
The Role of Migration and Remittances in Promoting Livelihoods in Bihar



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December 2006

This study was supported by the Department for International Development (DFID). However the views expressed in the report are the responsibility of the authors alone and do not represent the official position of the DFID

Abbreviations

ADRI	Asian Development Research Institute
AVS	Avidya Vimukti Sanstha
BMS	Bandhkam Majoor Sangathan
BPO	Business Process Outsourcing
BRLP	Bihar Rural Livelihoods Project
CASHE	Credit & Savings for Household Enterprises
CIDC	Construction Industry Development Council
CWS	Centre for World Solidarity
DFID	Department for International Development
DISHA	Developing Initiatives for Social and Human Action
DPIP	District Poverty Initiatives Project
EBC	Economically Backward Caste
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GSDP	Gross State Domestic Product
GVT	Gramin Vikas Trust
HH	Household
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency Virus/Aquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
HPCL	Hindustan Petroleum Corporation Limited
IAS	International AIDS Society
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture Development
IFFCO	Indian Farmers Fertiliser Cooperative Limited
KII	Key Informant Interview
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MO	Money Order
MPRLP	Madhya Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NREGS	National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NSS	National Service Scheme
OBC	Other Backward Caste
PDS	Public Distribution System
PLAN	Planned Lifetime Advocacy Network
PSK	Palayan Seva Kendra
SC	Scheduled Caste
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
STs	Scheduled Tribe
TB	Tuberculosis
UP	Uttar Pradesh
WDC	Women Development Cooperation
WELPMGP	Women's Empowerment and Livelihoods Project in the Mid-Gangetic Plain

Glossary of Local Terms

Bigha	Local measure of land area (0.336 acres)
Kharif	Monsoon cropping season
Khova	Evaporated milk cake
Kutch house	House of stones/mud
Makhana	Nut that grows in water bodies used widely in sweet preparations in north India
Mali	Gardener
Pucca house	House of cement and mortar
Rabi	Winter cropping season
Tola	Local measure of weight roughly 10 gm
Zari	Wire embroidery work

Executive Summary

This report provides an assessment of migration and remittance patterns in six districts of Bihar covered under the World Bank funded Bihar Rural Livelihoods Project (BRLP) and the IFAD funded Women's Empowerment and Livelihoods Project in the mid-Gangetic Plain (WELPMGP) with a view to identifying practical steps that can be taken by the two projects to maximise the benefits and minimise the negative impacts of migration.

1 The discussions and interviews conducted for this study show that rural people have become even more mobile in the last five years, with deteriorating employment prospects locally and emerging opportunities elsewhere. With the exception of the poorest of the poor, the largest landowners and successful businessmen, nearly all others including medium farmers and forward castes are migrating. While the most educated and wealthy (usually upper caste¹ but not always) migrate for secure and well paid jobs on a more permanent basis, the vast majority of migrants go for periods ranging from 3 to 9 months.

2 SCs and EBCs² are engaged in both short distance and long distance migration but usually in the lowest paid jobs. Farm labouring work, casual labouring work in construction, work in brick kilns and rickshaw pulling are the four most important categories of work for the poorest, unskilled, landless and lowest caste migrants. This includes (but is not limited to) the Musahar, Majhi, Dom, and other SCs.

3 They are prevented from breaking away from such jobs because of their limited skills, education and social networks. Discrimination at the destination is also a factor in keeping certain castes in certain jobs and perpetuating the strong segmentation that exists in migrant labour markets.

4 There are also strong indications that many migrants belonging to the broad and diverse category of OBC have become upwardly mobile, graduating from farm work to work in a variety of industries where earnings are higher. Simultaneously they have become more spatially diversified, using their social networks to switch between destinations that are often quite far from each other, in order to move up the job ladder in occupations that require similar skills. The result is that migrants from Bihar have now spread their networks to destinations all over India in a way that was not evident a decade ago.

5 The choice of destination is strongly determined by social networks – people from a particular caste and village tend to go to the same destination and into similar occupations. Distance and transport facilities are not as important in determining the choice of destination.

¹ The Upper castes or Forward castes in Bihar are mainly the Brahman, Bhumihaar, Rajput and Kayastha

² Backward castes in Bihar are divided into two categories—Annexure 1 or Extremely Backward Classes (EBCs) and Annexure 2 or Other Backward Classes (OBCs). EBC include 109 groups and account for 32% of the population and OBCs include 32 groups and account for 20% of the population. The latter includes Yadavs, Kurmis, Baniyas, Koeri. In addition there are the Backward Caste Muslims. According to the 2001 census report, there are 13 million Muslims in Bihar, which has a total population of 83 million.

6 The attractions of city life have become a major factor in shaping migration decisions, especially for young people and this explains in part the high migration rates among the better off.

7 There is no doubt that migration and remittances have improved the standard of living of thousands of families in the poorest districts of Bihar.

8 In the case of the poorest unskilled labourers, migration helps to smooth incomes and improve food security. Accumulation of assets is minimal and the costs in terms of children's education are high.

9 There has also been an increase in child migration from this class of migrants, especially from the northern districts and this has many exploitative aspects. Even if such migration brings additional cash to poor households, it has many aspects that are akin to trafficking which require urgent attention.

10 For the better educated and connected migrants working in industries, migration money is an important way of financing agriculture and the accumulation of assets. Migration is now viewed as a finite stage in the lifecycle of the household: as sons approach an age where they can be sent away to earn, the head of the household stays in the village to look after the farm and other enterprises.

11 Such migrants remit a sizeable proportion of their incomes and often work over time to earn as much as possible during their time at the destination.

12 But the costs of such migration may be high in social and health terms: long periods of separation cause loneliness and working in industries with poor labour standards exposes workers to numerous hazards. Health complaints are common. Migrants are not fully aware of the health risks at work and often are not in a position to demand protection. Being alone and away from the family may also result in more risky sexual behaviour at the destination and migrants are not fully aware of the risks of exposure to STDs, HIV/AIDS and other diseases.

13 Skill and education levels are strongly positively associated with wages.

14 The poorest migrants carry their earnings by hand and face considerable risk of theft while travelling. Workers in other states send money through Money Orders and Bank Drafts. The popularity of electronic transfers through private agents is increasing because they are reliable, safe and fast although slightly more expensive.

15 Many migrants have brought back skills. In some cases these have helped to establish remunerative businesses but there are limited opportunities for utilising them locally due to poor infrastructure and marketing links.

16 The future of migration from Bihar is uncertain. Although most migrants and their families agree that they have benefited from migration on the whole, they feel that destination areas have become less welcoming and would like to secure a future for their children at home. Policy changes at the destination may also have adverse impacts as in the case of the ban of rickshaw pullers from parts of New Delhi and the ban on child labour in eateries.

17 It is very likely that more employment opportunities will become available in rural Bihar as new policies to promote industry and agriculture take effect and as the NREGS comes into force. But in the meantime it is imperative that projects aimed at the improvement of rural livelihoods should recognise the importance of migration as a deliberate household strategy. There is a need to move away from simplistic negative analyses that view migration mainly as a symptom of distress and to start developing ways of maximising its benefits for poverty reduction.

Specific steps that BRLP and WELPMGP should consider:

18 Develop a clear conceptual and operational framework for migration (a strategy and work plan) reflecting the points above.

19 Develop migrant support initiatives (especially for the most disadvantaged communities such as the Musahar, Dom, Majhi and poor Muslims) in partnership with other World Bank funded projects and NGOs who have experience in the area. This could be taken up under the Bihar Rural Livelihoods Innovation Forum as well as the Innovation Fund of the WELPMGP.

Migrant support should aim to:

- Create awareness among migrants about their rights so that they can better protect themselves against exploitation (on work time and wages).
- Create awareness among migrants about health risks.
- Create awareness about the dangers of trafficking to children and parents.
- Improve their bargaining power through skills enhancement programmes and certification through partnerships with NGOs and government.
- Reduce uncertainty in the job market by providing information on job availability, wages and duration of work.
- Recognise the vulnerability of those who are left behind in migrating households and devise ways of supporting them. The need for communication, representation in village institutions and remittance mechanisms is greatest.

20 Improve the understanding of migration in the project districts in terms of its patterns, drivers and impacts by building up a comprehensive database on migration by caste, gender, asset holding, occupation, duration and returns. In the case of WELPMGP this could be added to the gender-disaggregated database that is already being built up.

21 Help the poorest migrants to save and remit money to their families safely and efficiently. The WELPMGP report on financial services recognises the importance of remittances and mentions the need to study them in depth. This should be addressed under the first point on data collection listed above. Interaction with the ICICI bank and NGOs working in the area of remittances should also be planned to explore the possibility of combining savings and insurance products with remittance services.

22 Help in creating the conditions for better investment of remittances in agriculture. This should be built into plans for developing agriculture, livestock and enterprise.

23 Take steps towards convergence with government and donor funded projects on health and education, bringing migration concerns on to their agendas.

In addition to the above, both projects should also address the problems faced by female migrants and women in households where adult males have migrated especially in terms of :

- Helping girls and women migrants (particularly those going to brick-kilns) in protecting themselves against sexual exploitation.
- Helping mothers to educate children who have to travel with their parents.
- Improving awareness of HIV/AIDs and STDs and help given for approaching health professionals for support on sensitive issues related to sexual health.

Things that the projects cannot do directly but can support indirectly

24 Create flexibility in pro-poor programmes on food, education, health etc. so that migrants can access them.

25 Improve infrastructure so that people can migrate when they want to.

26 Improve the implementation of labour laws.

27 Monitor the implementation of the NREGS to improve transparency and accountability.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

28 The incidence of out-migration from rural Bihar is probably greater than anywhere else in India. A combination of circumstances, both natural and societal, has created a situation in the state where sending a family member out to earn was the only way of staying alive. There was a marked increase in migration after 1990 and even more so towards the end of the decade as the rural economy ground to a virtual standstill. While migration from flood and drought prone areas was not new, the closure of industries as well as law and order problems added to the outflow of people.

29 Although migration in Bihar is well studied, it is arguably poorly understood in terms of its complexity and diversity and how it affects different groups of people. This report aims to fill some gaps by providing an assessment of migration and remittance patterns in six districts of Bihar covered under the World Bank Funded Bihar Rural Livelihoods Project (BRLP) and the IFAD funded Women's Empowerment and Livelihoods Project in the mid-Gangetic Plain (WELPMGP) with a view to offering practical suggestions for interventions to maximise the positives and minimise the negatives associated with migration.

30 The report is contained in four parts. Part I provides background information on the state of the rural economy in Bihar with attention to farm and non-farm employment trends, agricultural productivity, infrastructure and education. Part II contains the main findings of the study by district focusing on variations in migration and remittance patterns by social group, occupation and destination. It also provides an assessment of the positive and negative impacts of migration and remittances Part III discusses sources of risk and vulnerability and how these are being addressed by migrant support programmes. Part IV discusses ways forward and practical steps that can be taken by BRLP and WELPMGP.

31 The fieldwork covered the six districts of Nalanda, Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Purnia, Madhubani and Sitamarhi of which four are among the poorest districts in India³. A minimum of two multi-caste villages were studied in each district, one remote and the other well-connected in order to examine the effects of connectedness, if any, on migration patterns. In addition, one extra village was studied in both Muzaffarpur and Purnia to ensure the dynamics of migration among Muslims were captured. A description of the villages is provided in Appendix 2.

32 The main sources of primary evidence used are key informant interviews and focus group discussions (for a list of people and organisations contacted see Appendix 3). We would like to stress that figures provided in the report (related to numbers of migrants, earnings, remittances and savings etc.) are guesstimates made by highly experienced professionals as well as migrants themselves and should therefore be regarded as reasonably accurate. A list of villages visited and people met is provided in Appendix 1.

