	119304	1024	16.39	34.47	56.08	70.62	41.99
Jayapatna	124569	1028	15.9	39.74	53.36	67.22	39.95
Kalampur	60075	1034	16.28	26.09	59.69	72.97	46.96
Thuamul Rampur	77840	1042	25.36	58.18	44.97	59.38	31.31
Lanjigarh	93179	1031	23.77	45.83	47.05	60.65	33.97
Bhawanipatna	170527	1000	20.36	33.17	57.37	69.99	44.88
Kesinga	115828	989	16.47	27.5	64	75.83	52.16
Karlamunda	57418	982	16.87	14.65	67.93	78.45	57.29
Madanpur Rampur	72632	1015	13.81	42.69	61.43	72.97	50.21
Narla	120992	993	18.98	26.47	67.52	78.34	56.65
Total (Kalahandi)	**1454882**	**1008**	**18.21**	**30.3**	**57.28**	**70.43**	**44.34**

Sources: District Census Handbook, Census of India, 2011

Table 2.6: CD Block wise Economic Characteristics of the Population of Kalahandi District, 2011

CD Block	WPR			Category of Workers			
	Main	Marginal	Total	Cultivators	Agricultural Labourers	household Industry Workers	Other Workers
Golamunda	19.91	29.11	49.02	19.48	62.21	3.18	15
Dharmagarh	25.04	25.78	50.82	22.33	59.91	2.08	16
Junagarh	25.45	22.71	48.16	19.74	64.83	2.14	13
Kokasora	23.81	27.89	51.7	20.34	62.74	2.7	14
Jayapatna	26.23	25.31	51.54	19.68	67.71	2.37	10
Kalampur	32.98	19.41	52.39	15.57	73.97	1.39	9.1
Thuamul Rampur	17.1	31.19	48.29	19.22	64.91	2.59	13
Lanjigarh	18.92	28.5	47.42	19.58	60.78	1.31	18
Bhawanipatna	23.85	23.68	47.53	22.1	51.14	2.45	24
Kesinga	23.43	21.43	44.86	19.28	49.47	2.39	29
Karlamunda	19.12	28.82	47.94	21.91	62.29	1.64	14
Madanpur Rampur	22.04	26.23	48.27	20.02	65.94	2.51	12
Narla	24.62	22.18	46.8	21.08	58.11	3.06	18
Total (Kalahandi)	**23.46**	**25.29**	**48.75**	**20.24**	**61.07**	**2.36**	**16**

Source: District Census Handbook, Census of India, 2011

In terms of economic characteristics of the population of Kalahandi district, it is evident from Table 2.6 that about 49 percent of the total population are workers. The percentage of main and marginal workers of the district is 23 percent and 25 percent respectively. The work participation rate is highest in Kalampur block which accounts 52 percent whereas Kesinga block has the lowest work participation rate (45 percent). Of the total workers of the district, about 81 percent are engaged in agriculture as cultivators and agricultural labourers. The household industry workers comprise only 2.36 percent of the total workers.

Table 2.7: Social Characteristics of the Population of Surveyed Villages of Kalahandi District, 2011

CD Block	Villages	No. of HH	Population	Sex Ratio	% SC	% ST	Literacy Rate		
							Persons	Male	Female
Golamunda	Manjhari	814	2999	990	4.3	17.9	45.3	57.7	32.9
	Jhulenbar	123	507	1139	10.1	89.9	60.7	83.5	40.4
	Naktikani	192	632	933	1.6	44.8	54.1	68.4	38.1
	Khaliakani	528	1898	1045	14.1	20.4	59.5	72.3	47.4
	Amurlapadar	278	1017	994	9.9	18.6	35.7	45.0	26.4
Dharmagarh	Taranja	340	1384	1003	32.1	4.2	56.0	72.3	40.1
	Telipalas	318	1334	1055	22.9	12.6	55.1	70.1	40.7
	Tambachada	254	935	1078	39.3	42.7	58.8	73.4	45.1
	Khanatara	314	1161	1040	13.1	0.0	60.3	76.5	44.3
	Khairpadar	853	3057	981	18.1	11.4	63.6	75.2	51.9

Source: Primary Census Abstract, Census of India, 2011

Table 2.8: Economic Characteristics of the Population of Surveyed Villages of Kalahandi District, 2011

CD Block	Villages	WPR		
		Total Workers	Main Workers	Marginal Workers
Golamunda	Manjhari	43.2	9.0	34.2
	Jhulenbar	53.5	8.3	45.2
	Naktikani	53.8	34.0	19.8
	Khaliakani	50.3	12.5	37.8
	Amurlapadar	62.3	9.8	52.5
Dharmagarh	Taranja	56.5	31.5	25.0
	Telipalas	50.6	34.7	15.9
	Tambachada	55.7	35.5	20.2
	Khanatara	42.3	39.4	2.9
	Khairpadar	42.6	27.3	15.2

Source: Primary Census Abstract, Census of India, 2011

Table 2.7 and Table 2.8 show the social and economic characteristics of the population of the surveyed villages based on the primary census abstract, census of India, 2011. Manjhari in Golamunda Block and Khairpadar in Dharmagarh Block are the largest villages. The number of households in Majhari and Khairpadar village is 814 and 853 respectively and its population size is 2999 persons and 3057 persons respectively. A smaller size of the village like Jhulenbar (123 households) is also selected for the survey. In all the selected villages, the population size exceeds 500 persons. In terms of sex ratio, six villages have favourable sex ratio towards females. It means they have more females than males. The highest sex ratio (1139) is observed in Jhulenbar whereas the lowest sex ratio (981) is found in Khairpadar. The percentage of SC population to the total population is highest in Tambachada (39 percent) whereas the lowest percentage of SC population (1.6 percent) is found in Naktikani village. Jhulenbar village is mostly inhabited by Scheduled Tribes (ST) population. They account 90 percent of the total population of the village. On the other hand, there is no single ST population in Khanatara. More than two-fifths of the population of Naktikani and Tambachada villages are ST.

The literacy rate is unevenly distributed in the selected villages. The highest literacy rate is found Khairpadar (63.6 percent) and the lowest literacy rate is observed on Amurlapadar (35.7 percent). In terms of male literacy, the highest and lowest literacy are found in Jhulenbar (83.5 percent) and Amurlapadar (45 percent) respectively. As far as female literacy is concerned, Khairpadar has the highest female literacy rate of about 52 percent whereas the Amurlapadar has the lowest literacy rate (26 percent).

In terms of work participation rate, the highest percentage of the worker is found in Amurlapadar (62 percent) and the lowest one is recorded in Khanatara 42.3 percent. The villages where more than 50 percent of its population are workers includes Jhulenbar, Naktikani, Khaliakani, Amurlapadar, Taranja, Telipalas and Tambachada. Again within the workers, most of them are marginal workers. The highest and lowest percentage of main workers is observed in Khanatara and Jhulenbar respectively. In the case of marginal workers, Amurlapadar and Khanatara have the highest and lowest percentage of marginal workers respectively.

CHAPTER-3

PATTERN AND REASONS OF OUT-MIGRATION FROM ODISHA

3.1 Introduction

Out-migration has been occurring since long time among the human being. It is not limited to a particular region or country. The search of better standard of living seems to be the main driving force behind the migration of people. Besides this, there are social, cultural and economic factors that lead to out-migration, which has been described as push factors by Bisht and Tiwari (1997); Kumar et al. (1998); Srivastava (1993); and Singh and Aggarwal (1998). In the recent decades migration has been taking place amidst increasing global economic, political, and social integration which has been accompanied by greater speed and ease transportation (Singh, 2001). Due to the existence of inequality in India, there is out-migration of labour from agriculturally backward and poor regions such as eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, southern Madhya Pradesh, western Odisha and southern Rajasthan to the developed states like Maharashtra, Gujarat and Punjab (Balisacan and Ducanes, 2005 cited in Deshingkar and Akter, 2009).

The NSSO has defined out-migrant as any former member of the household who left the household, anytime in the past, for a stay outside the village/town provided he/she was alive on the date of survey. Based on this definition the migrants who leave and stay outside India is also coming under the out-migration. Broadly, the different types of out-migration based on the present place of residence are Intra-District, Inter-District, Inter-State, and International.

Since Odisha is one of the backward states in terms of development here out-migration is expected. The present chapter will provide an overview of out-migration by gender from the states of India and it will be followed by detailed study of Odisha state. The state is unique where the out-migration rate is almost the same for both the sexes. The pattern of economic out-migrant will be discussed to know the out-migration due to employment related reasons. In the last section of this chapter, the use of remittances for debt repayment by migrant households at the origin as well as the likelihood of use of remittances for debt repayment will be analyzed.

3.2 Distribution of Out-Migrants in India

There is variation in terms of out-migration across different states. All the states and union territories do not have the same rate of out-migration. It also varies by sex. Due to the existence of inequality in India, there is out-migration of labour from agriculturally backward and poor regions such as eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, southern Madhya Pradesh, western Odisha and southern Rajasthan to the developed states like Maharashtra, Gujarat and Punjab (Balisacan and Ducanes, 2005 cited in Deshingkar and Akter, 2009). Based on their observation on 1961 census data, Gosal and Krishan (1975) found that the largest number of outflows of migrants from the region of low agricultural productivity due to high population density, small size agricultural land holding, and over-dependence of agriculture. The areas include the Ganga plain in U.P. and North Bihar, the northern Punjab plain, north-eastern Rajasthan, and the coastal tracts of Tamil Nadu, Odisha, and Konkan. The largest magnitude of out-migration had experienced from the excessively populated, rural and predominantly agricultural Ganga plain (In Kosinski, 1975). They also found that out of the total migrants more than two-thirds (67 percent) are females who migrate due to marriage.

It is evident from the study of Guilmoto (1993) that there was emigration from southern India during the colonial period and it was shaped by the inequalities in the colonial economy. The study of the beedi worker's household in Tamil Nadu reveals that there is out-migration of the beedi workers to the small extent and this is mainly due to the uncertainty of employment, particularly during the rainy season when beedi workers could not be carried out (Saravanan, 2003). The countries like Malay, Burma and Sri Lanka were the great receiver of Tamils. There is the incidence of migration from Western Odisha for brick kiln work in Andhra Pradesh and migration from Bihar for agricultural work in Punjab (Deshingkar and Akter, 2009).

Chyrmang, while observing the trend of out-migration from the North-eastern region found that it is increasing and this increase may indicate the existence of better economic opportunities and facilities for better education outside the region (In Rajan, 2011). On the basis of NSS 64th round data (2007-08) of India, it is observed that the phenomenon of out-migration is greater for rural areas (13 percent) as compared to

urban areas (8 percent), and its intensity is more among females (15 percent). The basic reason for this is marital mobility (Rajan and Mishra in Rajan, 2011).

The present study is based on the 64th round of NSS data. Table 3.1 shows the distribution of out-migrants by sex for each state and UTs of India. The rate of out-migration in India is about 12 percent. The distribution of out-migration rate across different States and Union Territories of India reveals that Kerala has the highest rate of out-migration (26 percent) followed by Himachal Pradesh (25.8 percent). Besides this, Haryana, Uttaranchal, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh also has higher out-migration rate. On the other hand, the states like Delhi, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, and Tripura have very low out-migration rate. However, the share of out-migrants from different states in terms of proportion shows a very different picture. Uttar Pradesh has the largest contributor of out-migrants in India which accounts 20 percent of the total out-migrants of India. But the rate of out-migration from this state is about 14 percent. The percentage share of out-migrants from Kerala is only 6.7 percent but its out-migration rate is highest. Almost all the smaller states and Union Territories are accounting very small proportion out of total out-migrants of India. The present study also shows that the phenomenon of out-migration is greater for rural areas (12.8 percent) in comparison to urban areas (8 percent).

In terms of migration by gender, it is experienced from this study that the female out-migration rate is higher (15 percent) compared to male (8 percent). Not only this most of the earlier studies by different scholars also shows the higher rate of out-migration and for this the most important reason is marriage. Generally, female migration occurs due to social reason, more importantly, marriage (Zacharia, 1964; Singh, 2001) but there are also several studies which have shown that there is female migration increasingly for the employment purpose (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003; Jha, 2005; Shanthi, 2006).

Premi (1980) while examining the different aspects of female migration in India during 1961-71 found that the bulk of females are found in rural to urban migration stream which is the effect of marriage migration (village exogamy). Female migration in India is largely associational (Prabha, 2011 in Rajan, 2011). Singh (2001) also found that the main reasons for migration among the females are marriage and family move.

Table 3.1: Distribution of Out-migrants by Sex for each State/UTs

State/UTs	Total Out-migrants			Out-migration rate			Proportion of out-migration		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Jammu & Kashmir	218714	442315	661029	5.17	10.90	7.97	0.52	0.59	0.57
Himachal Pradesh	602603	1006231	1608834	19.69	31.80	25.84	1.43	1.35	1.38
Punjab	659781	1696747	2356528	5.24	15.07	9.88	1.57	2.28	2.02
Chandigarh	13959	21993	35952	3.03	5.55	4.19	0.03	0.03	0.03
Uttaranchal	615291	769868	1385159	13.93	18.37	16.10	1.46	1.03	1.19
Haryana	540667	3147992	3688659	4.63	31.01	16.90	1.28	4.23	3.17
Delhi	31946	271302	303248	0.44	4.60	2.30	0.08	0.36	0.26
Rajasthan	2817593	6508280	9325873	9.44	23.04	16.06	6.69	8.75	8.01
Uttar Pradesh	9040182	14639970	23680152	10.21	17.77	13.86	21.48	19.68	20.33
Bihar	4061616	2289040	6350656	10.36	6.30	8.41	9.65	3.08	5.45
Sikkim	20979	24055	45034	7.77	9.70	8.69	0.05	0.03	0.04
Arunachal Pradesh	27606	9383	36989	4.86	1.86	3.44	0.07	0.01	0.03
Nagaland	30178	35376	65554	6.08	7.54	6.79	0.07	0.05	0.06
Manipur	49414	20705	70119	4.76	2.13	3.49	0.12	0.03	0.06
Mizoram	22087	17451	39538	4.97	4.02	4.50	0.05	0.02	0.03
Tripura	64859	55073	119932	3.73	3.21	3.47	0.15	0.07	0.10
Meghalaya	38832	21287	60119	3.29	1.88	2.60	0.09	0.03	0.05
Assam	564064	571809	1135873	4.23	4.90	4.54	1.34	0.77	0.98
West Bengal	2513129	6590906	9104035	6.22	17.31	11.60	5.97	8.86	7.82
Jharkhand	713701	357661	1071362	5.63	3.00	4.35	1.70	0.48	0.92
Odisha	1930397	1926323	3856720	10.69	10.52	10.61	4.59	2.59	3.31
Chhattisgarh	512152	1064643	1576795	4.33	9.54	6.86	1.22	1.43	1.35
Madhya Pradesh	1158061	3831204	4989265	3.65	13.32	8.25	2.75	5.15	4.28
Gujarat	1278620	4035139	5313759	4.89	17.30	10.74	3.04	5.42	4.56
Daman & Diu	3305	3909	7214	3.77	6.83	4.98	0.01	0.01	0.01
D& N Haveli	2040	4259	6299	1.68	5.05	3.06	0.00	0.01	0.01
Maharashtra	3522223	8953407	12475630	7.17	19.60	13.16	8.37	12.03	10.71
Andhra Pradesh	3293677	5730624	9024301	8.80	15.13	11.99	7.83	7.70	7.75
Karnataka	1653831	3010885	4664716	6.66	12.48	9.53	3.93	4.05	4.00
Goa	31708	26368	58076	4.53	3.55	4.02	0.08	0.04	0.05
Lakshadweep	5410	2789	8199	17.39	9.10	13.28	0.01	0.00	0.01
Kerala	3251463	4519964	7771427	22.91	28.85	26.02	7.73	6.08	6.67
Tamil Nadu	2742741	2759259	5502000	9.11	8.80	8.95	6.52	3.71	4.72
Pondicherry	33510	10095	43605	7.84	2.46	5.21	0.08	0.01	0.04
Andaman & Nicobar	18927	22854	41781	10.48	14.62	12.40	0.04	0.03	0.04
Total	42085266	74399166	116484432	8.12	15.15	11.54	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Based on NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Map 3.1 Percentage Distribution of Total Out-migration in India

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL OUT-MIGRATION
INDIA
2007-08

Number of Out-Migrants
per 100 Popultaion

> 18   (Very High)
12 - 18 (High)
6 - 12 (Medium)
< 6   (Low)
State Boundary

Kilometers
700   350   0   700

Data Source: Census of India, 2001

Map 3.2 Percentage Distribution of Male Out-migration in India

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE OUT-MIGRATION
INDIA
2007-08

N

**Number of Male Out-Migrants
per 100 Male Popultaion**

> 18 (Very High)

12 - 18 (High)

6 - 12 (Medium)

< 6 (Low)

State Boundary

Kilometers
700   350   0   700

Data Source: Census of India, 2001

Map 3.3 Percentage Distribution of Female Out-migration in India

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE OUT-MIGRATION
INDIA
2007-08

N

Number of Female Out-Migrants
per 100 Female Popultaion

> 18   (Very High)

12 - 18 (High)

6 - 12 (Medium)

< 6   (Low)

State Boundary

Kilometers
700   350   0   700

Data Source: Census of India, 2001

Srivastava and Sasikumar (2003) found that in countries like India, there are permanent shifts of population and workforce exists together with the circulatory movement of populations between backward and developed regions and between rural and urban areas. These people are mostly being absorbed in the unorganized sector of the economy. Such movements show little sign of abating with development.

The distribution of male and female out-migrants in India (Map: 3.2 and 3.3) shows that Kerala has the highest male out-migration rate of 22.9 percent followed by Himachal Pradesh (19.69 %). The states and Union territories like Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Haryana, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Punjab, Arunachal Pradesh, Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir, and Delhi have the low rate of male out-migration. However, the proportion of out-migrants to the total out-migrants of India is very high for Uttar Pradesh which accounts 21 percent. It is followed by Maharashtra (8.4 percent) and Andhra Pradesh (7.83 percent). The share from Odisha in this aspect is 4.6 percent but the male out-migration rate is 10.7 percent.

In terms of female out-migration rate, Himachal Pradesh ranks first with 31.8 percent followed by Haryana (31 percent), Kerala (28.9 percent). The other states with high rate of female out-migration rate are Uttrakhand, Rajasthan, and Maharashtra. In the lower end of the scale lies the states like Arunachal Pradesh (1.86 percent) followed by Meghalaya (1.88 percent). Jharkhand state also has the low level of out-migration in terms of females. But there is found a variant picture in terms of percentage share of each state and Union Territories. Again Uttar Pradesh comprises the largest number of out-migrants followed by Maharashtra, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. This is obviously true because these states have the larger population base. On the other hand, the smaller states and UTs like Lakshadweep, Daman and Diu, Andaman and Nicobar, Sikkim, Mizoram and Nagaland have a very smaller share of female out-migrants in India.

3.3 Out-migration from Odisha

The frequent drought and unemployment compels tens of thousands of people from Koshala region (Western Odisha) to migrate throughout the year but in the past it was a feature during the non-agricultural season ((Narasimham, 2004 in Pradhan et al. 2004). He also finds there is increased level of migration from Coastal region of Odisha but the nature of migrant differs between the Coastal and the Koshala region.

Generally, the migrants from the former region are economically better-off and educated; they migrate to other states mainly in search of better employment opportunities, and not so much because of the desperate search of livelihood whereas the migrants from the latter region are generally poor and illiterate; they migrate to work as casual labourers in the unorganized sectors such as construction sites, brick kilns, pulling rickshaws, textiles, etc. The decades of chronic poverty, frequent droughts, unemployment, backwardness and developmental exclusion by the state have led to the emergence of the Koshala region as a source of large-scale distress out-migration in Odisha (The Hindu, 2004).

The study by Jha, 2005 reveals that there is increasing movement of tribal women from Odisha towards urban centers in search of work and for this push factors are mainly responsible. Out-migration often takes place from Odisha, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, etc. because of the inadequate development of agriculture and to a large extent the movements are associated with the absence of water resources development in the water scarce region (Shah, 2001). The frequent occurrence of drought and non-absorption capacity of the local agriculture compelled the landless and marginal farmers of western Odisha to large scale distress migration. They migrate to brick kilns of Andhra Pradesh, construction sites of Maharashtra, carpet industry in Uttar Pradesh and to Raipur of Chhattisgarh for rickshaw pulling (Pruseth, 2008).

Before going to discuss the differentials in the out-migration from the state of Odisha based on the NSS 64th round, the distribution of out-migrants from Odisha to the different states and UTs of India based on the census 2001 are incorporated. Table 3.2 and the map 3.4 to 3.6 show the percentage distribution of out-migrants from Odisha to the different states and UTs of India. It is evident from Table 3.2 and Map 3.4 that there is a largest flow of out-migrants from Odisha to Chhattisgarh (18.3 percent) followed by West Bengal (16.7 percent), Gujarat (12.7 percent), Andhra Pradesh (10.8 percent) and Maharashtra (10 percent). These states together with Jharkhand comprise 77 percent of the total out-migrants of Odisha. Out of the total out-migrants of 9.6 lakh, Chhattisgarh alone accounts 1.7 lakh of out-migrants from Odisha. The reasons for the higher percentage of out-migration to these states are employment and marriage. But, on the other hand, the northern, north-western and north-eastern states account a very low percentage of out-migrants from Odisha.

Table 3.2: Out-migration from Odisha to Various States of India, 2001

State/UTs	Total Out-migrants			Proportion of Out-migrants to total out-migrants		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Jammu & Kashmir	4,833	3,571	1,262	0.5	0.73	0.26
Himachal Pradesh	3,943	3,165	778	0.41	0.65	0.16
Punjab	10,802	6,374	4,428	1.12	1.31	0.93
Chandigarh	1,657	928	729	0.17	0.19	0.15
Uttaranchal	4,979	2,393	2,586	0.52	0.49	0.54
Haryana	11,435	7,103	4,332	1.19	1.46	0.91
Delhi	40,636	25,181	15,455	4.21	5.17	3.24
Rajasthan	9,843	5,618	4,225	1.02	1.15	0.89
Uttar Pradesh	21,113	8,688	12,425	2.19	1.78	2.61
Bihar	42,215	5,533	36,682	4.38	1.14	7.69
Sikkim	378	272	106	0.04	0.06	0.02
Arunachal Pradesh	3,493	2,433	1,060	0.36	0.5	0.22
Nagaland	1,630	1,012	618	0.17	0.21	0.13
Manipur	129	81	48	0.01	0.02	0.01
Mizoram	136	98	38	0.01	0.02	0.01
Tripura	595	337	258	0.06	0.07	0.05
Meghalaya	544	327	217	0.06	0.07	0.05
Assam	8,106	4,708	3,398	0.84	0.97	0.71
West Bengal	1,60,942	86,783	74,159	16.69	17.81	15.55
Jharkhand	82,615	22,906	59,709	8.57	4.7	12.52
Chhattisgarh	1,76,615	56,627	1,19,988	18.32	11.62	25.16
Madhya Pradesh	17,756	9,221	8,535	1.84	1.89	1.79
Gujarat	1,22,231	98,938	23,293	12.68	20.31	4.88
Daman & Diu	2,227	1,975	252	0.23	0.41	0.05
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	2,217	1,935	282	0.23	0.4	0.06
Maharashtra	97,387	65,593	31,794	10.1	13.46	6.67
Andhra Pradesh	1,03,756	42,033	61,723	10.76	8.63	12.94
Karnataka	16,840	12,812	4,028	1.75	2.63	0.84
Goa	2,542	1,890	652	0.26	0.39	0.14
Kerala	3,327	2,328	999	0.35	0.48	0.21
Tamil Nadu	6,532	4,571	1,961	0.68	0.94	0.41
Pondicherry	1,083	731	352	0.11	0.15	0.07
A & N Islands	1,636	1,053	583	0.17	0.22	0.12
Total	9,64,183	4,87,225	4,76,958	100	100	100

Source: Based on Census of India, 2001

Map 3.4 Percentage Distribution of Out-migrants from Odisha to Different States of India

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL OUT-MIGRANTS
FROM ODISHA TO DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA
2001

N

% of Out-Migrants
to total Out-Migrants

	>16	(Very High)
	12 - 16	(High)
	8 - 12	(Medium)
	4 - 8	(Low)
	< 4	(Very Low)

Kilometers
700   350   0   700

Data Source: Census of India, 2001
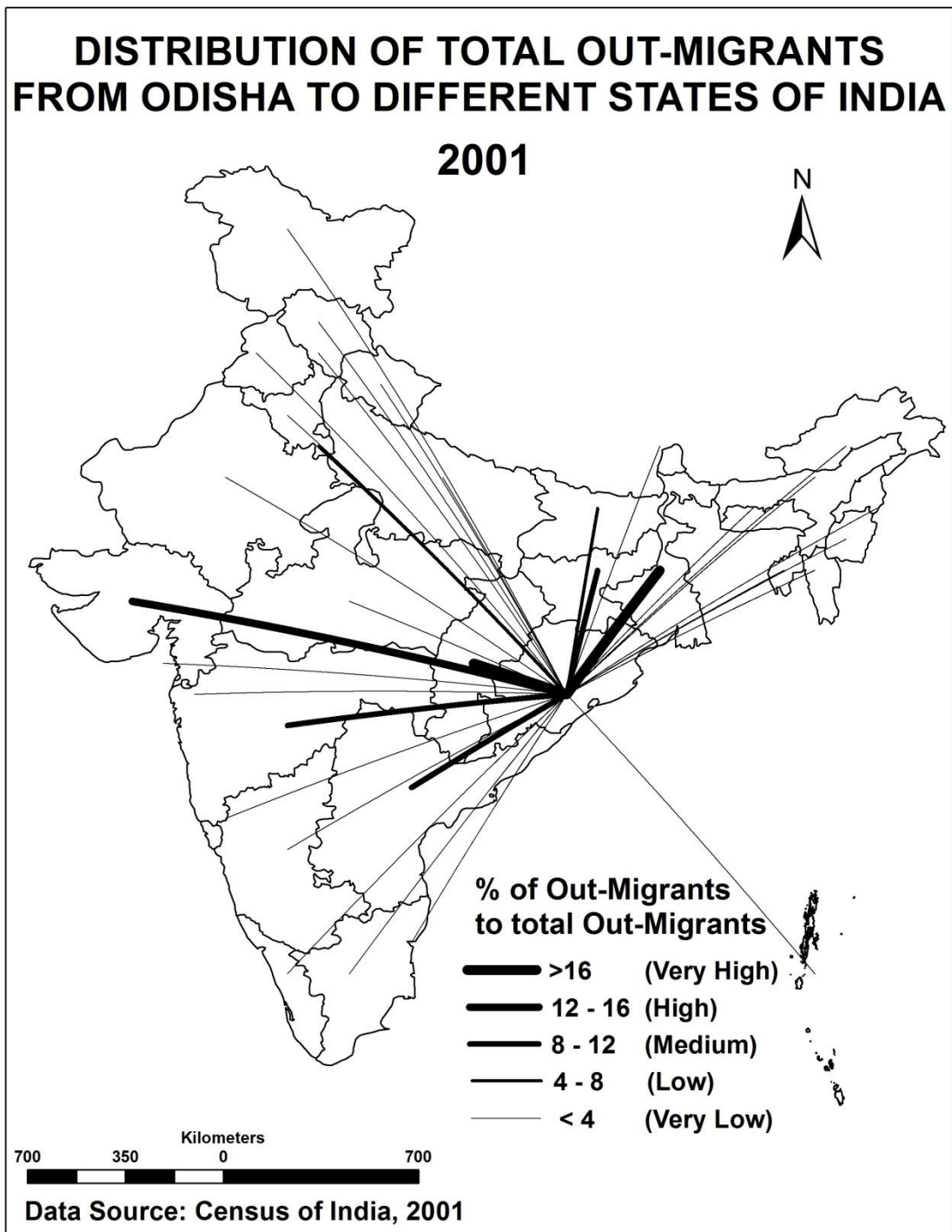
Map 3.5 Percentage Distributions of Male Out-migrants from Odisha to Different States of India
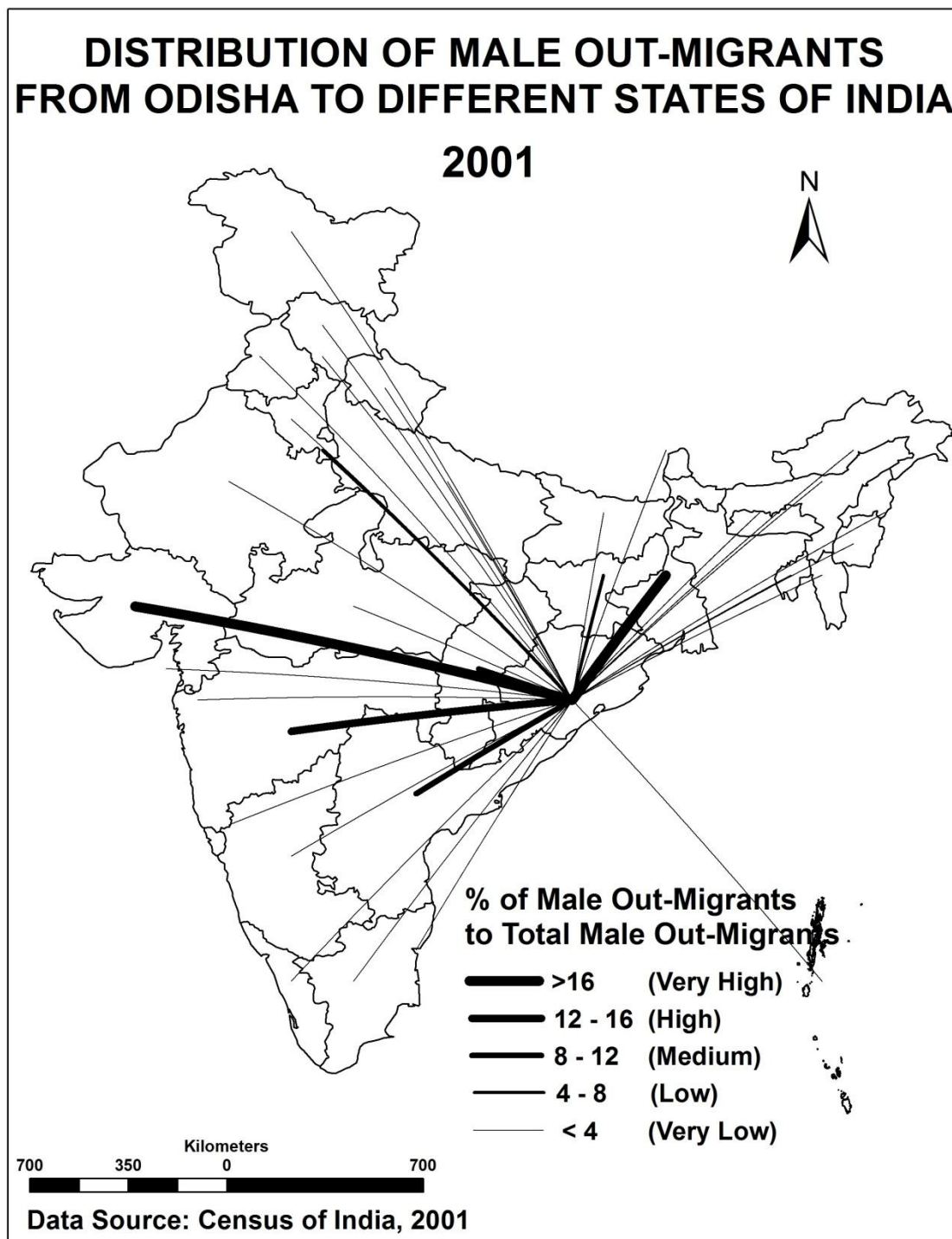
DISTRIBUTION OF MALE OUT-MIGRANTS FROM ODISHA TO DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA 2001

% of Male Out-Migrants to Total Male Out-Migrants

>16 (Very High)
12 - 16 (High)
8 - 12 (Medium)
4 - 8 (Low)
< 4 (Very Low)

Kilometers
700   350   0   700

Data Source: Census of India, 2001

Map 3.6 Percentage Distribution of Female Out-migrants from Odisha to Different States of India

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE OUT-MIGRANTS
FROM ODISHA TO DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA
2001

% of Female Out-Migrants
to Total Female Out-Migrants

>16	(Very High)
12 - 16	(High)
8 - 12	(Medium)
4 - 8	(Low)
< 4	(Very Low)

Kilometers
700   350   0   700

Data Source: Census of India, 2001
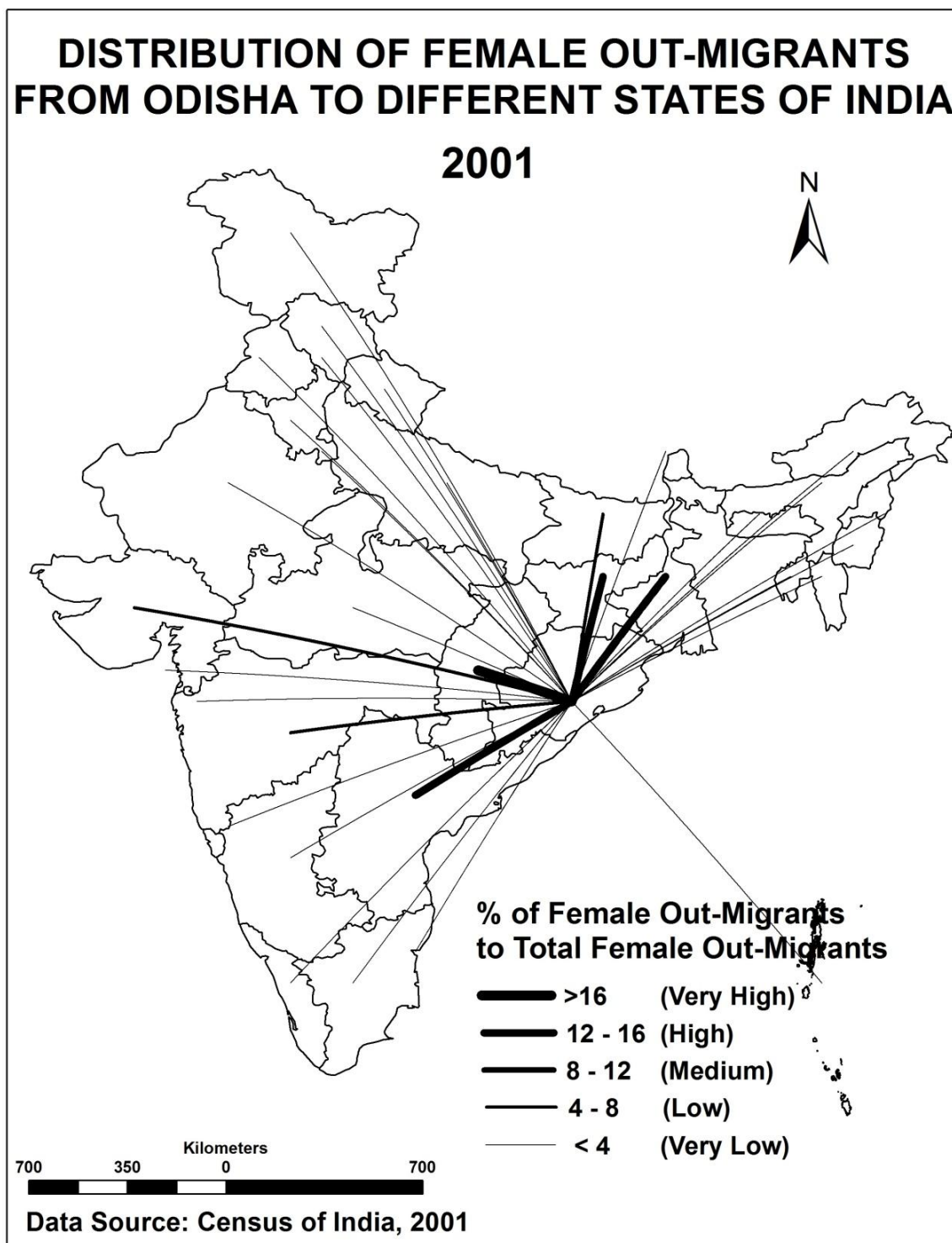
In the case of male out-migrants, Gujarat comprises the largest percentage of out-migrants from Odisha which accounts 20 percent. It is followed by West Bengal (17.8 percent), Maharashtra (13.5 percent), Chhattisgarh (11.6 percent) and Andhra Pradesh (8.6 percent). They migrate to brick kilns of Andhra Pradesh, construction sites of Maharashtra, and to Raipur of Chhattisgarh for rickshaw pulling (Pruseth, 2008).