³ According to a recent survey by Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, out of the 100 most poor Districts in India 26 Districts are from Bihar: Araria, Banka, Begusarai, Darbhanga, Gopalganj, Jamui, Kaimur, Khagaria, Kishanganj, Lakhisarai, Madhepura, Muzaffarpur, Nalanda, Navada, Paschim Champaran, Purvi Champaran, Purnia, Saharasa, Samastipur, Saran, Shekhpura, Sheohar, Sitamarhi, Siwan, Supaul, and Vaishali

A number of secondary sources have also been used including research studies on migration, poverty and rural development in Bihar as well as data from the Indian Post Office and government officials. Information collected through interviews and group discussions has been triangulated and cross checked with other reliable sources and this has been indicated in each instance through referencing.



BACKGROUND

Bihar is the poorest state in India with the lowest per capita income amongst the major states⁴. In 2004/05, the real per capita GSDP was Rs. 4435 while the nominal per capita GSDP was Rs. 7080 which were less than half that of the neighbouring state of Jharkhand. More than 40% of the population lives below the poverty line. It is also the third most populated state with a total population of 83 million. The state's performance lags seriously behind others. Although moderate progress was made during the 1990s (1993-94 to 1999-00) in reducing poverty by nearly 7 percentage points, the rate of poverty reduction was well below the national average. Current projections are that Bihar is likely to fall well behind on most of the MDG targets for 2015. Bihar's rank for HDI among the Indian states has remained unchanged at 15 since 1981 while its score has increased marginally from 0.237 in 1981 to 0.308 in 1991 to 0.267 in 2001. It fares very badly on a number of indicators. In the 1990s Bihar had the lowest Gender Equality Index in India, and had witnessed a decline in absolute terms over the earlier period.

⁴ Bihar Towards a Development Strategy. A World Bank Report; G.S. KANG, Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar *Challenges of Economic Policy Reform in Asia* May 31 - June 3, 2006, the 2006 Pan Asia Conference. Stanford Center for International Development

34 According to the 2001 census Bihar has the lowest literacy rate in the country - 48% against a national average of 65%. It is the only state where primary enrolment fell between 1993 and 1999, and 80% of the bottom quintile heads of household have no education.

35 Bihar is a predominantly agrarian economy with a small manufacturing base. The share of services has increased from 41% to nearly 50% of GSDP, which is roughly the same as the Indian overall average. While the share of agriculture has declined, it is still very large. According to the NSS, nearly 40% of the workforce is engaged in agricultural labour (1999-2000) down from 42% in the previous round. Cultivation and farm labour together account for 80% of employment.

36 Crop productivity has been below the Indian average for most cereals. The causes for the large yield gap include: low investment rates, lack of water management with annual flooding of the Gangetic plain, weak transport and marketing infrastructure as well as severe fragmentation of land holdings. 31 districts are flood prone and 11 are drought prone. Only five districts are not prone to floods and drought.

37 Poverty is predominantly rural in Bihar and is associated with limited access to land and livestock, poor education and health care, as well as low-paid occupations and social status. NSS data show that 75% of the poor were landless or near landless in 1999-2000. Although land reforms were introduced in 1950 they have been slow and ineffective. The rural poor tend to depend on agricultural wages or casual non-farm jobs for a living. Over time the proportion of non-farm labourers in the poorest quintile has increased and the proportion of farm workers decreased.

38 North Bihar and the Chhotanagpur Plateau are significantly poorer than southern parts of the region. Regional variations are in part explained by structural factors such as ecology, population density, infrastructure and transport, but belonging to a scheduled caste or being female or landless significantly increases the risk of being poor. SCs and STs are likely to be three times poorer than other castes. They are also three times more likely to be landless, and their status on these two counts has remained virtually unchanged since 1993-94. They are deprived on various counts: only 2.9 per cent of Scheduled Tribe and 4.9 per cent of Scheduled Caste households had access to electricity, compared to over 14 per cent in the case of other households. Muslims do not do very well either: a study by Patna-based Asian Development Research Institute (ADRI) on the socioeconomic status of Muslims found that 49.5 percent of rural Muslims and 44.8 percent of urban Muslims live below the poverty line.

39 Take the case of the Musahar who are classified as a scheduled caste. They are spread across the districts of Madhubani, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran, Hazaribagh, Santhal Pargana, Bhagalpur, Munger, Purnia, and Gaya. There were 13,91,000 Musahars in Bihar in 1981 (not clear if enumerated since then). They are thought to be an offshoot of the bhuiya tribe of Chhota Nagpur and are in fact referred to by that name in Bihar as well. The name translates into rat-taker or rat-eater. Musahars are mainly landless agricultural labourers. The Musahars have largely remained on the periphery of society⁵.

⁵ Mukul 1999. Everyday Life of Musahars in North Bihar *EPW* Special Articles December 4, 1999

40 Bihar has a poor record on poverty alleviation programmes and government services, for example, serious mis-targeting in the PDS and chronic teacher absenteeism. Electricity supplies have been erratic: in 2003-04, per capita consumption of electricity was 44.85Kwh as compared to 606Kwh at the national level. Transmission & Distribution losses for the state are 37.69%. Less than 8% of the 81,655 km of roads in Bihar are national or state highways. Approximately 45% of the road network is unpaved. Although 50% of the assessed ultimate irrigation potential from major and medium irrigation schemes has been created, the utilisation of these is only 60%. It must be noted that the new government has introduced a number of policies to address these problems and it is likely that these measures will improve the rural economy and provide people with more opportunities close to home.

MIGRATION PATTERNS IN BIHAR

41 Migration has a long history in Bihar and has been studied in depth by a number of scholars. According to the 1998 Uttar Pradesh Bihar Living standards survey conducted by the World Bank⁶ 95% of the migrants in Bihar are male, and migration is highest in the richest and poorest quintiles and the poorest migrate for shorter durations. The ratio of remittances to household consumption was 4% on average and lower for SCs and STs.

42 Studies in north Bihar (Karan 2003) show a phenomenal increase of migration rates from 28% to 49% in a 17 year period. All caste groups, as well as Muslims migrate and the recent increase has been most marked in OBCs, SCs and Muslims. Remittances account for approximately one third of total average annual income in sample villages. As expected, higher castes remit more, and the amount remitted by Muslims is disproportionately high. The most common use of remittances was to cover consumption needs and medical expenditure.

43 A study of 36 villages across six districts (Nalanda, Rohtas, Gopalganj, Gaya, Madhubani and Purnia) in north and central Bihar by Dayal and Karan (2004) found that roughly 12% of males in the sample households were seasonal migrants and 9% permanent migrants. The intensity was greatest in Madhubani (25%) followed by Gopalganj and Purnia. There was very little permanent migration in Purnia. Purnia and Madhubani had a high incidence of seasonal migration commuting compared to districts which were better off agriculturally. Seasonal migration was highest among Muslims (12%), followed by OBC-I. Permanent migration was higher among OBC-II and Forward Castes. The magnitude of seasonal and permanent migration among SCs was low but they commuted more than others. In general poor and marginal farmers migrated seasonally or commuted and the rich migrated permanently. It was found that poorer Forward Castes were also engaged in seasonal migration due to the stigma of working as manual workers locally (we return to this point in the report). The study while highlighting the vulnerability of migrants and migration as a coping strategy also shows that young people are now consciously opting to migrate to explore other areas and in the case of lower castes to break away from caste oppression in the village.

⁶ 2,250 rural households in south and eastern Uttar Pradesh, and north and central Bihar.

44 Other studies show very high migration rates among Muslims especially in Gaya, Aurangabad, Vaishali and Darbhanga districts because of their poor socioeconomic status. A study on the socio-economic status of Muslims in Bihar by Patna-based Asian Development Research Institute (ADRI) sponsored by the Bihar State Minorities Commission found that there were 63 migrants for every 100 Muslim households in rural Bihar. Two out of every three Muslim households in rural Bihar send at least one of its working members away to earn. The average Muslim migrant is a male aged 28.5 years in rural areas and 27.4 years in urban areas. Only men migrate and there is a very high percentage of de facto female headed households. There are many international migrants among Muslims: more than 40 percent of rural Muslim migrants from Siwan and Gopalganj district head for Gulf countries. The average annual remittance by migrants from rural areas is about Rs.1,350 per month, and from urban migrants is Rs.1,840 per month.

45 However scholars differ in their conclusions on the drivers and impacts of migration. For example Arjan de Haan's study of migrants from Saran to the industrial areas of Calcutta⁷ argues that early out-migration was not necessarily the result of underdevelopment – rather, early development contributed to out-migration. He also suggests that the income that was derived from this migratory work helped to maintain a high population density and high out-migration and population density reinforced each other. He differs from others (Iyer 2004)⁸ who have emphasised the distress-nature of migration. De Haan views migration as a household strategy that builds on existing migratory links and traditions.

⁷ De Haan, A. 2002. Migration and Livelihoods in Historical Perspective: A Case Study of Bihar, India. *Journal of Development Studies*, June 2002.

⁸ Iyer. G. (ed.) *Distressed Migrant Labour in India*. New Delhi: Kanishka

Part II Main findings

MIGRATION PATTERNS IN THE PROJECT DISTRICTS

46 There is no doubt that migration in all six districts has shown a marked increase within the previous decade⁹. The reasons differ including the closure of local industrial units, the cessation of employment opportunities in nearby locations due to law and order problems or political unrest, and the emergence of new opportunities in industries where members of the village have contacts.

47 Long distance migration rates do not appear to be affected by the level of connectedness of the village. For example there are very high rates from remote as well as well-connected villages. However, well connected villages have more commuters.

48 Migrants are usually single men, in the age group of 15-45. However brick kiln migrants and intrastate rural-rural migrants often take their wives and children with them.

49 Very little international migration was reported on the whole, but that reported appears to exist among certain groups, particularly Muslims.

50 Women, older children and the elderly get left behind. We often heard accounts of entire villages where hardly any young men were seen. Although many women staying behind do not work outside the home, those belonging to poorer households work in farms locally or are engaged in home-based industry (incense stick making).

Gaya

51 In Gaya migration is highest in the blocks of Atree, Parahia, Kochas, Tekari, Imamganj, Barachattee and Dumaria¹⁰. Gaya has the largest SC population in Bihar. More than 50% of the landless or functionally landless SC and OBC households have one or more migrants. Of these 80% are unskilled and poorly educated, in the age group of 17-35 years.

52 Migration began on a large scale in the early 1990s when local employment in agriculture was severely affected by Naxal activity¹¹. Many large farmers have left the village and moved to nearby urban centres for safety reasons in the last 10-12 years farm lands were left fallow and local employment fell. Sanjay Kumar of AVS estimates that nearly 50% of the wage work opportunities in 10% of the villages were wiped out in this way. There has been a sharp decline in agriculture (area, production and consumption of fertilizer, pesticides). For example, three years ago, total consumption of urea in Gaya district was 36000 tonnes while this year it went down to 18000 tonnes¹². Today there is hardly any work in local agriculture for only about a month during kharif

⁹ However it needs to be borne in mind that major changes are occurring now with a change in government that may alter migration patterns. These include policies to improve the law and order situation, revitalize industry and agriculture as well as the introduction of the NREGA

¹⁰ Mr. Vinay, WDC, Gaya

¹¹ Mr. Sanjay Kumar, Secretary, AVS, Bodh-Gaya

¹² Mr. Sharma, Director, Agriculture Department, Gaya

@3.5kg rice/day with breakfast and lunch (for paddy transplanting and weeding), and for 20-25 days in Rabi @ 1/16th or 1/14th of the harvest¹³. Non-farm work usually fetches Rs.40-50/day with country liquor (value of around Rs 15). If paid in cash, women labourers are paid Rs.5-10 less than men. Some non-farm labouring work has become available in and around the village recently in road construction, telephone and cable network projects @ Rs. 70-80/day but people perceive it as uncertain and have not stopped migrating. Outmigration increased further in the last three years since the stone crusher units in/around Sasaram were shut down. Earlier many local people worked there for 7-8 months/year and earned Rs.40-60/day. There are other reasons for migration in this district too – upper castes facing difficulty in getting workers for their farms would rather work as labourers outside the village than on their own farms in the village because of the shame that this would bring to their family. As one key informant remarked “*Jo kaam Gaya me karne me sharm aatee hai usase bura kaam log baahar jaakar khushi-khushi karte hain*” (when people are away from their village they happily do jobs that they would not consider doing in the village because such jobs are shaming). Migration has not increased everywhere and has gone down in 10-15 villages in South Gaya encroached land is being used for cultivation¹⁴. Mr Chhedi Prasad says that out-migration has reduced with the efforts of the NGO in 6 villages (Jai Nagar, Sagarpur, Choraniya, Ramdasha, Sugma, Sukhdev Chak) of Gaya district to improve farming through lift irrigation. About 600 families, mainly from BC, OBC and SC, have benefited (since 1999).

Nalanda

53 Migration in Nalanda increased sharply after 1995 (reason not specified)¹⁵. In Nalanda the land is owned mainly by the upper castes: Brahmin, Bhumihaar, Rajput and Kayasth. Migration is especially high among the SC castes (Ravidas, Paswan, Pasi, Dhanuk, Dom, Rajak and Musahar). These castes are landless, near landless or marginal farmers who work as labourers. Within the broad category of SC the Paswan and Harijan have more land, are better educated and some have gone into government jobs. Migration for manual work is relatively low among these two groups. In the past Paswans and Musahars in Nalanda were engaged in Harwahi (1 bigha land for farming, daily meals during working days and some bani-2-3kg rice was the wage).

54 Local wage work is available for 2-3 months/year. Wages are 3kg rice/day for paddy transplanting and Rs.50/day plus two meals for other farm work. Women are paid Rs.5-10 less if in cash. SCs may also be part time sharecroppers cultivating 0.50 - 4 bigha¹⁶ land.

55 Much daily commuting to Nalanda and Bihar Sharif was reported from the well connected village of Mohanpur, Hilav block. They work as labourers in construction market yards and as rickshaw pullers Earning between Rs 60 and 100 a day.

Muzzaffarpur

¹³ Mr Chhedi Prasad

¹⁴ Mr. Chhedi Prasad, Secretary, Samagra Vikas Sansthan, Bara Chattee, Gaya.

¹⁵ Group discussion at Jan-Jagaran Sansthan (Nalanda): Swawlamban Project & Nari-Shakti Project

¹⁶ 1 bighas = 0.336 acres or 0.135 ha = 1 bigha

56 In Muzzaffarpur up to 70% of households in blocks suffering floods and water logging (Gayghat, Katra, Aurai, Sakara, Gochaha, Kanti, Marwan) have migrants¹⁷. Runi and Gai Ghat blocks) have also been mentioned as high migration areas¹⁸. About 80% of the population of these blocks is either landless or near landless. Farm work is available for 30-45 days¹⁹ a year. Local wages are roughly Rs.40-50/day or Rs.20 for half a day's work (perhaps indicating the shortage of work and/or local labour due to outmigration which we discuss later). Women are paid Rs.5-10 less than the men. About 50% of migration is short duration (4-6 months) while the rest is long term (9-10 months/year).

Purnia

57 More than 50% of the households in Purnia have at least one migrant because of acute unemployment and extreme poverty²⁰. SC, ST and EBCs make up about 75% of the migrant population. They are mainly illiterate, unskilled and landless or small and marginal farmers. An important factor in shaping the migration decision among youth belonging to the lower castes of this district is the feeling that they should not work for local landlords²¹. Blocks with a larger Muslim population have a higher proportion of migrants. These are Baisee, Baisaa, Dagarwa, Amaour, Dhamdaha and Banmankhi. In these blocks, 75-95% of Muslim families have migrants.

58 Migration appears to be increasing every year²². Heavy migration is reported from seven blocks in the district namely Purnia East, Dagarwa, Baisee, Amaour, Baisaa, Kasba and Jalalgarh which are flood prone and K-Nagar, Shre Nagar, Dhamdaha, Bhawanipur, Rupauli and Banmakhi which are water logged. Out-migration shot up 6-7 years ago with the closure of industrial units nearby²³. Local wages in agriculture are Rs.30/day plus breakfast or Rs.50/day; women are paid Rs.10 less than the men. Farm work is available for about 90 days/year in paddy, wheat, jute and maize. The daily wage for casual non farm work is Rs.70/day.

59 There is a lot of commuting from villages within a radius of 10 km from Purnia for casual work throughout the year (Rs.50-130/day). For example roughly 100 people commute from Lalharia village to work in plywood industries. Of these 20-25 of these commute daily others weekly. They earn Rs 40 for an 8 hour day but often work for 12 hours and earn 20 extra.

Madhubani

60 According to key informant interviews migration from Madhubani has been increasing steadily over the last 10 years because of poor yields in farming and reduced

¹⁷ NIRDESH as above

¹⁸ Mr. Akash, Project Director, Adithi/Plan; Muzzaffarpur

A. K. Sinha, Chief Accountant, Adithi/Plan; Muzzaffarpur

¹⁹ Mr. Satyendra Singh, President, *NIRDESH*, Muzzaffarpur.

Mr. Tripurari, Project Coordinator, Sawawlamban Project-WDC through *NIRDESH*.

Usha Singh, Project Coordinator, Sawawlamban Project-WDC through *NIRDESH*.

Nilam Pathak, Project Coordinator, Sawawlamban Project-WDC through *NIRDESH*

²⁰ S. K. Jha, DDM NABARD, Purnia

²¹ Ram Chandra Pandit, Secretary, Harijan Adiwasi Shikshan-Prashikshan Sansthan, Harda, Purnia.....with Mr. Krishna Dev and Mr. Arun

²² Mohd. Islam (40 years, illiterate), medium farmer Badalpur village (Purnia, Baisee Block

²³ Dr. A. K. Raman, Secretary, DEEPALAYA, The following major units were shut down - Rice Mill in Bharanga, Sugar Mill in Banmankhi, 7 plywood industries in and around Purnia, one jute mill in Purnia. It is thought that 25-30000 daily job opportunities were lost in this way.

job opportunities locally^{24, 25 26}. Jhajnahrpur block has the highest migration rate where nearly 60% of the total population (not households) leave the village each season. Andhradhadi block is another block with very high levels of migration because it is highly flood prone²⁷.

61 Migration grew after severe flooding and droughts in 1987. The closure of industry and political problems have also played a role. About 3000 men from Madhubani used to go to Nepal to work in the construction industry and as porters. But this has gone down in the last 5-6 years because of political problems there and the closing of rice mills in Virat Nagar. Migration also increased as 18 sugar mills in Narar, Sakri, Rayam and Lohat shut down²⁸. Women do not migrate and a few work on farms locally. Local farm work is available for 3 months a year and workers are paid at the rate of 7-10 kg paddy/day for farm work and Rs.60/day for non farm work. Women labourers are paid Rs.5 less than men if paid in cash.

62 Although it began as distress migration from Madhubani it has now become routine. Three rice mills in the district were closed down 5-6 years ago because of law and order problems and this increased migration levels further.²⁹ Overall about 70% of the households are engaged in migration³⁰ each with 1-4 male members working outside. 60-75% of SC households have migrants and 40% of OBC households have migrants. But this appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon; migration in the district began with the BC and OBCs. SCs followed later using their connections with the early BC and OBC migrants. Unlike Purnia the rate of migration among the Muslims in the villages visited is almost half that of the Hindus because many have local businesses (bakeries, traditional loom, poultry, biri making, shoe making etc).

Sitamarhi

63 Migration is increasing in Sitamarhi every year due to the growing population and divided farms. On average 50-60% of the households in the district have at least one person migrating³¹. Migration is mainly among the SC and OBC who are landless or nearly landless. Land is concentrated among the Yadav, Kurmi, Sahu (OBC), Rajput, Bhumihar and Brahmin (Forward Castes) who make a living from farming and do not migrate much. The blocks of Dumra, Sonbarsa, Sursand, Parihar, Malangwa and Majorganj were named as high migration blocks³². In the past the northeast was the preferred destination, especially Assam. However migration to Assam has almost stopped in last 4-5 years because of political unrest and anti-Bihari attitudes there. Around 2-3000 people from Sitamarhi villages near the Nepal border used to migrate

²⁴ Anand Kumar Jha, Samadhan, Madhubani

²⁵ Ram Pramod Yadav (Master Trainer, Swayamsiddha Project-Samadhan), Madhubani

²⁶ Dr. Yogendra Thakur, Director, Society for Rural Development, Madhubani

²⁷ K. Karketa, DDM, NABARD, Madhubani

²⁸ FGDBarhi, Jayanagar block

²⁹ District Post Office, Madhubani Mr. Madhu Sudan Gosh, Dy. Superintendent

³⁰ Mr. A. Karn, Restaurant Manager, Madhubani

³¹ Mrs. Mithilesh, Sudha Khatoon and Shail Devi (Area Project Coordinators, Adithi, Sitamarhi) and Mr. Nilesh (Advance India Social Welfare Society, Sitamarhi). Triangulated through interviews with DDC, Sitamarhi and Siya Ram Rajvanshi (65 years, illiterate, landless snacks vendor) Sursand Block

and commute to Nepali towns for construction work (Rs.50-100/day) but due to political problems this source of work is no longer available.

MAJOR MIGRATION STREAMS

The main kinds of migration by social group, occupation and destination are discussed below. The first four appear to be more prevalent among the lowest castes and least educated people. These jobs also pay less than Industrial work that has been captured by better connected and better educated OBCs, BCs and FCs. Under each broad heading we provide location specific information to highlight variations by district and social group.

Farm Work within the State and Uttar Pradesh

64 The poorest (but not the very poorest or poorest of the poor who cannot migrate) SCs and OBCs with no land and no education, especially the Musahars are often engaged in local or nearby farm work where they go for a crop season and are paid in kind.

- The Musahars of Harnaut block in Nalanda go for paddy harvesting and threshing to the agriculturally prosperous districts of Shahabad, Ara, Sasaram, Bhabhua, Kaimur and Buxar within the state. These migrants take their wives and young children. They are paid at the rate of 1/12th of the crop with one meal and fuelwood. Each family is able to bring back 8-10 quintals of paddy.
- Around 40 very poor Paswan (SC) and Mallah (EBC) households from Birjoo Milki, village in Nalanda, migrate to neighbouring blocks and districts (Badh) for paddy harvesting and threshing. They are paid in grain (1/16th of the total harvest) at harvest time and 3.5 kg rice/day for weeding. The wage for threshing is Rs.30/day. If paid in kind then wages are the same for men and women but if paid in cash women receive Rs.5-10 less. Farm work is available for 60-90 days/year. For the rest of the year they go to nearby urban centres as discussed below.

Migration To Nearby Urban Centres for Rickshaw Pulling And Manual Work In The Lean Season

65 This is also done mainly by the poorest SC and BC households during the lean season for for 8-9 months in a year

- Between 100-150 BC and SC labourers migrate from Harnaut to Bihar Sharif and Patna for rickshaw pulling. They earn around Rs 100 and are able to save about Rs.50-60/day. They also work in the construction sector in nearby towns for which they receive Rs.60/day.
- Labourers go from Gaya to Patna and Ranchi for rickshaw pulling and earn up to Rs.2000/month. Some make several trips of 7-15 days each earning Rs.50-80/day.

Migration to Brick Kilns within Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Nepal

66 By all accounts migration to brick kilns has grown in the last five years in the districts of Madhubani, Gaya and Nalanda. Although the earnings in this kind of work are comparable or even better than casual non-farm labouring workers return with few savings. Cheating is common and spending on liquor at the destination is high. The overall improvement in household wellbeing is limited.