There is the largest number of the flow of out-migrants from Odisha to Chhattisgarh as per the female out-migration is concerned. It accounts 25 percent followed by West Bengal (15.6 percent), Andhra Pradesh (13 percent) and Jharkhand (12.5 percent). These all are the neighbouring states of Odisha. The main reasons for the largest share of out-migrants in these states are, may be the factor of marriage. Besides these, there is also a considerable percentage of female out-migrants from Odisha to Bihar, Maharashtra, and Gujarat. Again it is found that there is a very low percentage of female out-migrants to the northern states, north-eastern states and also to the southern states except Andhra Pradesh.

Again it is revealed from the Map 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 that a larger percentage of out-migration is taking place towards the border states of Odisha like Chhattisgarh, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Jharkhand. Here geographical distance may be playing an important role along with the other factors. However, the out-migration flow is very large towards Gujarat because of employment-related reasons and it is generally high among the male out-migrants. The textile industry located in Gujarat is one of the largest absorbers of cheap labour force of Odisha.

3.4 Differentials in Out-migration from Odisha across different Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics

The propensity to migrate varies with different socio-economic characteristics or background characteristics of the out-migrants and also varies with space. The present discussion will be on the differentials in the rate and proportion of out-migration across different demographic characteristics like sex and age of the out-migrants; social characteristics like residence, social group and religious group; and economic characteristics like the land possessed and the monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE). It is important to mention here that the out-migration rate is the number of out-migrants per 100 populations.

3.4.1 Out-migration Rate by Sex and Residence

Table 3.3 shows the distribution of out-migration rate by sex and residence of Odisha. Here, the figure of India is also given for the comparison. The out-migration rate from Odisha is 10.6 percent whereas, it is 11.5 percent for India. A unique feature as far as the out-migration from Odisha is concerned is that there is the almost equal rate of out-migration between males and females. The rate for males and females are 10.7 percent and 10.5 percent respectively. However, the figure at the national level is 8 percent and 15 percent for males and females respectively. Here, the differences between both the sexes are very large.

Table 3.3 Distribution of Out-migrants in India and Odisha by Sex and Residence

	India			Odisha		
	Population	**Out-migrants**	**Rate**	**Population**	**Out-migrants**	**Rate**
Rural						
Male	380516375	35116826	9.23	15498853	1742833	11.24
Female	363079793	60286256	16.60	15869413	1697734	10.7
Total	743596168	95403082	12.83	31368266	3440567	10.97
Urban						
Male	137813831	6968440	5.06	2562992	187564	7.32
Female	127849537	14112910	11.04	2433449	228589	9.39
Total	265663368	21081350	7.94	4996441	416153	8.33
Total						
Male	518330206	42085266	8.12	18061845	1930397	10.69
Female	490929330	74399166	15.15	18302862	1926323	10.52
Total	1009259536	116484432	11.54	36364707	3856720	10.61

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

The residence wise distribution of the rate of out-migration of Odisha reveals that it is greater for rural areas (11 percent) compared to urban areas (8.3 percent). As far as India is concerned it is about 13 percent for rural areas and 8 percent for urban areas. Within the purview of rural areas, it is observed from the study that the male out-migration rate is greater (11.2 percent) compared to the female out-migration rate (10.7 percent). But in the case of India, the rate for female out-migrants is greater than the male out-migrants.

In the case of urban areas, it is evident from Table 3.3 that female out-migration rate is greater (9.4 percent) compared to the male out-migration rate (7.3 percent). For India, it is again the former has the greater out-migration rate in comparison to the

later one. Premi (1980) in his study on the 'Urban Outmigration' in the surveyed towns of Punjab and Haryana found a predominance of female out-migration and the main reason for this is the marriage exogamy system.

The rate of out-migration is greater for the Coastal region which accounts 13.4 percent. It is followed by the Southern region (9.3 percent) and the Northern region (8.5 percent). In case of rural out-migrants it is again the Coastal region which has the greater out-migration rate followed by the Southern and the Northern region. But the Southern region has the greater out-migration rate (11.8 percent) compared to the Coastal and the Northern region as far as the urban out-migration is concerned.

Table 3.4 Distribution of Out-migrants from Odisha by NSSO Region

	Coastal		Southern		Northern		Odisha	
	Out-migrants	Rate	Out-migrants	Rate	Out-migrants	Rate	Out-migrants	Rate
Rural								
Male	952633	17.25	448651	8.25	341550	7.53	1742834	11.24
Female	728669	12.48	542816	9.85	426249	9.43	1697734	10.70
Total	1681302	14.80	991467	9.05	767799	8.48	3440568	10.97
Urban								
Male	96060	7.96	43513	7.23	47991	6.37	187564	7.32
Female	60013	5.18	92170	16.77	76406	10.52	228589	9.39
Total	156073	6.60	135683	11.78	124397	8.41	416153	8.33
Total								
Male	1048693	15.58	492164	8.14	389541	7.37	1930398	10.69
Female	788682	11.27	634986	10.48	502655	9.58	1926323	10.52
Total	1837375	13.39	1127150	9.31	892196	8.47	3856721	10.61

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

3.4.2 Rate of Out-Migration by Age

There is also found variation in the rate of the out-migrants across different age group of the out-migrants. It is not that all the age groups behave in the same manner as far as out-migration is concerned. There is selectivity in the age group for out-migration. The study by Khan (1986) and Oberai et al. (1989) revealed the higher propensity of out-migration at the ages 15-34. Mamgain (2003) found that the majority of the migrant workers belong to the age group of 15-25 years. Premi (1980) in his study found that the male out-migrants largely belong to the age group of 15-34. The study by Sundari (2005) on female migrants workers in Tamil Nadu shows that majority of the female migrants belong to the age-group 21-30.

Table 3.5 shows that the rate of out-migration in Odisha is very large among the age groups ranging from 20-34 where the rate of out-migration is about 26 percent. Below this age group, the rate is only 5 percent. The out-migration rate tends to decrease with increase in the ages after the age group ranging from 20-34. The rate is very high for age groups 20-34 because in these ages people are more energetic and capacity to do hard works. In addition to this, a lion's share of out-migration due to marriage takes place in this age group.

Table 3.5 Out-migration Rate by Age Group of the Out-migrants

Age Groups (years)	Total Out-Migrants			Rate		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<20	502284	300434	802718	6.54	3.98	5.27
20-34	1005982	1137955	2143937	26.24	25.33	25.75
35-49	335231	433377	768608	9.15	12.33	10.71
50 and above	86901	54556	141457	3.01	1.99	2.51
All	1930398	1926322	3856720	10.69	10.52	10.61

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

In the case of male out-migrants, it is observed from Table 3.5 that the out-migration rate is very large (26 percent) for the age groups ranging from the 20-34. The female out-migration rate is also very large which is almost equal to the males in these ages.

3.4.3 Rate of Out-Migration by Social Group

Migration of people from one place to another is a complex phenomenon which has multiple dimensions and differs according to class and social groups in developing countries (Korra in Rajan, 2011). The intensity of out-migration also varies with the social groups. There are some studies which show that the lower castes mainly SCs and STs have a higher intensity to migrate than the higher castes category (Khan, 1986; Mahapatra, 1998; Rajan and Mishra in Rajan, 2011). But the different story is also observed where the propensity to migrate is higher for the higher castes (Bhagat in Rajan, 2011; Sukla et al., 2006; Karan, 2006).

The study by Oberai et al. (1989) reveals that the proportion of out-migrants varies across states among the different caste groups. The proportions of Scheduled Castes/ Tribes are same with the general population in both Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. But in

the case of Kerala, the proportions of Scheduled Castes/ Tribes among the out-migrants are lower than the general population.

Table 3.6 Out-migration Rate by Social Group

Social Group	Total Out-migrants			Rate		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
ST	222572	348913	571485	5.24	8.26	6.75
SC	320081	329751	649832	9.21	9.52	9.36
OBC	817266	753784	1571050	13.01	11.46	12.22
Others	570477	493875	1064352	14.07	12.23	13.15
All	1930396	1926323	3856719	10.69	10.52	10.61

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Table 3.6 shows the distribution of out-migration rate in Odisha by different social groups. The Other Backward Classes and Other castes have the higher propensity to out-migration in comparison to the Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Scheduled Castes. The STs are least likely to out-migrate in Odisha. The reason for a higher rate of out-migration among the OBCs and Other castes might be that their social and economic condition is usually better than the lower castes, so they can afford to migrate anywhere to find better opportunities. In the case of the STs and SCs, the out-migration rate among females is greater than the males but for the OBCs and Others, the out-migration rate is greater among the males in comparison to the females.

3.4.4 Rate of Out-Migration by Religious Group

Table 3.7 shows that the percentage of out-migration for Christians is higher than any other religious groups. The out-migration rate of Christians is 15.10 percent. But, the proportion of Christians among all religious groups is small. Again, among the Christians, the STs comprise the larger proportion (about 62 percent).

Table 3.7 Out-migration Rate by Religious Group

Religion	Out-migrants			Rate		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Hindu	1836573	1807632	3644205	10.60	10.29	10.44
Muslims	63026	61871	124897	14.68	14.75	14.71
Christians	30800	50088	80888	11.64	18.48	15.10
Others	0	6733	6733	0.00	18.64	9.89
All	1930399	1926324	3856723	10.69	10.53	10.61

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Next to the Christians, the second religious group which has the higher out-migration rate is Muslims which accounts 14.71 percent followed by the Hindu (10.4 percent). It is important to mention here that the 91 percent of the STs Out-migrants come under the Hindus and rests are coming from the Christians

. **3.4.5 Rate of Out-Migration by Land Possessed**

The study by Belwal, 2007; Khan, 1986; Lipton, 1976 reveals that the there is a decrease in the size of the out-migrants with an increase of the size of the land holdings. There is also a similar kind of earlier findings by Djurfeldt et al. (2008) for Tamil Nadu who found that higher rate of out-migration is among the smallest landowners. Mahapatra (1998) in his study finds that there is a considerable increase in the period of out-migration is mainly due to a widespread use of short duration crop and lower operational land holding which has reduced the days of employment in the village. There are also some studies which show a positive relationship between landholding and migration (Yadava et al., 1996; Mamgain, 2003).

Table 3.8 Out-migration Rate by Land Possessed

Land Possessed in Hectare	Out-migrants			Rate		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<0.005	183778	152544	336322	6.68	5.99	6.35
0.005-1.00	1410056	1407261	2817317	11.38	10.88	11.13
1.01-3.0	301128	316487	617615	11.36	12.29	11.82
3.01-6.0	31175	48362	79537	12.91	20.84	16.80
>6.0	4261	1668	5929	15.20	10.80	13.63
All	1930398	1926322	3856720	10.69	10.53	10.61

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Table 3.8 shows that the rate of out-migration in different land possession groups. In Odisha, the out-migrants belonging to the land possess between 3.01 hectare to 6 hectares have higher out-migration rate. With increasing and decreasing the size of the land from this, there is a decrease in the rate of out-migration. Those who have a very large size of the land holding, the out-migration rate for them are 13.6 percent. Though the out-migration rate is very high among the higher land holding category, the proportion of them to the total out-migrants is very small. Again, it is observed that the rate of out-migration is small among the very high land possessed households

because they have the livelihood options with surplus production from the land. In case of land possession, the Hindu's comprise the very larger percentage in comparison to the other religious groups. So, they find work for themselves and are less migratory. But the proportion of Hindu out-migrants is very large among all religions.

3.4.6 Rate of Out-Migration by Monthly per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) Classes

The monthly per capita expenditure of the out-migrants' household from where they migrate out show the economic standard of the households. Table 3.9 shows the rate of out-migration across different MPCE deciles classes in Odisha. It is observed from the table that the rate of out-migration is greater among the rich compared to the poor. The males and females out-migration based on the different MPCE classes also reveals that their rate is increasing with the increase in the value of the MPCE except

Table 3.9 Out-migration Rate by MPCE Classes

MPCE in Rs.	Out-migrants			Rate		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<514	576379	722550	1298929	5.94	7.27	6.61
514-666	519489	496008	1015497	13.09	11.96	12.51
666-864	370098	318608	688706	17.30	15.28	16.30
864-1245	255701	233036	488737	22.42	20.84	21.64
>1245	208731	156121	364852	18.65	15.49	17.15
All	1930398	1926323	3856721	10.69	10.52	10.61

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

for the MPCE class of greater than 1245 rupees. In other words, the poor have the lesser propensity to migrate in comparison to the rich. But the contribution of out-migrants to the total out-migrants among different MPCE classes reveals that it is the poor whose share is the greatest because their population base is large. The rate among the poor is very less because they cannot afford the expenditure that is required in the starting of the migration.

3.5: Proportion Distribution of Out-Migration from Odisha by NSSO Regions among different Socio-economic and Demographic Classes

There is found differences in out-migration across different NSSO region of Odisha. To capture these differentials the following section of this chapter throw a light on the proportion of out-migration across different NSSO region among different socio, economic and demographic characteristics of out-migrants.

3.5.1 Proportion of Out-Migration in NSSO Regions by Sex

The sex differentials in out-migration from Odisha as a whole is not found but differences are observed across different NSSO regions of Odisha. The share of male among all migrants is higher in the case of Coastal region (57 percent) than in Southern region and Northern region.

3.5.2 Proportion of Out-Migration in NSSO Regions by Sector

The distribution of out-migrant according to sex shows that it is predominantly rural. The share of out-migrants from the urban area of Odisha is only 11 percent and it varies across different NSSO regions. It is highest (14 percent) in the Northern region but only 8 percent in coastal region which is clearly evident from Table 3.10.

3.5.3 Proportion of Out-Migration in NSSO Regions by Age Group

More than three-fifth of the total out-migrants belong to the age group 20-34. It is found both in the coastal and southern region of Odisha but in the northern region the share of out-migrants in this age group is about 58 percent which is closer to other regions of Odisha. The share is very small above and below these age groups. The proportion of out-migration is very small at the older ages across all regions.

3.5.4 Proportion of Out-Migration in NSSO Regions by Social Group

Table 3.10 shows region wise proportion of out-migrants by social group. In Odisha, the OBCs constitute the larger proportion of out-migrants (41 percent). It is so because they have the larger base population. The share of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes out-migrants are only 15 percent and 17 percent respectively. As far as the out-migration among tribes is concerned it is observed from this study that about one-third of the out-migrants from the southern region of Odisha are Scheduled

Table 3.10 Proportion of Out-migrants (in percent) in different NSSO Regions by Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics

Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics	NSSO Regions			Total
	Coastal	**Southern**	**Northern**	
Sex				
Male	57.08	43.66	43.66	50.05
Female	42.92	56.34	56.34	49.95
Total	100	100	100	100
Sector				
Rural	91.51	87.96	86.06	89.21
Urban	8.49	12.04	13.94	10.79
Total	100	100	100	100
Age Group (Years)				
<20	12.75	17.08	18.12	15.26
20 - 34	60.85	63.76	58.46	61.15
35 - 49	22	16.45	20.06	19.93
50 and Above	4.4	2.71	3.36	3.67
Total	100	100	100	100
Social Group				
ST	0.64	30.99	23.59	14.82
SC	18.21	17.65	13.05	16.85
OBC	38.94	41.13	43.92	40.74
OTHERS	42.21	10.23	19.44	27.6
Total	100	100	100	100
Religion				
Hindu	93.65	95.6	94.82	94.49
Muslims	5.98	0.01	1.67	3.24
Others	0.37	4.39	3.52	2.27
Total	100	100	100	100
Land Holding in Hectare				
Less than 0.005	9.06	10.85	5.32	8.72
0.005 - 1.00	75.66	70.98	70.28	73.05
1.01 - 3.00	13.87	16.28	20.1	16.01
3.01 - 6.00	1.27	1.89	3.92	2.06
Greater than 6.00	0.14	0	0.38	0.15
Total	100	100	100	100
Present Place of Residence				
Intra-District	28.62	45.97	53.16	39.37
Inter-District	29.4	14.86	26.18	24.41
Inter-State	41.17	38.97	19.81	35.57
Outside India	0.82	0.2	0.85	0.64
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Tribes. The concentration of tribal population is very high in the Southern region in comparison to other regions of Odisha. On the other hand, the share of ST out-migrants in the Coastal region is very negligible (less than one percent).

3.5.5 Proportion of Out-Migration in NSSO Regions by Religion

Table 3.10 shows region wise proportion of out-migrants by religion. As far as out-migration from Odisha according to the different religious group is concerned, it is predominantly Hindu. It is so because of the fact that the population base for the Hindus is very large. It is followed by Muslims and others. The main religious group in 'Other' categories is Christian which is mainly found in the southern region of Odisha. The share of out-migrants among Muslims in the coastal region is about 6 percent but the state average is only 3 percent. In the Southern region, the share of out-migrants belonging to Muslims is negligible.

3.5.6 Proportion of Out-Migration in NSSO Region by Land Holding Size

It is evident from Table 3.10 that more than four-fifth of the total out-migrants of Odisha have less than one hectare of land and it is found across all regions with little variations. With increasing the size of the land holding, their shares are decreasing.

3.5.7 Proportion of Out-Migration in NSSO Region by Present Place of Residence

The proportion of out-migration also varies by the present place of residence of the out-migrants. Srivastava and Sasikumar (2003) observe that the majority of migrants are intra-district migrants and among these females are predominant who customarily change their parental household and stay in their husband's households after marriage.

Table 3.10 shows the proportion of out-migrants by present place of residence. In the case of Odisha, out of total out-migrants, the proportion of intra-district migrants is larger who constitute 39.3 percent. It is so because of the shortest distance. The inter-district out-migrants comprise 24. 4 percent and inter-state constitute 35.57 percent. Only less than 1 percent migrants are going to outside India which is termed as International migration. If intra-district and inter-district migration are clubbed together then it comprises about 64 percent of the total out-migrants of Odisha.

3.6: Reasons for Out-Migration

Out-migrations are caused by a variety of reasons. According to the National Sample Survey Organisation, the different reasons of out-migration are- in search of employment, in search of better employment, to take up employment, business, transfer of service, studies, natural disaster, social and political problems, displacement by development projects, housing problems, health care, marriage, migration of parents/earning member of the family, etc. These reasons can be clubbed into the following broad groups:

3.6.1 Economic Reason

The unavailability of jobs forces the people to migrate in large number from rural areas to urban areas for seeking employment which comes under the economic reason. The lack of better employment opportunities also lead to migration to urban cities and towns. In the context of India, the migration pattern based on the economic reason observed to be male dominated. Besides this, business and transfer of services are other reasons that come under the economic category. The migration for economic reasons can also be called as employment related reasons.

3.6.2 Social Reason

People also migrate due to social reason. The important reasons of out-migration under this category are marriage, studies, health care, migration with parents/earning members of the family. Marriage is a very important social factor of migration in case of India. Every girl has to migrate to her in-law's home after marriage. Thus almost all female population of India have to migrate over short or long distance. In other words, the marriage has the significant proportion of out-migrants in India and is predominant for females. There is a lack of educational and health infrastructure in rural areas especially those of higher education and tertiary health care which lead to out-migration to urban locality.

3.6.3 Demographic Reason

The high man-land ratio due to the high pressure of population is also regarded as an important factor for rural out-migration. Generally, in rural areas agriculture is the main occupational activity. But in due course of time, there exists a heavy pressure

on agriculture and people dependent on that try to seek an alternative livelihood for which they migrate to the urban areas.

3.6.4 Other Reasons

There are some regions in India where natural disaster, social and political problems, and development projects force the people to migrate and this type of migration are called forced migration.

3.6.5 Percentage Distribution of Reason for Out-Migration from Odisha

Table 3.11 and fig. 3.1 show the proportion of total out-migrants by reason of migration. Employment is the main reason for out-migration in Odisha which comprises about 45 percent of the total migrant. It is followed by marriage (39 percent), migration with parents/earning members of the family (9 percent) and studies (5 percent). The forced migration due to natural disaster, social and political problems and displacement by development project are negligible for Odisha.

The percentage of migrants in each reason is not uniform across all regions of Odisha. Though 45 percent of the migrants of Odisha migrate for employment related reason, differences in the percentage of migrants across various regions are found. In the coastal region, of the total migrants more than half are economic migrants whereas the respective figures among southern and northern region are 38 and 36.5 percent respectively (Table 3.11). Marriage is the main reason for out-migration in the southern and northern region and it is followed by employment. About 5 percent of the total migrants in Odisha are migrating for education.

Table 3.11 Proportion of Out-Migrants by Reason for Migration

Reasons for Out-migration	Proportion to Total Out-migrants			
	Coastal	Southern	Northern	Total
Employment	52.7	38.1	36.5	44.7
Marriage	31.2	47.2	46.0	39.3
Migration of Parent/ Earning Member of the Family	12.3	4.8	7.5	9.0
Studies	1.3	7.6	8.8	4.9
Others	2.5	2.2	1.2	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Fig 3.1 Percentage Distribution of Reason for Out-migration from Odisha, 2007-08
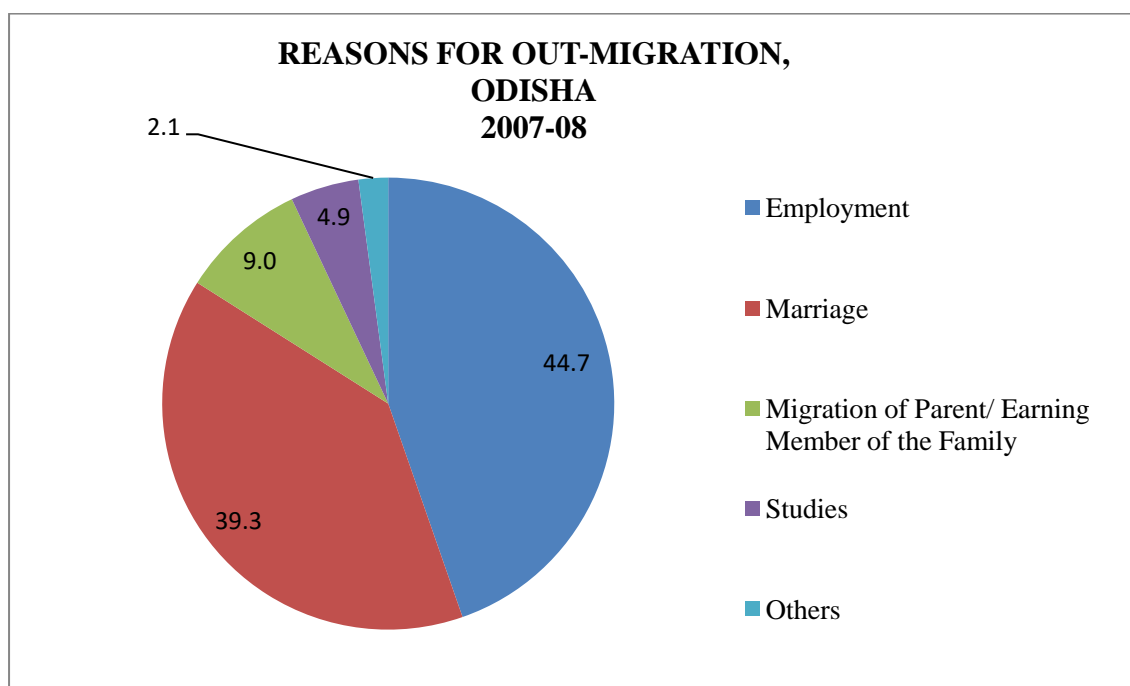
Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Table 3.12 Proportion of Male Out-Migrants by Reason for Migration

Reasons of Out-migration	Proportion to Total Male Out-migrants			
	Coastal	Southern	Northern	Total
Employment	89.0	86.4	78.6	86.2
Marriage	0.6	0.1	1.5	0.6
Migration of Parent/ Earning Member of the Family	7.4	1.9	5.4	5.6
Studies	1.7	7.8	12.8	5.5
Others	1.3	3.9	1.7	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

The reason of migration also varies according to the sex of the migrant. Males are mainly migrated for employment-related reasons whereas female migration is basically marriage. In Odisha, of the total male out-migrants, 86 percent have migrated for employment reasons (Fig.3.2). It also varies across NSSO regions. The

percentage of migrant for the coastal region is highest (89 percent) whereas the respective figures for the southern and northern region are 86.4 percent and 78.6 percent respectively (Table 3.12). The next best reason for male out-migration is migration with earning member of the family (5.6 percent) and it is followed by studies (5.5 percent). The proportion of migrants for studies is higher in the northern region and southern region.

Fig. 3.2 Percentage Distribution of Reason for Male Out-migration from Odisha
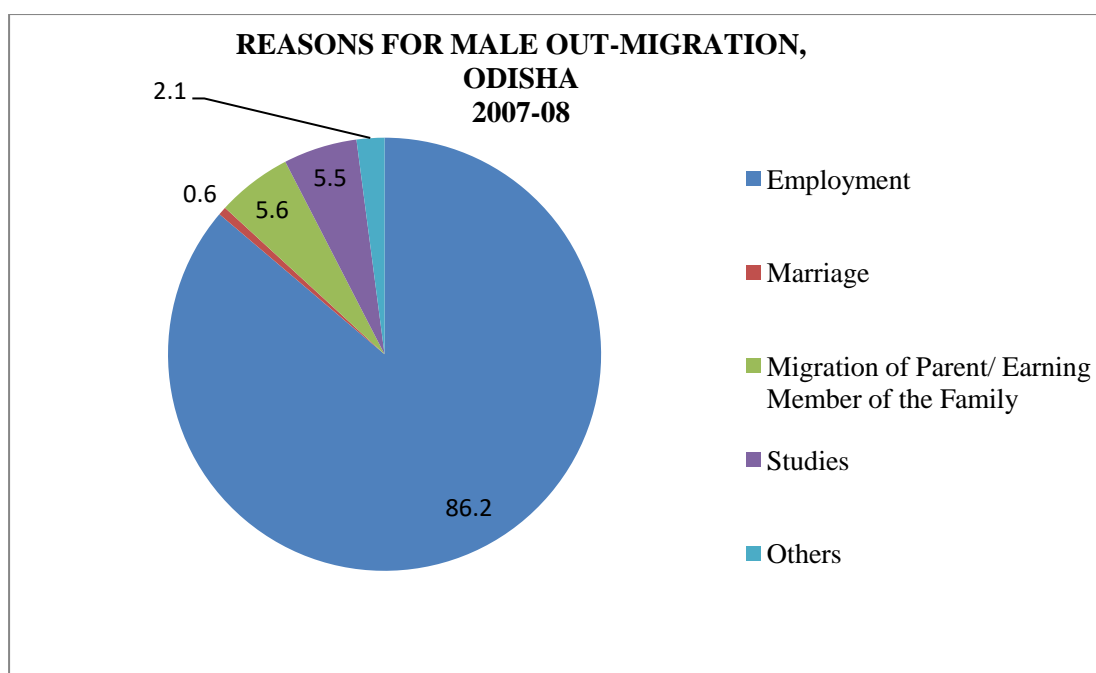
Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Marriage is the most important and predominant reason for female out-migration. The percentage of female out-migrants due to marriage is 78 percent (Fig. 3.3). Migration with parents or earning members of the family is the next important reasons for out-migration among females and it accounts 12 percent of the total female out-migrants. Only 4 percent of female migrants migrate for study purpose.

There is a huge difference in female migration for study purpose across NSSO regions (Table 3.13). Less than 1 percent of female migrants are educational migrants in coastal region whereas the respective figures in the southern and northern region are 7.5 percent and 6 percent respectively. It can be inferred from this fact that there is more availability of educational infrastructure in the coastal region in comparison with other regions of Odisha.

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Fig. 3.3 Percentage Distribution of Reason for Female Out-migration from Odisha

REASONS FOR FEMALE OUT-MIGRATION,
ODISHA
2007-08

- Employment
- Marriage
- Migration of Parent/ Earning Member of the Family
- Studies
- Others
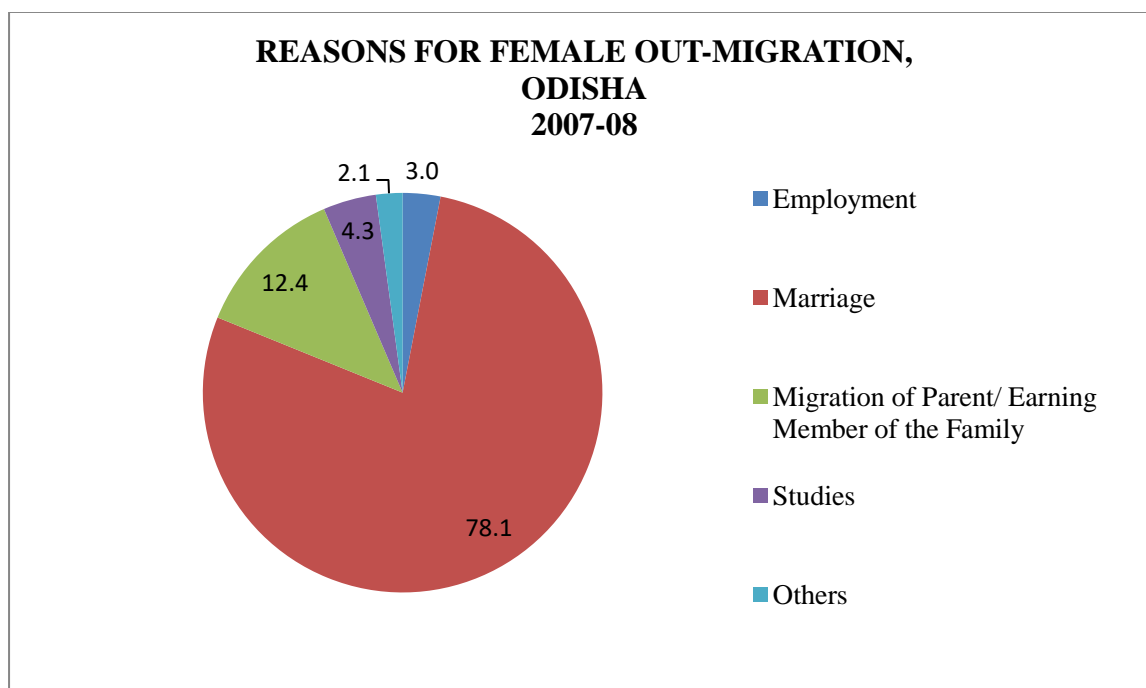
Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Table 3.13 Proportion of Female Out-Migrants by Reason for Migration

Reasons of Out-migration	Proportion to Total Female Out-migrants			
	Coastal	Southern	Northern	Total
Employment	4.43	0.6	3.9	3.0
Marriage	72.00	83.8	80.4	78.1
Migration of Parent/ Earning Member of the Family	18.78	7.1	9.1	12.4
Studies	0.79	7.5	5.8	4.3
Others	4.00	1.0	0.7	2.1
Total	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

. 3.7 An Overview of Economic Out-migration from Odisha

From the reasons for out-migration, it is clear that about two-fifth of the total migration is marriage migration. To get the real picture of migration for the livelihood purpose it is essential to study economic migrant. This section of this chapter tries to look into the economic out-migration from Odisha and it is followed by use of remittances by migrant's households for debt repayment.

The percentage of economic out-migrants (out-migrants for employment-related reasons) comprises about 45 percent of the total out-migrants and it varies across the NSSO region. The Coastal region has the highest economic out-migration rate (52.7 percent) whereas the respective figures for sourthern region and northern region are 38 percent and 36.5 percent.

Table 3.14 Percentage of Economic Out-migrants in different NSSO Region

NSSO Region	Out-migrants	Economic Out-migrants	% of Economic Migrant to total Out-migrants
Coastal	1837375	967759	52.7
Southern	1127149	429010	38.1
Northern	892196	325826	36.5
Total	3856720	1722595	44.7

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

The sex-wise distribution of out-migrant for employment-related reasons is male dominated which is clearly visible from Table 3.15. The economic out-migration rate is very high among the males. Out of the total male out-migrants, 86 percent of them migrate for economic reasons. The economic out-migration rate varies not only between two sexes but also across NSSO region. The coastal region accounts for 89 percent of male economic out-migrants whereas it is only 79 percent in the Northern region. Of the total female out-migrants, only 3 percent are migrated for economic purpose. As far as India is concerned the female migration is mostly for marriage purpose.

Table 3.15 shows the distribution of economic out-migration in different NSSO regions based on the residence. The economic out-migration rate is high in case of rural areas (45 percent) as compared to urban areas (40 percent). The lack of employment opportunities in rural areas, aspirations for better employment and higher wages in urban areas lead to out-migration from rural areas. Another important feature that comes from Table 3.15 is that there exist vast differences across NSSO region in economic out-migration rate from urban areas. The percentage of economic out-migrants in the coastal region is as high as 62 percent whereas it is only 25 percent in the northern region.

Table 3.15 Percentage of Economic Out-migrants in NSSO Region by Sex Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics

Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics	% of Economic out-migrant to total out-migrant			
	Coastal	Southern	Northern	Total
Sex				
Male	89	86.4	78.6	86.2
Female	4.4	0.6	3.9	3
Total	52.7	38.1	36.5	44.7
Sector				
Rural	51.8	39.4	38.4	45.2
Urban	62.2	28.3	24.9	40
Total	52.7	38.1	36.5	44.7
Age Group (Years)				
<20	61.3	53.2	43.8	53.8
20 - 34	49.2	33.5	36.2	41.5
35 - 49	54.5	39	27	44.4
50 and Above	66.2	45.1	59.2	60.2
Total	52.7	38.1	36.5	44.7
Religious Group				
Hindu	52.8	39.4	37.1	45.2
Muslim	54	100	16.5	49.6
Others	0	7.9	29.2	14.9
Total	52.7	38.1	36.5	44.7
Social Group				
ST	63	24.5	41.9	31.7
SC	51.2	41.3	40.5	46.3
OBC	53.2	49.6	36	47.9
OTHERS	52.7	27.2	28.4	45.9
Total	52.7	38.1	36.5	44.7
Land possessed in hectare				
< 1.0	63.1	38.3	48.9	52.1
1.0-3.0	54.6	46.3	29.9	46.7
3.1-6.0	50.4	34	41.9	43.8
>6.0	41.7	12.3	23.7	27.3
Total	52.7	38.1	36.5	44.7
Present Place of Residence				
Intra-District	14.7	6.4	19.2	13.3
Inter-District	46.2	27.5	50.4	43.9
Inter-State	83.1	79.6	64.5	79.6
Outside India	100	100	38.6	81.2
Total	52.8	38.2	36.5	44.8

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

The rate of economic out-migration based on age group shows that it is high in case of older age group (60 percent) and it is followed by very younger age group (54 percent). Though the overall out-migration rate is high among the age group 20-34 which was found in the earlier section of this chapter it is not so high in case of economic out-migration. The necessity to earn livelihood compel even the older age group to migrate.