- For example the Musahars from Nalanda migrate to Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal for brick kiln work with their families and stay there for 7-8 months/year. Almost 75% of the landless Bhuiyans (SC) in Bara Chattee (total Bhuiyan population is 40,000) and Mohanpur (45,000) migrate for brick kiln work³³. Recruiting is done through an agent who gives their families a wage advance of Rs.2000-5000. A couple is able to earn Rs.70-80/day. The overall wage work situation can be said to be exploitative as everything necessary to manage daily needs is sold by the employers (at higher rates than the market) on credit and subsequently deducted from actual wages. They are often cheated out of their full payment. They spend heavily on country liquor and usually come home with a saving of Rs.1000-2000 at the end of the season.
- Take the case of the well connected village Paraul in Benipati block, Madhubani. There are two brick kilns nearby each employing 40 Mallah, Muslim, Tatma, Paswan and Musahars from this village. Those who make bricks are paid roughly Rs 170/1000 bricks made. They earn Rs 130-150 a day on average and work from Oct to May. Other workers come from Darbhanga, within the block and Jayanagar. The 10 or so mestrin in the kiln come from Allahabad to supervise firing. Brahmans from the village work in the kilns as “munshis” who supervise the work and keep accounts. They are paid Rs 60-70 a day. Some Musahars go to Nepal brick kilns in Janakpur, Kathmandu and other towns. After coming back from the kilns in May they may go to Punjab and Haryana for farm work. In the remote village Barhi of the same district many different castes and communities migrate for brick kiln work Khatwa, Muslim, Paswan and Mallah go to brick kilns 5-10 km away in Jainagar and Basopati blocks. Some go to Nepal. These workers go alone and commute daily or weekly. The ones who make the bricks stay there as they start work at 2-3 am. Others who only carry bricks go there by bicycle. The makers earn Rs 175 for 1000 bricks made. The carriers earn around Rs 60-70 per 1000 bricks carried and may earn up to 130 in a day.
- In Gaya roughly 2% of the total population of 10-15% of villages (more than 40% SC families of these villages, mainly Musahars) migrate with their families to brick kilns around Kanpur, Mughal Sarai and Gorakhpur in U.P. Around 5% of the migrants from Muzzaffarpur, mainly SC/STs, work in nearby brick kilns and earn around Rs.50-70/day on a piece rate basis. They work there for 6-7 months. Women are not involved in this kind of work in this district. Local brick kilns employ migrants from

³³ Mr. Chhedi Prasad, Secretary, Samagra Vikas Sansthan, Bara Chattee, Gaya

other districts and Jharkhand as well. Not many migrants from Purnia work in brick kilns because they employ workers from West Bengal and Jharkhand.

Farm Work in Punjab and Haryana

67 Poor, and unskilled SC, EBC and OBC from Bihar have long been migrating to Punjab and Haryana. Although this kind of work has been regarded as a form of bonded labour by many analysts the interviews and discussions show that this work has given many poor and lower caste workers an opportunity to earn reasonable wages which they could not do easily in local markets as the examples below illustrate. Migrants work in paddy, wheat, cotton, sugarcane and vegetable farms. They usually migrate in November and return in May/June. Workers are paid Rs 10 per quintal of sugarcane cut and cleaned or @ Rs 600-800 per keela (local measure of area) for planting it. They are paid Rs 1200/keela for harvesting paddy and Rs 800/keela for harvesting wheat.

- In Sitamarhi a majority of the Nonia and Chamar households from Pathanpura in Sursand block migrate to Punjab for farm work. Muslim migrants from the same village (350 individuals out of 400 households) go to industries in Mumbai, Delhi Ludhiana, Kolkata, Jorhat and, Hyderabad for stitching work. The other village Gobindphanda in Gumra block is numerically dominated by Chamars (SC) but the land is held by the Kanu and Yadav. Although there is plenty of work all year round in sugarcane fields and in the sugarmill nearby as well as the local town, the Chamars are going to Punjab for farm work. This is because they are not able to find work locally
- The Musahars, Chamars and Paswan as well as some Rajputs from the well connected Paraul village of Benipati block go to Punjab for farm work from Oct/Nov to March. These castes appear to be excluded from the more lucrative industrial work that others from the village with better connections go to (the Brahmans and Rajputs) which we discuss below.
- Similarly 30-40% of the migrants, mainly SCs and EBCs from Purnia go to Punjab and Haryana for seasonal farm work where they stay for 6 months and earn Rs.100-200/day.

Inter-State Migration to Large Cities and Urban Centres for Casual Labouring In the Non-Farm Sector and “Factory” Work

68 Although migration to Kolkata, Assam and Punjab is not new, migration to the cities of Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, Surat and Hyderabad is relatively recent. Here migrants undertake a range of non-farm work as casual workers or more regular “employees” in “factories”³⁴. In general those who have some education (up to matriculation) or traditional skills that are in demand (e.g. the Muslims with tailoring and embroidery skills)

³⁴ Employees in the sense that they have a regular and fixed monthly income with fixed over time rates. Many of the industries are small scale units that may or may not be legally registered with government and many operate without adhering to labour standards or hygiene and safety regulations. Contracts are often verbal based on mutual trust.

have been able to get relatively well-paid jobs in industry. Social networks in the village and the destination are critical in accessing industrial work in distant locations. Others who have fewer skills and fewer contacts work as casual labourers and may not get work as regularly.

- Roughly 40% of the migrants from Sitamarhi are employed in Mumbai, Kolkata, Punjab, Delhi and Surat for 4-6 months. They make 1-2 trips back home in a year. Muslim migrants go to Kolkata, Mumbai and Delhi for zari work and tailoring work and earn around Rs.2000-4000. Hindus (mainly SCs and EBCs) work as casual labourers in construction or in industries. Construction workers earn about Rs.75-150/day but work may not be found immediately and there may be a waiting period of 10-12 days before they get a job.

Hariharpur village, Dumra block, Sitamarhi³⁵ is a multi caste village with a population of 4000. Nearly half belong to the BC category: Kushwaha, Yadav, Badhai, Luhar, Baniya. Another 40% are SCs-Harijan, Dhobee and Pasi and Muslims. General Castes- Bhumhars and Rajputs account for 7-8% of the population. Most of the BCs and almost all General Caste families own some farming land (1-10 bigha) while about 25 households have larger holdings.

Migration has been increasing every year. Every youth wants to leave the village. Nearly 80% of BC, SC and Muslim families of the village have 1-4 migrants in the age group of 17-45 years. Altogether around 1500 people from this village migrate to a particular location in Ludhiana along a migration stream that has existed for the last 10-12 years. That place has come to be known as Hariharpur village in Punjab. Almost 70% of migrants are unskilled and take up any manual wage work that is available. They earn Rs.70-250/day in/around Ludhiana through contractors, labour contractors and local labour markets. Wage work is available 20-25 days/month.

The remaining 30% of migrants are semi-skilled or skilled (plumbing, masonry, electrician, fitter, carpenter, tractor driving). It takes them 4-5 years to acquire these skills through a system of apprenticeship known as the *Ustad-Chela system*. Semi-skilled and skilled workers earn Rs.100-300/day in general. On average a migrant is able to save Rs.1000-3000/month in Ludhiana. Though these migrants are well established in Punjab they do not see a future there as the availability of jobs might be uncertain. Bihari migrants are now perceived as 'snatchers of opportunities' for the local population.

- Roughly 15-25% of migrants from Purnia are employed in industries in Delhi, Mumbai, Surat where they earn Rs.2500-5000/month depending on their skills and experience. Many work in woollen garment industries. They are away for 9-10 months/year. Muslims work in a variety of occupations as vendors, rickshaw pullers, porters, boot polishers, mechanics and tailors and earn between Rs.50 and 200/day in Kolkata, Mumbai and Delhi. Muslims have skills in stitching and embroidery that are especially marketable at the moment and many have found work in export units making clothes, bags and zari items (a specialised kind of embroidery using metallic thread and sequins which is in great demand in fashion houses in India and abroad). Migration to the northeast has almost ended over the last 10 years because of strong anti-Bihari movements there.

Chopra is a well connected village in Bysee block, Purnia and lies on the national highway about 25 km from Purnia. It has 300 Muslim families and 20 Harijan families. The village is well connected. All households have at least one migrant. Migration started in 1970 first for iron rod and centring work, then for farm work. Now work in stitching and embroidery is growing. While

³⁵ FGD, 5 men-3 migrants and 8 women with 3 Adithi coordinators

the SCs go to Punjab for farm work, the majority of the Muslims work in the non farm sector either as labourers or factory workers. There are no big landlords in this village and nearly all muslim families have a small plot of land but this is prone to flooding. Most have some education through Madrasas but no one is educated beyond school. The destinations and industries are shown in the table below: People who work in stitching or embroidery work a very long day - 7 am to 12 midnight in order to earn as much as possible while they are away from home. They can earn 400-450 in a day if working over time otherwise 250 if only working 8 hours. Payment is settled at the end of the season. They are given some money every week to buy food etc. and get half a day off on Sunday. Those in iron rod work earn Rs 80-90 a day (workers), and Rs 100-150 (head man) and get work all year round in Mumbai.

Delhi	Stitching, embroidery, construction
Ludhiana	Stiching, embroidery
Amritsar	Construction
Ferozpur	Construction
Jullundar	"
Pathankot	"
Srinagar	Construction, Stiching embroidery
Mumbai	Iron rod work in construction, embroidery
Jammu	Construction, stitching, embroidery
Surat	Construction, industries(??)
Ahmedabad	Construction
Ajmer	Flower shops and restaurants
Jaipur	Stitching, embroidery

Badalpur is a remote village in Baisee block, about 37 km from the Purnia District Headquarters³⁶ There are 600 Muslim families in this Muslim dominated village which has a population of 3000. There are 25 farmers with more than 10 bigha of land while 50 families own about 1.5 bigha land. Young people in the age group 16-45 years migrate while elderly people are engaged in own farming/sharecropping, animal husbandry and business. Punjab is the main destination for about 400 men of the village. They are engaged in paddy work for 60 days and wheat work for another 60 days @ Rs.100-200/day. Another 350 migrants are involved in tailoring and zari work in Mumbai and Delhi. They earn Rs.100-200/day and return back to the village once every 6 months. Earlier migration was through labour contractors but these days people migrate through contacts and social networks. In the Gyan Dobe Tola of this village there are 13 Mallah, 1 Dhobee and 150 Yadav households. Mallahs are involved in traditional fishing locally earning Rs100-200/day so there is no outmigration from these households. All Yadav households (marginal farmers) have at least one migrant some have 2-3 migrants. Punjab, Panipat, Haryana and Ghaziabad are the main destinations. About 10 migrants work for farmers in Punjab @ Rs3000/month with food and accommodation, 50 in cloth mills/garment industries @ Rs.4000-5000/month and 75 work as casual labourers @ Rs.100-120/day. The number of migrants from this Tola, village and surrounding villages is increasing every year.

- In the last five years farm workers from Madhubani in Punjab have begun moving into industrial work because it provides better earnings and exposure to urban lifestyles. It appears that Nepali labourers are taking their place in Punjab and Haryana. There are migrants from Madhubani in Gujarat, Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata Chandigarh and Surat. Around half of these migrants work as casual labourers. The rest work in various industries on a piece rate basis earning between Rs.2000 and 4000/month depending on the skill and amount of work done.

Barhi is a large and remote village in Madhubani dominated by Yadavs, Muslims and Mallahs with 470 HH. Hardly anyone is educated beyond high school (matriculation). Migration rates are very high among the BCs and SCs. While some continue to go to Punjab and Haryana a majority

³⁶ Mohd. Islam (40 years, illiterate), medium farmer

are now working in various industries in Mumbai, Delhi, Gurgaon, Surat, Ahmedabad, Kolkata, Arunachal Pradesh, Trivandrum, Kathmandu and other places in Nepal (Siraha, Lahan, Janakpur). The work in shifts of 8 hours but try to get as much overtime work as possible. In the Mattress industries of Gurgaon for example they earn Rs1500-2000 a month and manage to get 10 days of overtime work in a month taking their earnings upto Rs 2500. In the the Indian Oil Corporagtion in Surat workers are paid Rs 2400 a month for a 12 hour day loading and unloading gas cylinders. In an autorickshaw workshop in Delhi workers are paid Rs 2000 per month (of which Rs is cut for the Provident Fund each month). Get PF even if work only for a few months. Plastic industries in Delhi, Gurgaon, In wires and coil industries in Delhi workers are paid Rs 2500-3000 per month (Rs 9/hr for overtime) Muslims work in bag making and shoe industries in Delhi and Mumbai and earn Rs 3000-3500 if they work 12 hours a day. Many also work as welding machine operators and earn Rs 4000-5000 per month. Others who work as their helpers earn Rs 2500-3000 per month.