Table 3.15 shows that the percentage of economic out-migration for Muslim is higher than any other religious groups. The economic out-migration rate of Muslims is 49.6 percent. But, the proportion of Muslims among all religious groups is small. Though the proportion of migrants in the southern region is very low even negligible they are found to be an economic migrant.

The rate of economic migration is more or less same across all social groups except the scheduled tribes (Table 3.15). However, differences in the rate are found across NSSO regions. In the coastal region, of all the ST out-migrants, 63 percent are migrated due to employment-related reasons but their proportion is less than one percent.

More than half of the economic migrants have less than 1 hectare of land. As the size of the landholding increases, the rate of economic migration decreases. In Coastal and Southern region also there is a decrease in the rate of economic out-migration with an increase in the land holding size. In Other words, it is the poorer section of the migrants who have a higher percentage of economic out-migration.

The rate of economic out-migration found to be very high in case of inter-state and international out-migrants i.e 80 percent and 81 percent respectively. But it is very low in case of intra-state migration (includes both intra-district and inter-district). As marriage comprises the predominant reason for migration in intra-district and inter-district, the economic out-migration rate in this category is very less.

3.8 Proportion of Economic Out-migration across different Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics

The rate of migration does not reveal the volume of migrants. To capture the volume of economic migrants, the proportion of economic out-migrants out of total migrants are discussed in this section.

With respect to sex of the migrant, it is observed from Table 3.16 that of the total economic migrants, the share of the male is 97 percent and female accounts only 3 percent. Females in India generally migrate for marriage and prefer very short distance migration. There is sex selectivity in migration. The males are mainly migrated for employment-related reasons whereas female migration is mostly for marriage. In the southern region of Odisha, the female economic migrants comprise only one percent. In other words, almost all of the economic migrants of the southern region are males.

The sector-wise distribution of the economic migrants shows that the ninth-tenth of the migrants are from rural areas. The backwardness of agriculture, lack of employment opportunities, aspiration of higher wages and poverty are the factors that contribute to such large number of rural economic out-migrants. No major differences in the volume of migrants across NSSO region are found. All regions are experiencing the same that Odisha as a whole is experienced.

The proportion of economic migrants by age group shows that a significantly larger proportion (about 57 percent) of the migrants belong to the age group 20-34 and it is high across all regions of Odisha. This is the most productive age group because the migrants are more energetic and hard working in this age group. After 20-34 years of age, the proportion of economic out-migrants decreases with increase in age. A very few numbers of migrants migrate for employment related reason in the older age group. The proportion of economic migrants among the age group 50 and above years is only 5 percent in Odisha as a whole.

In the case of religion, it is observed from Table 3.16 that 96 percent of the economic migrants are Hindus. This is so because the proportion of Hindus is very large in the general population as well as migrant population. Only 3.6 percent of the economic migrants belong to . It is important to note that the coastal region has the higher proportion of (6 percent) whereas not a single person is found to be Muslim in the southern region of Odisha. Again, the economic migrants other than Hindu and Muslim is negligible in the coastal region whereas it is 0.9 percent and 2.8 percent respectively in the southern and northern region. It is so because there exists a significant proportion of Christian population is a southern and northern region of Odisha but they are not found in the coastal region.

Table 3.16 Proportion of Economic Out-migrants in different NSSO Regions based on different Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics

Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics	% of Economic migrant to total Economic migrant			
	Coastal	Southern	Northern	Total
Sex				
Male	96.4	99.1	93.9	96.6
Female	3.6	0.9	6.1	3.4
Total	100	100	100	100
Sector				
Rural	90	91.1	90.5	90.3
Urban	10	8.9	9.5	9.7
Total	100	100	100	100
Age group (years)				
<20	14.8	23.9	21.8	18.4
20-34	56.9	56.1	58	56.9
35-49	22.8	16.9	14.8	19.8
50 & Above	5.5	3.2	5.5	4.9
Total	100	100	100	100
Religion				
Hindu	93.9	99.1	96.4	95.6
	6.1	0	0.8	3.6
Others	0	0.9	2.8	0.8
Total	100	100	100	100
Social group				
ST	0.8	19.9	27.1	10.5
SC	17.7	19.1	14.5	17.5
OBC	39.3	53.6	43.3	43.6
Others	42.2	7.3	15.1	28.4
Total	100	100	100	100
Land Possessed In Hectare				
< 1.0	10.9	10.9	7.1	10.2
1.0-3.0	35.8	43.7	26.4	36
3.1-6.0	50.5	44.2	59.8	50.7
>6.0	2.8	1.2	6.7	3.2
Total	100	100	100	100
MPCE Quintile Class				
0-20	16.5	24.6	16.7	18.5
20-40	19.2	17.9	18.2	18.7
40-60	19.6	26.9	19.6	21.4
60-80	21.5	17.4	21.8	20.5
80-100	23.2	13.1	23.8	20.8
Total	100	100	100	100
Present Place of Residence				
Intra-district	7.9	7.7	28	11.7
Inter-district	25.7	10.7	36.1	23.9
Inter-state	64.8	81.1	35	63.2
International	1.5	0.5	0.9	1.2
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

The proportion of economic migrants based on the social group shows that the Other backward classes and the general population have the higher proportion of migrants. They account 43.6 and 28.4 percent of the total economic migrants respectively. It is so because their population share is very large. The proportion of economic migrants is highest among the OBC in the southern and northern region of Odisha but the 'Others' category accounts the largest share in the coastal region. The scheduled tribe comprises the smallest share of economic migrant in Odisha (10. 5 percent).

Of the total economic migrants, half of them have possessed 3 to 6 hectares of land and a very small percentage of migrants have more than 6 hectares of land. In the case of the coastal region also half of the migrants have possession of 3 to 6 hectares of land but in the northern region, about three-fifth of the migrants belong to the landholding size of 3 to 6 hectares. The migrants belonging to 1 to 3 hectares of land holding size are only 36 percent. With respect to the monthly per capita consumer expenditure, there is a higher proportion of out-migrants for economic purpose in higher quintile class in comparison to the lower quintile classes.

The proportion of economic migrants based on the present place of residence shows that nearly two-third of the economic migrants prefer inter-state migration. Due to the absence of employment opportunities within Odisha, the migrants of state migrate to Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Telangana. The share of inter-district migration is no less significant. It contributes about 24 percent of the total economic migrants of Odisha. The share of international migration is only one percent in Odisha. From the literature, it is found that there is a significant number of international migrants from the developed states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu where migrants prefer to the Gulf countries and their remittances help in the social and economic well-being of the migrant households.

3.9 Use of Remittances:

Since there is the unavailability of data regarding debt-induced migration, an attempt has been made to find out debt-induced migrants indirectly by using the remittance use data, where debt repayment is one of the uses of remittances in this section of the chapter. In Odisha, of the total migrants household from which any member migrated out, about 51 percent of the household has received remittances irrespective of the number of times and amount of remittances and the percentage of remittance

receiving households is not equally distributed across the different NSSO region of Odisha. About 67 percent of households of the coastal region reported to have received remittances whereas the respective percentages for southern and northern regions are 36 and 42 percent respectively.

Remittances can be used for the varied purpose by the migrants' household according to its need. It is not only used for basic consumption items like food for poorer households but also used for purchasing household durables for richer households. It also works as savings and investment for economically better households. A household may use the remittances for more than one purpose. The NSSO collects information for at most three such purposes according to the descending order of amount.

Table 3.17 Percentage distribution of Use of Remittances by Migrant's Households

Remittances Uses	Number of HH			Proportion of HH		
	1st Use	2nd Use	3rd Use	1st Use	2nd Use	3rd Use
Food items	741227	67063	27776	65.1	6.9	4.6
Education of the HH members	7709	190599	38122	0.7	19.5	6.4
Household Durable	6724	155769	43049	0.6	15.9	7.2
Marriage and Other Ceremonies	29692	35648	59783	2.6	3.6	10.0
Health care	46376	144128	56395	4.1	14.7	9.4
Others item on HH Consumer Exp.	106344	236088	184480	9.3	24.1	30.8
For Improving Housing Condition	87350	53479	46974	7.7	5.5	7.8
Debt Payment	80486	52938	30668	7.1	5.4	5.1
Financing Working Capital	6520	6278	449	0.6	0.6	0.1
Initiating New Entrepreneurial Activity	419	1661	0	0.0	0.2	0.0
Saving/Investment	16110	18071	32781	1.4	1.8	5.5
Others	10186	16625	78390	0.9	1.7	13.1
Total	1139143	978347	598867	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Table 3.17 shows the percentage distribution of remittances in Odisha by out-migrants' households. In its 1st use about two-third of the households have used for consumption of food items. Since Odisha is one of the most backward states in the map of India and most of the migrants migrate in search of livelihood, the remittances sent by them are used to fulfill the basic needs of the members left behind. The next important purpose for which remittances are used is consumption of other household consumer expenditure (9.3 percent), for improving housing condition (7.7 percent) and debt repayment (7.1 percent). In the case of 2nd use of the remittances, it is found that about one-fourth of the households use remittances for consumption of other consumer expenditure and it is followed by education of the household members (20 percent), household durable (16 percent), and healthcare (15 percent). In its 3rd use, if any, about 31 percent of the household use remittances for consumption of other household expenditure. Marriage and other ceremonies account about 10 percent of the households. Healthcare is also featured as one of the main uses of remittances in its 3rd use if any.

Table 3.18 Percentage Distribution of Use of Remittances by NSSO Region

Remittances Uses	Coastal Region	Southern Region	Northern Region	Odisha Total
Food items	67.77	86.43	74.38	73.39
Education of the HH members	24.3	14.92	17.3	20.76
Household Durable	13.42	29.99	17.39	18.04
Marriage and Other Ceremonies	11.25	12.9	7.92	10.98
Health care	18.48	23.85	28.45	21.67
Others item on HH Consumer Exp.	45.5	46.86	47.74	46.26
For Improving Housing Condition	18.75	15.19	11.39	16.49
Debt Repayment	**16.62**	**18.51**	**3.06**	**14.4**
Financing Working Capital	0.38	0.17	4.62	1.16
Initiating New Entrepreneurial Activity	0.32	0.0	0.0	0.18
Saving/Investment	5.9	8.1	3.19	5.88
Others	10.22	7.18	8.79	9.24
Total	**232.91**	**264.11**	**224.23**	**238.46**

Source: Based on the NSS 64th Round, 2007-08

Table 3.18 shows the total use of remittances irrespective of preferences (i.e 1st use, 2nd use, and 3rd use) by remittance-receiving households. Of the total remittance-receiving households, 73 percent of them use remittances for consumption of food items irrespective of their uses. It means some households use on food items in their 1st use and some others use in 2nd or 3rd use. A significant proportion of household has used the remittances for consumption of other household consumer expenditure (46 percent). Health care and education of the household members are other major uses of remittance which accounts 22 percent and 21 percent of households respectively. There is found regional differences in the use of remittances in Odisha. There is a very higher proportion (86 percent) of the total remittance receiving household has used the remittances for food items in southern region whereas the figures for the coastal and northern region are 68 percent and 74 percent respectively. The regional difference is not found in the use of remittances for consumption of other household consumer expenditure.

As far as remittance use of remittances for debt repayment is concerned it is observed from the table 3.27 that about 14 percent of the household use for debt repayment irrespective of their preferences of uses. There is found large regional differences in its use. The southern region has a higher proportion of households that use remittances for debt repayment (18.5 percent). It is where the study area of the present research is located. The coastal region also accounts 16.6 percent households that use remittances for debt repayment purpose. However, the northern region has only 3 percent of households.

With this background information on pattern of out-migration, economic migrants and remittances uses in Odisha based on the secondary data i.e. NSSO 64th Round (2007-08), the following chapters give light on migrants and non-migrants characteristics; middlemen and informal credit market in the migration process; and the remittances sending behaviour of the migrants of the study area by using primary field survey data, 2015.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANTS

4.1 Introduction

The out-migration is not uniform across all households. Some households experience out-migration of any member and some do not. It varies depending on the household's demographic, social and economic characteristics. The present chapter tries to focus on different characteristics of the migrant households as well as non-migrant households among the sampled population. Again the migrant households are categorized into two categories- indebted-migrant households and non-indebted migrant households. Similarly, the non-migrant households are divided into the indebted non-migrant household and non-indebted non-migrant households. Though the main focus of the study is on the debt-induced migration, it is also essential to understand non-debt induced migration to understand the dynamics in a larger spectrum as well as households reporting no migration. All migrants are not indebted and it is also true that all indebted households do not report any member of it migrated out. Some households anyhow prefer to stay in their native place and engaged in any form of economic activity they get. The discussion in this chapter will entirely be based on the primary data collected from the study area.

4.2 Social and Economic Characteristics of the Study Population

Variations are found in the different socio-economic and demographic characteristics across different household categories. This section tries to highlight these differences across four different categories of the households. The discussion in this section will be at the household level. Social characteristics will be discussed by considering religion, caste, education of the household head, and size of the household. On the other hand, to understand the economic condition, the land holding size, main sources and secondary sources of livelihood, housing structure, livestock assets, durable household assess, and housing amenities are considered in the study.

4.2.1 Religious Group

It is observed from the field work that there exist two types of religious group in the study area. They are Hindus and Christians. Across all categories, the Hindu

Table 4.1 Distribution of the Study Population across different Household Categories by Socio-Economic Characteristics (in %)

Socio-Economic Characteristics	Indebted Migrant HH	Non-indebted Migrant HH	Indebted Non-migrant HH	Non-indebted Non-migrant HH	Total
Religious Group					
Hindus	96.9	96.2	95	99	96.7
Christians	3.1	3.8	5	1	3.3
Social Group					
SCs	29.2	30.8	19	21	25.7
STs	21.5	18.5	24	23	21.5
Others	49.2	50.8	57	56	52.8
Educational Level of HH Head					
No Education	55.4	48.5	54	45	50.9
Primary & Middle	30	37.7	25	27	30.4
Secondary & Above	14.6	13.8	21	28	18.7
Size of the Family (Persons)					
< 4	43.8	57.7	46	44	48.3
4 to 5	26.9	20	27	30	25.7
>5	29.2	22.3	27	26	26.1
Landholding Size					
Landless	38.5	47.7	34	24	37
up to 2.5 acre	52.3	42.3	46	48	47.2
>2.5 acre	9.2	10	20	28	15.9
Main source of Livelihood					
Agriculture	40.8	40	56	58	47.6
Casual Labour	54.6	56.2	40	19	44.1
Salaried Employment	1.5	3.1	1	13	4.3
Others	3.1	0.8	3	10	3.9
Secondary Source of Livelihood					
Agriculture	21.7	13.1	11.9	23.5	17.5
Casual Labour	76.8	86.9	76.3	62.7	76.3
Others	1.4	0	11.9	13.7	6.3
Housing Structure					
Kutcha	7.7	8.5	5	0	5.7
Semi Pucca	88.5	81.5	81	69	80.7
Pucca	3.8	10	14	31	13.7
Standard Livestock Unit(SLU) Index Score					
No Livestock	61.5	77.7	60	59	65.2
0.01-0.75	23.1	12.3	17	15	17
0.75 and Above	15.4	10	23	26	17.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	**130**	**130**	**100**	**100**	**460**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

comprises more than 95 percent of the households. Among the indebted migrant households, the Hindu comprises 96.9 per cent whereas Christian comprises 3.1 percent. It can be said that the distribution of households in the study area across the religious group is predominantly Hindu.

4.2.2 Social Group

Table 4.1 shows that Others caste group i.e. non-scheduled population comprises the largest proportion of households across all household categories. They account more than half of the households. Among the indebted migrant households, the share of Others comprises all most half of all social group. It is followed by Scheduled Castes household which comprises 29 percent and Scheduled Tribes (21.5 percent).

4.2.3 Level of Education of the Household Head

Education plays an important role in the decision-making process. So, in this regard, the education of the household head can play a significant role in deciding whether any member of the family would migrate or not. Table 4.1 shows that half of the household head of the study area have no education at all. Among the indebted migrant households, 55 percent of the household heads are illiterate. As the level of education is increasing their share is decreasing. The same situation prevails over the non-indebted migrant households. The proportion of household head having secondary and above education is high in case of the non-migrants household as compared to the migrant households. The proportion of household head with no education is less in the case of the non-indebted household as compared to indebted households.

4.2.4 Family Size

The average size of the household in the study area is 5 persons. Among all categories of households, there is uniform size except non-indebted migrant household where size is 4 persons. Table 4.1 shows that there is a higher proportion of household have the family size of fewer than 4 persons. About 26 percent of the sampled households have a family size between 4 to 5 persons in the study area and about one-fourth of the households have more than 5 persons in the family across all categories of households.

4.2.5 Land holding size

In an agrarian society, the economic status of the household is mainly determined by its land holding size. There is found large inequality in the distribution of land holding pattern in the study area. Table 4.1shows that 37 percent households of the study area are landless. The proportion of landless households is 24 percent and 34 percent among the non-indebted non-migrant households and indebted non-migrant households respectively. The proportion of landlessness is high among the migrant households in comparison to the non-migrant households. In the study area, the largest size of the land holding is 32 acres which is found among a higher caste household. Excluding a small percentage of households, the majority of the households have the marginal (2.47 acres) and small category (4.94 acres) of land. About half of the sampled households have land holding size up to 2.5 acres. As the size of the land holding is increasing the proportion of households is decreasing. It varies across different household categories. The size of land holding is relatively large in the case of non-migrant household categories as compared to the migrant households. Again, within the migrant and non-migrant categories, it is the non-indebted households which have a larger size of land holding.

4.2.6 Main Source of Livelihood

Agriculture is the main source of income and employment in Kalahandi district. Of the total workforce, about 80 percent of depend on agriculture as cultivators and agricultural labourers. Table 4.1 shows the main sources of livelihood among different sampled household categories. The main occupations in which the sustenance of family is totally based are agriculture and casual labour both accounts more than 95 per cent of all occupations among the indebted migrant and non-migrant households as well as non-indebted migrant households. The proportion of households having the main source of livelihood as salaried employment is 13 percent in the case of non-indebted non-migrant households which is very high in comparison to other categories of households. In other words, it is the salaried employment which might be the main reason for their non-indebtedness.

Though the agriculture is the main occupation of almost half of the sample household, the returns from this occupation are not so large. They practice mainly subsistence type of agriculture. It is reported that only 44 percent of the farming households find

agricultural produce as sufficient for the maintenance of the family. Moreover, it varies across the different categories of households. Only 20 percent of the indebted migrant households have agricultural produce which is sufficient for their maintenance. So, in order to maintain their family, they have to depend upon other forms of occupation, public distribution system, borrowing from the market and more importantly opting for out-migration. On the other hand, 62 percent of the non-indebted non-migrant households have reported that their agricultural produce is sufficient enough for the maintenance of the family. Again it is observed from the study area that out of the total farming households who have sufficient production for their family, only 42 percent have reported surplus production which they sale to the '*Mandis'* i.e. regulated market or to the local businessmen.

The backwardness of agriculture in the study area is the result of many factors. Among these, very small sizes of the landholding, inadequate irrigation facilities, infertile soil, uneven and untimely monsoons are important. In addition to this, Kalahandi is one of the drought-prone areas of the country. The red soil is predominant which is not fertile. From the primary survey, it is observed that about 40 percent of the farming households have irrigation facilities which are mainly canal irrigation. The accessibility to irrigation facilities also varies across different categories of households. The non-indebted non-migrant and indebted non-migrant households have more access to irrigation facilities in comparison to the migrant households- both indebted and non-indebted. The number of crops grown is another important indicator to show the development of agriculture. Due to lack of irrigation facilities, farmers are forced to grow only one crop. Less than one-third of the farming households in the study area have produced two crops in a year. Paddy is the main crop which is grown in large scale. If soil moisture available, the pulses like *arhar*, *moong* (green gram), *biri* (black gram) and lentils are grown during the rabi season.

Apart from agriculture, casual labour is the main source of livelihood in the study area. It is predominant among the migrant households. The casual labourers are mainly the agricultural worker and non-agricultural workers who generally get employment of about 15 days per month during the agricultural season and most of them get the wage at the rate of about Rs. 100 per day of work. The works are not available for them throughout the year. During lean season some of them get the work under Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Guarantee Scheme.

The forest resources that are available in the study area also become the main source of livelihood for tribal population though the proportions of households depending on forests are found to be very few. They collect and sell minor forest produces like tendu leaves, bamboo, tamarind, etc. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 is landmark legislation in India which enables the tribal communities and forest dwellers of the country to assert their rights over the forestland over which they were traditionally dependent. This Act ensures both individual rights to cultivated land in forestland and community rights over common property resources. About 29 percent of the total population of Kalahandi district and 22 percent of the sampled population of the study area is Scheduled tribes and to sustain their livelihood, it is very important to implement the forest rights act properly along with alternative livelihood options. The implementation of Forests Rights Act in Odisha started without proper sensitisation of the implementing agencies or proper dissemination of information to the stakeholders at the local level and this has led to the confusion among the beneficiaries about the proper procedure for applying to receive the benefits (Sarap et al., 2013).

4.2.7 Secondary Source of Livelihood

Besides the main occupation, some of the households also depend on secondary occupations. Among the indebted migrant households, category, 77 percent of the households depend on casual labour like agricultural workers and non-agricultural workers followed by cultivation (22 percent) which is clearly visible from Table 4.1. Overall, in the study area more than three-fourth of the households depend on casual labour. Out of the total 460 households, almost half of the households have to opt for some secondary occupation because their dependence on the main source is not sufficient to maintain the family.

4.2.8 Housing Structure

Table 4.1 reveals the condition of housing structure among different household categories. Semi pucca household is most prevalent in the study area. In all categories of households, 80 percent have semi pucca structure. The proportion of households having a pucca house is only 3.8 percent in the case of indebted migrant households whereas it is 31 percent in the case of non-indebted non-migrant households. Though

a very small percentage of households have a kutcha house in all household categories, there is no kutcha house among the non-indebted non-migrant households.

4.2.9 Livestock Assets

Livestock is income earning assets of the households. In India, the livestock sector contributes around 6.8 percent of GDP and employs 8 percent of the labour force (FAO, 2005, p.6). The important livestock items found in the study area include chicken, goat, sheep, cow, bull, and buffalo. Though they are income generating assets, only 35 percent of the sampled households have possessed some livestock which can be inferred from Table 4.1.

In this study, Standard Livestock Unit (SLU) index is prepared by considering the coefficients (weight) constructed by FAO (2011, p.37). For details about the SLU, refer section 2.2.2 of chapter 2. The higher SLU index score accrues more economic returns to the households.

Across all categories of households, the proportion of households having livestock assets is high among the indebted households (both migrant and non-migrant) as compared to non-indebted households (migrant and non-migrant). About 17 percent of the sample households have SLU Index score between 0.01 and 0.75 and it varies across different categories of households. The higher score is found among the non-indebted non-migrant households whereas the higher percentage of the lower score is observed among the indebted migrant households.

4.2.10 Household Assets

The possession of durable household assets like motorcycle, four wheelers, television, air cooler, and refrigerator are the indicator of the economic status of the households. These are stock resources and that have been accumulated over time. It is used in case of emergency. The migrant household mortgages their valuable assets to borne the initial expenditure in the process of migration. They also bring some durable assets when they return back to home after years of migration. A mobile phone which is one of the household assets play an important role in the dissemination of information and social networking and it facilitates the migration process.

Table 4.2 portrays the distribution of household assets across different categories of households. The most uniformly found asset in the sampled household is telephone which is mainly mobile phone. It is possessed by about three-fourth of the households of the study area. It is important to mention that the telephone is more prevalent on the migrant households as compared to the non-migrant households. It is because the migrant's households need a mobile phone to talk to their family member who has migrated out. Generally, young male members of the family migrated out by leaving other family members at home and telephone is an essential asset that connects with the left behind. The access to mobile phone make the labourer easier to find a job and reduce the opportunity cost of migration.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Households by Assets Possession (in %)

Durable Assets	Indebted migrant HH	Non-indebted migrant HH	Indebted Non-migrant HH	Non-indebted Non-migrant HH	Total
Radio	1.54	6.92	3.00	9.00	5.00
Television	16.92	18.46	15.00	40.00	21.96
Fan/Cooler	17.69	22.31	27.00	51.00	28.26
Telephone	79.23	78.46	61.00	77.00	74.57
LCD	0.00	0.77	0.00	2.00	0.65
Refrigerator	0.00	0.77	0.00	11.00	2.61
Washing Machine	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.65
Computer/Laptop	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.65
Bicycle	71.54	63.08	82.00	74.00	71.96
Motorcycle/Scooter	5.38	7.69	10.00	29.00	12.17
Four Wheelers (car, jeep, tractor, bolero, etc.)	0.77	0.77	0.00	7.00	1.96
N	130	130	100	100	460

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Next to telephone, the bicycle is another most prevalent asset. Because of its high utility and economically less costly item, it is possessed by all categories of households. Of the total sampled households, about 72 percent have a bicycle and the percentage of households having bicycle is very high among the indebted non-migrant households. Radio as a durable asset has lost its importance in recent times with

availability of television, computer, and the internet. Therefore, it is available with only 5 percent of the households. LCD is found only in case of non-indebted households in the study area. The economically costly assets like refrigerator, washing machine, computer/laptop, four wheelers are rarely found in the study area. The percentage of households which have access to refrigerator and washing machine is only 2.61 percent and 0.65 percent respectively. About 2 percent of the households have four wheelers in the study area and its prevalence is high among the non-indebted non-migrant households.

With the help of all assets mentioned in Table 4.2, a Durable Assets Index (DAI) is constructed by using NSO methodology. For details about the DAI based on NSO methodology, refer section 2.2.2 of the chapter 2.

Table 4.3 Durable Assets Index in different Household Categories (in %)

Durable Assets Index (DAI) Score	Indebted migrants HH	Non-indebted migrant HH	Indebted Non-migrant HH	Non-indebted Non-migrant HH	Total
<0.50	33.8	33.8	38.0	23.0	32.4
0.50 to 1.00	40.0	40.8	36.0	29.0	37.0
>1.00	26.2	25.4	26.0	48.0	30.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**130**	**130**	**100**	**100**	**460**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Table 4.3 shows that about one-third of the total sampled households have the DAI score of less than 0.50 and it varies across different categories of households. The percentage of the lowest score is high among the indebted non-migrant households compared to other categories of households. About 31 percent of the sampled households in the study area have DAI score of more than 1.0. It means 31 percent of the sampled households have higher assets possession and it is more prevalent among the non-indebted non-migrant households.

4.2.11 Distribution of Household by Housing Amenities

The lack of basic amenities is one of the push factors of migration. The availability of housing amenities like safe drinking water, drainage facilities, electricity, toilet

facility and clean fuel also varies across different categories of households. It is observed from Table 4.4 that only 11.5 percent of the sample households have a separate kitchen and it varies greatly across different household categories. Only 3 percent of the indebted migrant households have a separate kitchen and for indebted non-migrant household, it is 4 percent. However, about one-third of the non-indebted non-migrant households have a separate kitchen in their home. 57 percent of the households have access to electricity in the study area and its accessibility is high among the non-indebted households (migrant and non-migrant). The accessibility is comparatively lower among the indebted households. As far as toilet facility is concerned, it is found in only 7 .4 percent of the sample households and again the non-indebted non-migrant households have higher availability. Similarly, only 4 percent households of the study area have a bathroom within premises but in the case of non-indebted non-migrant households, it is 15 percent.

Table 4.4 Distribution of Housing Amenities across Household Categories (in %)

Amenities Available in HH	Indebted migrant HH	Non-indebted migrant HH	Indebted Non-migrant HH	Non-indebted Non-migrant HH	Total
Separate Kitchen	3.1	8.5	4.0	34.0	11.5
Electricity/Solar Energy	50.0	63.1	42.0	73.0	57.0
Toilet Facility	1.5	3.8	4.0	23.0	7.4
Bathroom within premises	0.8	1.5	0.0	15.0	3.9
Clean fuel	1.5	3.1	4.0	35.0	9.8
Improved Drinking Water	100.0	97.7	98.0	99.0	98.7
Drinking water within 1/2 km	93.8	84.6	90.0	90.0	89.6
N	**130**	**130**	**100**	**100**	**460**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Clean fuel- electricity, and LPG are available with only 10 percent of the households because wood is the predominant fuel that is used. But 35 percent of non-indebted non-migrant households used clean fuel for cooking purposes. In the study area, almost all the households have access to improved drinking water. The main source of drinking water is hand pump in the study area. About 90 percent of the households have access to the drinking water facility within ½ km of distance.

Amenities Index (AI) is constructed with the help of Principal Component Analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation method. For details about the AI, refer section 2.2.2 of chapter 2. The AI score varies from -.53 to 4.61 in the sample households. There is an unequal distribution of the score across different categories of households (Table 4.5). 35 percent of the households have the AI score of less than -0.30 and it varies across

Table 4.5 Distribution of Household by Amenities Index (in %)

Amenities Index (AI) Score	Indebted migrant HH	Non-indebted migrant HH	Indebted Non-migrant HH	Non-indebted Non-migrant HH	Total
< -0.30	46.9	29.2	47.0	16.0	35.2
-0.30 to 0.00	43.8	52.3	43.0	33.0	43.7
> 0.00	9.2	18.5	10.0	51.0	21.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**130**	**130**	**100**	**100**	**460**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

household categories. The lower score is higher in the case of indebted households as compared to the non-indebted households. For example, only 16 percent of the non-indebted non-migrant households have AI score of less than -0.30 whereas for indebted non-migrant households it is 47 percent. About one-fifth of the sample households have higher AI scores (> 0.00) and it varies greatly across household categories. More than half of the non-indebted non-migrant households have higher AI score (>0.00) but only 9 percent of the indebted migrant households have higher AI score.

4.2.12 Engagement in MGNREGA Work

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), 2006 is one of the most important landmark rights based legislation for rural development in India. This Act guarantees a minimum of 100 days unskilled manual work per year for each rural household whose adult members are willing to work. It is the largest public works in the world. The work under this Act is one of the most important sources of the employment for the backward districts like Kalahandi. In the

study area, it is found that one-third of the total sample households have engaged in this work irrespective of a number of days and it varies across different household categories.

Table 4.6 Distribution of Households Engaged in MGNREGA Work

Categories of Household	MGNREGA Work Engagement (Number)			MGNREGA Work Engagement (Proportion)		
	No	Yes	Total	No	Yes	Total
Indebted migrants household	85	45	130	65.4	34.6	100
Non-indebted migrant household	94	36	130	72.3	27.7	100
Indebted Non-migrant household	54	46	100	54.0	46.0	100
Non-indebted Non-migrant household	72	28	100	72.0	28.0	100
Total	305	155	460	66.3	33.7	100

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Table 4.6 shows that the share of households who depend on this work is higher among the indebted households as compared to the non-indebted households. Almost half of the indebted non-migrants households are engaged in the MGNREGA work. The work under this Act is the main source of the employment and income during the agricultural lean season.

4.2.9 Person days of MGNREGA Work

The number of days of work matters a lot because in the study area most of the households complain that they do not get a minimum 100 days of employment that is under the Act. The person days of work engaged by the households varies across different categories of households. It is clearly observed from Table 4.7 that out of 155 households, only 14.8 percent of the households have worked for more than 40 days of work. Among the indebted migrant households category, there is only 9 percent of the households get more than 40 days of work whereas it is 21 percent in the case of non-indebted non-migrant households.

Table 4.7 Distribution of Person days of MGNREGA Work

Categories of Household	N	Person days of MGNREGA Work (Proportion)					
		10 and Less	11 to 20	21 to 30	31 to 40	above 40	Total
Indebted migrants HH	45	20	48.9	13.3	8.9	8.9	100
Non-indebted migrant HH	36	25	33.3	13.9	16.7	11.1	100
Indebted Non-migrant HH	46	15.2	26.1	28.3	10.9	19.6	100
Non-indebted Non-migrant HH	28	39.3	17.9	17.9	3.6	21.4	100
Total	155	23.2	32.9	18.7	10.3	14.8	100

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

4.2.10 Access to Public Distribution System (PDS)

Like the MGNREGA, the National Food Security Act (NFSA) is another important legislation meant for social security. The NFSA guarantees three types of entitlements: subsidized food from the public distribution system (PDS); nutritious meals for children; and maternity benefit (Dreze et al., 2015). The act stipulates the PDS entitlement of 5 kg foodgrains per person per month at prices Rs. 3, 2 and 1 per kg of rice, wheat and millets respectively. It also sets a cap of maximum 25 kg per households. Dreze et al. (2015) find that the identification of eligible households is one of the main challenges in implementing the Act. This results in inclusion and exclusion error for which the intended beneficiaries become deprived of getting the benefit of this Act. Since Odisha is a poor state, the state government went one step ahead and provides rice at Rs. 1 to the beneficiaries. Kalahandi is notorious for starvation deaths and distress migration. These two acts have the potentialities to remove this ill fame picture if it is implemented in letter and spirit. But the ground realities speak in a different way. In the previous section of this chapter, it is revealed that the MGNREGA has certain loopholes in its implementation in the district.

Table 4.8 shows the access to the public distribution system in different categories of households. Among the sample households, 70 percent of the households have accessibility to the PDS and it varies across different household categories. The higher accessibility is found in the indebted non-migrant household categories (85

percent). It is followed by indebted migrant households (79 percent). In Odisha, the items which are supplied under PDS are rice, wheat, and levy sugar.

Table 4.8 Distribution of PDS in different Household Categories (in %)

Access to PDS	Indebted Migrant HH	Non-indebted Migrant HH	Indebted Non-Migrant HH	Non-indebted Non- Migrant HH	Total
No	20.8	50.8	15.0	31.0	30.2
Yes	79.2	49.2	85.0	69.0	69.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**130**	**130**	**100**	**100**	**460**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

4.3 Distribution Socio-economic Sub-categories of the Study Population

The main focus of this section of the chapter is to show how the sample households in each category of variables are distributed across different household categories. In the case of a social group, of the total SCs household, about two-thirds are migrant households and the rests are non-migrant households. The ST households are more concentrated among indebted migrant categories. The Others caste group are uniformly distributed across different categories of households.

With regard to the educational level of the household head, there is a higher proportion of households with an illiterate and low level of education are found in indebted and non-indebted migrant households but in non-indebted non-migrant households, there is a higher proportion of households with a secondary and above level of education.