In Paraul the well connected village of Madhubani which is dominated numerically by Musahars, Rajputs, Brahmins, Yadavs and Paswans but also has many muslim, Chamar and Mallah families there are very high levels of migration among the all castes. Out of a 100 Brahmin households 125 individuals migrate to work as cooks in Bangalore. Others work in industries in Gurgaon, Ghaziabad and Bahadurgarh. The Rajputs go to industries in various places including Delhi, Ahmedabad, Rajkot, Surat, Faridabad, the Badarpur border, Gurgaon, Ludhiana, Jullundar, Patiala and Kolkata.

Occupational and Spatial Mobility

69 Along with interstate migration to cities for factory work has come a kind of occupational mobility that has not been seen before and this is especially marked in the OBCs. Some migrants try out several jobs before they settle into one that they like.

Bhola Prasad Bharti (45) a resident of Barhi, migrated from 1993 to 1998 to Delhi with others from the village to work in a plastic factory where he earned Rs 1200-1800 a month. He then went to work in Kolkata in a sweet shop for Rs 1700-2200 for a couple of years and later started working in a gas plant in Surat where earned Rs 1500-1800. The plant manager then posted him at Pune as a supervisor for Rs 2400 per month. He has recently returned to the village for good and plans to send his grown up sons to a factory somewhere. He will manage the farm.

Box 1 Exploring opportunities using the village as a base and village social networks for information

Manoj Kumar Sharma (OBC, 32 years, 10+2 educated; 5 brothers): Jhikatiya village, Gaya
Manoj first migrated in 1995 to Ambala (Punjab) with a friend who had worked there for several years. He worked there in a small scale bicycle manufacturing unit for Rs.1500/month. After working there for six months he returned back to the village with no savings. He migrated again in 1999 to Delhi for work in another factory through some other friends and came back soon without any savings. He then went to Vishakhapatnam (HPCL) where he was paid Rs 80 per day. But he came back to the village after six months as the work was over. He migrated once again in February 2000 to Daman to work in a PVC pipe producing factory for Rs.55/day with 4 hrs overtime opportunity while the factory was providing free accommodation, breakfast, lunch and dinner facilities. The factory shifted to Barsana (Gujrat) now. He has found work there for all three of his brothers last year. Now they send 1-2000 each month. Although much of this money is spent on consumption, some is left over. This year they are converting their village house in to

a pucca house and have invested some money in their farm as well. Next year they are planning to drill a tube well for irrigation purposes.

But for those with fewer connections this is not as easy. For instance KILs indicate that while a majority of Musahars in Gaya go to brick kilns, 2-3% migrate to Surat, Mumbai, Kanpur, Agra, Kolkata and Delhi looking for work. They do not have contacts in the cities like BCs and OBCs and usually end up as manual labourers working for Rs.30-60/day for 20days/month³⁷.

Migration as a Stage in the Household Life Cycle

70 Migration is now viewed as a finite stage in the lifecycle of the household: as sons approach an age where they can be sent away to earn, the head of the household stays in the village to look after the farm and other enterprise.

Mohd Salim Ahmed (50) started migrating to Delhi in 1985. He started as a construction worker and progressed to being a mestri in a few years but stopped migrating when his sons were old enough to migrate. He has two sons. Ahmed (25) has been stitching bags in Chennai for the last five years. Two years ago the younger son (20) joined him in the same factory. Ahmed also has three daughters aged 12, 7 and 5. Both sons earn 3000 a month and save around 2000 after spending. They are away for 8-9 months and work 12 hour days. They come back 2-3 times. Both together send about Rs 20-25000 a year. Ahmed still works as a mestri but around the village (@ Rs 100 a day and gets 10-15 days of work mainly in the block headquarters).

The Importance of Skills

In each district roughly 5% of the migrants were skilled and belonged mainly to OBC castes. This includes carpenters, masons, welders, electricians, plumbers, tailors, drivers, mechanics etc. which may or may not follow a seasonal pattern. Skilled migrants earn considerably more than unskilled workers roughly Rs.3000-7000/month. Skills may be acquired through apprenticeship or on the job training. There is a growing demand for skilled workers (e.g. Lalhariya, migrants were able to secure jobs in plywood industries in Ludhiana because they used to work in a local plywood factory in Kasbah). Skills enhancement is clearly an area where interventions are needed.

Migrants also bring back a range of skills, which in the right circumstances could foster local development and household incomes. For example, Muslims in Chopra were able to establish garages, mechanic shops, bicycle repair centres, and tractor repair centres with the skills that they had learnt in Punjab

71 Those with highly specialised traditional skills have been able to occupy a niche in the labour market. But the returns may not be very high if they belong to a lower caste.

Sursand block in Sitamarhi is famous for quality Halwais. In the marriage season (December-July) around 500 Halwais with their helpers migrate to urban centres in Delhi, Bihar, Rajasthan (Jhunjhunoo, Kota, Jaipur), Maharashtra (Mumbai) and Gujarat (Ahemdabad, Surat, Rajkot). Halwais are paid on a contract basis (Rs.1000-3000/contract for 1-2 days) while helpers get Rs.100/day with food. This is an old process but is on the peak for last 5-6 years because of

³⁷ Mr. Chhedi Prasad, Secretary, Samagra Vikas Sansthan, Bara Chattee, Gaya

increasing demand. Destinations lack skilled Halwais. When not migrating these people work locally as snack vendors in Sursand block and earn Rs.100-150/day. Siya Ram Rajvanshi (65 years, illiterate, landless snacks vender has four sons and all are vendors for the same earnings in the same block. He has used migration money for buying land and converting his kutch house into a pucca house. He inherited 2 bighas of land 40 years ago and bought another 4 bigha in the last 10 years. One brother works as a zari worker in Mumbai for last 10 -12 years for Rs.100-150/day. But the brother does not have sons who earn well and has not been able to build assets like him. Most of his remittances are used by his family living in the village for every day expenses and social functions.

- A small number of Mallahs (EBC) from Madhubani migrate to Assam, UP, Kashmir, Orissa to work in the specialised job of harvesting and processing *makhana* a nut that grows in water bodies used widely in sweet preparations in north India. In a season one migrant is able to save Rs.10000. Travelling expenses, accommodation and food are provided by the makhana farmers.
- On the other hand Doms migrating to Patna to work as sweepers get paid only Rs.900/month with accommodation, breakfast, tea and meals³⁸. They stay in Patna for 9 months. Despite the meagre earnings, this kind of work has reduced the dependency on moneylenders and improved the quality and quantity of the food that they eat.

Migrating Children

72 The autonomous migration of children appears to be on the increase. The terms and conditions under which they are employed are very poor and dangerous and in many cases such migration would be more appropriately called trafficking. But for their families this is clearly an important source of income and for the children, the work job may bring food security and in some cases, prospects for better work after a few years.

73 Roughly 2-3000 children from poor Muslim and Dalit families in Madhubani have migrated to Bhadohi, Mirzapur, Faridabad, Ahmedabad, for carpet weaving. This kind of migration began in 1990. They earn Rs.30-100/day. Child migration for carpet weaving is also prevalent in Purnia where it was mentioned that “a few hundred” youths and children (mostly Muslims) have been going to Bhadohi for the last 10-12 years. They stay there for 8-9 months earning Rs.2000-3000/month

- Several children in Madhubani in the age groups of 8-16 years also migrate to Kolkata to work in sweet shops, restaurants and as domestic servants. They earn Rs.1000-2000 per month and are given food and accommodation. When these labourers grow up they move to other cities for better jobs.
- Child migration from Purnia to towns in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar for work in “dhabas” has been on the increase over the last 10 years. These children are Rs.300-350/month with breakfast and a meal. There are roughly 3000-4000 such child migrants in Purnia. In fact dhaba and restaurant work has also emerged as a major migration stream for children in Madhubani and Sitamarhi in the last five years. These are mainly children from SC families and they migrate for 8-9 months/year for

³⁸ Aasmani Devi; Malik (Dome/SC), 45 years, illiterate, Panchayat Member-Dullipattee, Jainagar block, Madhubani)

Rs.500-1500/month with food. About 15-20% of the child migrants work in Dhabas along national highways while the rest go to town and cities in Uttar Pradesh Bihar, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. There are roughly 500 child dhaba workers in Sitamarhi who earn Rs.500-600/month plus food

Mohammad Ansar (26) from Chopra village in Bysee block, Purnia district has been migrating to Delhi since the age of 10. He works in old Delhi stitching bags and embroidery. Akbar (22) has also gone to Delhi. They both send money through MOs. They leave in Oct/Nov and come back in March/April. The first year was training during which time he was given food and accommodation only and no wages. There are now 150 workers there. Save 10-12000 in a season (jan – jul). when they come back they work in the farms locally. Sealing in Delhi is affecting work and people are coming back. His father Mohm Jahid (52) owns a tea shop in the village. Another brother Anwar (7) studies in the village.

Box 2 migration of poor SC and BC children from Gaya³⁹

A new trend that has gained momentum over the last 3-4 years is the migration of children aged 13-17 years belonging to Musahar and Maanjhee castes- from Maanpur and Bodh Gaya blocks to cities in Uttaranchal and Himanchal Pradesh (Shimla, Kulloo, Dharmshala, Leh, Laddakh, Dehradon) and Kolkata. They are taken to work as domestic servants. So far about 500 children have gone of whom a few were girls and are promised Rs.1000-2000/month with food but are generally not paid this much. There are 20-25 middlemen who are active in the district. There have been cases of sexual exploitation and physical abuse and overall, 10-20% of the children have faced problematic situations. Some have come back with diseases (in the case of one 14 year old boy with HIV/AIDS). Their earnings are used by their families to buy food and other essentials and repay debts.

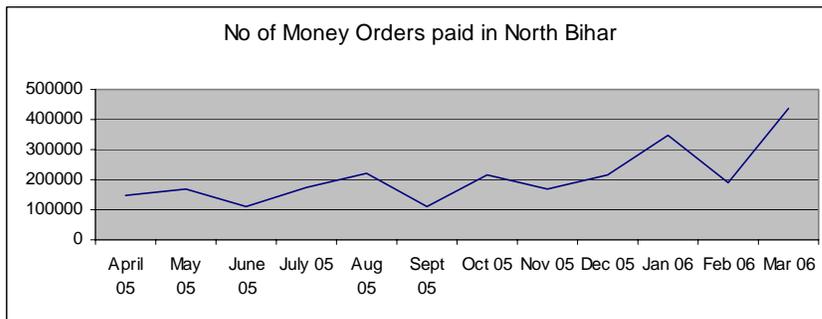
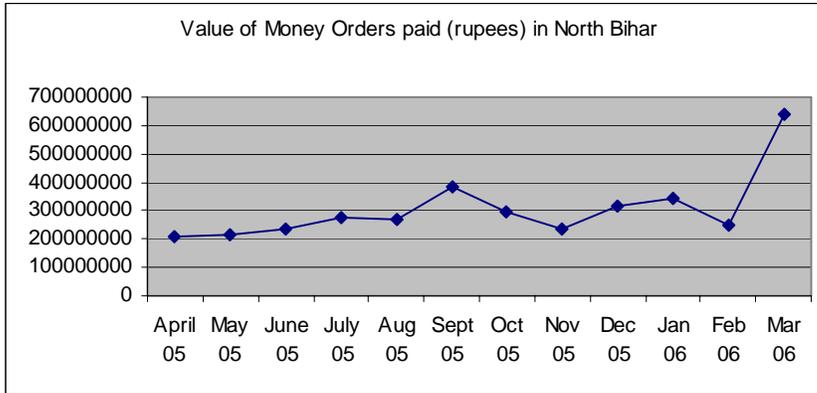
Finally the trafficking of girls from Madhubani was also mentioned. But it appears to have decreased because of improved awareness and border police efforts in last 3-4 years.