In terms of land holding size, the higher percentage of landless households is found in indebted and non-indebted migrant households in comparison to the non-migrant households (indebted and non-indebted). On the other hand, there is a higher percentage of households having a land size of more than 2.5 acres is found among the non-indebted non-migrant households.

With respect to the main source of livelihood, agriculture as the main occupation is uniformly distributed across all categories of sample households in the study area. But

Table 4.9 Percentage Distribution of Socio-economic Sub-categories of Study Population

Socio-Economic Variables	N	Indebted Migrant HH	Non-indebted Migrant HH	Indebted Non-migrant HH	Non-indebted Non-migrant HH	Total
Social Group						
SCs	118	32.2	33.9	16.1	17.8	100
STs	99	28.3	24.2	24.2	23.2	100
Others	243	26.3	27.2	23.5	23	100
Total	460	28.3	28.3	21.7	21.7	100
Educational Level of HH Head						
No Education	234	30.8	26.9	23.1	19.2	100
Primary & Middle	140	27.9	35	17.9	19.3	100
Secondary & Above	86	22.1	20.9	24.4	32.6	100
Total	460	28.3	28.3	21.7	21.7	100
Size of the Family (Persons)						
< 4	222	25.7	33.8	20.7	19.8	100
4 to 5	118	29.7	22	22.9	25.4	100
>5	120	31.7	24.2	22.5	21.7	100
Total	460	28.3	28.3	21.7	21.7	100
Landholding Size						
Landless	170	29.4	36.5	20.0	14.1	100
up to 2.5 acre	217	31.3	25.3	21.2	22.1	100
>2.5 acre	73	16.4	17.8	27.4	38.4	100
Total	460	28.3	28.3	21.7	21.7	100
Main source of Livelihood						
Agriculture	219	24.2	23.7	25.6	26.5	100
Casual Labour	203	35.0	36.0	19.7	9.4	100
Salaried Employment	20	10.0	20.0	5.0	65.0	100
Others	18	22.2	5.6	16.7	55.6	100
Total	460	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
Secondary Source of Livelihood						
Agriculture	42	35.7	19.0	16.7	28.6	100
Casual Labour	183	29.0	29.0	24.6	17.5	100
Others	15	6.7	0.0	46.7	46.7	100
Total	240	28.8	25.4	24.6	21.3	100
Housing Structure						
Kutcha	26	38.5	42.3	19.2	0.0	100
Semi Pucca	371	31	28.6	21.8	18.6	100
Pucca	63	7.9	20.6	22.2	49.2	100
Total	460	28.3	28.3	21.7	21.7	100

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

salaried employed are mainly found among the non-indebted non-migrant households. If housing structure is taken into consideration, it reveals from the above table that the kutcha structure is absent among non-indebted non-migrant households and about half of the non-indebted non-migrant households possess pucca house.

4.4 Profile of the Migrants

In the study area, two different types of out-migrants are found. The first one is the seasonal migrants and the other one is long term migrants. Desingkar and Stark (2003) observe that there is increasing evidence of seasonal or circular migration not only as a survival mechanism for the poorer households but also as part of the accumulative strategies of the relatively better off households. The results of the micro-studies from different regions of India suggest that seasonal migration has become part of the coping strategies of households in the relatively backward and remote rural area and it results in the backdrop of increasing regional disparity and spatial concentration of poverty (Mishra, 2016). Mishra (2016) also pointed out that seasonal migration in India has been seen as a response to the poor to extreme poverty, lack of employment and limited livelihood options. Since the study area is one of the most backward and poverty ridden district in India, the seasonal migration in the search of livelihood is most prevalent. The process of migration generally starts month before the actual migration takes place, in the month of September and October, during the *Nuakhai* festival (agricultural festival most prevalent in western Odisha). The labour contractors, *dalals* or middlemen give advance some money to the household group who are willing to work. The household spends the advanced money for buying clothes, pay off old debts, and also spends in social ceremonies like marriage. After the harvesting of paddy, the households who have taken advance money start migrating out to the destination. In his field study of Kalahandi, Nuapada and Balangir districts, Mishra (2016) finds that labour contractors, '*sardars*', and their agents start advancing small sums of money as advance to the families of labour in exchange for their promise to migrate. Generally, the advance money is given to a household group called as *pathuria,* which consists of a man, his wife, and a young child. The advance amount range from Rs. 10,000-12,000 per person and this advance is generally spent for paying off old debts, social ceremonies like marriages, and in repairing and construction of houses. It is very rarely spent for productive purposes like buying land or bullocks (Mishra, 2016).

Not only the seasonal migration but also the long-term migration is found in the study area. In the long term migration, generally the young male person of the household prefers to migrate and he visits his home once or twice in a year mainly during the festive seasons. This section of the chapter tries to see the demographic, social and economic attributes of the migrants both indebted and non-indebted. It also tries to cover the distance they cover, the type of economic activity they are engaged in the destination, initial expenditure to migrate and history of previous migration. In the study area it is found that out of total individual members of 2140, 430 persons are out-migrants which account 20 percent of the total population. Out of total migrants, the numbers of indebted and non-indebted migrants are 233 and 207 respectively. The total individual member of the indebted households is 1103 and the respective figure for non-indebted households is 1037. It is also important to note that in the study area there is no clear cut demarcation that seasonal migrants are indebted and long-term migrants are non-indebted. Some of the non-indebted migrants also prefer to migrate seasonally due to lack of employment opportunities in the source area.

4.4.1 Migrants according to Types of Migration

There are different types of migration. They include- Intra-district, inter-district, inter-state and international migration. The results of the field study show that the inter-state migration is very predominant in Kalahandi district. It accounts 96 percent of all categories. There are no major differences in the inter-state migration between

Table 4.10 Distribution of Migrants by Types of Migration

Type of migration	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
Intra-District	3	2	5	1.3	1.0	1.2
Inter-District	5	8	13	2.2	3.9	3.0
Inter-State	215	196	411	96.4	94.7	95.6
International	0	1	1	0.0	0.5	0.2
Total	223	207	430	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

indebted migrants and non-indebted migrants. There is very low percentage of intra-district and inter-district migration taking place in the study area. As far as

international migration is concerned, there is only one person who migrated outside India (Bahrain) and it is found in the non-indebted migrant category who might have migrated out for better aspirations.

4.4.2 Migrants according to Place of Residence at Destination

Table 4.11 shows the distribution of migrants based on the place of residence of migrants at the destination. It is observed from Table that almost all the migrants migrated to the urban area. It accounts 99 percent of the total migrants. None of the non-indebted migrants migrated to the rural area. It is so because of the fact that the employment opportunities available in the urban location. Again it is important to mention here that some of the migrants who mainly engage in brick kiln in the rural-urban fringe area and they are considered as urban in this study.

Table 4.11 Distribution of Migrants based on the Place of Residence at Destination

Place of Residence at Destination	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
Rural	4	0	4	1.8	0.0	0.9
Urban	219	207	426	98.2	100.0	99.1
Total	223	207	430	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

4.4.3 Migrants according to the State of Destination of Migrants

From his study on Nuapada, Kalahandi and Balangir district of Odisha, Mishra (2016) observed that every winter more than two lakh labourers migrate to the brick kilns of Andhra Pradesh and this happens after the harvesting of paddy. Mostly, they migrate to the brick kilns in the vicinity of Hyderabad, Sikanderabad, Vizayanagarm, and Vishakhapatnam. These destinations are located in old Andhra Pradesh. Mishra (2016) also stated that the migrants from Nuapada, which was earlier part of the Kalahandi district, go to the brick kilns of Faizabad and other districts of Uttar Pradesh. The history of this migration is not new. It is at least two decades old, but it was the severe drought of 1996-97 that was the turning point of this history of

migration. This migration starts during November-December and continues up to May-June. This category of migrants is also found in Kalahandi district presently who usually prefer to Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Besides, there is found long-term migrants mainly youth male from indebted as well as non-indebted household who migrates to the destination like Goa, Chennai (Tamil Nadu), Bengaluru (Karnataka) and Surat (Gujarat) due to lack of employment opportunities in the source regions.

Table 4.12 shows the distribution of migrants based on the state of destination. From the table, it is clear that the higher proportions of migrants from the study area migrated to Goa and Telangana. They account about 32 and 28 percent of the total migrants respectively. However, there is found differences across different categories of migrants. Among the indebted migrants, the largest percentage (about 31 percent) migrated to Goa. It is followed by Telangana (22 percent), Chhattisgarh (14 percent), Maharashtra (7.6) and Tamil Nadu (7.2 percent). From the literature, it is found that most of the migrant who migrated out from Odisha due to employment prefer to states like Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh. Telangana, which account one of the larger shares of migrants' destination, was earlier part of Andhra Pradesh state. Again, within Telangana, most of the migration takes place to the locality like Hyderabad, Bhadrachalam, Shamshabad, and Pochampally. The migrants who prefer Maharashtra mainly go to the locality of Mumbai and for Tamil Nadu, it is Chennai.

Of the total non-indebted migrants, one-third each of migrants migrate to Telangana (33.3 percent) and Goa (33.8 percent). Maharashtra also accounts a substantial proportion of non-indebted migrants. Its percentage share is about 10.6 percent of the total non-indebted migrants. The migrants who migrate to Karnataka state mainly choose to Bengaluru.

From the present study, it is clear that distance is not playing an intervening role in the migration of people from the study area. Due to the lack of employment opportunities in the source area migrants even prefer to very long distance cities like Goa, Chennai, Bengaluru, and Surat for earning their livelihood. It becomes possible because of the rail connectivity from Kesinga Railway station, the gateway of Kalahandi. This is located in the Nagpur-Raipur and Vishakhapatnam railway line and one can find direct connectivity to different parts of the country from here.

Table 4.12 Distribution of Migrants based on the Place of State of Destination

State of Destination	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
Andhra Pradesh	8	3	11	3.6	1.4	2.6
Chhattisgarh	31	8	39	13.9	3.9	9.1
Delhi	10	5	15	4.5	2.4	3.5
Goa	69	70	139	30.9	33.8	32.3
Gujarat	3	0	3	1.3	0.0	0.7
Jammu and Kashmir	0	1	1	0.0	0.5	0.2
Karnataka	10	10	20	4.5	4.8	4.7
Madhya Pradesh	0	3	3	0.0	1.4	0.7
Maharashtra	17	22	39	7.6	10.6	9.1
Odisha	7	10	17	3.1	4.8	4.0
Tamil Nadu	16	5	21	7.2	2.4	4.9
Telangana	50	69	119	22.4	33.3	27.7
Uttar Pradesh	2	0	2	0.9	0.0	0.5
Total	223	207	430	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

4.4.4 Migrants according to Sex

From the earlier discussion, it is observed that the most important reason of migration for females is marriage and for males it is employment as far as the study of India is concerned. Odisha is not exceptional in this regard. But the present research is based on the out-migration for employment related reasons. In the study area, it is observed that out of total migrants, 74 percent are males and only 26 percent are females. This proportion varies according to different migrant categories. In the case of indebted migrants, three-fourth of the migrants is male. Among the non-indebted migrants, the proportion of male and female are 72.5 percent and 27.5 percent respectively. The percentage of economic migrants among females is less as compared to males because very few of them are engaged in economic activity.

Table 4.13 Distribution of Migrants by Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics

Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
Sex						
Male	168	150	318	75.3	72.5	74
Female	55	57	112	24.7	27.5	26
Age Group (Years)						
Less than 20	21	26	47	9.4	12.6	10.9
20 to 34	125	99	224	56.1	47.8	52.1
35 to 49	54	60	114	24.2	29.0	26.5
50 and Above	23	22	45	10.3	10.6	10.5
Marital status						
Ever married	152	152	304	68.2	73.4	70.7
Unmarried	71	55	126	31.8	26.6	29.3
Size of family						
Less than 4	79	106	185	35.4	51.2	43.0
4 to 5	64	41	105	28.7	19.8	24.4
Above 5	80	60	140	35.9	29.0	32.6
Social Group						
SC	69	73	142	30.9	35.3	33.0
ST	44	32	76	19.7	15.5	17.7
Others	110	102	212	49.3	49.3	49.3
Religious Group						
Hindu	215	197	412	96.4	95.2	95.8
Christian	8	10	18	3.6	4.8	4.2
Educational Level						
No Education	80	70	150	35.9	33.8	34.9
Primary and Middle	71	79	150	31.8	38.2	34.9
Secondary and Above	72	58	130	32.3	28.0	30.2
Landholding						
Landless	87	93	180	39	44.9	41.9
Up to 2.5 acre	115	96	211	51.6	46.4	49.1
> 2.5 acre	21	18	39	9.4	8.7	9.1
Housing Structure						
kutcha	16	19	35	7.2	9.2	8.1
semi pucca	201	166	367	90.1	80.2	85.3
pucca	6	22	28	2.7	10.6	6.5

Durable Assets Index (DAI) Score						
<0.50	62	74	136	27.8	35.7	31.6
0.50 to 1.00	91	82	173	40.8	39.6	40.2
>1.00	70	51	121	31.4	24.6	28.1
Livestock Assets SLU Score						
0 (No Livestock)	130	159	289	58.3	76.8	67.2
0.01 to 0.75	56	26	82	25.1	12.6	19.1
> 0.75	37	22	59	16.6	10.6	13.7
N	**223**	**207**	**430**			

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

4.4.5 Migrants according to Age Group

Table 4.13 shows the age group wise distribution of migrants. The proportions of migrant are less in the case of age group below 20 years. But it is highest in the age group between 20 and 34, which is the most productive age group as far as work is concerned. The proportions of indebted and non-indebted migrants in this age group are about 56 percent and 48 percent respectively. After this age group, the proportion of migrant decreases with increasing age group which is true for both indebted and non-indebted categories. Since the present study mainly deals with the economic migrants it is obvious that the age group 20-34 comprises the most of the migrant. Premi (1980) observes that most of the male out-migrants belong to the age group of 15-34.

4.4.6 Migrants according to Marital Status

There is found variations in the migration according to marital status which is clearly visible in Table 4.13. With regards to the marital status, migrants are mostly ever-married. The ever-married category includes persons who are married, widowed, divorced or separated. Ever-married person's percentage is disproportionately larger in comparison to unmarried. It is true for both indebted and non-indebted migrant categories. The reason behind this is that the responsibility to maintain the family is based on their shoulder. Among the migrants belonging to indebted households, 68 percent are ever-married and 32 percent are unmarried. The percentage of ever-married migrants belonging to the non-indebted categories is higher than the indebted migrant. The study by Dasgupta and Laishley (1975) reveals that the larger chunks of the migrants are adults and married.

4.4.7 Migrants according to Family size of the Households

Table 4.13 shows the distribution of migrants based on the size of the family of the households from which the migration is taking place. The average size of the household for an indebted and non-indebted migrant household is 5 and 4 persons respectively. In the case of indebted migrants, there are a very higher proportion of migrants (36 percent) in the family size of more than 5 persons. The highest proportions of migrants in non-indebted categories are observed in the family size of less than 4. In other words, the size of the non-indebted migrant households is comparatively small as compared to the indebted migrants household.

4.4.8 Migrants according to Social Group

The intensity of out-migration also varies with the social groups. There is found variations across all other three categories of social group namely Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Others i.e. the non-scheduled population. Among the indebted migrants, non-scheduled population comprise almost half of the total migrants. It is followed by SC and ST whose respective proportions are 31 and 20 percent respectively. In case of non-indebted migrants, the proportion of SC, ST, and Others are 35, 16 and 49 percent respectively. In both cases, Others caste group i.e. the non-scheduled population comprise the largest proportion in comparison to the other categories. The landlessness is very high among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. From the study area, it is found that the landlessness among SCs is 44 percent whereas for STs the figure is 43 percent which is almost equal to SCs. In addition to this those who have land are mainly the marginal and small size of holding. On the other hand, the landlessness among the higher caste household is only 17 percent. There are some earlier studies which show that the lower castes mainly SCs and STs have a higher intensity to migrate than the upper castes group (Khan, 1986; Mahapatra, 1998; Rajan and Mishra in Rajan, 2011). But the different story is also observed where the propensity to migrate is higher for the higher castes (Bhagat in Rajan, 2011; Sukla et al., 2006; Karan, 2006).

4.4.9 Migrants according to Religious Group

There are two types of religious group- Hindu and Christian found in the study area where the proportion of Hindu is disproportionately larger. So far as the migrants are

concerned, it is observed from Table 4.13 that 96 percent are Hindu and rest are Christian. Among the indebted migrants, the proportions of Hindu and Christian are 96 and 4 percent respectively. It can be said that the migrants in the study area are mainly the Hindus.

4.4.10 Migrants according to Educational level

There is also found variation in the migration across different level of education. From the study area, it is found that more than one-third of the migrants including both indebted and non-indebted are illiterate which is a matter of concern. It means most of them are only capable of informal sector jobs. Again it is observed from Table 4.13 that the proportions of migrants who have secondary education and above are only 32 percent and 28 percent respectively for non-indebted and indebted migrants. Among the non-indebted migrants, the proportions of migrants are decreasing with increasing the level of education. In case of indebted migrants, the proportion of migrants having a primary and middle education is 32 percent. Very few migrants including both indebted and non-indebted have a diploma or graduate degree in the study area. Among the indebted migrants, only 4 migrants have diploma degree and only two migrants have a graduation degree. The situation is not better in case of the non-indebted migrant. Like the indebted migrant, the numbers of migrants having a diploma and graduation degree are 1 and 5 respectively. These figures indicate that most of the migrants from the study area are illiterates and those who are literates have very low level of education.

Oberai et al., 1989 found in their study in Kerala that persons having the educational level with secondary and above have a relatively greater propensity to migrate than those with less than secondary education. In case of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh even those with some formal education and less than secondary education have a greater propensity to out-migrate than those with no formal education. It is mainly the result of the distressed situation in rural Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Yadava et al. (1996) on the basis of their own and secondary data state that migrant households in India are socio-economically and educationally better placed than others. But Lipton (1976) in his study finds that the people belong to very poor, landless and illiterates are found to be having a higher incidence of migration, which is due to the fact that their poor socio-economic condition forces them to migrate. Mishra (2016) in his study on

seasonal migration from Odisha also observed that migration is highest among the illiterate. It increases for persons having some kind of primary education but it is lowest in the category of higher level of education. The findings of Lipton (1976) and Mishra (2016) are applicable to the study area of Kalahandi district in Odisha which is one of the most backward districts in the country. Mishra (2016) also reiterated that short-term migration in Odisha is an option either for the illiterate seeking low-end jobs or for those with a little education, which may or may not make the possible remunerative migration.

4.4.11 Migrants According to Size of Land Holding

Table 4.13 shows the distribution of migrants across different land hold holding size in acre. Of all categories of migrants, 42 percent do not have any land in their households. There is found differences in the proportion of landless migrants between indebted migrants and non-indebted migrants. The proportion of landless indebted migrants is 39 percent whereas it 45 percent for non-indebted migrants. The proportions of migrants are decreasing with increasing size of the land holding in both categories of migrants. In other words, migrants of the study area belong to landless and marginal land holding size. It means poorer have a higher intensity to migrate.

Lipton (1976) in his study finds that the people belong to very poor and landless and illiterates are found to be having a higher frequency of migration, which is due to the fact that their poor socio-economic condition forces them to migrate. Khan (1986) in his study also found that more than two-third of the out-migrants came from the household having less than 5 acres of land which can be considered as the uneconomic size of land holding for an average household. Mishra (2016) in his study on the seasonal migration of Odisha finds that landlessness is a vital push factor for migration because over 80 percent of the migrants belong to the households possessing land less than or equal to just an acre. However, there are some studies which show that there is a positive relationship between landholding and migration (Yadava et al., 1996; Mamgain, 2003).

4.4.12 Migrants according to Structure of the Housing

The housing structure also shows the economic status of the household to some extent. More than four-fifth of the households of migrants are semi-pucca in its

housing structure. Only 6.5 percent of the migrants have pucca house (Table 4.13). However, there is found differences in the proportion of migrants having pucca house across two different categories of migrants. The proportion is very low i.e. only 3 percent of the migrants belonging to indebted categories have a pucca household. The respective figure for non-indebted migrants is about 11 percent. The richer usually have pucca houses. Since most of the migrants are poor they do not have a pucca house and instead stay in semi-pucca structure.

4.4.13 Migrants according to Household Assets (durable)

From Table 4.13, it is found that there is a higher proportion of migrants in the households with a medium level of assets possession and it is true in the case of both indebted and non-indebted migrants categories. They account about 40 percent of the total migrants. Among the indebted migrant's households, the lower level of assets possession households reports the lower proportion of migrants but in the case of non-indebted migrant categories, it is the higher assets possession households report the lower proportion of migrants. The assets possession of the household say about the economic status of the household.

4.4.14 Migrants according to Livestock Assets

The results of the field study show that the migrants mainly belong to the households having no livestock assets. It accounts 67 percent of the total migrants. There is found differences in the proportion of migrants between indebted and non-indebted categories. More than three-fourth of the non-indebted migrants belong to the households having no livestock assets. But in the case of indebted migrants, it is 58 percent. There is decrease in the migration with increase in the level of livestock assets and it is true for both indebted and non-indebted migration. Therefore, it can be inferred from this study that households with the higher level of livestock assets do not prefer migration.

It is observed from the study area that some households meet their daily needs by selling cow's milk in the market. The livestock sector has the potentialities that need to be harnessed because it can provide employment and income to the family. The livestock assets are also used to meet emergencies need arises from medical needs and social ceremony when people sell the livestock to acquire liquid cash.

4.4.15 Migrants according to type of Economic Activity

Since the migrants from the study area are unskilled having a low level of education they have limited options in the job market. They are engaged in brick kilns, rickshaw pulling, agricultural labour, construction work and other informal service sectors. Table 4.14 shows the distribution of migrants based on the type of economic activity they are engaged. In the case of indebted migrants, about 63 percent of the migrants are engaged as a construction worker at their place of destination. The next best occupation which is preferred by most of the indebted migrants is brick making (17 percent) for which they usually migrate to Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Industrial workers comprise 7 percent of the total indebted migrants.

In the case of non-indebted migrants, about half of the migrants engaged as construction workers. It is followed by brick makers (26 percent) and industrial workers (10.8 percent). The proportion of migrants who have salaried employment is relatively higher in the case of non-indebted migrants than indebted migrants. As far as agricultural work is concerned, the proportions of indebted migrants are larger than non-indebted migrants.

Mishra (2016) observed that every winter, immediately after the end of harvesting season more than two lakh labourers migrate to the brick kilns of Andhra Pradesh. They mostly migrate to the brick kilns in the vicinity of Hyderabad, Sikanderabad, Vijayanagaram and Vishakhapatnam. He also found that some workers have started migrating to Chennai and Bengaluru in recent years. They have also started going to brick kilns in various urban centres of coastal Odisha, such as Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Jagatsingpur and Puri.

According to National Commission on Rural Labour (NCRL), the majority of the seasonal migrants are employed in works likes cultivation and plantations, brick kilns, quarries, construction sites and fish processing. The study by Desingkar and Start (2003) find that in India, large numbers of seasonal migrants work in urban informal manufacturing, construction, transport or services sector, head-loaders, rickshaw pullers and hawkers. Mosse et al. (2002) also find migrants are engaged in a wide range of occupations including agricultural labour, construction workers, casual work in factories, paper-picking, operating hard carts, working as watchmen and many others.

Construction work is the most predominant occupation of the migrant from the study area. It is found in both indebted as well as non-indebted migrant. The development of real estate sector in the growing towns and cities are attracting the construction worker from the out-migrating states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Odisha. In his study, Mishra (2016) stated that most of the seasonal workers have started working in the construction sector in cities like Chennai, Mumbai, Delhi, Bengaluru, and Thiruvananthapuram in recent years. From the present study based on field observation, it is found that not only the seasonal migrants but also the long-term migrants from the study area find works in the construction sector of cities like Mumbai, Chennai, Bengaluru, and Goa.

Table 4.14 Distribution of Migrants based on the type of Economic Activity

Occupation of Migrant	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
Brick making	38	53	91	17.04	26.11	21.36
Construction Worker	140	104	244	62.78	51.23	57.28
Plumbing	9	9	18	4.04	4.43	4.23
Industrial Worker	16	22	38	7.17	10.84	8.92
Agricultural Worker	10	2	12	4.48	0.99	2.82
Salaried Employment	6	9	15	2.69	4.43	3.52
Others	4	4	8	1.79	1.97	1.88
Total	223	203	426	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The development of large horticultural and agricultural farms in Chhattisgarh by the farmers from Rajasthan, Gujarat, Punjab, and Haryana which is a comparatively new phenomenon has attracted the seasonal migrants from parts of Odisha in recent years (Mishra, 2016). Some of the indebted migrants of the study area prefer Chhattisgarh for plantation works. There are also instances that migrants work in the agricultural field of Baragarh district (Odisha) and this is seasonal in nature.

Since most of the migrants both indebted and non-indebted from the study area are unskilled they are not able to find a job for which they can avail monthly salary. However, there are numbers of relatively young and better educated mainly up to 10th

class get work in the hotels and restaurants, and security services in the urban informal sector. Mishra (2016) study finds a significant rise in the number of seasonal migrants who work in the urban informal sector in various cities of India in recent years. Though their numbers are small in comparison to the workers engaged in brick kilns, they are relatively young and better-educated seasonal migrants mostly work in the hotels and restaurants, transports, catering and security services, in major cities of South India. He also observes that many of them aspire to be long-term migrants, have better earnings than other seasonal migrants and have been able to save and remit more than other categories of seasonal migrants.

4.4.16 Migrants According to Duration of Migration

Based on the duration of migration, migrants can be divided into two categories-short-term migrants and long-term migrants. The short-term migrants are also called as seasonal migrants. These two categories of migrants are observed in the study area. Mishra (2016) observed that the lack of education, poor resource base and slow expansion of alternative employment opportunities have restricted the possibility for alternative livelihood and these conditions have resulted in the seasonal migration in parts of Odisha. Keshri and Bhagat (2012) observe that prevailing regional inequalities and uneven development in many Asian countries impel temporary seasonal migration from agriculturally backward and poor rural areas.

Table 4.15 Distribution of Migrants by Duration of Migration

Period of Migration (in Months)	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
Less than 6	102	109	211	45.7	52.7	49.1
6 -12	79	51	130	35.4	24.6	30.2
12 -24	26	26	52	11.7	12.6	12.1
More than 24	16	21	37	7.2	10.1	8.6
Total	223	207	430	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The present study of Kalahandi district shows that almost half of the total migrants have migrated for the period up to six months. In other words, about half of the

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migrants from the sample survey are seasonal migrants. There are observed differences in the proportion of migrants across migration categories. Among the indebted migrants, 46 percent have migrated for a very short duration i.e. up to 6 months. The respective figure for non-indebted migrants is 53 percent. It is clear from this fact that the nature of migration in the study area is both seasonal and long-term. As the duration of migration increases, the proportion of migrant decreases which is clearly visible from Table 4.15. In the case of indebted migrants, about 35 percent of the indebted migrants have stayed from 6 months to 1 year in the destination areas. They visit their native places in the festive season for some days and return back to the destination. The indebted migrants who stayed for 1 year to 2 years and more than 2 years comprise only 11.7 percent and 7.2 percent of the total indebted migrants respectively.

In the case of non-indebted migrants, about 25 percent of the totals have migrated for a period of 6 months to 1 year. It is followed by 12.6 percent migrants for 1 to 2 years and 10 percent migrants for more than 2 years. Since half of the migrants prefer short duration migration in the study area it can be said that the migration as far as study area is concerned are mainly seasonal. This seasonal migration is the result of lack of employment opportunities and agricultural distress.

4.4.17 Migrants according to Association in Migration

Breman (1996) observes that migrants find employment by visiting to the places where they have been earlier or where family members, caste mates and others have been before them. They search for work individually or with small groups or relatives. According to him, it is rarely found that workers just leave on the spur of the moment and haphazardly, without any idea of where they are going. In order to understand this attribute of migration, Table 4.16 gives some information of the study area. It is revealed from Table that migrants not only migrate alone but also with groups. Migration with male and female groups comprises the largest share and it is followed by 'migrated alone'. However, the proportion of migrants varies between indebted and non-indebted migrants. Among the indebted migrants, more than one-third of the individual migrated out with both male and females groups. Besides, about 29 percent of the migrants have migrated out with male groups. In the case of non-indebted migrants, individual migrated alone and migrated with family members together

account about two third of the total migrants. It is pertinent to mention here that the percentage of migrants who migrate individually is comparatively very large in the case of non-indebted migrants as compared to the indebted migrants. In other words, the debt-induced migration takes place in groups and the groups may comprise only males or both males and females.

Table 4.16 Distribution of Migrants by Association in Migration

Association in Migration	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
Migrated alone	43	69	112	19.3	33.3	26.0
migrated with family members	34	66	100	15.2	31.9	23.3
with male groups	65	35	100	29.1	16.9	23.3
migration with both male and female groups	81	37	116	36.3	17.9	27.0
Total	223	207	430	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

4.4.18 Migrants according to History of Previous Migration

History of previous migration plays an import role in the process of migration regarding finding job, information about wage rate or income and place of destination. Figure 4.1 shows the glimpse of migrants who have a history of previous migration. Of all the migrants including both indebted and non-indebted, about 57 percent of the migrants have migrated earlier. They are informed about the process of migration. They are not the first time migrants.

The most interesting picture of the study area is that more than 70 percent of the indebted migrants have a history of previous migration. It may be due to this reason when they try to repay the debt they have borrowed, they prefer migration. On the other hand, only 40 percent of the non-indebted migrants have migration history. In other words, they have migrated earlier to some place. About 60 percent of the non-indebted migrants are first time migrant.

Fig. 4.1 Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Previous History of Migration
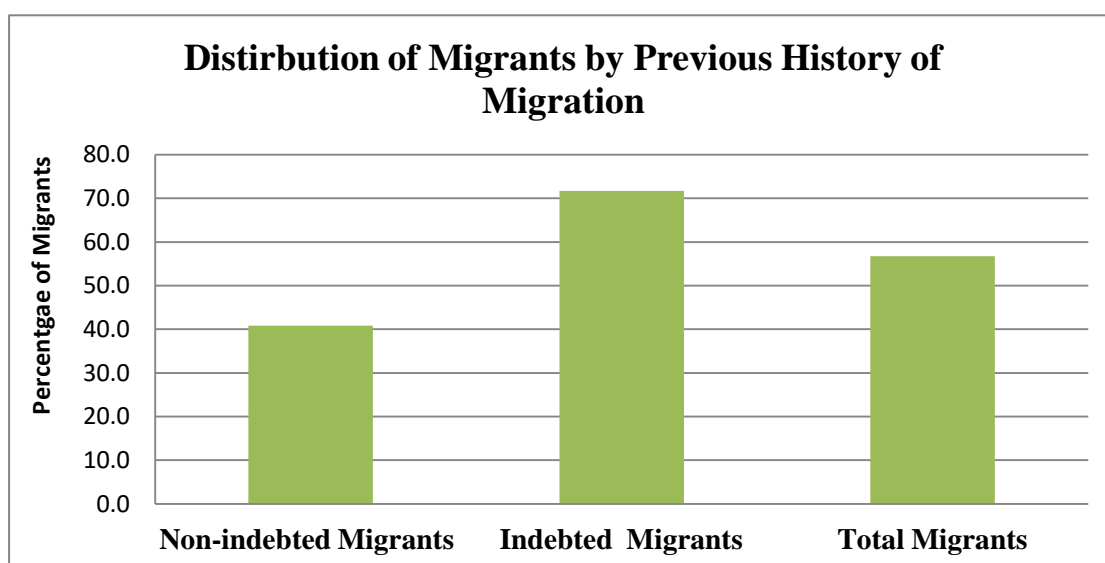
Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

4.4.19 Information of Work at Destination by the Migrants

Information of work at destination makes the process of migration easier and the migrants easily adapt the new working environment. More than half of the total sample migrants had knowledge of work at the destination in the study area (Table

Table 4.17 Distribution of Migrants having Information of Work at Destination

Information of Work at Destination	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
No	83	103	186	37.2	49.8	43.3
Yes	140	104	244	62.8	50.2	56.7
Total	223	207	430	100	100	100

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

4.17). It accounts about 57 percent of the total migrants and it varies between indebted migrants and non-indebted migrants. The indebted migrants are more informed about the work in comparison to the non-indebted migrants. It is so because most of them are seasonal migrants and they migrate every year. Therefore, they have previous knowledge about the work.

4.4.20 Migrants who are Informed about Wage rate

About 52 percent of the total migrants are informed about the wage rate and there is not found any large difference between indebted and non-indebted migrants (Table 4.18). When migrants are informed or have knowledge about the wage rate then they can decide whether to migrate or not at that wage rate. Even they can bargain for wage rate before their migration. But migrants do not have any option other than to work at any wage rate if the push factors of migration play a pivotal role.

Table 4.18 Distribution of Migrants who are Informed about Wage Rate

Informed about Wage rate	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
No	128	122	250	57.4	58.9	58.1
Yes	95	85	180	42.6	41.1	41.9
Total	223	207	430	100	100	100

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

4.4.21 Migrants who got job immediately at Destination of Migration

Getting job immediately at the destination of migration is one of the important aspects of migration. The cost of migration (initial expenditure) decreases if one gets the job immediately after reaching the destination. It is noticed from the field study that the three-fifth of the total migrants got a job immediately at the destination (Table 4.19).

Table 4.19 Distribution of Migrants who get job at Destination immediately

Did get immediate job at destination	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
No	85	86	171	38.1	41.5	39.8
Yes	138	121	259	61.9	58.5	60.2
Total	223	207	430	100	100	100

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Among the indebted migrants, about 62 percent get a job immediately at the destination of migration whereas it is 58.5 percent among non-indebted migrants. The

migrants with migration history even if not get a job immediately, they have to wait for less than 10 days to get a job. The social capital and knowledge that was established during their previous migration facilitate to get a job.

4.4.22 Migrants according to Monthly income

Table 4.20 shows the distribution of migrants according to a monthly income of the migrants. The larger shares of migrants have a monthly income of Rs. 5,001 to 8000. It is true for both indebted and non-indebted migrants. It is important to note that about 11 percent of the total migrants do not have any monthly income. Some of the migrants who have received advance payment do not get monthly wages and they receive only their daily foods expenses from the employer. In the case of indebted migrants, about 38 percent of the migrants have a monthly income of Rs. 5001 to 8000 and it is followed by category of migrants getting a monthly income of up to Rs. 5,000.

Table 4.20 Distribution of Migrants by Monthly income

Income of the Migrant (Rs.)	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
No Income	27	19	46	12.1	9.3	10.8
Up to 5,000	70	43	113	31.4	21.1	26.5
5,001 to 8,000	84	71	155	37.7	34.8	36.3
8,001 to 11,000	36	58	94	16.1	28.4	22
Above 11,000	6	13	19	2.7	6.4	4.4
Total	223	204	427	100	100	100

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

However, the average monthly income of the total migrants (both indebted and non-indebted) is about Rs. 7,100 and the average income varies between indebted migrants and non-indebted migrants. The average monthly income of the indebted migrants is less than that of the non-indebted migrants. It is so because the non-indebted migrants have migrated out due to better aspirations and engage in the occupation which yields higher income.

4.4.23 Migrants according to Initial Expenditure

There is some initial expenditure need to be borne by the migrants in the form of travel expenditure, for food and stay in the destination place. Sometimes, people do not prefer migration due to unable to borne initial expenditure. In the study area, it is observed that almost half of the migrants spend between Rs. 501 and 1000 as initial expenditure. The proportions of indebted migrants and non-indebted migrants in this expenditure group are 45 percent and 51 percent respectively.

Table 4.21 Distribution of Migrants by Initial Expenditure for Process of Migration

Initial Expenditure (Rs.)	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
Up to 500	45	44	89	23.0	23.8	23.4
501 to 1000	88	95	183	44.9	51.4	48.0
1001 to 1500	49	35	84	25.0	18.9	22.0
Above 1500	14	11	25	7.1	5.9	6.6
Total	196	185	381	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Fig. 4.2 Distribution of Average Initial Expenditure of Migration
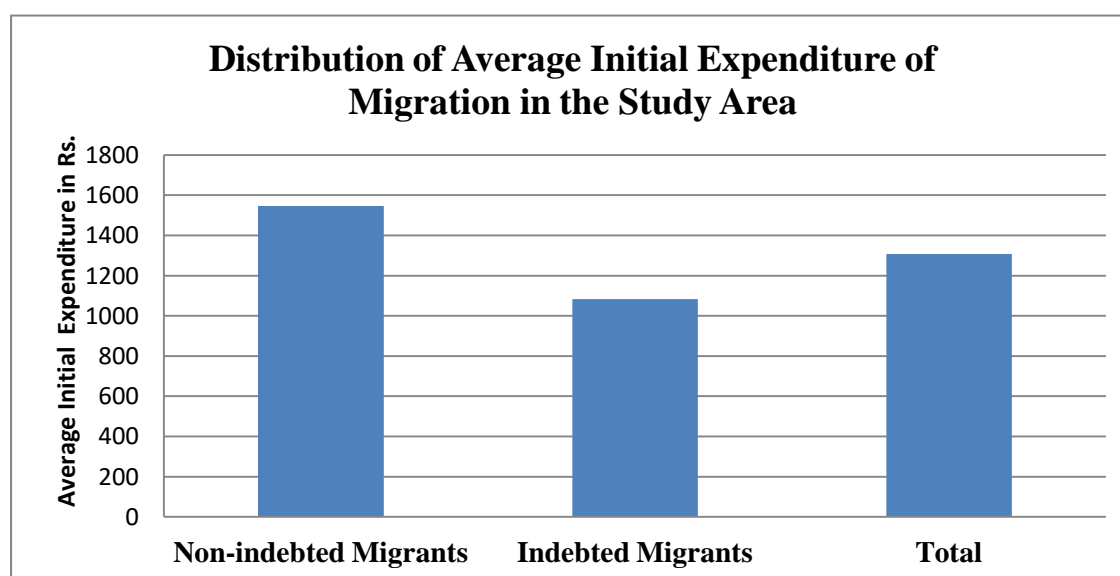
Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Figure 4.2 shows the distribution of migrants based on the average initial expenditure.The average expenditure of the study area is about Rs. 1300 and this amount varies between two categories of migrant. The expenditure of non-indebted migrants is higher than that of the indebted migrants. The respective average amount is Rs. 1500 and 1100.

4.5 The Net Effect of Socio-economic Factors on Out-migration

Table 4.22 shows the result of the binary logistic model. The dependent variable is whether migrant household (1) or non-migrant household (0). The model's odds ratio gives the likelihood of experience of migration of any member of the households. There are many socio-economic factors like social group, religious group, education, household size, land holding size and access to social security determine the reporting of migration. A set of independent variables (predictors) is taken in this study to see which variables are influencing in the reporting of migration at the household levels. The theory of New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) says that the family or household rather than individual is the key decision maker on migration-related matters (Stark, 1991; Stark and Bloom, 1985 in Keshri and Bhagat, 2013). In this model, the predictors like education of the household head, landholding size, access to MGNREGA work, access to the public distribution system (PDS), and irrigation facilities have a significant effect on the reporting of out-migration in the study area. But the model does not find any significant effect by variables like the social group, family size, and indebtedness. The details of the significant predictors are discussed below:

The educational level of the household has a significant effect on the reporting of out-migration of any member of the family. The informed and educated household head can take a better decision regarding migration. The head of the household's education also influences the education of other family members including the migrants. Keeping all other independent variables constant, with regard to the household head with no education, the household head with secondary and above educational level are less likely to report the out-migration of any former member of the household in the study area.

In the study area, it is found that with regard to the landless households, the land-owning households are less likely to report out-migration. With the increase in the

Table 4.22 Logistic Regression to Analyze the Net Effect of Background Characteristics on Reporting of Out-migration

Dependent Variable				
Non-migrant Household-0				
Migrant Household-1				
Independent Variable	**Category**	**B**	**S.E.**	**Odds Ratio**
Education of HH Head	No Education®			
	Primary & Middle	0.235	0.231	1.265
	Secondary & Above	-0.645	0.277	0.525**
Family Size (in number)	<4®			
	4 to 5	-0.257	0.242	0.774
	>5	0.132	0.25	1.141
Social Group	Scheduled (SC and ST)			
	Non-Scheduled	-0.238	0.201	0.788
Landholding Size	Landless®			
	up to 2.5 acre	-0.162	0.239	0.851
	>2.5 acre	-1.017	0.328	0.362***
Access to MGNREGA	No®			
	Yes	-0.382	0.215	0.682*
Access to PDS	No			
	Yes	-0.648	0.244	0.523***
Access to Irrigation	No®			
	Yes	-0.454	0.26	0.635*
Indebtedness	No®			
	Yes	0.13	0.206	1.139
Constant		1.322	0.347	3.75
N	460			
-2 Log Likelihood	584.799[a]			
Cox and Snell R Square	0.093			
Nagelkerke R Square	0.125			

***P<0.01; **P<0.05, * P<0.1
® Reference Category
Source: Computed from Field Survey Data, 2015

size of the land of a household, the members are less likely to migrate from that household. It is so because the family has resource base i.e. land from which they earn their livelihood. With regard to the landless households, the households with more than 2.5 acres of land are less likely to experience migration of any member of the family and it has 99% level of significance. This finding supports the earlier studies which found a negative relationship between the size of the land holding and flow of out-migration from rural areas (Belwal, 2007; Khan, 1986; Mahapatra, 1998; Lipton, 1976). However, there are some studies that find a positive relationship between landholding and migration (Yadava et al., 1996; Mamgain, 2003). Yadava et al. (1996) observe that the poorest and landless are least likely to migrate, and the migrant households in India are socio-economically and educationally better placed than others.

The access to social security like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) work and the public distribution system (PDS) also play an important role in the migration. With regard to the households with no access to the MGNREGA work, the households which have engaged in this work are less likely to experience migration of any member of the households. The accessibility to the

MGNREGA work has the negative and significant effect on the migration but at 90 percent level of significance. The distress migration in India has decreased as a result of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (Deshingkar et al., 2010 cited in Hagen-Zanker and Himmelstine, 2013). Some studies also suggest that public works programme has led to increase in migration instead of decrease. The Yigong-daizhen programme, a public work programme in China, that does not guarantee a fixed number of days of employment has led to an increase in migration probably by easing credit constraints (Chau et al., 2012 cited in Hagen-Zanker and Himmelstine, 2013).

Like MGNREGA work, the access to PDS has a negative and significant effect on migration at 99 percent significance level. With regard to the households with no access to PDS, the households that are getting PDS are less likely to experience migration. For poor, the migration is a livelihood strategy. When they do not have work to get engaged and food to meet their hunger, they search for alternative livelihood and hence opt for migration, the source of livelihood.

The access to irrigation facilities also has a significant effect on migration as far as the study area is concerned and it is negatively associated with migration. The inadequate irrigation facilities in the study area make the agriculture not a profitable occupation. For most of the family, agriculture is the source of subsistence. When irrigation facilities are available, the multiple crops can be raised and the agricultural labourers can get work in the most part of the year. Results from the model show that with regard to the households without access to the irrigation facilities, those having access to irrigation facilities are less likely to experience migration of any member of the family.

Indebtedness is considered as one of the determining factors of migration in the study area. With regard to the non-indebted households, the indebted households are more likely to report out-migration but it does not have a significant effect on the migration. The indebtedness is not the only factor that is determining the out-migration. Along with indebtedness, the other factors that really playing an important role in the out-migration from Kalahandi includes the education of the household head, land holding, accessibility to the MGRNREGA work, access to PDS and irrigation facilities. It is the poor who are more likely to migrate.

CHAPTER-5

ROLE OF MIDDLEMEN AND INFORMAL CREDIT MARKET IN THE PROCESS OF MIGRATION

5.1 Introduction

The middleman means a person or agent or contractor through which a migrant migrated out. The middlemen are also called as jobbers. In India, they are also known as *Dalals*. In some cases, a person was not aware of the work at the destination, wage rate and how to reach the destination. In this situation middleman plays an important role in the migration of such individuals. There are also situations where the middleman searches for persons who are willing to migrate for work and pay some advance money to the desired persons. The middleman takes money from the employer and pays it to the migrants. They act as a mediator between the employer and migrants. They took responsibilities of sending these migrants to the workplace. The social networks and middlemen are vehicles to disburse information about the vacant jobs or recruitment. Intermediaries may also enable employers to evade labour regulations (Iversen and Torsvik, 2010). But in some cases, these middlemen exploit the migrants by not giving the payment to the migrants even if they receive from the employer.

The study of the informal credit market is important as far as the migration of study area is concerned. The informal credit market sources include the moneylenders, friends and relatives, and *Kirana* Stores (grocery shops). They play an important role in the source area of the migrants mainly before the migration taking place. Most of the people in the study area are poor and they do not have employment opportunities throughout the year. The income earned through the agriculture and casual labour is not sufficient enough to maintain the family. In these circumstances, they are forced to borrow from the credit market- both formal and informal. As most of them do not have any income sources in the source area through which they would able to repay the debt, they prefer for migration. There are some households even if they have debt they do not prefer for migrating out and try to repay the debt whatever income they could generate from local market. The present chapter mainly tries to see the role of middlemen in the process of migration for both indebted migrants and non-indebted migrant households. It also tries to see the situation of the credit market in the study area and its different aspects like interest rate, the amount of loan, the purpose for

which the debt is taken and collateral for migrant households and non-migrant households.

5.2 Role of Middlemen and Migration

There are different ways to find employment by the migrants. Breman (1996) observes that migrants find employment by going to the places where they have been earlier or where family members, caste mates, etc. have been reached before them. They search for work individually or with small groups or relatives. Spatially there may be found information gap in the vacant jobs and workers in search of a job. Therefore, it is necessary to disburse information about the work and the worker so that there will be a match between the workers and work. In this circumstance, the role played by the middlemen cannot be ignored. Iversen and Torsvik (2010) find that networks and middlemen can serve the functions like disbursing information about the vacant jobs, a screening mechanism to improve worker-job matches and an incentive mechanism to alleviate behavioural risks in employment relations. A large number of studies has found a role of middlemen or intermediaries in the process of migration. Barik (1987) observes that nobody can get employment without proper recommendation, and the recommendation would generally go in favour of family members, immediate kin, and villagers (cited in Breman, 1996). Breman (1996) finds a process of mediation in his study on South Gujarat and describes this as a system where labour contractors or *mukadams* offer advanced payment to the cash-starved workers. In return, the workers commit to accompanying the *mukadam* to brickfields and other types of workplaces in Mumbai or elsewhere. The middleman is responsible for supplying employers with a pre-arranged number of workers at a given time.

There are also some risks involved in the process of migration through middlemen. The employer forwards the advance money to the jobbers or middlemen or contractor with the aim to get the required number of labourers in a specific time. It may happen that the middlemen keep the advance money forwarded by the employer and instead claim that he has given the advance money to the labourers. To deal with these problems the employer takes steps like making the jobber liable on paper and by demanding collateral like cattle, agricultural equipment and so on. To avoid bad debts, owners take precautionary measures. It has now become customary for them to visit the area of jobbers operations. The jobbers provide the employer with the details

of the workers like their names, domiciles, the sort of work for which a man is contracted, his previous experience, etc. On the basis of this information, the second instalment of the advance is paid in the patron's presence (Breman, 1996).

Generally, the picture of debt-induced migration holds true for the Bhil area but the migration is highly differentiated in the study area by Mosse et al., 2002. They found the poorer families have more numbers migrating for longer periods but due to the system of advance payments, higher cost of migration and earnings are meant for repaying the earlier debt, the productivity of such migrant labour is lower. On the other hand, for a few better-off households migration earnings provide a means to deal with risk and uncertainty and enhancing social position.

In the study area, about 17 percent of the indebted migrants and 15 percent of the non-indebted migrants respectively migrate with the help of middlemen. The middlemen inform them about the type of work or wages at the destination. The instance of migration through middlemen is also observed from the study of Chakravorty, 2004 where he finds that migrant workers from Kalahandi, Bolangir, Koraput, Gajapati and other districts in Western Odisha migrate through middlemen. They take advances from middlemen to work in brick kilns in other districts of Odisha or in Andhra Pradesh and these advances are adjusted against a notional wage rate, such that when the workers return home (with small sums of cash), they are still in debt to the contractor or kiln owners, whom they have to repay the next season (cited in Srivastava, 2005).

Table 5.1: Distribution of Migrants who Migrate with the Help of Middlemen

Migrate With Middlemen	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
No	185	176	361	83.0	85.0	84.0
Yes	38	31	69	17.0	15.0	16.0
Total	223	207	430	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

With respect to migration through middlemen, the following questions can be raised. Does the migration through middlemen give more secure work or better wages? The study shows that though the migration through middlemen helps in getting a job and

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advance payment in most cases, it does not result in more secure work and better wages. The labour recruitment through *mukkadams* (middlemen) does not assure more secure work, better working conditions and higher earnings than the migration through kin networks and independent from debt and dependence (Mosse et al., 2002). Mishra (2015) also observes from the field that the migration with families or alone has a distinct advantage in comparison to those who have migrated under contacts with labour agents or sardars. There is a chance of getting better wages and more freedom in terms of leaves for those migrants who negotiate directly with prospective employers.

The mediation of jobbers or contractors is most prevalent in the case of brick kilns industry. Iyer et al. (2004) observe that the contractor recruits family as a whole (including women and children) as it proves more rational, economic and efficient combination as a working unit in brick making. The workers are not paid wages on regular basis. During the course of work, they are offered only meagre ration money while wages are paid only after the contract is over (In Iyer, 2004). The similar kinds of experiences are also observed by the migrants from Kalahandi who are engaged in different brick kilns industry situated in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. They are offered some advance money at source area and during the course of work at the destination, they are given ration money. From the interview, a migrant who was engaged in brick kilns the following information was generated. "We were given an advance payment of about Rs. 12,000 per person by the middlemen, who are from the nearby district Balangir. He took us to the brick kiln industry situated near Hyderabad along with other migrant labourers. He gave all the travel expenses. The middlemen only gave the ration money. All wages were adjusted against the advanced money. After 6 to 7 months work he gave us only travel and food expenses to return back our home. We did not find any off day even when we were sick. We were bound to work even in a situation where we badly requiring rest". However, from the middlemen or jobbers point of view, mediation is a lucrative job. The jobbers receive a commission from his patron and in addition to that, he takes his cut from the wages paid by him to the migrants.

It is not always the migrants migrate through middlemen and get advance payment because different recruitment offer differs opportunities in search of work. Marius-Gnanou (2004) finds that all the migrants are not recruited through mounpannam (a

system of advance payment) by jobbers, but can travel in groups or alone with experienced migrants and can exploit kinship connections (In Marius-Gnanou, 2008)

Table 5.2: Relation of Migrants with the Middlemen

Relation with the Middlemen	Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
No Relation	78.9	25.8	55.1
Family Member/Relative	7.9	41.9	23.2
Belongs to Prominent Local Family	13.2	32.3	21.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**38**	**31**	**69**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Table 5.2 shows the relation of migrants with the middlemen. Among the indebted migrants, about 79 percent of the migrants who migrate through the middlemen say that they do not have any relationship with the middlemen and most of them know the middlemen through village men or the middlemen himself come to villages in search persons who want to migrate. The middlemen assure them the payment and work at the destination. He takes them to the worksite along with him.

In the case of non-indebted migrants, 42 percent of the middlemen are known to the migrants because they are either family member or relative of migrants. 26 percent of the migrants do not have any relation with the middlemen. Most of the non-indebted migrants know the middlemen through the own village men or through nearby village men.

Table 5.3 shows the years since the migrants know the middlemen. More than half of indebted migrants know the middlemen since one year. About 23 percent know the middlemen since 2 to 4 years in the case of indebted migrants. On the other hand, it is observed from the table that 41 percent of the non-indebted migrants know the middlemen since 5 to 7 years. The mean year since known to middlemen is 3 years and 4 years respectively for indebted migrants and non-indebted migrants. In other words, it can be said that the years of acquaintance with the middlemen is high among the non-indebted migrants in comparison to the indebted migrants.

Table 5.3: Years since Migrant Know the Middlemen

Years since known to Middlemen	Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
1	51.3	17.6	35.6
2 to 4	23.1	26.5	24.7
5 to 7	12.8	41.2	26
More than 7	12.8	14.7	13.7
Total	100	100	100
N	**38**	**31**	**69**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Table 5.4: Mode of Acquaintance of the Migrant with the middlemen

Mode of Acquaintance	Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
Through Village men	46.2	58.8	52.1
From Nearby Village men	5.1	29.4	16.4
Middlemen came to Village	41	8.8	26
Through Relatives	7.7	2.9	5.5
All	100	100	100
N	**38**	**31**	**69**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The migrants who migrate through middlemen say that they came to contact with the middlemen through various ways like gathering information from own village men or nearby village men, the middlemen came to villages or through relatives. In the case of indebted migrants, it is observed from the study area that they know the middlemen either through village men or middlemen himself came to villages and enquired about the interested migrant workers. In the case of non-indebted migrants, it is evident from Table 5.4 that almost 90 percent of them came to know the middlemen from own village men and nearby village men. Here, only small percentage of migrants came in contact with middlemen through relatives.

5.3 Advance payment and Migration

The poorest face great difficulty in accessing the credit and for that reason the families increasingly meet urgent needs through cash advances on migrant labour (Mosse et al., 2002). The study by Subrahmanyam (1985) reveals that migrant labourers from Odisha and Mahboobnagar district in Andhra Pradesh take advances from traders and money lenders in their home villages in order to tide over the lean periods or to meet any financial emergencies. These advances are then repaid with advances from labour contractors who hire them to work in quarries and mines. A fraction of the promised wages is given there to the labourers and the remaining wages are adjusted towards their advances or retained by the employer until the end of the season. In this way, the vicious cycle of debt is created which forces the workers to return to work in mines year after years (in Srivastava, 2005). This type of debt trap is also observed in our study area where the migrant workers engaged in different brick kilns migrate year after year.

In the study area, it is found that the total migrants who received the advance money from middlemen or contractor are 61 out of which 35 are indebted migrants and rests are non-indebted. In terms of percentage distribution, out of the total indebted migrants, 16 percent migrants have received advance money before migration. On the other hand, 12.6 percent of the total non-indebted migrants received advance money. In the study area, it is observed that the migrants who received advance money are seasonal migrants. They usually receive an advance from the middlemen before the most important festival i.e. *Nuakhai*[3] and spend the advance money for different purposes like clothes and other household consumption expenditure. They usually migrate after this festival and work in the destination for about six to seven months. The poor families from the KBK[4] districts take an advance from the labour contractors during '*Nuakhai'* and soon after this festival, men, women and children start migrating in large numbers to pay off this advance by offering their labour to the contractors (The Hindu, 2014).

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[3] *Nuakhai* is the agricultural festival mainly observed by the people of western Odisha to welcome the new rice of the season.
[4] KBK districts are the most backward districts of Odisha. They include old Koraput-Balangir-Kalahandi districts which now comprise Koraput, Malkangiri, Rayagad, Nawarangpur, Balangir, Sonepur, Kalahandi and Nuapada districts.

Breman (1996) observes that the contractors and workers sharing a place of origin appears to be a prerequisite for the advance payment system to stay intact. For an individual migrating seasonally for the first time, the advance will only be paid as long as someone else is willing to take the responsibility for the newcomer. If the newcomer fails to show up or absconds shortly after reaching the destination, the advance payment will be charged to the guarantor.

Srivastava (2005) observes a similarity across the country in the pattern of labour recruitment in the brick kilns, and the mechanisms of deployment, payment of advances and wages. This recruitment is mainly through middlemen based on a system of advances.

Table 5.5: Distribution of Migrant who Received Advance

Advance Money Received	Number of Migrants			Proportion of Migrants		
	Indebted Migrant	Non-Indebted Migrant	Total	Indebted Migrant	Non-Indebted Migrant	Total
No	183	181	364	83.9	87.4	85.6
Yes	35	26	61	16.1	12.6	14.4
Total	218	207	425	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The average amount of advance money received by the migrants is about Rs. 12, 300. The average amount of advance received varies between two types of migrants- indebted and non-indebted. The average is comparatively higher in the case of non-indebted migrant which is about Rs.13, 200 whereas for indebted migrants it is Rs. 11,600.

Table 5.6: Distribution of Amount Advance Money

Advance Amount (₹)	Migrants in Proportion		
	Indebted	Non-Indebted	Total
Up to 10,000	44.4	34.5	40.0
10,001 to 15,000	27.8	24.1	26.2
Above 15,000	27.8	41.4	33.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	35	26	61

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Table 5.6 shows the distribution of the different amount of advances for both categories of migrants. In the case of indebted migrants, a higher percentage of migrants have received only up to Rs. 10, 000. On the other hand, in the case of non-indebted migrants, a higher percentage of migrants received more than Rs. 15,000.

With regard to the bargaining power of the migrant, it is found that 29 percent of the indebted migrants have bargained for advance and of the total migrants who bargained for advance, 60 percent could able to get more after bargaining (Table 5.7). In the case of non-indebted migrants, about 17 percent have bargained for advance and out of the total who bargained, 50 percent are found to be getting more money after a bargain. The migrants in the study are so distressed that they are not going for a bargain. Whatever they are getting they take and for that they worked as bonded labour in the work site.

In their study on Bhil tribal, Mosse et al. (2002) find that the advance sale of labour weakens migrants bargaining power, so poorer migrants obliged to accept advances and being tied to the brokers and contractors end up in the least well paid and the harshest working environment.

Table 5.7: Bargaining Power of Migrants for Advance Money

Bargain for Advance	Migrants in Proportion		
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Total
No	71.4	83.3	76.3
Yes	28.6	16.7	23.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**35**	**24**	**59**
Get more after Bargain			
No	40.0	50.0	42.9
Yes	60.0	50.0	57.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**10**	**4**	**14**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

5.4 Uses of Advance Money Received by the Migrant:

The advance money received by the migrants put for different uses. Breman (1996) in his study finds advance payments are used for not only food and other daily necessities, including alcohol, but also for such expenses which they can only meet once a year: a wedding in the family and repairs to the house. The use of cash

advances for the debt repayment at home by the migrant labourers is not unusual (Srivastava, 2005).

The cash advances are used for different purposes at home of the migrants and different priorities are given to these advances based on their requirement. The maximum three uses are taken in this study. They include- the 1st prominent use, 2nd prominent use and 3rd prominent use. In its first prominent use, 50 percent of the indebted migrants use the advance money for debt repayment and it is followed by food items (32 percent). Besides this, about 18 percent of the indebted migrants use advance for health care (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Uses of Advance Money Received by the Migrants

Uses of Advance Received	Migrants in Proportion		
	Indebted	**Non-indebted**	**Total**
1st Prominent Use			
Buying bull	0.0	4.2	1.7
Clothes	0.0	25.0	10.3
Debt repayment	50.0	0.0	29.3
Education	0.0	4.2	1.7
Food items	32.4	29.2	31.0
Health care	17.6	16.7	17.2
Marriage	0.0	8.3	3.4
Buying ornaments	0.0	12.5	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**35**	**26**	**61**
2nd Prominent Use			
Clothes	22.2	17.4	20.0
Education	0.0	8.7	4.0
Food items	37	30.4	34.0
Health care	25.9	4.3	16.0
Buying Ornaments	0.0	4.3	2.0
Other Household Consumption	14.8	26.1	20.0
Saving	0.0	8.7	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**27**	**23**	**50**
3rd Prominent Use			
Clothes	0.0	27.3	10.7
Debt repayment	5.9	0.0	3.6
Food items	23.5	0.0	14.3
Health care	29.4	27.3	28.6
Marriage	5.9	0.0	3.6
Other Household Consumption	23.5	45.5	32.1
Saving	11.8	0.0	7.1
Total	100.0	100	100
N	**17**	**11**	**28**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

In the case of non-indebted migrants, 29 percent of the migrants use advance for food items. Besides this, larger percentages of migrants use the advance for buying clothes and for health care.

In the second prominent use of advance money, about 37 percent of the indebted migrants use the advance on food items. About 26 and 22 percent of indebted migrants use the advance money for health care and buying clothes respectively.

In case of 3rd prominent use of advance money, the indebted migrants spend a substantial portion for health care but the non-migrants use it for other household consumption (Table 5.8).

So, overall, in all uses of advance money, most of the indebted migrants use their advance money for debt repayment, food items, clothes and healthcare. Very few indebted migrants go for saving or investment like buying ornaments because whatever advance they received are spent for basic necessities. On the other hand, some of the non-indebted migrants could save or invest some advance after spending in basic necessities.

5.5 Informal Credit Market and Migration

In the rural area, the burden of indebtedness is very great. Though there are various steps like nationalisation of banks, opening up branches of the commercial bank, and priority sector lending taken by the government to reach the formal sources of the loan to the rural community, the exploitation of rural masses from the informal credit market is persistence feature. Ramachandran and Swaminathan (2002) mentioned that historically, there have been four major problems with respect to the supply of credit to the Indian countryside. First, there is an inadequacy in the supply of formal credit to the countryside. Secondly, the rural credit markets in India themselves have been imperfect and fragmented. Thirdly, there is an unequal distribution of formal sector credit in relation to region and class, caste and gender in rural area. Fourthly, the informal source of credit has become the major source of credit to rural households.

Agriculture and casual labour are the main economic activity in the study area from which the sustenance of the households depend on. But due to below subsistence production from agriculture and its seasonal nature; and unavailability of casual work throughout the years bring distress to the people. This leads to seasonal and long-term

borrowing for consumption and production. But due to the limited access to the institutional credit or formal sources of the loan, there is borrowing from informal credit market i.e. private money lenders at the exorbitant interest rate. This further creates distress on the households. Since the production from agriculture is not the substantial and limited availability of casual labour, the repayment of loan becomes difficult. In these circumstances, migration becomes a strategy to repay the debt because there is no availability of work or employment in the source region and the income from the agriculture is not sufficient enough to sustain the livelihood let the debt repayment from agriculture.

Labour migration is a forced livelihood response, although it arises from a complex set of social relations (including relations of debt and dependency) rather than simply ecological crises and subsistence failure (Mosse et al. 2002). "The poor labourers have to take loan to tide over seasonal shortages or contingent expenditure. Contractors or employers step in with advances either to meet repayment requirements in the areas of origin or to provide the labourers with assistance to tide over the financial emergency. The migrant labourers then become involved in a vicious cycle of debt from which they cannot escape and which provides a handle to contractors and employers for imposing numerous adverse conditions (Srivastava, 1989 in Srivastava, 2005 pp.11)".

The study by Mosse et al. (2002) shows a contrasting pattern of migration which is resulted due to different patterns of borrowing, and distinct strategies for managing debt. The nature of indebtedness itself reflects differences among households in terms of landholding, domestic cycle shifts and social position within the community. They found poor households are forced to migrate immediately after the harvest in order to repay the loans which are of very high-interest rate taken during the monsoon season to meet subsistence food needs and (often medical) emergencies. In the monsoon season (July-September) this borrowing by poorer tribal households is at its peak and as such families lack a credible credit standing or collateral in the form of jewellery, they pay a higher interest rate (12.5 percent per month). Moreover, they access loans only through the services of intermediaries like better off relatives willing to negotiate the loans or lend them silver, and often have to sell marketable crops to the same lenders at low prices.

5.5.1 Sources of Loan

There are two major sources of loan. They are formal sources and informal sources. The formal sources of credit or institutional credit are those which are regulated by legislations whereas informal sources of credit are those which are not regulated by any legislation rather it is run through personalized relationship. The different types of formal sources in the study area are the commercial bank, Co-operative banks, Regional Rural Banks (RRB). In this study, the self-help groups (SHGs) are also included in the formal category. The major informal sources are moneylenders, friends and relatives, and *Kirana* stores/grocery stores.

The present research mainly takes into account two categories of households- indebted migrant household and indebted non-migrant households to know the role of informal money market for migration in the study area. A household can avail loan from one or more sources. The maximum of two sources of loan are taken into consideration in this study. The major source of loan is taken as primary source and the second source, if any, is called as secondary source of loan. As far as primary source of loan is concerned, 90 percent of the migrant households have taken loan from the informal sources where money lenders play a crucial role (Table 5.9). They charge a very high-interest rate. Due to lack of employment opportunities, the households are not able to repay the debt on time. In this situation, most of the households opt for migration to earn and repay the debt. In other words, the indebtedness forces the households to migrate. There are also some households even if they are indebted they do not prefer to migrate. They try to repay the loan from the income derived from agricultural as well as non-agricultural sources.

Among the indebted non-migrant household, about two-third of the households take a loan from the informal sources and it is mainly from money lenders. The remaining one-third of the household takes loans from the formal sources like Commercial banks, and SHGs. Though there is the availability of formal loan facilities, most of the households do not avail the loan from these sources because they do not have collateral to deposit. From the literature, it is observed that credit is invariably rationed according to the ability of the borrowers to offer collaterals. However, the present study shows that the accessibility to formal credit is more for non-migrant households than the migrant households.

The economically relatively backwards regions of India have less access to institutional credit than those which are not (Reddy, 2001 in Sahu et al., 2004). The insufficient credit and/or delays in accessing the institutional credit force the farmers to depend on the informal sources of borrowing irrespective of the hidden costs involved (Sahu et al., 2004). It is also true that banks which are the main source of institutional credit advance loans to those who offer lower risks and better security, which is generally not possible among the poor agrarian community. Again it is important to note that the formal sources of loan mainly lend money for a productive purpose like investment in agriculture but in our study area, it is observed that the household needs credit more for non-productive purposes like household consumption, health care, marriage and other social obligations.

Table 5.9: Percentage Distribution of Primary Sources of Loan

Sl. No.	Sources of Loan	Migrant Household	Non-migrant Household	Total
1	Commercial Banks	7.7	15.0	10.9
2	Co-operatives	0.8	7.0	3.5
3	RRBs	0.0	2.0	0.9
4	SHGs	1.5	10.0	5.2
5	**Formal Sources (1+2+3+4)**	**10.0**	**34.0**	**20.4**
6	Money Lenders	74.6	56.0	66.5
7	Friends, Relatives & *Kirana* Stores	15.4	10.0	13.0
8	**Informal Sources (6+7)**	**90.0**	**66.0**	**79.6**
9	All Sources	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	130	100	230

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Mosse et al. (2002), in their study, found that due to the below subsistence production most of the household have large outstanding loans which they borrow for consumption and production. Limited access to institutional credit resulted in the borrowing from the informal source i.e. private money lenders and this deficit-induced debt gives rise to the mortgage and sale of assets among poorer families.

Since social group and land holding generally determine the socio-economic status of the households, here the borrowing from different sources by these categories are discussed. The distribution of loan sources based on the operational land holding size indicates that the percentage of households who are accessing loan from the informal

market is comparatively very large in the case of the landless migrant household than other farm households (Table 5.10). It is so because since they don't possess any agricultural land they have to depend on the market or public distribution system if any, to meet their daily food requirements besides other necessities. This situation compels them to go for informal sources of loan. The share of the informal source of credit is also high among the marginal farmer's (less than 2.5 acres of land) migrant households. But the income of marginal farmers and landless households from the agriculture and casual labour are not enough. So they aren't able to repay the loan on time. As a result of this, they search for employment outside and prefer migration as a strategy to their livelihood and repayment of the loan. As the size of the operational land holding increase, there is a decrease in the percentage of households those have borrowed from the informal credit market in the study area.

Table 5.10: Percentage Distribution of Primary Sources of Loan based on Land Holding Size

Household Category	Land Holding	N	Proportion		
			Formal	Informal	Total
Migrant	Landless	50	4.0	96.0	100.0
	Up to 2.5 acre	68	11.8	88.2	100.0
	More than 2.5 acre	12	25.0	75.0	100.0
	Total	130	10.0	90.0	100.0
Non-migrant	Landless	34	20.6	79.4	100.0
	Up to 2.5 acre	46	37.0	63.0	100.0
	More than 2.5 acre	20	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	100	34.0	66.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Like the migrant households, in the case of the non-migrant household also there is a higher percentage of landless households and marginal farmers households who are borrowing from informal sources in comparison to the higher land holding size categories although the percentage of borrowing is less here. There is also decrease in the percentage of households with an increase in the land holding size. In other words, the institutional borrowing is more accessible with an increase in the size of the land holding. The study by Ramachandran and Swaminathan (2002) also shows that the

poorer categories of households have very little access to formal credit and are heavily dependent on informal credit. In their study, they observed that out of the total number of loans borrowed by debtor landless labour households, only a very small proportion – 7.7 per cent came from the formal sector.

Table 5.11: Percentage Distribution of Primary Sources of Loan based on Social Group

Household Category	Social Group	N	Proportion		
			Formal	**Informal**	**Total**
Migrant	SC	38	15.8	84.2	100.0
	ST	28	3.6	96.4	100.0
	Others	64	9.4	90.6	100.0
	Total	130	10.0	90.0	100.0
Non-migrant	SC	19	31.6	68.4	100.0
	ST	24	33.3	66.7	100.0
	Others	57	35.1	64.9	100.0
	Total	100	34.0	66.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Table 5.11 shows the distribution of sources of loan based on the social group. Among the migrant households, the accessibility of formal loans by the Scheduled Tribe is very low (3.6 percent) in the study area in comparison to the other categories. In other words, the tribal households are mainly borrowing from the informal credit market. As far as accessibility to formal loans is concerned it is evident that the Scheduled Castes are more accessible to it in comparison to other categories. In the case of non-migrant households, the 'Others' households have comparatively more loans from formal sources than other categories of households.

Table 5.12 shows the secondary sources of loan i.e. the second important source in the study area. There are some households who take loans from more than one source. But their number is very small in comparison to the household who take a loan from only one source which is called in this study as a primary source. About 96 percent of the indebted migrant households have availed loan from the informal sources whereas formal sources account only about 4 percent. It can be generalised that the percentage of households who take loan from the formal sources are higher in the case of non-

migrant households in comparison to migrant households. Moreover, among the informal sources, it is the private money lender who is dominating the credit market which can be seen both in the case of migrant and non-migrant households.