PART III REMITTANCE PATTERNS AND THE IMPACTS OF MIGRANT EARNINGS ON HOUSEHOLD WELLBEING

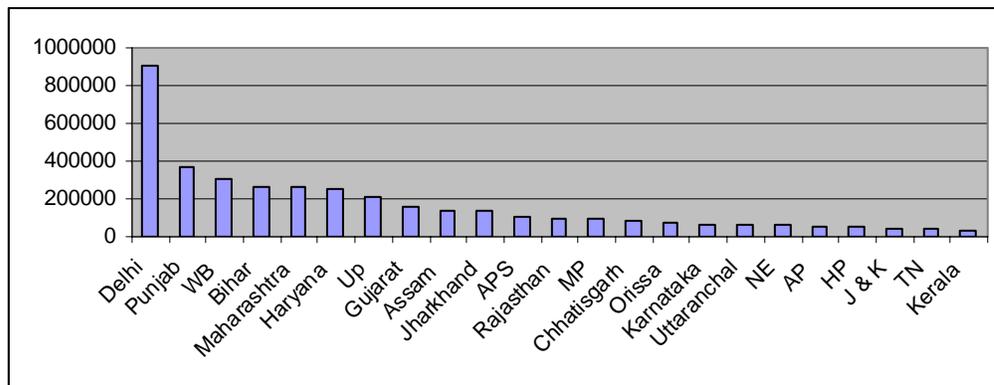
Quantum of remittances

No formal data on the total value of remittances exist but some idea can be gained from Post Office data on Money orders. Although not all MOs are sent by migrants they do account for much of the money sent in this way to rural Bihar. According to Post Office officials the total value of MOs sent to Bihar from other parts of India was Rs 450 crores in 2005-2006. However this represents a fraction of the total money sent and carried to Bihar by migrants. The rate of increase of MOs has slowed down recently as other remittance mechanisms become popular: it fell from 13% in 2004 to just under 4% in 2005. But there are seasonal fluctuations which reflect the seasonality of migration as the flows to North Bihar show below (South Bihar not provided).

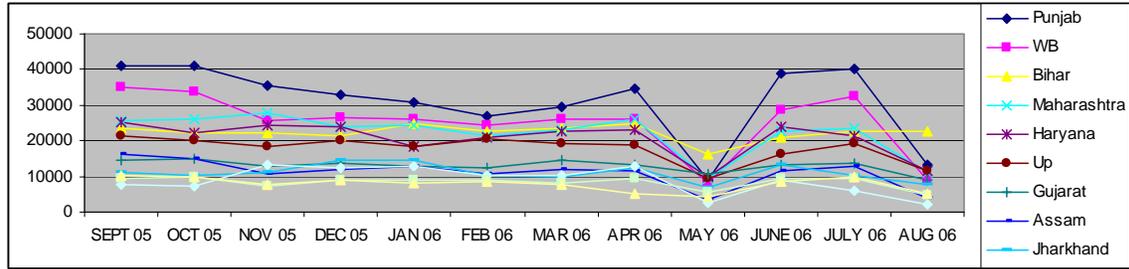
³⁹ Mr. Sanjay Kumar, Secretary, AVS, Bodh-Gaya



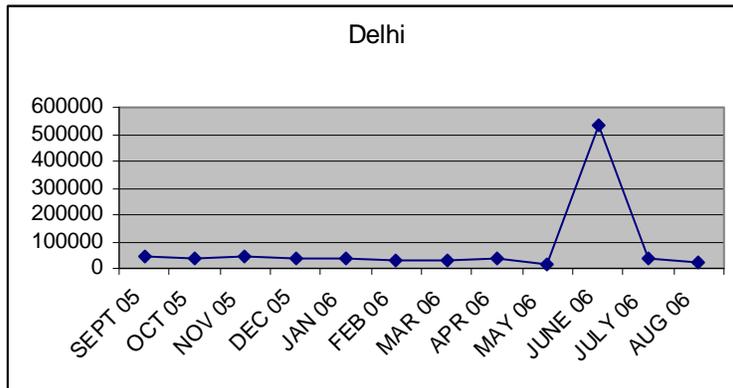
A chart showing the number of MOs received in rural areas in Bihar by place of origin shows that Delhi is at the top. Punjab is some way behind now followed by West Bengal, other parts of Bihar, Maharashtra, Haryana, UP and other states. The figures for Bihar probably relate to MOs sent by salaried permanent migrants in urban centres rather than poor migrants.



A breakdown by major sending areas shows that nearly all dip in the month of May as migrants are back then.



The pattern for Delhi is different with there being a sharp increase in June which could signify the payment time for migrants to Delhi industries (or this could be a mistake in the data which needs verifying)



Remittance mechanisms

74 Until very recently migrants used to send remittances through MOs, friends and relatives or carry the money themselves. But MOs are slow and inefficient⁴⁰ and sending through friends or carrying money on one's person is risky. Private agents who transfer money electronically through social contacts are becoming more popular. The use of Bank drafts has also increased as more and more migrants become au fait with the workings of the system and set up accounts of their own.

- In Badalpur village for example remittances were generally sent through money orders but in the last 5-6 years bank drafts have become popular. Money orders have a poor reputation among migrants and their families in this village because of delays and other problems.
- In Muzzaffarpur⁴¹ also the popularity of private agents is growing and the use of MOs is declining.
- In Purnia⁴² About 75-80% migrants hand carry their earnings. Others use MOs and bank drafts. Private money transfers are increasing⁴³.

⁴⁰ According to the WELPMPG the transaction cost is reportedly 5-6% and the transaction time is on an average 30 days for some of the interior villages.

⁴¹ NIREDESH

- Remittances from Madhubani migrants are now sent mostly through private players⁴⁴. Only 20-25% remittances are sent through MOs. The remaining 25% are hand carried.

Chandan Kumar (25 years/10th educated) of Umaraha village in Khagadiya district has been operating a money transfer network for last 4 years. He has established relations with at least 50 people in surrounding villages who have been migrating to Delhi to work in different locations. Most of the migrants do not know how to calculate their wages properly. He travels once or twice in every two months and brings their money to their family. He charges Rs.100/1000 as commission. First he converts cash into bank drafts and then delivers cash to the families in Khagadia district. He earns well as one person sends at least Rs.1000-2000 at a time. This way he is able to collect up to Rs.50000-100000 at a time. The fee for preparing bank drafts is nominal (Rs.50-100) while his commissions are good. His money transfer business is growing every year with increasing numbers of migrants developing trust in his fair and quick services.

- In Sitamarhi,⁴⁵ 75-80% migrants visit their families every 4-6 months and hand carry (up to Rs.3000-5000). Few families have postal Identities so very few remittances are sent through MOs. Private players have become very popular.

In Hariharpur village, Sitamarhi, a Yadav with a background in financial dealings has started a private money transfer system charging 5-7% of the total amount sent for the service⁴⁶. In 3 years time he has captured 75% of the total money transfer market in Hariharpur migrants and migrants going to the neighbouring village in Ludhiana. On average, migrants of the village send Rs.200000-400000 through him to their respective families.

- The poor continue to hand carry.

50 people from Birjoo Milki, Nalanda belonging to the castes of Kevat, Kahar, Sahu and Paswan castes (living in Momin Chak tola) have been migrating to Delhi, Punjab, Haryana and Surat for 6-7 years. In Delhi they work mainly as manual labourers and porters at vegetable "mandis" (markets) and are paid roughly Rs.60-100/day. These migrants hand carry Rs.5000-6000 when they return to the village after 5-6 months but a majority of the migrants return only twice (during Holi and Chhath festivals). If required, they send money through friends and relatives. The use of Money orders and other institutional services for transferring money is not reported by migrants in this village.

Debt and borrowing and its links with migration

It has been argued that migration worsens poverty because migrant households are often in debt. But the relationship between debt and migration is not straightforward. While some analysts have concluded that migration increases debt levels because of higher expenditures during transit and at the destination, others have argued that migration improves the creditworthiness of households and they are able to borrow more

⁴² Dr. A. K. Raman, Secretary, DEEPALAYA, Purnia

⁴³ Ram Chandra Pandit, Secretary, Harijan Adiwasi Shikshan-Prashikshan Sansthan, Harda, Purnia.....with Mr. Krishna Dev and Mr. Arun

⁴⁴ Ram Pramod Yadav (Master Trainer, Swayamsiddha Project-Samadhan), Madhubani

⁴⁵ Mrs. Mithilesh, Sudha Khatoon and Shail Devi (Area Project Coordinators, Adithi, Sitamarhi) and Mr. Nilesh (Advance India Social Welfare Society, Sitamarhi)

⁴⁶ FGD, Hariharpur village, Dumra Block, Sitamarhi (5 men-3 migrants and 8 women with 3 Adithi coordinators).

because of that (Ghate 2005)⁴⁷. Borrowing before migration and repaying after returning continues and is especially widespread among poorer migrants⁴⁸. However it was mentioned in several places that borrowing foodgrains from the rich to tide over the lean season and borrowing at very high interest rates for survival had virtually disappeared because of migration.

- In Sitamarhi, borrowing grain during the lean season, which was commonplace once upon a time, is now very rare.
- In Gaya roughly 30% households mainly SCs owe money to moneylenders. The interest rate is 5-10% a month. Although many in Jhikatiya village, Gaya⁴⁹ still borrow to migrate and repay when they return, the dependence on moneylenders is going down and few borrow at very high interest rates any more. Focus group discussions⁵⁰ indicated that while none of the families have saved or invested a great deal, they have smoothed incomes and consumption. AVS reports that remittances are used mainly for consumption and to repay debts.
- According to Mr. Chhedi Prasad, Secretary, Samagra Vikas Sansthan, Bara Chattee, Gaya, workers in cast iron industries of Agra and Kanpur are able to save about Rs.3000/month which they send home for investment in leasing land, farm inputs or to start a petty business. The heavy dependency of poor villagers on moneylenders has decreased because of remittances.
- According to S. K. Jha, DDM NABARD, Purnia remittances are used mainly to manage daily needs and repayment of seasonal/small loans. More than 90-95% migrants are not able to save money for productive purposes. However, money lending is decreasing because of migration based earnings. In Muzzaffarpur⁵¹ also the dependency on moneylenders has decreased by up to 50-75% because of remittances.

Badalpur village (Purnia, Baisee Almost 50-60% of the migrants have been using remittances for repaying loans and improving their standards of living. Mohd. Islam (40 years, illiterate), medium farmer "*Palayan se fayada ye hua hai ki jin gharon me pahle time se chulha nahee jalta tha ab who thhek se kha-pee rahen hain*". About 50 families have started petty businesses in/around the village using remittances e.g. ration shop, paan shop with an investment of Rs.10000-15000. Only 2% of the households have been able to buy farm land and these are mainly large families with 3-5 migrants. Poor Yadav households from Gyan Dobe Tola in Badalpur village say "*Bahar jaane ka maqsad hai kamana aur bachat karma. Baahar jane se pahle ki tulna me khan-paan aur rahan-sahan me sudhar hua hai, bhukhmari khatm ho gai hai, ab koi karze me nahhee hai*". Migrants have been using remittances mainly to repair old kutchha houses or to convert them into pucca houses. Around 10-12 have bought land for housing or farming. Another 25 Yadav families have shared in 1-2 bigha using migrant remittances for last 5-6 years.

⁴⁷ Ghate, P. 2005. Serving Migrants Sustainably Remittance Services Provided by an MFI in Gujarat Economic and Political Weekly April 23, 2005. Pp 1740-1746.

⁴⁸ BRLP staff in Birjoo Milki thought that about 30-35% households in the village have taken loans from local moneylenders for different purposes @ 5-10%/month interest and this is a major reason behind migration.

⁴⁹ Ram Swaroop Paswan-SC (50 years, 10th educated).

⁵⁰ FGD 25 people from General, SC, BC, OBC and Minority Communities.

⁵¹ Mr. Satyendra Singh, President, NIRDESH, Muzzaffarpur.

Mr. Tripurari, Project Coordinator, Sawawlamban Project-WDC through NIRDESH.