Table 5.12: Percentage Distribution of Secondary Sources of Loan

Sl. No.	Sources of Loan	Proportion		
		Migrant HH	Non-migrant HH	Total
1	RRBs	0.0	6.3	2.3
2	SHGs	3.7	12.5	7.0
3	**Formal Sources (1+2)**	**3.7**	**18.8**	**9.3**
4	Money Lenders	51.9	62.5	55.8
5	Friends, Relatives & *Kirana* Store	44.4	18.8	34.9
6	**Informal Sources (4+5)**	**96.3**	**81.3**	**90.7**
7	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N	27	16	43

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

5.5.2 Purposes of Loan

A household which seeks credit is used for different purposes like buying basic necessaries like food and cloth; meeting medical expenses; agricultural assets; for marriage and other social ceremonies. Ramachandran and Swaminathan (2002) observe that in a society that has no law of free, compulsory and universal school education, no arrangements for free and universal preventive and curative health care, a weak system for the public distribution of food and very few general social security programmes, rural households need credit for different types of consumption. These include expenditure on food, housing, health, and education. However, in Indian context, another important purpose of borrowing is to meet expenses that arise from different social obligations and rituals.

A household can take loan for one or more purposes. The main purpose is considered as the primary purpose and if there is the second purpose for loan then that will come under the secondary purpose. In the study area, it is found that about 45 percent of indebted migrant households have taken loan for medical expenses (Table 5.13). Next to it, the larger proportion of indebted migrants households takes loan for marriage

and other social obligations (21 percent) and household consumption like food items (18.5 percent). Among the indebted non-migrant households, again a larger percentage of households avail loan for medical expenses and it is followed by the purchase of other agricultural assets.

Table 5.13: Percentage Distribution of Primary Purpose of Loan

Purpose of Loan (Primary)	Proportion		
	Migrant HH	**Non-migrant HH**	**Total**
Household Consumption	18.5	14.0	16.5
Purchase of Agricultural Assets	9.2	32.0	19.1
Purchase of Non-agricultural assets	2.3	3.0	2.6
Educational Expenditure	1.5	2.0	1.7
Medical expenses	45.4	37.0	41.7
Marriage and other social obligations	20.8	12.0	17.0
Repayment of earlier debt	2.3	0.0	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	130	100	230

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The major purposes for which the households have to borrow are household consumption, medical expenses, marriage and other social ceremonies, and purchase of agricultural assets. Since there is the persistence of mass poverty in the study area, there are always demand of credit for household consumption and production.

The distribution of major purpose of loan according to the land holding size indicates landless and marginal farming migrant households are borrowing mainly for medical expenses whereas higher percentages (40 percent) of the higher landholding (> 2.5 acres) migrant households are borrowing mainly for marriage and other social ceremonies (Table 5.14). Generally borrowing of cash in times of requirement is not bad but the way it is used determines the impact of borrowing on the households. Next to medical expenses where the landless migrant household borrow is for household consumptions like food items and clothes. In the case of non-migrant households, the main purposes of borrowing by the landless households are health

care, and marriage and other social ceremonies which account 44 percent and 23.5 percent respectively of the total landless households. Among the small farmers and others, the main purpose of borrowing is for buying agricultural assets.

Table 5.14: Percentage Distribution of Primary Purpose of Loan based on Land Holding Size

Household Category	Land Holding	N	Medical Expenses	Household Consumption	Agricultural Assets	Social Ceremonies & Other Expenses	Total
Migrant	Landless	50	48.0	26.0	0.0	26.0	100.0
	up to 2.5 acre	68	47.1	14.7	10.3	27.9	100.0
	>2.5 acre	12	25.0	8.3	25.0	41.7	100.0
	Total	130	45.4	18.5	7.7	28.5	100.0
Non-migrant	Landless	34	44.1	14.7	14.7	26.5	100.0
	up to 2.5 acre	46	37.0	19.6	30.4	13.0	100.0
	>2.5 acre	20	25.0	0.0	50.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	100	37.0	14.0	29.0	20.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Table 5.15: Percentage Distribution of Primary Purpose of Loan based on Social Group

Household Category	Land Holding	N	Medical Expenses	Household Consumption	Agricultural Assets	Social Ceremonies and Other Expenses	Total
Migrant	SCs	38	42.1	21.1	10.5	26.3	100.0
	STs	28	42.9	25.0	3.6	28.6	100.0
	Others	64	48.4	14.1	7.8	29.7	100.0
	Total	130	45.4	18.5	7.7	28.5	100.0
Non-migrant	SCs	19	47.4	5.3	26.3	21.1	100.0
	STs	24	41.7	25.0	20.8	12.5	100.0
	Others	57	31.6	12.3	33.3	22.8	100.0
	Total	100	37.0	14.0	29.0	20.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The distribution of major purpose of loan by the social group shows that among the SC migrant households, the main purpose of their borrowing is for medical purpose

followed by household consumption (Table 5.15). Similar kind of picture also results among ST. But in the case of 'Others' (non-scheduled population), marriage and other social ceremonies are the second best purpose for borrowing. In the case of non-migrant household, it is evident from Table 5.15 that purchasing of agricultural assets are the most important purpose of availing loan after medical purpose among the SC but it is not so among STs. Among STs, one-fourth of them avail loan for fulfilling their basic necessities. However, in case of non-scheduled population, the most important reason for their borrowing is to invest in agriculture which is a productive investment.

Table 5.16: Percentage Distribution of Secondary Purpose of Loan

Purpose of Loan (Secondary)	Migrant Household	Non-migrant Household	Total
Household Consumption	33.3	25.0	30.2
Purchase of Agricultural Assets	11.1	18.8	14.0
Purchase of Non-agricultural assets	3.7	0.0	2.3
Education	7.4	12.5	9.3
Medical expenses	18.5	31.3	23.3
Marriage and other social obligations	11.1	12.5	11.6
Repayment of Earlier debt	14.8	0.0	9.3
Total	100	100	100
N	27	16	43

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Though the numbers of households who avail the secondary sources of the loan are small, about one-third of the indebted migrant households' use the loan for household consumption. The percentage of indebted migrants' households who have taken loan for repayment of earlier debt is about 15 percent (Table 5.16). In addition to this, medical expense is considered as one of the purposes which account 18.5 percent of the households. In the case of indebted non-migrant households, about 31 percent of households have taken loan for medical purpose. So, the main purposes of the loan in the study area are medical expenses, marriage, and other social obligations as well as household consumption.

5.5.3 Nature of Collateral

The ability of the borrowers to present collateral generally determines the amount of credit one can avail. When a person goes to avail loan from the formal sources, he or she has to deposit some collateral as a security deposit. Some informal sources also take collateral so as to charge a low rate of interest on the loan. Mosse et al. (2002) in his study on tribal find that credit payments and emergencies demand the mortgage of ornaments, bullocks, and land. So, earning from migration is not only necessary to service the existing debts but also to repossess mortgaged assets.

In agrarian poorer states like Odisha, it is not always possible on the part of the borrower to deposit collateral to the lender against borrowing because the assets they possess have no collateral value. The economic condition of the poorer households varies due to the fluctuation in the productivity of agriculture and casual labour. In this situation the accessibility to the institutional credit becomes difficult. So, the options left for the borrower is informal sources of credit or debt. From the study area, it is found that more than three-fourth of the households have no collateral or security deposited to the lender (Table 5.17). Here, the credit relation is based on the personal relationship and trust. Sarap (1991) observes that even in the absence of collateral the borrowers may try to get loans. In this cases provision of loan is dependent on the lender's ability to recover the loan through some implicit guarantee mechanism (such as the third-party guarantee or social sanction against the defaulter), which can work in personalised contact with the borrower. The personal relationship based on caste, kinship and proximity in dwelling of different parties is another implicit guarantee mechanism in a rural community which acts collateral substitute in availing the loans (Rudra, 1982, Basu, 1989a in Sarap, 1991).

Generally, a lender who is risk-averse demands collateral from the borrower while providing loan even if he has reasonable confidence regarding the intention of repayment by the borrower (Binswanger and Rosenzweig, 1986 in Sarap, 1991).

About 13 percent of the migrant households have deposited gold as security. The indebted non-migrants households who have taken loan from commercial banks have collateral of Land Patta. The percentage of such household comprises 10 percent of the total indebted non-migrant household.

Table 5.17: Percentage Distribution of Nature of Collateral for Primary Sources of Loan

Nature of Collateral (Primary)	Migrant Household	Non-migrant Household	Total
No security	76.9	76	76.5
Land	3.1	6	4.3
Gold	13.1	6	10
Labour Service	0	1	0.4
land patta	6.9	10	8.3
certificate	0	1	0.4
Total	100	100	100
N	130	100	230

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Table 5.18: Percentage Distribution of Nature of Collateral for Primary Informal Sources of Loan

Collateral	Number		Proportion	
	Migrant HH	Non-Migrant HH	Migrant HH	Non-Migrant HH
No security	96	55	82.1	83.3
Land	4	6	3.4	9.1
Gold	17	4	14.5	6.1
Labour Service	0	1	0.0	1.5
Total	117	66	100	100

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Since most of the households (both migrant and non-migrant) have accessed loans from the informal sources like a private money lender, the detailed discussion of informal credit has been presented here. Out of the total migrant household who has borrowed from informal credit market, 82 percent has not deposited any collateral (Table 5.18). Again, out of total non-migrant households borrowing from informal sources, it is found that 83 percent households availed loans without giving any collateral as a security deposit. In a rural society, even if there is no legal contract in the informal credit market, the recovery of loan is somewhat high which is possible through some implicit guarantee mechanism. About 15 percent of the informal

borrowers have deposited gold as collateral in case of indebted migrant households but in the case of non-migrant households, it is only 6 percent. Because of its superior quality and easy marketability, getting loan against gold is easier. The use of gold as collateral rises with the increase in the status of borrowers (Sarap, 1991). He also observes that because of its acceptability by the lender, poorer borrowers utilise gold as collateral mostly for an emergency purpose like medical expenses.

The land is one of the most utilised collaterals in informal credit market which is used among the non-migrant households. Out of the total informal loan borrowers from non-migrant households, 9 percent of the households have kept their land as collateral (Table 5.18). One of the conditions of land mortgage is that it is temporarily transferred to the creditor till the repayment of the loan is done (Sarap, 1991).

Table 5.19: Percentage Distribution of Major Collateral for Primary Sources of Loan according to the Landholding Size

Household Category	Land Holding	N	No security	Land	Gold	land patta	Total
Migrant	Landless	50	86.0	0.0	14.0	0.0	100.0
	up to 2.5 acre	68	75.0	2.9	13.2	8.8	100.0
	>2.5 acre	12	50.0	16.7	8.3	25.0	100.0
	Total	130	76.9	3.1	13.1	6.9	100.0
Non-migrant	Landless	34	94.1	0.0	5.9	0.0	100.0
	up to 2.5 acre	44	75.0	6.8	6.8	11.4	100.0
	>2.5 acre	20	55.0	15.0	5.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	98	77.6	6.1	6.1	10.2	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Tables 5.19 throws light on the major collateral use by different farm households as well as landless households. The borrowing without depositing any collateral is more prevalent among the landless households in comparison to the farming households and it is found among both migrant and non-migrant households. The study by Ramachandran and Swaminathan (2002) show that landless labour households and other asset-poor households have little collateral to offer as security against loans, and this fact adds to the risk of potential default for lenders. These circumstances enable the coercive and usurious forms of money lending to thrive.

It is also evident that with the increase in the land holding size the percentage of households borrowing against no collateral is decreasing. Land as collateral is mainly used by small farmers and others (> 2.5 acres). Sarap (1991) from his field observation finds that farm households utilise land as collateral for borrowing only in case of emergency needs where the demand for loan is inelastic (such as medical need or marriage of a daughter).

Table 5.20: Percentage Distribution of Major Collateral for Primary Sources of Loan according to Social Group

Household Category	Social Group	N	No security	Land	Gold	land patta	Total
Migrant	SCs	38	81.6	2.6	2.6	13.2	100.0
	STs	28	78.6	0.0	21.4	0.0	100.0
	Others	64	73.4	4.7	15.6	6.3	100.0
	Total	130	76.9	3.1	13.1	6.9	100.0
Non-migrant	SCs	19	78.9	5.3	5.3	10.5	100.0
	STs	23	87.0	4.3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Others	56	73.2	7.1	7.1	12.5	100.0
	Total	98	77.6	6.1	6.1	10.2	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

There exists difference across the different social group in the use of collateral against borrowing. In the case of migrant households, more than four-fifth of the SC households do not deposit any collateral against borrowing. In other words, about 18 percent of the SC households borrow by giving security like land and gold. It is observed from Table 5.20 that the percentage of households who have deposited any collateral is high in case of comparatively higher social group (Others) than SCs and STs. It is so because they have valuable assets to deposit against borrowing. It is found both in migrant and non-migrant households. Sarap (1991) finds that loan contracts without collateral decrease with the rise in the economic status of the borrowers.

The table 5.21 also shows that about 70 percent and 94 percent of indebted migrant and non-migrant households do not deposit any security for availing the loan from secondary sources. It means there is some kind of trust between the borrower and lender. The gold is act as the most important collateral deposits if any in the study area. About 30 percent of migrant households who borrow more than once from credit

market, use gold as collateral in availing loan. But very few households belonging to non-migrant household have the accessibility of loan by depositing gold as collateral.

Table 5.21: Percentage Distribution Nature of Collateral for Secondary Source of Loan

Nature of Collateral (Secondary)	Migrant HH	Non-migrant HH	Total
No security	70.4	93.8	79.1
Gold	29.6	6.3	20.9
All	100	100	100
N	27	16	43

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

5.5.4 Amount of Loan:

The average amount of loan generated against different types of collateral generally suggests that other things being equal, the higher the quality of collateral, the higher will be the size of the loan (Sarap, 1991). The average amount of loan per household in the study area is about Rs. 21,300. But it varies between both migrant and non-migrant household. The average amount of loan from primary sources in case of migrant households is Rs.21, 650, which is higher than the non-migrant households (Rs.20, 850). But in the case of loan avail from the secondary sources, if any, it is observed from the study area that the average amount of loan is about Rs. 12, 500 and it varies between migrant and non-migrant household. They account Rs. 8, 800 and Rs. 18, 600 respectively. There is found very wide differences between two categories of households.

Table 5.22: Percentage Distribution of Amount of Loan from Primary Sources

Amount Borrowed in Rs.(Primary)	Migrant HH	Non-migrant HH	Total
5000 and Less	13.8	16.0	14.8
5001-10000	27.7	24.0	26.1
10001-20000	26.9	30.0	28.3
20001-30000	14.6	12.0	13.5
Above 30000	16.9	18.0	17.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	130	100	230

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The table 5.22 shows the distribution of the amount of money borrowed from primary sources by both migrants and non-migrants households in the study area. Among the migrant households, about 28 percent of the households have borrowed between Rs.5001 and Rs. 10000 from the primary sources and it is followed by Rs.10,001 and 20000 (27 percent). In the case of non-migrant households, about 30 percent have taken loan amount of Rs. 10001 to 20000.

Table 5.23: Percentage Distribution of Amount of Loan in Rs. from Primary Sources according to Land Holding Size

Household Category	Land Holding	N	5000 and Less	5001-10000	10001-20000	20001-30000	Above 30000	Total
Migrant	Landless	50	14.0	30.0	30.0	16.0	10.0	100.0
	up to 2.5 acre	68	16.2	29.4	20.6	13.2	20.6	100.0
	>2.5 acre	12	0.0	8.3	50.0	16.7	25.0	100.0
	Total	130	13.8	27.7	26.9	14.6	16.9	100.0
Non-migrant	Landless	34	17.6	17.6	20.6	20.6	23.5	100.0
	up to 2.5 acre	46	21.7	26.1	34.8	8.7	8.7	100.0
	>2.5 acre	20	0.0	30.0	35.0	5.0	30.0	100.0
	Total	100	16.0	24.0	30.0	12.0	18.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Table 5.24: Percentage Distribution of Amount of Loan in Rs. from Primary Sources according to Social Group

Household Category	Social Group	N	5000 and Less	5001-10000	10001-20000	20001-30000	Above 30000	Total
Migrant	SCs	38	15.8	23.7	23.7	15.8	21.1	100.0
	STs	28	17.9	32.1	32.1	10.7	7.1	100.0
	Others	64	10.9	28.1	26.6	15.6	18.8	100.0
	Total	130	13.8	27.7	26.9	14.6	16.9	100.0
Non-migrant	SCs	19	5.3	36.8	31.6	10.5	15.8	100.0
	STs	24	20.8	25.0	29.2	8.3	16.7	100.0
	Others	57	17.5	19.3	29.8	14.0	19.3	100.0
	Total	100	16.0	24.0	30.0	12.0	18.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The distribution of the amount of loan by land holding size shows that most of the landless migrant households have borrowed loan ranging from Rs. 5001-10000 and 10001-20000 (Table 5.23). In the case of non-migrant households, it is observed that a larger percentage of landless categories households have availed loan amount of above Rs. 30000. The reason may be that they are engaged in salaried employment or any business due to which they have the capacity to repay the loan.

The table 5.24 shows the percentage distribution of the amount of loan from primary sources based on the social group. It is observed that both in case of migrant and non-migrant households a larger percentage of households of all categories have borrowed amount ranging between Rs. 5001- 10000 and Rs. 10001-20000.

Table 5.25: Percentage Distribution of Amount of Loan from Secondary Sources

Amount Borrowed in Rs.(Secondary)	Migrant HH	Non-migrant HH	Total
5000 and less	63.0	31.3	51.2
5001-10000	18.5	18.8	18.6
10001-20000	7.4	31.3	16.3
20001-30000	3.7	12.5	7.0
Above 30000	7.4	6.3	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	27	16	43

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

In the secondary sources, a very high percentage of migrant households have loan amount of Rs. 5000 and less (Table 5.25). With the increase in the amount borrowed the percentage of indebted migrant households decrease. In the case of non-migrant household, more than 80 percent of households are borrowing less than Rs.20000.

5.5.5 Existing Monthly Interest Rate on Loan

The issue of high-interest rate particularity in the informal sector has been of much concern for scholars. According to the traditional neoclassical view, the high-interest rates in rural credit market could be explained by high administrative costs (of transacting with large numbers of small borrowers), high risks of default and the

monopoly power of lenders (Bottomley 1963, 1964 in Ramachandran and Swaminathan, 2002). However, a critique of neoclassical theory, Amit Bhaduri argued that lender's risk was not the crucial determinant of interest rates (Bhaduri 1977, 1983). Bhaduri proposed that the valuation of collateral securities could be the basis for the formation of usurious interest rates. He also observed that rural lenders were able to transfer the risk of default to borrowers by undervaluing of collateral securities (in Ramchandran and Swaminathan, 2002).

Table 5.26: Percentage Distribution of Monthly Interest Rate on Loan from Primary Sources

Monthly Interest Rate in % (Primary)	Migrant HH	Non-migrant HH	Total
0 (no interest)	4.6	7.0	5.7
0.1-2	10.0	26.0	17.0
2.1-4	16.9	18.0	17.4
4.1-6	12.3	18.0	14.8
above 6	56.2	31.0	45.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	130	100	230

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Generally, the rate of interest rate charged by the formal sources is far lower in comparison to that of the informal sources. There are higher percentages of households in case of migrants households who have a monthly rate of interest of more than 6 percent in comparison to non-migrant households (Table 5.26). There is a higher percentage of non-migrants households who have a low rate of interest in comparison to the migrant households. The percentage of households who do not have to pay any interest rate is also higher in the case of non-migrant households than the migrant households. From his study on the drought triggered migration Julich (2011) finds that when there is no collateral to submit then the credit relation is only based on trust and the interest charged is very high which is very often 10 percent per month.

Table 5.27 shows the distribution of the monthly rate of interest on loan according to the sources of debt. It shows that the rate of interest charged by formal sources like the commercial bank is very low. About 85 percent of the migrant households who avail loan from the formal sources give less than 2 percent as the monthly interest rate

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on the amount of money they borrowed. In the case of the non-migrant household also about 71 percent of the households give a monthly rate of interest of less than 2 percent to the formal sources lender.

Table 5.27: Percentage Distribution of Monthly Rate of Interest on Loan from Primary Sources based on the Sources of Loan

Monthly Interest Rate in % (Primary)	Migrant HH		Non-Migrant HH	
	formal	informal	formal	informal
0 (no interest)	0.0	5.1	0.0	10.6
0.1-2	84.6	1.7	70.6	3.0
2.1-4	15.4	17.1	29.4	12.1
4.1-6	0.0	13.7	0.0	27.3
above 8	0.0	62.4	0.0	47.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	13	117	34	66

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

But in the case of the informal source of lending, it is observed from the study area that about 62 percent of migrant households and 47 percent of non-migrant households are charged a monthly interest rate of above 8 percent. This even reaches more than 10 percent per month. The annual interest from informal lending many times reaches more than 100 percent that means the interest amount becomes more than principal amount and it becomes a burden for households which ultimately result to debt-induced migration. Another important observation from the study area is that the rate of interest charged from the informal sources of lending is comparatively higher for migrant households than non-migrant households.

There is a provision of formal credit to the farmers in every agricultural season at the lower interest rate. But most of the farmers due to their ignorance and cumbersome process to avail the loan do not opt for formal credit sources.

The table 5.28 shows the distribution of households who have borrowed from more than one source. There is a higher percentage of households from migrant categories are availing loan without any interest rate than the non-migrant categories. On the other hand, the percentage of households who are charged with above 6 percent interest rate per month is smaller in the case of migrant than non-migrant categories.

Table 5.28: Percentage Distribution of Monthly Rate of Interest on Loan from Secondary Sources

Monthly Interest Rate in % (Secondary)	Migrant HH	Non-migrant HH	Total
0 (no interest)	25.9	6.3	18.6
0.1-2	3.7	6.3	4.7
2.1-4	29.6	31.3	30.2
4.1-6	7.4	12.5	9.3
above 6	33.3	43.8	37.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	27	16	43

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

5.5.6 Duration of Loan:

Duration of loan is also an important part of loan related study. In this study, it is found that a larger proportion of households have taken a loan for duration of 7-12 months. In other words, about 70 percent of the households have loan duration of up to one year. After this, the percentages of households decrease with increase in the duration of the loan. It is happening for both migrant households and non-migrants households which can be observed from the table 5.29.

Table 5.29: Percentage Distribution of Duration of Loan from Primary and Secondary Sources

Duration of Loan	Migrant HH	Non-migrant HH	Total
Primary Sources			
1 to 6 months	27.7	28.0	27.8
7 to 12 months	48.5	33.0	41.7
13 to 24 months	18.5	28.0	22.6
above 24 months	5.4	11.0	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	130	100	230
Secondary Sources			
1 to 6 months	44.4	18.8	34.9
7 to 12 months	44.4	25.0	37.2
13 to 24 months	11.1	31.3	18.6
above 24 months	0.0	25.0	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	27	16	43

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

There is also similar kind of observation in case of the duration of loan from secondary sources. The duration of the loan is more important than interest rate itself because the more time a household takes to repay its loan the more amount of interest it needs to pay. The outstanding loan amount goes on increasing with increase in the duration of the loan. With the small size of the income from farming as well as casual labour it is not possible for the rural farming community to repay such large outstanding loan. In these circumstances, migration becomes the options for some of the households whereas some other households try to repay the outstanding loans through income generated from agriculture and other economic activities.

5.5.7 Amount of Loan Outstanding

The average amount of loan outstanding in the study area per indebted household is about Rs.45, 000. But there is found variations between migrant households and non-migrant households which are revealed from the fig 5.1. The average amount of loan outstanding is higher for migrant households (about Rs.50000) in comparison to the non-migrant households (about Rs.34000).

Fig. 5.1: Distribution of Average amount of Loan Outstanding from Primary Loan Sources
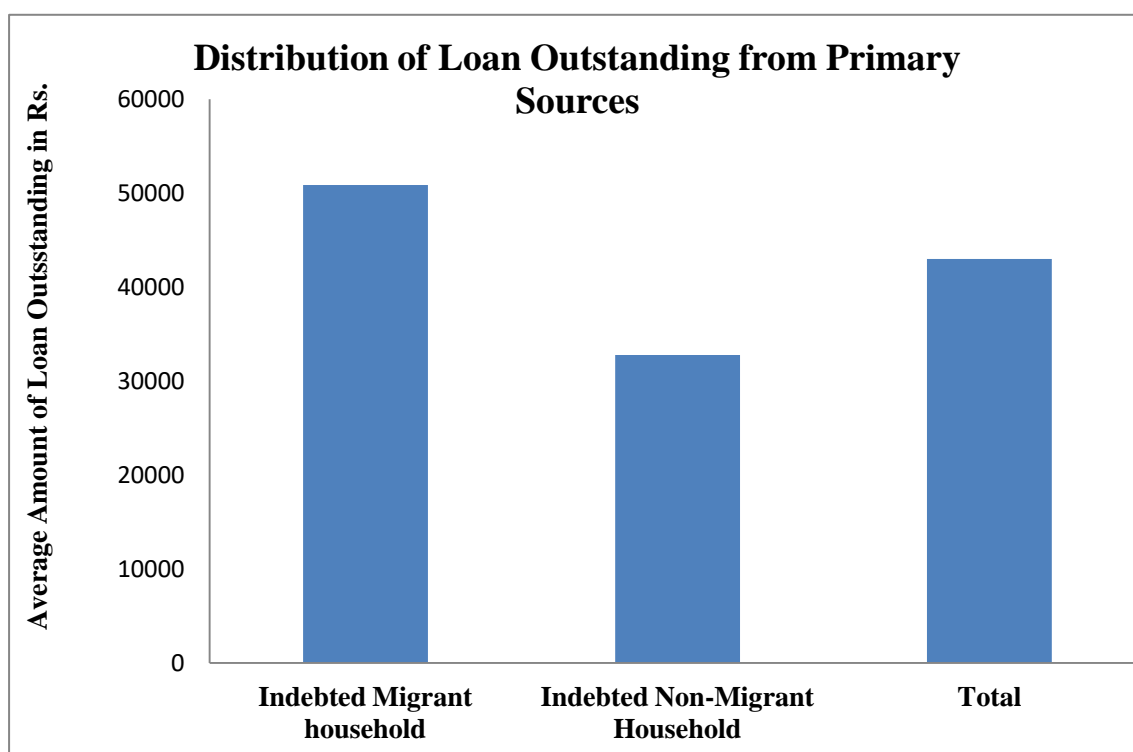
Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

Fig. 5.2: Distribution of Average amount of Loan Outstanding from Secondary Loan Sources

Distribution of Loan Outstanding from Secondary Sources
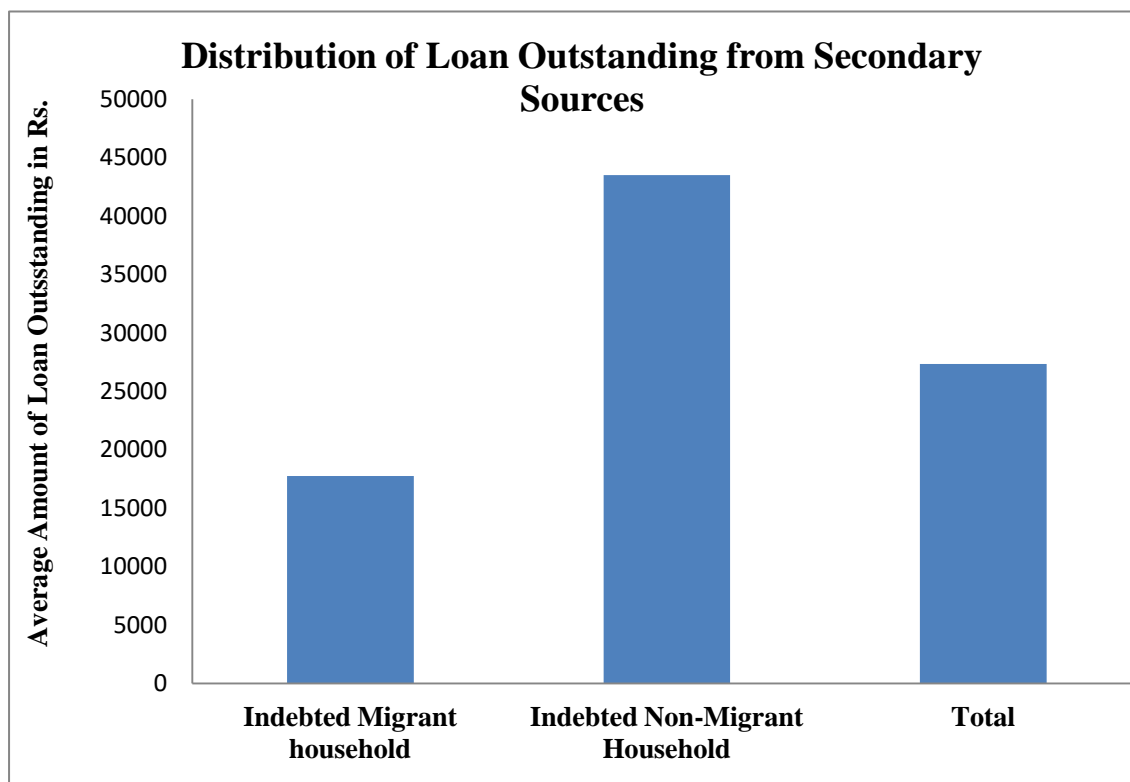
Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The fig. 5.2 shows the average amount of loan outstanding from secondary sources. Here, the average amount of loan outstanding among indebted non-migrant households is higher than that of the migrant households. The average for migrant household is about Rs.18, 000 whereas for non-migrant it is about Rs. 44, 000. The difference between the two categories of households is very large.

The percentage distribution of indebted household based on the amount of loan outstanding from primary sources shows that a higher percentage of households have Rs. 20001 to 50000 as outstanding loans. It is found among both the migrant households and non-migrants households (Table 5.30).

Table 5.30 also shows that about 60 percent of the migrant households have an outstanding loan amount of Rs.10,000 or less from secondary loan sources and the percentage of households decrease with the increase of loan outstanding from this amount among the migrant households. In the case of non-migrant households, there is no clear pattern in the percentage of households and amount of outstanding loan.

Table 5.30: Percentage Distribution of Amount of Loan Outstanding

Amount of Loan Outstanding (Rs.)	Migrant HH	Non-migrant HH	Total
Primary Sources			
10,000 and less	17.7	19.0	18.3
10,001 to 20,000	20.8	25.0	22.6
20,001 to 50,000	34.6	35.0	34.8
50,001 to 100,000	12.3	16.0	13.9
above 100,000	14.6	5.0	10.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	130	100	230
Secondary Sources			
10,000 and less	59.3	25.0	46.5
10,001 to 20,000	14.8	18.8	16.3
20,001 to 50,000	14.8	25.0	18.6
50,001 to 100,000	7.4	18.8	11.6
above 100,000	3.7	12.5	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	27	16	43

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

5.6 The Net Effect of Households' Background Characteristics on Availing Credit from Formal Sources

Table 5.31 shows the result of the binary logistic model. The dependent variable is the sources of credit. The formal source is taken as 1 and the informal source of credit is 0. The model's odds ratio gives the likelihood of availing formal (institutional) sources of credit. A set of independent variables (predictors) is taken in this study to see which variables are influencing in the availing loan from formal sources by the households in the study area. The predictors which have a significant effect on the availing of formal sources of credit are discussed here.

The source of a loan from which the household avail loan is determined by the amount of loan that the households take. The amount of credit has a significant and positive effect on the availing of formal credit. With regard to the amount of credit less than Rs. 10000, the households getting more than this are more likely that they avail from formal sources. Generally, the very small amount of credit is sought from the informal sources like friends, relatives and money lenders. When the amount of

credit is large, it is more likely that it is availed from the formal sources like commercial banks.

Table 5.31 Logistic Regression to Analyse the Net Effect of Background Characteristics on Availing of Formal Credit

Dependent Variable				
Informal/Non-institutional Credit-0				
Formal/Institutional Credit-1				

Independent Variable	Category	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio
Education of HH Head	Illiterate®			
	Primary & Middle	0.064	0.447	1.067
	Secondary & Above	0.498	0.524	1.645
Amount of credit (Rs.)	<10,000®			
	10,001-20,000	0.753	0.512	2.123
	20,001-30,000	1.875	0.589	6.518***
	> 30,000	1.088	0.561	2.969**
Social Group	Scheduled			
	Non-Scheduled	-0.202	0.383	0.817
Landholding Size	Landless®			
	up to 2.5 acre	1.06	0.48	2.886**
	>2.5 acre	1.571	0.571	4.811***
Access to Bank	No®			
	Yes	-0.041	0.631	0.96
Migration Status	Migrant®			
	Non-migrant	1.643	0.406	5.169***
Access to PDS	No®			
	Yes	1.391	0.746	4.019*
Constant		-5.031	1.032	0.007
N	230			
-2 Log Likelihood	184.777			
Cox and Snell R Square	0.189			
Nagelkerke R Square	0.297			

***P<0.01; **P<0.05, * P<0.1
® Reference Category

Source: Computed from Field Survey Data, 2015

The landholding size of the households also determines on the availing of the loan. With regard to the landless households, the marginal and small size landholding households are more likely to take loan from the formal sources. The farming households usually take an agricultural loan from the bank, which is a formal source of credit delivery. The comparatively higher landholding size households are mainly the richer section of the population. Besides agricultural loan, they access house loan and other loans for which they avail credit from formal sources. The landholding size has a significant and positive effect on the availing credit from formal sources.

Similarly, the migration status of the household does have a significant effect on the availing the credit from the formal sources. With regard to the migrant households, the non-migrant households are more likely to take loan from the formal sources.

Results from Table 5.31 also show that the accessibility to the PDS determines the availing of formal sources of loan. With regard to the households without access to PDS, those with accessibility are more likely to take formal sources loan. The households which get PDS do not require loan to meet their daily food requirements rather they require loan for fulfilling other requirements like buying agricultural assets and non-agricultural assets for which they have to borrow from the formal sources.

Overall, the independent variables like the amount of credit, landholding size, migration status and access to PDS have a significant effect on the availing of credit from formal sources. The socio-economically richer households are generally taking the loan from the formal sources. It is because they are aware of the process of availing formal sources, and have collateral to deposit for availing the loan. On the other hand, the socio-economically poor like landless and migrant households go to the informal credit market mainly to the money lender even if they are aware of the exploitation from the hand of money lenders. In these circumstances, the migration remains the only option to earn more and repay the debt.

CHAPTER-6

PATTERN OF REMITTANCES, ITS USES, AND DETERMINANTS

6.1 Introduction

Remittances are the transfer, either in cash or in kind to the households from which a migrant has migrated out. These are amongst the most important aspects of migration, especially so for the migrants' area of origin, and perhaps even more than the absence of migrants. These are the most positive impact of migration on the area of origin of migrants. In terms of international migration Taylor (1991) says "If one considers labour as an export, then remittances are the part of the payment for exporting labour services that return to the country of origin". From internal migration in the context of India, it reveals that remittances contribute significantly not only to the consumption requirements of those who are left behind but also play a most important role in debt repayment in backward regions of the country. The issue of remittances sent by the out-migrants to their former household's is very important because it is understood that remittances play a crucial role in improving the livelihoods of the households. These are playing an increasingly large role in the economy of many countries, contributing to the economic growth as well as in improving the livelihood aspects of less prosperous people. India is not left behind in these aspects. There are remittances sent by the out-migrants to their former household. It may come from the out-migrants of outside India or within India. The benefit of remittances may be small for a state where there is loss of human capital through migration but as far as economy of the study area (Kalahandi) is concerned where there is lack of employment opportunities for the most part of the year or income from agriculture is not substantial, it directly contributes to income of the sending areas of migrants whatever may be the size of remittances. It fills the gap of income deficit to fulfill the daily consumption needs as well as other emergencies like health expenditure in migrants' sending areas. Health expenditure is one of the major head of expenditure for which a migrant household falls into indebtedness. For indebted migrant household, remittance money has become bless because it not only helps them to repay the earlier debt but also meet the basic needs like food and health care. Here, migration has become the strategy for debt repayment and livelihood options. For non-indebted migrant household, remittances can also act as insurance policies against the risk associated with agriculture during the time of drought where people

unable to fulfill their subsistence. It may also positively influence the production by providing households the scarce capital that is required at the time of sowing of seeds, weeding and harvesting.

In order to understand the motive behind sending remittances, it is important to revisit the different theories on motives to remit. The main theories in these aspects are- altruistic motive, inheritance-seeking motive, maintaining links and intentions to return motive, investment motive, and loan repayment motive (Havolli, 2009). According to the Altruistic motive hypothesis, migrants enjoy sending money to their relatives in their country of origin by valuing both, their own utility and the utility of their relatives in home country (Lucas and Stark, 1985; Rapoport and Docquier 2005). In the inheritance-seeking motive, the migrants send remittances to support their families in order to ensure the right of inheriting assets in their country of origin. This is often called the self-interest motive. Controlling for migrant earnings, Lucas and Stark (1985) found in Botswana that when there is a risk of temporary loss of income due to drought migrants send significantly more remittances to families. They reject a "pure altruism" model of remittance behaviour, while finding evidence of an inheritance motive to remit (cf. Taylor, 1999). Maintaining links theory implies that migrants are likely to remit when they are willing to return in their country of origin. They send remittances so that they can show their intentions to return and to maintain links with their family. This behaviour possibly generates investments from migrants, such as buying a house or investing in a business. Investment theory of remittances claims that migrants who seek investments and whose perceptions about the business environment in their country of origin are favourable will remit more, as they plan or already have undertaken an investment; hence, migrants' motive to remit is driven by the incentives to secure assets that they have invested or plan to invest in future (Lucas and Stark, 1985). Loan repayment motive is another form of motive which explains why migrants remit. According to this theory, migrants send remittances to repay their previous implicit loans from their families for expenses in education, financing migration, etc. Two theories- altruistic motive and loan repayment motive can be fitted in the micro-level study of our study area which can be generalized through detail discussion in the later part of this chapter. There are debt-induced migrants as well as non-indebted migrants who send remittances to their origin households. The remittances send by indebted migrants are used for loan repayment

and after that, the requirements for food consumption and health care are also fulfilled if the remittances are enough. On the other hand, the remittances from the non-indebted migrants are used not only for consumption of food items and other consumer expenditure by migrants' household of origin but also health care, education expenditure, etc.

This chapter mainly focuses on the remittances sent by the out-migrants both indebted and non-indebted to their former households. The discussion will be on how the remittances sent by the out-migrants differ with different demographic, social and economic characteristics of the out-migrants in the study area. The overview of remittances sent and regional variation (NSSO region) in Odisha is also included. This chapter also tries to deal with the use of remittances by the household members. In the last section of this chapter, the determinants of remittances have been discussed thoroughly.

6.2 An Overview of Remittances Sent in India and Odisha

The remittances sent back home by out-migrants particularly of young and educated workers generally considered to make up the loss as it adds to the regional income in the area of origin (Khan, 1986). Oberai et al. (1989) observed that the remittances sent by out-migrants are an important aspect of the migration process. From their study on Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh, it is revealed that the proportion of remitters is lower among unmarried in comparison to married people in Uttar Pradesh but this difference does not exist in Bihar and Kerala. In all the three states, the remittances from the out-migrants with no formal education are lower than among those with some formal education which is probably due to the fact that such out-migrants' income is likely to below to allow remittances.

Yadava et al. (1996) in his study found that the remittances improve the income of out-migrants households and decrease the inequalities in the overall income distribution. Mosse et al. (2002) observed from the field studies that a majority of seasonal migrants either remit or bring home savings. In many cases, a substantial proportion of household cash income is attributed to migrant earnings.

Srivastava and Sasikumar (2003) stated that the resource flows in the form of remittances to the migrants' household occur as a result of migration which is the only one aspect, the other being savings brought home by migrants in cash or kind.

Rajan and Mishra in Rajan (2011) stated that the remittance sent by the migrants to home is not only important for their family but also for country's balance of payment. Remittances present a significant proportion of the GDP in most of the developing countries. In their study on Kerala, it is revealed that the impact of remittances on Kerala is appeared in household consumption, saving and investment, quality of houses and possession of modern consumer durables. It also plays an important role in enhancing the quality of life and contributes for higher human development index for Kerala.

Based on the 64th round of NSS it is found that out of total out-migrants of India, there is about only 22 percent are the sender of remittances to their former households. In Odisha 35.7 percent migrants sent remittances. However, there exists a difference over different NSSO region of the state. The out-migrants who sent remittances is higher for Coastal region which is about 44 percent and it is lower for the Southern region (about 28 percent). From the out-migrants from the Northern region, it is 29 percent.

Table 6.1: Distribution of Out-migrants Who Sent Remittances during Last 365 Days

Out-migrants	India		Odisha	
	Number	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
Remittances Sender	25220173	21.7	1377560	35.7
Do not Send Remittances	91264275	78.4	2479160	64.3
Total Out-migrants	116484448	100.0	3856720	100.0

Source: Based on NSS 64th Round

Table 6.2: Distribution of Out-migrants Who Sent Remittances during Last 365 Days by NSSO Region of Odisha

Out-migrants	NSSO REGION ODISHA					
	Coastal		**Southern**		**Northern**	
	Number	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
Remittances Sender	805561	43.8	313053	27.8	258946	29.0
Do not Send Remittances	1031814	56.2	814096	72.2	633250	70.9
Total Out-migrants	1837375	100.0	1127149	100.0	892196	100.0

Source: Based on NSS 64th Round

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6.3 Remittances Sending Behaviour of the Indebted and Non-indebted Migrants in the Study Area

Table 6.3 shows the distribution of migrants who send remittances. Here, the migrants who are not seeking employment but migrated with the earning members are excluded in the total migrant category. From the table, it is observed that 72 percent of the migrants send remittances in the study area. There are no major differences observed between the indebted and non-indebted migrants in remittances sending behaviour though there may be differences in the amount of remittances which will be dealt in the later part of this chapter. The percentage of migrants sending remittances is very high in the study area is very high because the migrants who have engaged in an economic activity or seeking employment are taken for the discussion.

Table 6.3: Distribution of Out-migrants Who Sent Remittances during Last 365 Days

Migrants Category	Total Migrants	Migrants who sent remittances	
		Number	Percent
Indebted migrants	223	162	72.7
Non-indebted migrant	206	148	71.8
Total	429	310	72.3

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The remittances sent by migrants depend on earnings and willingness, as well as the motivation of migrants to share part of these earnings with his/her household of origin (Taylor, 1999). There are found differences in the sending of remittances by the migrants across different social, demographic and economic characteristics. These are discussed below under the following broad heads.

6.3.1 Social Characteristics

The distribution of the percentage of out-migrants sending remittances to their former households during last one year by religion shows that the Christian community has the higher percentage (89) though their absolute number is small. In the case of indebted migrants, all the Christian migrants are sending remittances but among the non-indebted category, it is 80 percent. The sample of the Muslim community was not found in the study area.

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Table 6.4: Distribution of Percentage of Out-migrants Sending Remittances by Social Characteristics

Social Characteristics	Indebted migrants		Non-indebted migrants		All migrants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Religion						
Hindu	154	71.6	140	71.4	294	71.5
Christian	8	100.0	8	80.0	16	88.9
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3
Social Group						
SC	51	73.9	53	72.6	104	73.2
ST	24	55.8	19	61.3	43	58.1
Others	87	78.4	76	74.5	163	76.5
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3
Educational Level						
No Education	52	65.8	44	62.0	96	64.0
Primary and Middle	49	68.1	61	77.2	110	72.8
Secondary & Above	61	84.7	43	76.8	104	81.3
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

With regard to the social group, it is observed from the study area that the percentage of migrants who send remittances is higher among Others (76.5 percent) than the SCs and STs population. It is lowest among the STs (58 percent) followed by SCs (73 percent). This findings support the earlier findings from the study of India and Odisha based on NSSO 64th round (Meher, 2012). The percentage of out-migrants sending remittances depend on the work they are engaged. It may be due to the fact that the out-migrants belonging to relatively higher castes are engaged in a better job where they get higher income. Hence they become able to send remittances to their former households. There are also found differences between indebted migrants and non-indebted migrants in sending of remittances. In the case of indebted migrants, the percentage of 'Others' social group sending remittances is 78 percent but it is 74.5 percent in the case of non-indebted migrants. However, there is also evidence of propensity of remitting is lowest among the Brahmins (Mamgain, 2003).

With regard to educational level, it is observed from the Table 6.4 that the percentage of indebted migrants who send remittances is highest among those who have a secondary and above level of education (85 percent). It is followed by a primary and middle level of education (68 percent). The percentage of illiterate indebted migrants who send remittances is about 66 percent. Like the indebted migrants, the percentage of remitter is highest among the migrants who have secondary and above level of education (81.3 percent) in the case of non-indebted migrants. The migrants with no education represent the bottom line as far as sending of remittances is concerned. In both categories, the most important point that comes out is that the percentage of remitter is higher among the migrants with higher level of education and it is so because they can be employed in the salaried jobs which yield more income.

6.3.2 Demographic Characteristics

It is observed from the field study that the percentage of out-migrants who sent remittances is more for males in comparison to females. It is true for both indebted migrants as well as non-indebted migrant. In the case of indebted migrants, out of the total males about 77 percent are sending remittances whereas the respective figure for females is 60 percent. On the other hand, the percentage of males is about 75 percent whereas for females it is about 65 percent. The lower percentage of females is due to the fact that most the income earned by them is used for the maintenance of their own family. From the study on India and Odisha, the percentage of remitter is high in case of males than females. The lower percentage of females remitters is due to the fact that most of them migrate for social reason not for economic reason as such which is predominantly for their male counterpart. Even if they work after marriage, the income earned by them is used for the maintenance of their own family (Meher and Dash, 2017). But the percentage of remitters among females from the migrants of the study area is low because most of them have migrated through middlemen and they mostly receive advance money and do not get a daily wage or monthly payment. The contractor or middlemen pay them only for their food needs. It is one of the reasons for which all migrants are not remitters.

The age group wise distribution of migrants who sent remittances during last one year shown in Table 6.5 reveals that the percentage of indebted migrants who sent remittances is increasing with the increase in the age group. But it is not so in the case

of non-indebted migrants. The percentage of indebted migrants who sent remittances is 50 percent for out-migrants belonging to age group of less than 20. But as the age is increasing the percentage of out-migrants who sent remittances also increase. It may be due to the fact that at the time of the younger age of the out-migrants, the out-migrants' household may not require the remittances because they have other working hands in the household. As the age of the out-migrants increase, the household members from where they migrated out earlier become older and sick for which they are not able to work and depend on the remittances. In addition to this, the responsibility to run the household increases with increasing the age of migrants. The percentages of migrants who sent remittances are 77.8 percent and about 82 percent respectively for the age group 35-49, and 50 and above.

On the other hand, among the non-indebted category, the percentage of migrants who send remittances is larger for the most productive age groups like 20-34 and 35-49. The very low age group and the very high age group have the lowest percentages of remittances sender. As they are not indebted, they do not have any liability to repay any debt. So, they are not forced to remit. The number of remittances sender in productive age group migrants is high because they are more responsible for looking after the needs of the family from which they migrate out. The remittances are sought from them to meet the daily consumption, health care and social ceremonies. Even if they are not indebted the remittances are highly required for improving the housing condition. But when the non-indebted migrants reach to old age, they aren't able to remit as like the productive age group migrant because their productivity of labour decreases to a great extent.

With respect to the marital status, the above table shows that the percentage of migrants who send remittances are higher for ever-married migrants than unmarried and it is true for both categories of migrants-indebted and non-indebted. In the case of the indebted migrant category, the percentage of ever-married migrants who send remittances is about 75 percent whereas for unmarried it is 68 percent. On the other hand, in the case of non-indebted migrants, the percentages are about 73 and 70 respectively for ever married and unmarried migrants. The percentage among the ever-married migrants in sending remittances is more because of the fact that they are more responsive to the family in comparison to the unmarried migrants. Moreover,

most of the migrants are males and they have left behind their wives at home, for whom the remittances are badly required for their subsistence.

Table 6.5: Distribution of Percentage of Out-migrants Sending Remittances by Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Characteristics	Indebted migrants		Non-indebted migrants		All migrants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Sex						
Male	129	76.8	111	74.5	240	75.7
Female	33	60.0	37	64.9	70	62.5
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3
Age group						
Less than 20	11	50.0	12	52.2	23	51.1
20 to 34	91	72.8	76	75.2	167	73.9
35 to 49	42	77.8	45	75.0	87	76.3
50 and Above	18	81.8	15	68.2	33	75.0
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3
Marital status						
Ever married	113	74.8	111	72.5	224	73.7
Unmarried	49	68.1	37	69.8	86	68.8
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3
Size of the Family						
Less than 4	60	75.9	80	75.5	140	75.7
4 to 5	48	75.0	27	62.8	75	70.1
Above 5	54	67.5	41	71.9	95	69.3
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

In respect of the family size of the migrants' household from where they migrated out, it reveals that the percentage of remittances sent by the indebted migrant is 76 percent for the household size of fewer than four members and it is comparatively less for the very high size of the household (Table 6.5). There is a decrease in the percentage of

remitter with an increase in the size of the family. The percentages of remittance-sending migrants are high in the low size of the family because they might are the breadwinner of the households from which they migrated out. Their remittances will be spent on debt repayment and daily consumption. Like indebted migrants, in the case of non-indebted categories, the percentage of remitter is highest among the migrant belonging to the small family size.

6.3.3 Economic Characteristics

From the study of Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh by Oberai et al. (1989), it is found that there is a higher proportion of remitters in Bihar followed by Kerala and Uttar Pradesh. The reason behind the higher proportion in Bihar is due to chronic poverty which compels the out-migrant to remit. The land possession, housing structure, household assets, livestock assets of the migrant's households at source area as well as the type of economic activity engaged by the migrant at destination give the economic account of the out-migrants remitting in the study area.

In the case of indebted migrants, the distribution of the percentage of migrants sending remittances based on the land possessed by their former households gives that it is more for landless households whereas it is less for land owning migrants' household (Table 6.6). The reason may be that in the case of landless household, the out-migration is the way of livelihood option and to repay the debt. For this reason, the migrant sends remittances. The marginal and small landholding size households have already an option of livelihood. So, the out-migrants are not compelled to send remittances. Moreover, with an increase in the operational land holding size, there is a decrease in the percentage of the remitter.

Like indebted migrants, migrants belonging to the landless categories have a greater propensity to remit in the case of non-indebted categories and the percentage of remitter is sharply decreasing with increasing land holding. In other words, the percentage of remitter is high among the migrants belonging to the marginal farming communities in comparison to the small farmers and other higher land holding size categories. The percentage among landless is more because the family left behind in the source area depend on the remittances to fulfill the daily requirements though they are not liable for debt repayment.

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Table 6.6: Distribution of Percentage of Migrants Sending Remittances by Economic Characteristics

Economic Characteristics	Indebted migrants		Non-indebted migrants		All migrants	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Landholding Size						
Landless	67	77	75	79.8	142	78.5
Marginal Farmers (up to 2.5 acres)	82	71.3	63	67.7	145	69.7
Small farmers and Others (> 2.5 acres)	13	61.9	10	52.6	23	57.5
All	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3
Household Assets						
<0.50	51	82.3	49	66.2	100	73.5
0.50 to 1.00	65	71.4	57	69.5	122	70.5
>1.00	46	65.7	42	82.4	88	72.7
Total	162	72.6	148	71.5	310	72.1
Livestock Assets						
0 (No livestock)	99	76.2	124	78	223	77.2
0.01 to 0.75	42	75	14	53.8	56	68.3
> 0.75	21	56.8	10	45.5	31	52.5
All	162	72.6	148	71.5	310	72.1
Housing Structure						
Kutcha	13	81.3	11	55	24	66.7
Semi Pucca	143	71.1	117	71.3	260	71.2
Pucca	6	100	20	90.9	26	92.9
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3
Main Occupation						
Brick making	16	42.1	28	50.9	44	47.3
Construction Worker	112	80	80	76.9	192	78.7
Plumbing	9	100	7	77.8	16	88.9
Industrial Worker	12	75	18	81.8	30	78.9
Agricultural Worker	3	30	2	100	5	41.7
Salaried Employment	6	100	9	100	15	100
Others	4	100	4	100	8	100
Total	162	72.6	148	72.2	310	72.4

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

In the case of indebted migrants with regard to the household assets (durable), it is observed from the sample migrants that the percentages of migrants who send remittances is higher among the migrants belonging to the households with a very low level of assets in comparison to those with higher assets possession. With the increase in the level of asset possession, there is a decrease in the percentage of remitters (Table 6.6). The poor households need remittances badly for their subsistence and to repay the debt. But in the case of non-indebted migrants, the reverse is true. The migrants belonging to the higher assets possessed households might have engaged in occupation which yields higher and regular income. Therefore, they are being able to send remittances.

The percentage of remitters is high in case of households having no livestock or low level of livestock. The households which have higher possession of livestock assets have reported less propensity of remitters. It is true for both indebted and non-indebted migrants.

With regard to the housing structure, it is observed from the table that the percentage of migrants sending remittances is higher among the migrants belonging to the pucca household structure. It is true both indebted and non-indebted migrant categories. But in the case of indebted migrant categories, their number is so small. If an indebted migrant belongs to pucca household then there is more chance that he or she will remit.

In the case of indebted migrants, with regard to the main occupation, all those engaged in plumbing and salaried employment send remittance. However, migrants who work in brick kiln industry and agriculture do not have sufficient money to send. Only 42 percent of indebted migrants who engaged in brick kiln industry send remittances whereas 58 percent isn't able to send even a small amount of remittances. In the previous chapters, it was found that almost all of migrants engaged in brick kiln migrate through middlemen and they are given only for daily consumption for which they aren't able to remit. In addition to this, after six to eight months of rigorous work they return with empty handed or even with debt and obligation with the contractor for future work. In the case of non-indebted migrants also half of the migrants who are engaged in brick kiln industry able to remit. As far as remitters from construction work are concerned it is found that 80 percent and 77 percent of the migrants-

indebted and non-indebted respectively remit back home. All non-indebted migrants who are engaged in salaried employment remit though their numbers are small. There is increase in the propensity to remitting with the increase in the level of income of the migrant workers (Mamgain, 2003). The salaried employment brings comparatively high and regular income as a result of which the migrant able to remit.

6.3.4 Remittances Sending Behaviour of the Migrants based on the Period of Migration:

The table 6.7 shows the percentage of out-migrants remitting based on the period migration. In the case of indebted migrants, the percentage of migrants who send remittances is higher for migrants who stay for longer period i.e. one to two years or more than two years of migration in comparison to the short-term migrants who stay for less than 6 months or one year. It is only 66 percent for less than 6 months but the percentage of remitter who migrated for 12 months to 24 months and more than 24 months are about 96 and 94 respectively. On the other hand, in the case of non-indebted migrants, the percentage of remittance- sending migrants is about 60 percent for less than 6 months of migration but it increases to about 88 percent if she or he migrates for 6 to 12months. It further increases to 96 percent which is closer to 100 percent for migrants who migrate for 12 months to 24 months. After that, the percentage of non-indebted migrants sending remittances decrease as shown in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Distribution of Percentage of Migrants Sending Remittances by the Period of Migration

Period of Migration	Indebted migrants		Non-indebted migrants		All migrants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 6 Months	68	66.0	66	59.5	134	62.6
6 months-12 months	54	69.2	43	87.8	97	76.4
12 months-24 months	25	96.2	25	96.2	50	96.2
More than 24 months	15	93.8	14	70.0	29	80.6
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

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The short duration migrants are not able to send remittances because they take the time to settle in a new environment and job. Moreover, most of the short duration migrants of the study area migrate through middlemen and work in brickworks. Again, the migrants who stay for the very long period say for example more than 5 years or 10 years, very few of them send remittances because it may be the fact that the attachment with the household becomes weaker and their own family expenditure increase. Meher and Dash (2017) study also suggests similar kind of observations in their study on Odisha.

6.3.5 Remittances Sending Behaviour of the Migrants based on the Type of Migration

It is observed from the Table 6.8 that most of the economic migrants prefer long distance i.e. interstate. It is the availability of work mostly matter to them. Distance does not stand as an obstacle for migrants. The percentages of inter-state migrants who send remittances are 73 percent and 71 percent respectively for indebted

Table 6.8: Distribution of Percentage of Migrants Sending Remittances by the Type of Migration

Type of migration	Indebted migrants		Non-indebted migrants		All migrants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Intra-District	3	100.0	1	50.0	4	80.0
Inter-District	2	40.0	7	87.5	9	69.2
Inter-State	157	73.0	139	71.3	296	72.2
International	NA	NA	1	100.0	1	100.0
Total	162	72.6	148	71.8	310	72.3

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

migrants and non-indebted migrants. Though all indebted migrants who chose intra-districts migration remit, their absolute number is so small. Similarly, there is only one non-indebted migrant who migrates outside India remit.

6.3.6 Frequency of Remittances sent by the Migrants

The frequency of remittances expresses the number of times a migrant send remittances to his/her former households. In the sample migrants, frequency during

last one year was taken for the study. About 35 percent of the indebted migrants have sent remittances once in last one year whereas, in the non-indebted migrant categories, more than half of the migrants have sent remittances only once. The percentage of remitters is decreased with increase in the frequency of remittances and it is true for both the indebted and non-indebted migrants (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9: Distribution of Frequency of Remittances sent by the Migrants in Last One Year

Frequency of Remittances	Migrants (Number)			Migrants (Proportion)		
	Indebted	Non-Indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-Indebted	Total
Once	57	78	135	35.2	52.7	43.5
Twice	54	33	87	33.3	22.3	28.1
Thrice	32	20	52	19.8	13.5	16.8
More than Thrice	19	17	36	11.7	11.5	11.6
Total	162	148	310	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

6.3.7 Channel of Remittances Sent by the Migrants

Channel of sending of remittances also an important part of the remittances study. If the remittances are not put in the proper channel then it cannot be reached to the households from which migrants have migrated out. In general, the remittances can be sent through either formal or informal channel. The formal channels include the money transfer services offered by banks, post office banks, non-banking financial institutions and others whereas; the informal channels include cash transfers based on personal relationships through business people or sent by friends, relatives or oneself (Freund and Spatafora, 2008). In the study area, it is observed that three-fourth of the migrant send remittances through the formal channels and there is a wide difference between indebted and non-indebted migrants (Table 6.10). The percentage of remitters from formal channels is high in case of indebted migrants (86 percent) in comparison to that of the non-indebted migrants (65 percent). With the increase in the financial inclusion recently in rural India, migrants prefer formal channels as secure means to send remittances.

Table 6.10: Distribution of Channel of Remittances Sent by the Migrants in Last One Year

Channel of Remittances	Migrants (Number)			Migrants (Proportion)		
	Indebted	Non-Indebted	Total	Indebted	Non-Indebted	Total
Formal	139	96	235	85.8	64.9	75.8
Informal	23	52	75	14.2	35.1	24.2
Total	162	148	310	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

6.4 Average Amount of Remittances Sent by Indebted and Non-indebted Migrants in the Study Area:

The total amounts of remittances received by the household vary depending upon the duration of migration, a number of people migrating, and the type of work engaged in. The family consisting of three migrating members could expect to return to home with Rs 2,000 to 3,000 after three months' work in a season. Very often the migrants will return home with very less amount of remittances after the deduction of advances and allowances and in extreme cases, there is no left to remit or return home in debt (Breman [1996: 156]). In the study area, it is found that some of the migrants who have migrated through middlemen don't able to send remittances or return home with empty handed.

The total amount of remittances sent by the migrants in last one year is Rs. 3632900. Out of this, Rs.1662000 is from the indebted migrants and rest are from the non-indebted migrants. Similarly, the average amount of remittances per indebted migrant is about Rs. 10250 whereas for non-indebted migrant it is Rs. 13300. The average amount of remittances sent by the non-indebted migrant is high in comparison to the indebted migrant. The main reason may be that some of the non –indebted migrants are employed in jobs which fetch more income. The average amount of remittances sent by the migrants is so small in the study area as compared to the developed states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu migrants where the remittances come from Gulf countries is so large. Even the remittances from internal migrants in the developed states are more because most of them are engaged in salaried employment. Moreover, within each category of migrants of the study area, there is found differences in the average

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amount of remittances across different social, demographic and economic characteristics of migrants which are discussed under the following heads.

Table 6.11: Distribution of Average Amount of Remittances Sent (Rs.) by the Migrant according to Social Characteristics

Social Characteristics	Indebted migrants	Non-indebted migrants	All migrants
Religion			
Hindu	10380	13564	11896
Christian	7938	9000	8469
Total	10259	13317	11719
Social Group			
SC	8676	15283	12043
ST	8292	8605	8430
Others	11730	13124	12380
Total	10259	13317	11719
Educational Level			
No Education	9202	8341	8807
Primary & Middle	9959	17285	14022
Secondary & Above	11402	12779	11971
Total	10259	13317	11719

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

6.4.1 Average Amount of Remittances based on Social Characteristics

It is observed from Table 6.11 that the average amount of remittances sent by migrants belonging to the Christian community is less in comparison to Hindus which is observed among both indebted and non-indebted migrants. With regard to the social group, the average amount of remittances is more for Others i.e. non-scheduled popualtion and less for STs among the indebted migrants but in the case of non-indebted migrants, the average amount of remittances is high for SCs in comparison to Others. The average amount of remittances is lowest among the STs in both categories of migrants. From the analysis of the average amount of remittances based on the educational level, it is observed from the study area that the indebted migrants having secondary and above level of education have the higher average amount of remittances. In the case of non-indebted migrants with the primary and middle level

of education have the higher average amount of remittances (Rs. 17,285) than illiterate migrants. In both categories of migrants, the illiterate has low average remittances than literate remitter.

Mitra and Pradhan (2016) observe that the remitters of greater amount are mostly literate and educated because the educated individuals migrate out in search of better jobs and are thus able to emit more. From the study of international migration, Zachariah et al. (1999) found that there could increase the volume of remittances to the state with improving the educational level of the emigrants.

6.4.2 Average Amount of Remittances based on Demographic Characteristics

Among all the migrant categories, the average amount of remittances of the female is about half of their counterpart and it is true for both indebted and non-indebted migrant (Table 6.12). It is so because most of the female migrants are engaged in the brick making job, where the migrants rarely get any monthly salary or daily wage to remit.

The average amount of remittances based on age group of the migrants shows that the migrants belonging to age group of 35-49 have the higher average amount of remittances which is true for both indebted and non-indebted migrants. In the case of indebted migrants, the average amount of remittances is lowest among the age group of 50 and above but in the case of non-indebted migrants it is lowest among the younger age group migrant (less than 20 years age). In other words, the most productive age group (35-49 years age) remit more than the younger age group (less than 20) and the older one (age 50 and above) and it is true among both indebted and non-indebted migrant categories.

With regard to the marital status, among the indebted migrants, the unmarried migrant has the higher average amount of remittances but in the case of non-indebted categories, it is the ever-married migrant who has more average remittances. Again Table 6.12 shows that the indebted migrants belonging to the family size of fewer than 4 members have the highest average amount of remittances (about Rs.13,000) in comparison to other family size groups. But in the case of the non-indebted category, the migrants belonging to larger family size remit more than other family size group.

Table 6.12: Distribution of Average Amount of Remittances Sent in Rs. by the Migrant according to Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Characteristics	Indebted Migrants	Non-indebted Migrants	All Migrants
Sex			
Male	11306	15269	13139
Female	6167	7459	6850
Total	10259	13317	11719
Age group (years)			
Less than 20	8727	7492	8083
20 to 34	10121	12434	11174
35 to 49	11976	16600	14368
50 and Above	7889	12600	10030
Total	10259	13317	11719
Marital status			
Ever Married	10181	14063	12105
Unmarried	10439	11078	10714
Total	10259	13317	11719
Size of the Family			
Less than 4	12625	11744	12121
4 to 5	6885	11556	8567
Above 5	10630	17546	13615
Total	10259	13317	11719

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

6.4.3 Average Amount of Remittances based on Economic Characteristics

In this section, the variations in the average amount of remittances based on different economic characteristics are discussed. The table 6.13 shows that the average amount of remittances sent is high among the migrants belonging to land owning class than the landless household. But among the non-indebted migrants, the landless category has the higher averages in comparison to those who have land. The reason might be that they have engaged in jobs which yield higher income.

With regard to the type of economic activity, it is found that those indebted migrants whose main occupation is plumbing have sent the higher average amount of remittances in comparison to other types of occupation. The similar is the situation in case of non-indebted migrants. Next to the plumbing, the occupation that yields

higher average remittances is salaried employment and it is observed in the case of both indebted and non-indebted migrants. In the case of the indebted migrants, the brick making occupation generates less income and therefore the lowest average of remittances sent by the migrants.

Table 6.13: Distribution of Average Amount of Remittances Sent by the Migrant according to Economic Characteristics

Economic Characteristics	Indebted Migrants	Non-indebted Migrants	All Migrants
Land holding size			
Landless	8739	14947	12018
Marginal Farmers	11104	11205	11148
Small farmers and Others	12769	14400	13478
All	10259	13317	11719
Main Occupation			
Brick making	8063	9679	9091
Construction Worker	9049	9156	9094
Plumbing	20000	65857	40063
Industrial Worker	13583	12189	12747
Agricultural Worker	10000	4000	7600
Salaried Employment	18667	24333	22067
Others	8625	15000	11813
Total	10259	13317	11719

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

6.4.4 Average Amount of Remittances based on Period of Migration

The average amount of remittances remitted by migrants increase with an increase in duration of migration which is clearly visible from table 6.14. The pattern is same for both the indebted and non-indebted migrants though the differences in the average amount are found.

Among the indebted migrants, the average amount of remittances is about rupees 10250 but it is high (about Rs.16400) for migrants whose period of migration is more than 2 years (24 months). In the case of non-indebted migrants, the average of all period of migration is about 13,300 rupees but those having more than 2 years of migration, have the highest average of about 24,000 rupees.

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Table 6.14: Distribution of Average Amount of Remittances Sent in Rs. by the Migrant according to Period of Migration

Period of Migration	Indebted Migrants	Non-indebted Migrants	All Migrants
Less than 6 Months	7309	9302	8290
6 months-12 months	10176	10674	10397
12 months-24 months	14800	22360	18580
More than 24 months	16367	24214	20155
Total	10259	13317	11719

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

6.5 Use of Remittances

The remittances from the out-migrants can be used by the left behind household for different purposes such as on food items, education of the household members, purchasing of household durables, marriage and other ceremonies, health care, for improving the housing conditions, debt payment etc. The backwardness or richness of population residing in source regions of out-migrants can be measured through the study of the use of remittances sent back to home by the migrants. If an area is a poverty and debt-ridden, then it is assumed that most of the remittances will be used for consumption purpose, debt repayment, and health care. There is a negligible amount of remittances left for savings and investment. Before discussing where the remittances are used in the study area, a brief discussion on the earlier literature on the use of remittances has been incorporated here.

A number of studies on remittance-use conclude that remittances are used for consumption rather than investment and thus are not put to productive uses in migrant-sending areas (Taylor et al., 1996b; Durand and Massey, 1992; and Papademetriou and Martin, 1991 cf. Taylor, 1999). Taylor (1999) finds these conclusions often rest on arbitrary definitions of "productive investment" probably because the investment on education is very often absent from the list of productive investment. The housing expenditure is also off the lists from productive investment category where it might have positive bearings on family health.

Khan (1986) in his study on eastern Uttar Pradesh observes that the major use of remitted money is merely the maintenance of the out-migrants family. This shows that migration could provide only subsistence for an out-migrants family. It is observed from Oberai et al. (1989) study that use of remittances is heavily consumption oriented. Whatever is left from the consumption purpose is mostly being spent on the purchase of stocks, land and residential building. A very small proportion of remittances is used in the productive investment.

From the study of Mamgain (2003), it reveals that most of them are used to meet the daily consumption requirements of the households. The study by Karan (2003) reveals that there are two major heads of expenditure of remittances- daily consumption needs and medical treatment. Remittances are mainly used for purposes like consumption, repayment of loans and meeting other social obligations. These constitute, in effect the 'first charge' on migrant incomes (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003).

Remittances are most of the time used for consumption expenditure in both rural as well as in urban households, except for less than 10 percent use it as debt repayment or investment (Rajan and Mishra in Rajan, 2011). It is also observed from their study that most of the households use the remittances for daily subsistence. Nearly one-third of the households use it for carrying the educational expense.

The study on several parts of Bihar by Deshingkar et al (2006) showed that remittances were used to enhance the livelihood. For example, in Muzzafarpur district the remittances are used for leasing of land, buying livestock, repairing or upgrading houses and setting up a small business. In Sitamarhi district, it was observed that remittances were used previously for loan repayment and consumption. But as the families became wealthier they started investing in farming, share cropping and leasing land (cf. Deshingkar and Akter, 2009).

From the study area, it is observed that 83 percent of the indebted migrant households (108 households) and three-fourth of the non-indebted migrant households (98 households) received remittances and these remittances are used for various purposes. Since the household may use the remittances for more than one purpose, for each household, information on the use of remittances have been collected for maximum

three such purposes according to the preference of use. The present study tries to understand which use is come as a first priority, then second and third.

The table 6.15 shows the first use of remittances where it is found that most of the indebted households used the remittances for repayment of debt (77 percent) and it is followed by the food items (9.3 percent). On the other hand, in the case of non-indebted migrants' households, more than half of the households use remittances for food items followed by health care (16 percent) and household durables (10 percent). In other words, the remittances sent by the out-migrants become the livelihood options for the households. About 5 percent of the total households use remittances for the education of the household members.

6.15: Use of Remittances by the Migrants' Household in Proportion at First Instance

Use of Remittances (1st Priority)	Indebted migrants HH	Non-indebted migrant HH	Total
On Food Items	17.6	56.1	35.9
Education of the Household Members	0.9	5.1	2.9
Household Durable	0.0	10.2	4.9
Health Care	3.7	16.3	9.7
Other Items of HH Consumer Expenditure	0.9	5.1	2.9
Debt Repayment	76.9	3.1	41.7
For Improving Housing Condition	0.0	2.0	1.0
Savings	0.0	2.0	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**108**	**98**	**206**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The table 6.16 shows the second use of remittances by the migrants' households. Among the indebted migrant households, about 51 percent of the household use the remittances on food items followed by health care (16 percent) and debt repayment (14 percent). None of the households could able to save remittances because as they are indebted in the first use they try to repay the debt and whatever remittances left, are used for food items and health care. On the other hand, among the non-indebted migrants household, about 43 percent of the total households use the remittances for

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health care followed by education of the household members (16.7 percent) and other items of household consumer expenditure. There is 4 percent of household among the non-indebted migrants who are able to save some remittances.