Usha Singh, Project Coordinator, Sawawlamban Project-WDC through NIRDESH.

Nilam Pathak, Project Coordinator, Sawawlamban Project-WDC through NIRDESH.

Ajmal Hussein (60) is a farmer in Chopra village, Purnia. He owns 3 acres of land and grows paddy wheat, jute and mustard. He has 4 sons. Mohm Ijar (35 primary school educated) who has been going to Delhi to stitch bags since 1990, Mohd Muzzafar (32) joined him in 1995. Mohd Noor Parvez (26 IV educated) went to Mumbai for steel rod work in 1998. Mohd Rizwan (25 primary school educated) started migrating to Ajmer for embroidery work in 2000. The father still looks after the farm. The sons help him but he keeps the farm income. All the sons are married. They live in the same compound but cook separately. The money is sent in the father's name and he gives it to the wives. Each remits around 10-12000 through MO, DD or through friends. Before 1990 they often had to borrow because their crops would get damaged all the time in the floods and had to borrow to eat.

75 Roughly 5-10% of migrating households have been able to accumulate assets (buying, sharing in or leasing in) through migration. These appear to be mainly OBCs who are in more remunerative work especially "factory" work.

- In Muzzaffarpur ⁵²about 10% migrants have started lease farming on 0.50-1.00 bigha land using remittances Another 5% migrants have used remittances to buy livestock, repair or upgrade their houses and set up small businesses.
- In Jai Nagar block, Madhubani about 15% migrants use remittances for sharecropping⁵³. Sharecropping is either on a 75%:25% basis (if the landlord does not provide any inputs other than the land) or a 50:50 basis if inputs are provided. The latter is still common among the poor.

76 In Hariharpur village, Dumra block, Sitamarhi (5 men-3 migrants and 8 women with 3 Adithi coordinators) FGDs show that many people are investing in land. According to the group, remittances were used previously for loan repayment and consumption. But as the families became wealthier they have started investing in farming, share cropping and leasing land. They estimate that more than 50% migrants have acquired some land in last 7-8 years or have made some assets in this regard.

77 In Gaya remittances have allowed people to lease in land that is being used to grow vegetables. Remittances are also financing the agricultural inputs needed (Sanjay Kumar, AVS). Vegetable farming is growing in the region and this will eventually create local jobs.

Visundhari Yadav (55) is a farmer in Itra, the well connected village in Gaya. He has not studied beyond primary school. He and his wife Raziadevi (50) live with their 3 sons and the son's wives and 8 children Kamla (16 illiterate), Urmila (12 3rd standard), Geeta (10 3rd), Deepa (8 2nd) Gauri (6 school) Anand (5 school), Nisha (4), principal (2). in the same house. The eldest son Rajkumar (35) has studied up to V standard and manages the farm. The second son Kameshwar (30) has studied up to Xth (failed) and has been migrating to Surat to work in a zari factory for the past 10 years. He earns Rs 3500 a month. Rampati the younger brother (18) VII standard passed, has also been there for the last year earning Rs 2600 a month. Both get 7 days off a month not because they want them but because there are now too many workers in the factory. They also never manage to work over time now. The take turns coming back for festivals and to supervise the sowing and harvesting in their farm. Both together send Rs 10-12000 2-3 times a

⁵² Mr. Satyendra Singh, President, *NIRDESH*, Muzzaffarpur.

Mr. Tripurari, Project Coordinator, Sawawlamban Project-WDC through *NIRDESH*.

Usha Singh, Project Coordinator, Sawawlamban Project-WDC through *NIRDESH*.

Nilam Pathak, Project Coordinator, Sawawlamban Project-WDC through *NIRDESH*.

⁵³ Ram Pramod Yadav (Master Trainer, Swayamsiddha Project-Samadhan), Madhubani

year through a money order and also hand carry some money when they come home. This money is used for the farm, savings and consumption. They had 3 bighas of ancestral land and bought 3 more 2-3 years ago from Muslims in the village who left because of Naxal harassment. They bought another 9 kathas two years ago for Rs 20,000. They have also bought land to build a house for Rs 60,000. They also lease in 5 bighas of land from Muslims. They are now growing paddy, vegetables, onions, tomatoes, potatoes, chillies which they sell in the local market. They also own 2 buffaloes, 2 bulls and 3 calves and sell khova and milk. They say there is much improvement in their situation because of remittances. They spent lavishly on their 3 sister's weddings.

The negative impacts of migration

78 There are heavy costs associated with migration too – long separation from one's family brings isolation and loneliness; many are engaged in dirty dangerous and degrading occupations that affect their health and others engage in high risk sexual behaviour and fall prey to STDs or HIV/AIDs. Women and children who are left behind also suffer from loneliness, anxiety and vulnerability to sexual exploitation. Children who migrate with their parents miss school. As staff from Adhithi in Muzzaffarpur note "Remittances have made families able to live a better and relatively financially secure life, free of heavy, cumulative indebtedness, but at the same time *women headed households and children suffer socially. They are on the track of a slow death.*

Health problems

- Migrants in Harnaut, Nalanda have reported coming back with respiratory illnesses (asthma, TB), hepatitis, and STDs. Four men who were migrating to Mumbai tested positive for HIV. Health problems are a major reason for discontinuing migration.
- According to staff at Adithi, nearly 300 HIV + cases have been detected in Sitamarhi in the last 2-3 years and these are mainly migrants. However residents from Hariharpur village which has very high levels of migration to Ludhiana said that strong social networks and policing of their behaviour at destination prevented them from engaging in high risk sexual activity and this had protected them against diseases.
- About 5-10% migrants from Madhubani working in cities have come back with diseases including TB, AIDS, hepatitis.
- Staff at Adithi in Muzzaffarpur say that migrants' families have no idea about health risks in relation to HIV/AIDs and STDs and how they might be exposed to these diseases.

Labour shortages

79 Labour shortages arising from the mass exodus of young able-bodied men were mentioned in a number of places. While rich farmers have invested in tractors and harvesters to replace them, smaller farmers have to make do with their own family labour (if there is no stigma attached to doing this in their caste) or leave their land fallow.

- In Sewdah village for example, no bulls are visible in the village. Instead of oxen there are 12 tractors and 10 power tillers in the village. In Jhikatia village OBC

farmers are not able to get labourers in peak seasons they are no longer interested in local wage work. They prefer going to Punjab and Haryana.

- In Gaya too mechanisation has increased for these reasons⁵⁴.
- Badalpur village (Purnia, Baisee block, about 37 km from the District Headquarter): Mohd. Islam (40 years, illiterate), medium farmer *“Abhi sthiti ye hai ki kheti ka kaam karne ke lie mazdoor nahee mil pate hain, dhan khet me hee jhad jaata hai kabhee-kabhee, ya phir double mazdoori dekar katwana padta hai”* (the situation today is that one cannot find farm worker, workers have to be offered a doubling of wages at harvest time. Otherwise the crop just stays in the field). This appears to have pushed up wages: the harvesting wage is 3:23 of the yield.
- In Purnia some social taboos have started to break down and upper castes are occasionally seen ploughing their own fields. Apparently ploughing with a tractor doesn't carry the same shame as using a traditional plough. One farmer commented *“Pahle 1 mazdoor bulane par 20 aate the, ab 20 bulane par 1 aa jaaye to badee baat hai Purnia me.”* (In the old days, if you called one labourer there would be 20 willing to work for you but now if you call 20 and even one turns up that is an achievement in Purnia.)

Part III RISK AND VULNERABILITY

80 Migration has many costs and risks associated with it that are difficult for poor and vulnerable people to cope with. A lack of proper housing and sanitation and lack of access to subsidised food through the PDS are among the most acute problems that migrants face. The poorest are stuck in the least remunerative options because they do not have the skills or networks to move up the job ladder. They cannot negotiate with employers and are often subjected to discrimination at the destination especially if they are from the lowest castes.

81 Migrants are not able to send their children to state schools⁵⁵ at the destination and do not have access to subsidised healthcare.

82 Migrants are treated as illegal residents and are generally harassed by the police. The 2005 clashes between Bihari migrants and the police in Ludhiana illustrate these tensions.

83 FGDs and KIIs in Birjoo Milki village indicate that migrants are looted, cheated, and harassed by ticket collectors, the police and thieves in trains or at railway stations while travelling. Because of this they lose about 25% of their money that they save. FGDs in Chopra village also highlighted the problem of police harassment and theft.

⁵⁴ Mr. Binod Jha, Director, DRDA, Gaya

⁵⁵ They have legal rights to send their children to school but often do not for a number of reasons e.g. because it is difficult to do so in the middle of term or because they lack the necessary networks. Language may also be a problem.

MIGRANT SUPPORT PROGRAMMES

84 This section presents a typology of different models of migrant support that have evolved in other Indian states together with a description of their core elements. It then goes on to discuss the pros and cons of each for the given context with an assessment of the best way forward for BRLP and WELPMGP. All four models have evolved in response to the needs of circular migrants (the need for job information, help in bargaining with employers, protection of their rights and lobbying against discrimination). Most have covered only a few destinations as they have been relatively small initiatives but some are being upscaled.

The Social Protection Model

85 This model provides subsidised services related to job information, rights awareness creation and other support. Social protection aims to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting efficient labour markets, diminishing exposure to risks, enhancing their capacity to protect themselves against hazards and interruption/loss of income.

86 A well known example is the Migrant Labour Support Programme of the Gramin Vikas Trust that is currently working closely with the DFID funded Madhya Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project (MPRLP). This is providing or planning to provide the following services to migrants going to Gujarat and Rajasthan from poor tribal districts of MP.

Box 3 The Migrant Support Programme of the Gramin Vikas Trust

Protection

- Identity cards
- Insurance facilitation –
- Protection of assets and family members

Communication

- Telephone booth and mobile phones
- Messaging services

Information to migrants

- Information – on government schemes,
- on techniques and technologies relevant to their occupations,
- on contractors
- on places where labour is in demand

Information to contractors on the availability of labour.

The PSKs are in the process of starting work on the following

- **Accessing entitlements**
- **Negotiation** – for and on behalf of one or a group of migrants with contractors and middlemen for obtaining better wages / deals

Resolution of disputes with brokers, contractors and other employers (where it can reach)

Facilitating remittances

- Between urban and rural areas, either directly or through existing financial institutions. This can also be facilitated through coordination with the postal services.

Skill upgradation-

- Unskilled and skilled migrants labourers are being skill migrants' labourers (mason, carpenter, plumber, electrician etc.)

Awareness Generation-

- Legal rights and entitlements, PDS, education, and health etc

- In addition GVT has conducted four orientation programmes for MPRLP staff at Jhabua on migrant support during May 2006. It is also continuously improving its understanding of migrants needs through systematic needs assessments.

The rationale of the social protection model is that poor migrants cannot fend for themselves in a job market that is dominated by labour market intermediaries and employers who are better informed and connected than they are. They are in need of support to reduce their vulnerability but are unlikely to be in a position to pay for or be willing to pay for services on a full cost recovery basis immediately. The services provided will enable them to access better jobs and reduce the level of uncertainty and harassment that they face in the job market.

Like any subsidy approach, this kind of approach has attracted criticism for being expensive and economically unsustainable in the long term. However critics underestimate the time that it takes to attract poor, risk-averse and uneducated workers into contributory schemes. While industrial worker costs may be borne by industry (see market based approach below) other poorer workers who migrate on a free lance basis and switch jobs rapidly may require more support.

The Market Based Approach

87 This model works with existing labour market patterns and offers services on a cost recovery basis. An example of such an approach is the initiative launched by Samarthan, an NGO and the World Bank funded District Poverty Initiatives Project (DPIP) in Madhya Pradesh called mazdoor.org. This will provide skills enhancement and certification programmes, advice and information on jobs and help workers to link up with government schemes on insurance and workers funds. They intend to work within the existing structure of industry and the labour market i.e. recognise that capital and labour are highly mobile and that capital/industry locates itself where cheap labour can be accessed. They also recognise that a majority of industrial workers are not named on the employment registers of industries and are recruited by intermediaries who are not accountable to anyone under the law. Mazdoor.org will create a proposition that is acceptable to industry by taking on the responsibility for the welfare of the workers even though it is the responsibility of the industry and employers under law. For this they plan to make industry pay services charges.