6.16: Use of Remittances by the Migrants' Household (Second Use) in Percentage

Use of Remittances (2nd Priority)	Indebted migrants HH	Non-indebted migrant HH	Total
On Food Items	50.9	7.3	30.4
Education of the Household Members	5.6	16.7	10.8
Household Durable	3.7	7.3	5.4
Marriage and Other Social Ceremony	0.9	3.1	2
Health Care	15.7	42.7	28.4
Other Items of HH Consumer Expenditure	8.3	15.6	11.8
Debt Repayment	13.9	3.1	8.8
For Improving Housing Condition	0.9	0.0	0.5
Savings	0.0	4.2	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	**108**	**96**	**204**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

The table 6.17 shows the use of remittances as third preferences. In the case of indebted migrant households, more than one-third of the households use the remittances for health care. It is followed by food items (15.5 percent), and marriage and other social ceremonies (11 percent). Among the non-indebted migrants household, about 23 percent of the households use the remittances for other household consumer expenditure followed by marriage and other social ceremonies. So, overall, from the first three uses of the remittances, it is clear that none of the indebted migrant households became able to save or invest remittances because most of the remittances are used for debt repayment, on food items, health care, and marriage and other social ceremonies. On the other hand, among the non-indebted migrants' households, most of the remittances are used on food items, health care etc. There are also some households among the non-indebted migrant category who able to save and invest some remittances though their number is very small.

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6.17: Use of Remittances by the Migrants' Household (Third use) in Percentage

Use of Remittances (3rd Priority)	Indebted migrants HH	Non-indebted migrant HH	Total
On Food Items	15.5	10.2	13.1
Education of the Household Members	6.8	6.8	6.8
Household Durable	7.8	15.9	11.5
Marriage and Other Social Ceremony	10.7	19.3	14.7
Health Care	34	12.5	24.1
Other Items of HH Consumer Expenditure	21.4	22.7	22
Debt Repayment	2.9	3.4	3.1
For Improving Housing Condition	1	6.8	3.7
Savings	0	1.1	0.5
Investment	0	1.1	0.5
Total	100	100	100
N	**103**	**88**	**191**

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

A household can use the remittances for one purpose or more than one. To capture all uses by a household, the three different uses are clubbed together to know how many numbers of households are using for each particular purpose. In the case of Indebted migrant households, the table 6.18 shows that the major uses of remittances are debt repayment, consumption of food, health care, and other items of household consumer expenditure. Of the total remittance-receiving households, about 94 percent are used for debt repayment. It is followed by food items (83 percent), health care (52 percent), other consumer expenditure like clothing (29.6 percent) and education of the household members (13 percent). This shows that most of the remittances are used for consumption purposes only. In addition to this, about 11 percent of households use remittances for marriage and other social ceremonies. It is usually seen in the study area that remittance supplement the expenditure on the marriage of daughter by migrant households because they buy ornaments through remitted money. There is no productive investment of remittances among the indebted migrant households. As they are debt ridden and the main purpose of their migration is to repay the debt, the remittances sent are first used for debt repayment. Moreover, a larger share of remittances is used for the maintenance of family by buying food items. The study by

Mitra and Pradhan (2016) reveal that the use of remittances for long-term investment or assets formation is negligible rather most of these remittances are spent on consumption and part of it are used for paying off debt or mortgages.

6.18: Use of Remittances by the Migrants' Household (All Uses-1st, 2nd and 3rd)

Use of Remittances (irrespective of preferences)	Number		Proportion out of total remittance receiving HH	
	Indebted	Non-indebted	Indebted	Non-indebted
On Food Items	90	71	83.3	72.4
Education of the Household Members	14	27	13.0	27.6
Household Durable	12	31	11.1	31.6
Marriage and Other Social Ceremony	12	20	11.1	20.4
Health Care	56	68	51.9	69.4
Other Items of HH Consumer Expenditure	32	40	29.6	40.8
Debt Repayment	101	9	93.5	9.2
For Improving Housing Condition	2	8	1.9	8.2
Savings/Investment	0	8	0.0	8.2

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

On the other hand, in the case of non-indebted migrant' households, of the total remittances receiving households, a substantially large proportion of households use remittances for consumption of food items (72 percent) and health care (69 percent). More than two-fifth households use remittances for the consumption of 'other household consumer expenditure'. Household durable is also another major purpose where the remittances are used by non-indebted households. It is also important to note that about 28 percent of households have used the remittances for education purpose which is a very productive. The non-indebted migrant household is also able to save some amount of remittances. The percentages of households who have savings from remittances are about 8 percent. The non-indebted migrants are not only using the remittances for food items, health care, and other items of household consumer expenditure but also spending on education, household durable, social functions, etc. Unlike indebted migrants 'households where remittances are

used mostly for consumption purpose, the non-indebted migrant households have used remittances for both consumption and investment.

Deshingkar and Akter (2009) observed the highly differentiated use of remittances and it depends on the category of migrants. For the poorest such as the tribal from southern Madhya Pradesh, western Odisha and the Musahar from Bihar migration is a coping strategy because the remittances are used for subsistence and repaying of debts; while for better educated and better connected migrants, remittances are additional income which can be used to fund agriculture, education, housing and social functions which lead to economic and social gains. The nature of uses of remittances in the study area shows that the remittances are playing very important role in not only for debt repayment but also for food consumption, other items of consumer expenditure, education, health care, etc. The study of migrants from West Bengal by Rogaly et al. (2001) also shows that many migrants are able to use the lump sum of remittances for purposes beyond loan repayment and food consumption. Rogaly (1998) found the use of remittances from seasonal migration to get rid of debt taken due to land mortgage as well as for consumption from grocery shops.

6.19: Proportion of Households who Found Remittances Enough for Debt Repayment

Remittances enough for Debt Payment	Indebted Migrants household	
	Number	**Proportion**
No	55	50.93
Yes	53	49.07
Total	108	100.00

Source: Primary Field Survey, 2015

With regard to the saving of remittances by the migrants' household, it is found that that household who save remittances mainly use the bank for saving purposes. Again it is observed from the study area that almost half of the indebted migrants' households found that the remittances are not enough for debt repayment. So, here questions arise how will they repay the debt? Most of them give the option of repayment of debt through migration in future or hope of future remittances from those who are currently migrated.

6.6 The Net Effect of Socio-economic and Demographic Factors on Sending Remittances

The social, economic and demographic characteristics of the out-migrants like the sex, present place of residence, the level of education, marital status, caste, religion, the monthly per capita expenditure of the households, the land holding and age are the important determining factors which influence the decision to remit or not by the out-migrants. Some of these factors may have positive or negative significant effect on the decision to send remittances and also some of them do not have any significant effect on the decision to remit. This section of the chapter shows the determinants of remittances from the sender perspective by using the model of binary logistic regression analysis.

The evidence from the cross-country data analysis by Niimi and Ozden (2006) shows that the education level of migrants, the size of the domestic economy, the level of economic development of recipient countries are found to play a role in determining the flow of remittances. It is observed from Table 6.20 that with regard to the migrants with no education, the migrants with primary and middle; and secondary and above education are more likely to remit. The level of education has the significant and positive effect at 95 percent level of significance on the decision to remit by the sample migrants in the study area.

The evidence on the impact of education on remittances is mixed. For example, a positive correlation is found in the study of Agarwal and Horowitz (2002); Hoddinot (1994); and Holst and Shrooten (2006). But Osaki (2003); and Durand et al. (1996) found a negative correlation between education and remittances. At the microeconomic level, holding all other factors constant more educated migrants remit more because they typically earn more (Banerjee, 1984). His study reveals that education and income of the remitters are not important in the decision to remit. But once the decision to remit is sure, the amount of remittances sending is increased with increasing the level of education and income.

Results from the logistic model Table 6.20 also show that the social group has a positive and significant effect on the decision to remit but at the 90 percent level of

Table 6.20: Logistic Regression to Analyze the Net Effect of Background Characteristics on Sending of Remittances by the Out-migrants in the Study Area

Dependent Variable				
Do not Send Remittances-0 Remitter-1				
Independent Variable	**Category**	**B**	**S.E.**	**Odds Ratio**
Educational Level	Illiterate®			
	Primary and Middle	0.445	0.345	1.56
	Secondary and Above	0.932	0.402	2.539**
Social Group	Scheduled (SC and ST) ®			
	Non-Scheduled	0.48	0.261	1.616*
Sex of the Migrant	Male®			
	Female	-0.031	0.314	0.969
Marital status	Ever married®			
	Unmarried	-0.051	0.361	0.951
Age group of the migrant (years)	Less than 20®			
	20 to 34	1.069	0.424	2.912***
	35 to 49	1.707	0.523	5.512***
	50 and Above	1.615	0.618	5.028***
Size of family (numbers)	Less than 4®			
	4 to 5	-0.086	0.33	0.917
	Above 5	-0.045	0.312	0.956
Landholding Size	Landless®			
	up to 2.5 acre	-0.539	0.281	0.583*
	>2.5 acre	-0.882	0.473	0.414*
Occupation of the Migrant	Brick Making®			
	Construction Worker	0.127	0.405	1.135
	Others	-0.222	0.472	0.801
Period of Migration	Less than 6 Months®			
	6 months-12 months	0.641	0.292	1.898**
	12 months-24 months	2.094	0.762	8.12**
	More than 24 months	0.11	0.509	1.116
Migrate with Middlemen	No®			
	Yes	-1.829	0.422	0.161***
Migrant Category	Indebted Migrant®			
	Non-Indebted Migrant	-0.051	0.361	0.951
History of Previous Migration	No®			
	Yes	0.395	0.289	1.485
Constant		-0.659	0.785	0.517
N	430			
-2 Log Likelihood	404.347[a]			
Cox and Snell R Square	0.216			
Nagelkerke R Square	0.312			

***$P<0.01$; **$P<0.05$, * $P<0.1$
® Reference Category
Source: Computed from Field Survey Data, 2015

significance. With respect to the Scheduled Migrants (SCs and STs), the Non-Scheduled migrants are more likely to send remittances. The studies on India and Odisha based on the NSSO data (64th round) also show that the social group has a significant effect on the decision to remit (Meher and Dash, 2017).

In most of the studies, the gender is highly significant and male migrants are more likely to remit. This could be explained by inheritance-seeking motive as well as the selection of males for migration. The studies such as Havolli (2009), Ameudo-Dorantes et al. (2006), Merkle and Zimmerman (1992) cited in Havolli (2009) and Hoddinot (1994) show that male migrants remit significantly more than female migrants and often is explained by the tradition in these countries recognizing males as inheritors. Despite its relation to the inheritance-seeking aspirations, this behaviour could also be as a result of the selection of males to join labour force as well as to migrate. Meher and Dash, 2017, in the study on Odisha found that with regard to males, females are less likely to remit and sex has a significant effect on the decision to remit. But the present study finds the insignificant effect of sex of the migrants on the decision to send remittances though the females are less likely to remit.

As far as the marital status of the sample migrant is concerned, it does not have a significant effect on the decision to remit. With regard to the ever-married migrants, unmarried migrants are less likely to remit. The ever-married indebted migrants are more likely to send remittances because most of the male migrants migrate by leaving their wives at home in the study area and hence they are bound to send remittances. These remittances are used not only for the maintenance of the family but also for repaying the debt. They are in the compulsion to remit.

The analysis of the present study shows that with regard to the age, the migrants belonging to the group 20-34, 35-50, and 50 and above are more likely to remit in comparison to the migrants belonging to the less than 20 years of age. The age group has the positive and significant effect at the 99 percent level of significance on the decision to remit. The age of a migrant is found to affect positively on the remittances sending (Havolli, 2009). The younger age out-migrants do not have family responsibilities so that they are not compelled to send remittances.

As far as the landholding size of the out-migrants is concerned, with respect to the landless households, the migrant belonging to the land possessed households are less

likely to remit. With the increase in the size of the landholding, they are less likely to send remittances. It may be due to the fact that the land possessed households does not need to depend on the remittances sent by the out-migrants for their subsistence. They have already livelihood options. The landholding size has a negative and significant effect on the decision to remit but at the 90 percent level of significance.

Havolli (2009) suggests that the years since migration has a significant and positive effect on remittances though it is at decreasing rate. However, at some point, the migrant establishes a social network in the host country and the links of the migrant and intentions to return may weaken. At this point, remittances will start to decrease. The studies of Banerjee (1984); Durand et al. (1996), etc. also have the same effect. Basil et al. (1987) pointed out that as migrants' length of staying away from its origin increases, a household's remittances first become more frequent and then decline. The result from the study by Oberai et al. (1989) on Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh shows that the variable 'years since migration' has a positive and significant effect on the size of the remittances in both Bihar and Kerala, but no such effect is present in the case of Uttar Pradesh, although it is seen to be positively associated with the decision to remit. Meher and Dash (2017) also find the positive and significant effect of duration of migration on the decision to remit from the study on Odisha. It is evident from the present research that the predictor period of migration also has a positive and significant effect on the sending of remittances by the migrants. With the increasing the years of migration by the out-migrants, they are more likely to send remittances. With respect to the migrants migrated for less than 6 months, migrants with 6 months-12 months, 12 months-24 months and more than this are more likely to send remittances. Initially, the migrants keep on sending remittances with an increase in the period of migration but after certain time their ties with the households are loosened and as a result, their likely to send remittances are decreased.

Again it is evident from the study area that with respect to the migrants not migrated through the middlemen, those migrated with middlemen are less likely to send remittances because almost all migrants who migrated through middlemen are given advance payment and they do not get regular income to send. They only get food expenses. The predictor migration with the help of middlemen has the significant effect on the decision to send remittances.

The present study does not find any significant effect of migrant category (whether indebted migrant or not) on the decision to remit. With regard to the indebted migrants, the non-indebted migrants are less likely to send remittances. Similarly, the history of previous migration does not have any significant effect on the remittance sending behaviour of the migrants in the study area.

Overall, the predictors like the level of education, social group, age group, land holding size, the period of migration, and migration with middlemen have a significant effect on the decision to remit. But the size of the family, the occupation of the migrants, the migration category, the sex of the migrant and the history of previous migration do not have any significant effect on the remittances sending behaviour of the migrants. As far as study area is concerned, it does not matter which factors have a significant effect on the decision to send remittances but the remittances amount matter a lot because it is essential to repay the debt and also use for consumption purposes.

CHAPTER-7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Summary

Migration is one of the major components of population change after fertility and mortality. According to the Multilingual Demographic Dictionary of the United Nation, the migration can be defined as "A form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility from one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change of residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival. Such migration is called permanent migration and should be distinguished from the other forms of movement which do not involve a permanent change of residence". Lee (1966) defines migration simply as "A permanent or semi-permanent change of residence". According to NSSO, out-migrant is defined in the following way- "Any former member of the household who left the household, anytime in the past, for a stay outside the village/town provided he/she was alive on the date of survey". An indebted migrant is a person who is indebted and experience migration due to debt. A non-indebted migrant is a person who has migrated for employment or work but not due to indebtedness. These two migrants' categories fall under the economic migrants. Odisha is one of the backward states of India where out-migration outnumbers the in-migration and push factors play a predominant role. Lack of livelihood options, overcrowding of agricultural sector, increasing the small size of land holding, indebtedness and crop failure compel the people to migrate in search of alternative livelihood options. Odisha in general and Kalahandi in particular experience debt-induced migration because the poor do not have sufficient money in their pockets to make an investment in agricultures and also to borne expenditures in health care and different social obligations. To meet the credit constraints the poor depend on the informal credit market mainly the money lender, who charge exorbitant interest rate in lending. Since the income from agriculture is not enough and the employment opportunities are not adequate, the people have no other options but migration in search of livelihood and to repay the debt. In some cases, the labour contractors or middlemen visit the villages in search of labourers to work in the brick kiln and give some advance payments to the intended migrants. This amount seems to be very large for the credit restraint poor people and it is used for their basic

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requirements. Then they migrate and work for the advance payments they receive and usually, the rest amounts are paid after the contract is over. The remittances sent by the migrants are used not only for debt repayment but also for consumption of food items and other household consumptions. To deal with all these aspects, Kalahandi district is selected for the detailed study. The distribution of out-migrants from Odisha is also dealt briefly to get the general picture of the state.

The main sources of data on which this study is based are the National Sample Survey (NSS) 64th Round, 2007-08; and the Primary Field Survey, 2015. The present study analyzed the NSS 64th round data to show the pattern of out-migration, reasons for out-migration and the remittances sent by the out-migrants for the state of Odisha. The census of 2001 data has also used to show the out-migration from Odisha to the different states and UTs of India. The Primary Field Survey is conducted in two Blocks of Kalahandi district namely Dharmagarh and Golamunda by taking five villages in each Block. The total of 460 sample households are taken for the study where the sample size of indebted migrant households, non-indebted migrant households, indebted non-migrant households and non-indebted non-migrant households are 130,130, 100 and 100 respectively. The primary survey data is used to show the socio-economic characteristics of the sampled population, to know the migrant's profile, informal credit market and remittances in the study area. Apart from the analysis based on the rate, proportion and percentage distribution, the binary logistic regression is also used in this study. The logistic regressions are used to show the net effect of background characteristics of the household on the reporting of out-migration and availing the formal sources of credit by the households, and to show the net effect of socio-economic and demographic characteristics of out-migrants on sending the remittances.

The analysis based on the NSS 64th round data shows that the rate of out-migration in India is about 12 percent. The distribution of out-migration across different States and Union Territories of India reveals that Kerala has the highest rate of out-migration (26 percent) followed by Himachal Pradesh (25.8 percent). On the other hand, the states like Delhi, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, and Tripura have very low out-migration rate. In terms of share of out-migrants from different states in terms of proportion, it shows that Uttar Pradesh is the largest contributor of out-migrants in India which accounts 20 percent of the total out-migrants of India. As far as Odisha is

concerned, it has the out-migration rate of 10.6 percent. A unique feature of the state is that it has nearly the same rate of out-migration for male and female. The analysis based on NSSO region of the state showed that the rate of out-migration is greater from the Coastal region.

The analysis based on the census of 2001 shows that the largest flow of out-migrants are from Odisha to Chhattisgarh followed by West Bengal, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. In the case of male out-migrants, Gujarat comprises the largest percentage of out-migrants from Odisha followed by West Bengal. They are migrated to these states mainly for employment reasons. The largest flow of out-migration happened from Odisha to Chhattisgarh as far as the female out-migration is concerned. Most of the out-migrants from Odisha are mainly concentrated in the neighbouring states with an exception of Gujarat. The geographical distance may be playing an important role in this case and marriage is one important reason for out-migration of the females.

Differentials are found in the rate of out-migration from Odisha across different demographic, social and economic characteristics of the out-migrants. The residence-wise distribution of the rate of out-migration of Odisha reveals that it is greater for rural areas compared to urban areas. Similarly, the rate of out-migration is greater among the age group 20-34, non-scheduled, Christians, out-migrants belonging to the households having a larger size of land possession and higher MPCE classes. The out-migration rate from the rural areas is more due to the fact that there are lack of employment opportunities, poor infrastructural facilities, and lack of basic necessities. The reason behind the higher rate of out-migration among the socio-economically better off people is in search of better employment opportunities, a higher standard of living, the expectation of higher wages, so on and so forth. Employment is the main reason for out-migration from Odisha and it is followed by marriage. It varies across the different NSSO regions of Odisha. The coastal region has comparatively higher percentage of out-migrants for employment than the southern and northern region. The reasons for out-migration also vary with the sex of the migrant. The employment is found to be the main reason for male out-migration whereas marriage is main for the females.

As far as economic out-migration (for employment purpose) from Odisha is concerned, the differences in the percentage of economic migrants to the total out-migrants in the respective category are observed across different socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the migrants. It also varies spatially i.e. across NSSO regions of Odisha. The percentage of economic migrants is higher in case of males, rural areas, age group 50 and above, Muslims, OBCs, lower land holding size (<1 hectare) and international out-migrants. The proportion of economic out-migrants out of total migrants across different variables also varies. Of the total out-migrants for economic reason, the share of males, rural, age group 20-34, Hindus, land possession between 3.1 and 6 hectares and inter-state out-migrants are very high.

The distribution of study population across household categories by socio-economic characteristics shows that the Others (mainly Other Backward Classes), households head with 'no education', family size of less than 4 persons, marginal land holding size (up to 2.5 acres), semi pucca households, no livestock assets households, medium level of durable assets (DAI score 0.50 to 1.00), and medium level of amenities comprise the largest proportion. But there is found differences across different categories of the household. The indebted households (migrant and non-migrant) have comparatively lower socio-economic status than the non-indebted households. Among all the household categories, the non-indebted non-migrant households are socio-economically better off. The higher percentage of households with respect to the secondary and above education of the HH head; land holding size (> 2.5 acres); salaried employment; pucca housing structure; and high-level livestock assets, durable assets and amenities facilities are found among the non-indebted non-migrant households. But with respect to the engagement of MGNREGA work and access to PDS, the indebted non-migrant households comprise the higher percentage of households.

As far as the study of migrants' profile of the sample population is concerned, it is found that it is predominantly male selected. The proportion of migrants is high in case of age group 20-34 years, ever-married, low family size (less than 4), Others social group, Hindus, no education and low level of education, marginal land holding size, semi pucca housing structure, medium level of durable assets possession and no livestock assets possession. It is observed between both indebted and non-indebted migrants though there are some differences in the proportion of migrants across

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different socio-economic and demographic characteristic. Again, almost all migrants prefer to the urban areas as the destination. The major destinations (state) of the sample migrants are Goa, Telangana, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Construction work is the main occupation of the migrant and it is followed by brick making. In terms of the period of migration, it is revealed from the present study that about half of the migrants migrate for the very short duration (less than 6 months). In other words, the migration from the study area is not only seasonal but also long-term. It is prevalent among both indebted and non-indebted migrants. The indebted migrants have comparatively higher percentage of previous migration history than the non-indebted migrants. The indebted migrants generally migrate every year in search of work to repay the debts. With regard to the monthly income, the larger shares of migrants have a monthly income of Rs.5, 001 to 8,000.

From the logistic analysis, it is found from this study that the education of the household head, land holding, access to MGNREGA work, public distribution system (PDS) and irrigation have the significant effect on the reporting of out-migration of any former member of the households. Keeping all other independent variables constant, with regard to the household head with no education, the household head with secondary and above educational level are less likely to report the out-migration. With regard to the landless households, the land-owning households are less likely to report out-migration. With the increase in the size of the land of a household, the members are less likely to migrate from that household. It is so because the family has resource base i.e. land from which they earn their livelihood. With regard to the households with no access to the MGNREGA work, the households which have engaged in this work are less likely to experience migration of any member of the households. The accessibility to the MGNREGA work has the negative and significant effect on the migration. Like MGNREGA work, the access to PDS has a negative and significant effect on migration. With regard to the households with no access to PDS, the households that are getting PDS are less likely to experience migration. For poor, the migration is a livelihood strategy. When they do not have work to get engaged and food to meet their hunger, they search for alternative livelihood and hence migration becomes the source of livelihood. The access to irrigation facilities also has a significant effect on migration as far as the study area is concerned and it is negatively associated with migration.

The middlemen play an important role in the process of migration in the study area. About 17 percent of the total migrants migrate with the help of middlemen and it varies between indebted migrants and non-indebted migrants. The percentage of indebted migrants is comparatively higher than the non-indebted migrants in this regard, though the difference in the percentage between the two categories of migrants is narrow. The majority of the migrants have no relation with the middlemen and they know the middlemen from the village men. Though they do not have any relation and acquaintance, they migrate with them due to the absence of work and income in the destination. Some of the migrants also receive advancements in the study area and the percentage who receives advance payment is higher in the case of indebted migrants in comparison to the non-indebted migrants. Middlemen or '*Dalal*' is the main source from whom they receive the advance and very few of them have bargaining power on the amount of advance paid. The advance money is mostly used for food consumption, debt repayment, and other household consumptions.

The informal credit market mainly the money lender also plays a role in the debt-induced migration. The below subsistence production, medical expenditure, and other social obligations propel the households to borrow from the informal credit market. The analysis based on the primary field work shows that about four-fifth of the indebted households have borrowed from the informal sources i.e. money lenders; friends, relatives, and grocery shops. Here, the money lender is the main informal credit sources. There is found differences between migrant households and non-migrant households in availing the loan from informal sources. The percentage of households taking loan from informal sources is comparatively higher in the case of migrant households than informal households. The main purpose of borrowing in the study area is to meet the medical expenses, purchase of agricultural assets, meet expenses of marriage and other social obligations, and household consumption. However, there is found differences between migrant household and non-migrant households. The main purpose of the loan by the migrant household is medical expenses and it is followed by marriage and other social obligation whereas for non-migrant households, along with medical expenses, purchase of agricultural assets is the main purpose of availing the loan. Almost all the migrant households take a loan for consumption purpose whereas the non-migrant households take a loan not only consumption for day to day purpose but also for investment in agriculture. One

important feature of the credit market in Odisha is that most of the households do not deposit any collateral against borrowing which means the borrowing and lending activities take place based on trust and personal relationship. The borrowers are exploited from the money lenders because they charge a very exorbitant monthly interest rate. A larger percentage of money lenders large the monthly interest rate of above 8 percent which is becoming difficult on the part of the borrower to repay the debt with their meager income from the agriculture and casual labour. Some of the indebted households forced to migrate to repay the debt. Another important observation from the study area is that the rate of interest charged from the informal sources of lending is comparatively higher for migrant households than non-migrant households. The accessibility to the formal sources of loan is very less. Because of the ignorance of the people and the cumbersome process to avail the formal credit, the households come under the clutches of the moneylender and remain in indebtedness. A larger proportion of households has taken loan for the duration of 7-12 months. The duration of the loan is more important than interest rate itself because the more time a household takes to repay its loan the more amount of interest it needs to pay.

Results from the binary logistic models show that the predictors like the amount of credit, landholding size, migration status, and the accessibility to the PDS have a significant effect on availing of formal sources of the loan in the sample households. The amount of credit has a significant and positive effect on the availing of institutional credit. With regard to the amount of credit less than rupees 10000, the households getting more than this are more likely that they avail from formal sources. Generally, the very small amount of credit is sought from the informal sources like friends, relatives and money lenders. When the amount of credit is large, it is more likely that it is availed from the formal sources like commercial banks. With regard to the landless households, the marginal and small size landholding households are more likely to take loan from the institutional sources. The farming households usually take an agricultural loan from the bank, which is a formal source of credit delivery. With regard to the migrant households, the non-migrant households are more likely to take loan from the formal sources. With regard to the households without access to PDS, those with accessibility are more likely to take formal sources loan. The households which get PDS do not require loan to meet their daily food requirements rather they

require loan for fulfilling other requirements like buying agricultural assets and non-agricultural assets for which they have to borrow from the formal sources.

Based on the 64th round of NSS it is found that out of total out-migrants of India, there is about only 22 percent are the sender of remittances to their former households but it is 35.7 percent as far as Odisha is concerned. The differences are observed across different NSSO regions of Odisha in the percentage of out-migrants who sent remittances. The coastal region accounts higher percentage of remitters whereas the southern region has the lowest percentage. The analysis based on the primary field survey reveals that about 72 percent of the migrants send remittances and it is higher in case of indebted migrants in comparison to the non-indebted migrants though the difference in the percentage between the two categories is very small. It is high because here all the migrants are economic migrants.

There are differences in the sending of remittances by the migrants across different social, demographic and economic characteristics. The percentage of remitters is high among the migrants belonging to Others social group, secondary & above education, male, higher age group- 35 to 49 and 50 & above, ever-married, lower family size (less than 4), landless households, lower durable assets households, no livestock assets and salaried employment. The percentage of remitters also increases with increase in the period of migration but after a certain period it declines because the ties of migrants with the households are loosened. The percentage of out-migrants who sent remittances is higher among the non-scheduled population, a higher level of education and salaried employed because they might have engaged in the occupation which yields high and regular income. It is less among the females because most of them are engaged in brick kilns where they do not get regular wage or salary but for their foods. Even if they work after marriage, the income earned by them is used for the maintenance of their own family. The percentage of out-migrants who sent remittances are higher among the out-migrants belonging to the lower economic class households (landless and lower level and no assets possessed) because their households depend more on their remittances for repayment of debt and household consumption. The higher age group and ever-married migrant also have a higher percentage of remitters because they are more responsive to the family. Most of the

ever-married migrants are male dominated and they leave behind their wives at home, for whom the main source of subsistence is the remittances.

In terms of average amount of remittances, the remittance sent by the non-indebted migrants is higher than the indebted migrants. It may be due to the fact that they are engaged in the salaried employment and other occupations that yield more income. There are differences in the average amount of remittances across different demographic, social and economic characteristics of the migrants. It is high among the migrants belonging to the Hindus; Other social group i.e. non-scheduled population (indebted migrants) and SCs (non-indebted migrants); Secondary and above education (indebted migrants) and primary and middle education (non-indebted), males, age-group 35-49, ever-married, landholding (>2.5 acres), salaried employed and among the migrants of more than 24 months migration period.

In terms of uses of remittances, the household may use the remittances for more than one purpose. For each household, information on the use of remittances has been collected for maximum three such purposes according to the preference of use. The results from the primary survey show that in its first use, most of the indebted households used the remittances for repayment of debt (77 percent) and it is followed by food items (9.3 percent). On the other hand, in the case of non-indebted migrants' households, more than half of the households use remittances for food items (56 percent) followed by health care (16 percent) and household durables (10 percent).

In its second use, the indebted migrant households use mostly on food items but the non-indebted migrant households use for the health care. As far as the third use of the remittances is concerned, the indebted households mainly use for health care and on the other hand, the other items of HH consumer expenditure comprise a considerable percentage in the case of non-indebted migrant households.

By clubbing all three uses, it is found that the major uses of remittances by the indebted migrant households include- debt repayment, consumption of food, health care, and other items of household consumer expenditure. This shows that most of the remittances are used for consumption purposes only. On the other hand, in the case of non-indebted migrant' households, of the total remittances receiving households, a substantially large proportion of households use remittances for consumption of food items and health care, for the consumption of 'other household consumer

expenditure'. Household durable is also another major purpose where the remittances are used by non-indebted households. It is also important to note that about 28 percent of households have used the remittances for education purpose which is a very productive. The non-indebted migrant household is also able to save some amount of remittances. Overall, the uses among the indebted households are mainly consumption oriented whereas for non-indebted migrant households, it is both consumption and investment oriented. The non-indebted households also make some savings from the remittances.

The logistic analysis to show the net effect of background characteristics of the out-migrants on sending of remittances revealed that the predictors like the educational level of the migrants, the social group, age group, the land holding size, period of migration, and migration with middlemen have the significant effect on the decision to remit by the out-migrants as far as the study area is concerned. With regard to the migrants with no education, the migrants with primary and middle; and secondary and above education are more likely to remit. With respect to the Scheduled Migrants (SCs and STs), the Non-Scheduled migrants are more likely to send remittances. With respect to the age group, the migrants belonging to the group 20-34, 35-50, and 50 and above are more likely to remit in comparison to the migrants belonging to the less than 20 years of age. The age group has the positive and significant effect at the 99 percent level of significance on the decision to remit. The younger age out-migrants do not have family responsibilities so that they are not compelled to send remittances. As far as the landholding size of the out-migrants is concerned, with respect to the landless households, the migrant belonging to the land possessed households are less likely to remit. With the increase in the size of the landholding, they are less likely to send remittances. It is evident from the present research that the predictor period of migration also has a positive and significant effect on the sending of remittances by the migrants. With the increasing the years of migration by the out-migrants, they are more likely to send remittances. Initially, the migrants keep on sending remittances with an increase in the period of migration but after certain time their ties with the households are loosened and as a result, their likely to send remittances are decreased. With respect to the migrants not migrated through the middlemen, those migrated with middlemen are less likely to send remittances because almost all migrants who migrated through middlemen are given advance payment and they do not get regular

income to send back to their home. The present study does not find any significant effect of migrant category (whether indebted migrant or not) on the decision to remit.

7.2 Conclusions

The present study observed wide differences in the out-migration across different socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the population of Odisha in general and Kalahandi in particular. Due to the socio-economic disparities in Odisha, differences are also found in the out-migration across the NSSO regions of the state. Social and economic inequality among the sample households in the study area is also enormous. The non-indebted non-migrant households are generally socially and economically better placed than other categories of households. The indebted migrants are more distressed than the non-indebted migrants. They are forced to migrate to repay the debt but the non-indebted migrants do not have any obligations of debt repayment. But both categories of migrants migrate due to the inadequate employment opportunities available at the source area of the migrants. Moreover, the indebted migrants are exploited by the unscrupulous moneylenders, who charge an exorbitant interest rate. This further intensifies their agony and migration becomes the usual vicious cycle every year. Though there is government Act- the Orissa Money-Lenders (Amendment) Act, 1975, which stipulates that no person shall carry on the business of money lending without being registered under this Act, these money lenders are doing this business and exploiting the people without getting registered under the Act. The remittances sent by the migrants are important gains and it is found to be a livelihood option for the poor households. The little amount of remittance is left for the household particularly indebted migrant households to make further productive investment to break the vicious cycle of exploitation. In a nutshell, the migration from Kalahandi is not by choice but by compulsion in search of livelihood at any wage rate.

In order to check the distress migration that is found in the study area, the employment generation through rural development programme is very essential. In this aspect, the rural flagship public programme- the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) is an important step but it needs to be improved by providing more days of work and more importantly implementing the Act in letter and spirit. Since Kalahandi is one of the poorest and poverty-ridden

districts in the country, there is a need to improve the public distribution system- the social security programme by broadening its coverage. Since agriculture is the main source of livelihood option in the district so there is a need to improve and strengthen the occupation by developing adequate irrigation facilities. The diversification of agriculture is another measure through which employment and income of the households can be generated. There is a scope of developing the livestock farming in the district. To make all this possible, the accessibility to the formal sources of credit is highly essential.

There is an urgent need to make formal sources of loan available to the landless and marginal landholding households so that they can invest to create productive assets and initiate productive activities. It is also essential to make the loan collateral free because most of the poor households do not have collateral to borrow formal sources of the loan. In the absence of formal sources of the loan, the informal credit market comes into the scene and plays a predominant role and it creates indebtedness. The role of SHGs can be strengthened in advancing loan to the borrowers' because it is not an exploitative credit market though it charges relatively high-interest rate than other formal credit sources.

There is also a need to curb the exploitation of middlemen in the migration process, in which most of the migrants become the bonded labour if they migrate through the involvement of the middleman. The government must play a proactive role to ensure that middlemen do not exploit the intended migrants at the area of origin. There is also a need to ensure that all the migrant workers are getting registered in the district labour office so that they can be tracked and rescued in case of their exploitation in their workplace. Since the medical expense is the major reason for which the households become indebted, it is essential to develop the public health care infrastructure in the region and making affordable treatment available to the poor households.

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