The Labour Union Model

88 This is a rights based approach and works for better implementation of labour laws and regulation of labour flows. Some NGOs like (Sudrak in Rajasthan and Disha in Gujarat) believe that unionising migrant workers will go a long way towards realising their rights, improving their bargaining power in the market and prevent exploitation. The Aajeevika Bureau established by Sudrak for example has set up a union of migrant workers who work in cotton fields. One of the main objectives of the union is to regulate the supply of labour because they feel that an excess supply situation lowers the bargaining power of the migrant. They have enrolled over 1500 “mates” and the Union has put out a charter of demands. It has set up around 16 manned check points at all the border crossings between Gujarat and Rajasthan. As a result, employers have offered a partial hike in wage rates and negotiations are continuing. A similar approach has been adopted by the Bandhkam Majoor Sangathan (BMS) established by DISHA in

Ahmedabad. Both Sudrak and DISHA are also engaged in policy advocacy for the amendment of the Inter State Migrant Workmen Act which they argue is unimplementable in its current form.

The Rehabilitation Model

89 The best example of this is the work done by Action Aid with brick kiln workers in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. ActionAid conducts raids on brick kilns together with the police to release bonded migrant workers and rehabilitate them. They believe that migration of this kind is forced migration or trafficking where workers are lured on false promises, often borrow money from recruitment agents which they repay through punishing work schedules, their movement is restricted at the work site and wages are well below the legal minimum. In addition women and children are also exploited in various ways and living conditions are appalling.

90 Given that neither BRLP nor WELPMGP are advocacy or human rights organisations, the choice is between the first two models or developing one that combines elements of both. Lessons could be learned from the experience of both the migrant support programme of the GVT and the DPIP in Madhya Pradesh.

Providing Migrant-friendly Financial Services

91 As mentioned earlier poor migrants still continue to handcarry money at great risk. Some private banks have now started to recognise the need for financial services for migrants. For example ICICI Bank has recently launched an initiative for Tamil migrants from Thirunelveli who stay in the slums of Dharavi in Mumbai. Some NGOs have also entered this area. Adhikar, an NGO in Orissa has been helping migrants in Gandhidham in Gujarat in remitting money to Orissa. They started this service after the 2001 earthquake when they found more than 10,000 migrants from Khurda district working in and around Gandhidham - at the Kandla port, free-trade zone, IFFCO and for the Railways. Adhikar was supported by the research and innovation fund of CARE India's CASHE (Credit & Savings for Household Enterprises) project.

Both BRLP and WELPMGP should develop ways of helping the poorest migrants in sending money home safely and efficiently.

Enhancing skills – lessons from other projects

92 Both MPRLP and DPIP in MP are working with government bodies and the private sector to build skills and human capacity. DPIP is now aiming to create a cadre of workers that have the skills to take up jobs that are being created by economic development both within the state and elsewhere. On the government side they are collaborating with CIDC for training and certification programmes for masons, electricians and other workers who are in great demand all over India. Some private sector organisations such as Dr Reddy's Laboratories are interested in the broad area of skills enhancement but are not at present covering poor illiterate workers. The possibility of doing this could be explored.

PART IV WAYS FORWARD

The only BRLP document available for scrutiny was the Draft Aide Memoire of the Preparation Mission dated August 2006. The focus is clearly on village based enterprise - dairy, fisheries, Makhana and handicrafts. Migration as an existing and potential livelihood strategy for the poor is not mentioned.

WELPMGP documents do mention migration but mainly in the context of taking men away from their families, exposing their wives to the risk of HIV/AIDS and increasing the drudgery of women left behind.

There is a need to give explicit recognition to the importance of human resources in addition to land, access to credit and technology in livelihood systems. For the vast majority of landless and near landless people labour is the only tradable asset and this needs to be factored in to discussions on livelihoods which currently appear to be focused on farmers. In the case of Bihar migration is widespread even among the landed partly due to circumstance and partly as a planned stage in the advancement of the household. Improving education levels, skills and access to health services will go a long way towards building the future of Bihar's migrants and the economy.

Specific steps that BRLP and WELPMGP should consider:

1 Develop a clear conceptual and operational framework for migration (a strategy and workplan) reflecting the points above.

93 Develop migrant support initiatives (especially for the most disadvantaged communities such as Musahar, Dom, Majhi, poor Muslims) in partnership with other World Bank funded projects and NGOs who have experience in the area. This could be taken up under the Bihar Rural Livelihoods Innovation Forum as well as the Innovation Fund of the WELPMGP.

Migrant support should aim to:

- Create awareness among migrants about their rights so that they can better protect themselves against exploitation (on work time, wages).
- Create awareness among migrants about health risks

- Create awareness about the dangers of trafficking to children and parents
- Improve their bargaining power through skills enhancement programmes and certification through partnerships with NGOs and government
- Reduce uncertainty in the job market by providing information on job availability, wages and duration of work.
- Recognise the vulnerability of those who are left behind in migrating households and devise ways of supporting them. The need for communication, representation in village institutions and remittance mechanism is greatest.

94 Improve the understanding of migration in terms of its patterns, drivers and impacts by building up a comprehensive database on migration by caste, gender, asset holding, occupation, duration and returns in their own project districts. In the case of WELPMGP this could be added to the gender-disaggregated database that is already being built up.

95 Help the poorest migrants to save and remit money to their families safely and efficiently. The WELPMGP report on financial services recognises the importance of remittances and mentions the need to study them in depth. This should be addressed under the first point on data collection listed above. Interaction with ICICI bank and NGOs working in the area of remittances should also be planned to explore possibilities of combining savings and insurance products with remittance services.

96 Help in creating the conditions for better investment of remittance in agriculture. This should be built into plans for developing agriculture, livestock and enterprise.

97 Take steps towards convergence with government and donor funded projects on health and education, bringing migration concerns on to their agendas.

In addition to the above, both projects should also address the problems faced by female migrants and women in households where the adult males have migrated especially in terms of

- Helping girls and women migrants (particularly those going to brick-kilns) in protecting themselves against sexual exploitation. WELPMGP Community Resource Persons and Self Help Groups should play a key role here in creating awareness of potential dangers and whom to approach in case there is a problem.
- Helping mothers to educate children who have to travel with their parents. Some NGOs such as the Jagriti Bal Vikas Samiti *have set up "Apna Skool"* schools for migrant workers' children in UP. Efforts to set up Apna Skools in Nawada met with little success but there may be some scope for learning lessons working out ways of modifying the model for Bihar.
- Improving awareness of HIV/AIDs and STDs and help in approaching health professionals for support on sensitive issues related to sexual health. WELPMGP is already conducting health camps. BRLP could consider exposure visits to them.

Things that the projects cannot do directly but can support indirectly

98 Create flexibility in pro-poor programmes on food, education, health etc so that migrants can access them

99 Improve infrastructure so that people can migrate when they want to.

100 Improve the implementation of labour laws

101 Monitor the implementation of the NREGS to improve transparency and accountability

Appendix 1 Terms of Reference

Background

Internal Migration is a significant and growing phenomenon in India. The 2001 census classifies 30% of the population as migrants and this figure does not account for temporary migration.

Entrenched rural poverty, high population densities and growth rates, skewed access to productive resources and slow economic growth are among the drivers of migration from Bihar, and the state has been one of the foremost suppliers of migrant labour, most of which is poor and unskilled. In the past much of this was rural – rural migration, but rapid growth and the construction boom in cities has shifted the demand to urban centres.

Studies in north Bihar (Karan 2003)⁵⁶ estimate the proportion of migrants as 49% in 1999/2000, representing an increase from 28% in a 17 year period. All caste groups, and Muslims migrate and the recent increase has been most marked in OBCs, SCs and Muslims. It is not clear how many of the migrants are women.

Remittances account for approximately one third of total average annual income in sampled villages in North Bihar (Karan 2003). As expected, higher castes remit more, and the amount remitted by Muslims is disproportionately high. Currently, the most common use of remittances is to cover consumption needs and medical expenditure.

IFAD and the World Bank are concurrently preparing rural livelihoods projects that will target specific districts in Bihar. The IFAD 'Women's Empowerment and Livelihoods Project in the mid-Gangetic Plain (WELPMGP) includes four districts in Uttar Pradesh as well as two (Madhubani and Sitamarhi) in Bihar. The counterpart executing agency at the state level is the Women's Development Corporation. The World Bank 'Bihar Rural Livelihoods Project (BRLP)' will be executed by the Bihar Rural Livelihoods Promotion Society, a semi-autonomous society established under the Department of Finance of GoB. BRLP is already implementing pilot activities, and both projects are expected to be fully operational in 2007.

Apart from WELPMGP's exclusive focus on women there is much in common between the projects. Both have components focused on: i) community development based on the concept of self help groups, and ii) the promotion and enhancement of livelihoods through developing opportunities for income generation and employment and increasing access to resources such as financial capital and land. Both also stress the need to innovate to confront the particular problems of rural poverty in Bihar.

Both the funding agencies and their national counterparts are aware of the significance of migration in Bihar, but the potential impacts of migration and remittances, have not yet been factored into project design. The purpose of this consultancy is to identify key issues around migration and remittances that can be positive drivers of change in the rural economy of Bihar, and to highlight specific interventions that can be considered for uptake by WELPMGP and BRLP.

Objectives of the consultancy

⁵⁶ Karan 2003 Changing Patterns of migration from rural Bihar, in *Migrant Labour and Human Rights in India*, Iyer, G. (ed.) New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, pp. 102-139

The consultancy will assess the current situation in Bihar with respect to internal out-migration and the inflow of remittances, and, in this context, identify opportunities to enhance livelihoods that can be taken forward in the Bihar Rural Livelihoods Project and the Women's Empowerment and Livelihoods Project in the Mid-Gangetic Plain.

The consultancy will address the specific questions:

- What are the current dimensions of migration and remittances in Bihar?
- Who are the migrants (by type (seasonal, permanent; rural/urban/abroad), age group, gender, caste, ethnicity etc)?
- What kind of jobs/sectors they are involved as migrants?
- What can be done to enable potential migrants to better access available opportunities (including skills required)?
- What are the current constraints to migration (including for improving/reducing/expanding?) and how can they be addressed?
- What is the current role of remittances in the household economy in Bihar? E.g. Are they being used for consumption, asset building or skills upgrading? Is there scope to improve their utilisation for livelihood promotion activities?
- Are there examples of remittances being used to negotiate credit lines or loans from banks, or to retire high cost loans from moneylenders?
- Is there feedback in terms of knowledge that can be used for livelihood development options, back in the rural areas
- What are migrants' risk perceptions that prevent/encourage their rural entrepreneurship?
- How and where migrants perceive their future, for themselves and their families?

Bearing in mind the short time available for then study, the consultants will focus on identifying trends, rather than to the production of a statistically robust dataset.

Scope of work

The team will:

- i) Review relevant existing studies on migration pertaining to Bihar.
- ii) Interview key stakeholders in Patna and elsewhere (both within and outside Bihar) to update on the current dynamics of migration and remittances.
- iii) Carry out field surveys to better understand the dynamics of migration and remittances in some of the districts of particular interest to BRLP and WELPMGP (Madhubani, Sitamarhi, Gaia, Nalanda, Muzaffarpur and Patna.
- iv) Interview counterpart institutions for the BRLP and WELPMGP (Bihar Rural Livelihoods Promotion Society and Bihar Women's Development Corporation), and World Bank and IFAD officials, to form a perspective on what might be addressed by the respective projects.
- v) Assess regional differences in migration and remittances within Bihar, focusing particularly on the districts mentioned under (iii).
- vi) Prepare a report including findings and recommendations that address the five questions posed in the 'objectives'.

Appendix 2 Description of study villages

Madhubani

1 Barhi village, Block Jayanagar remote 30-40 km away from Madhubani.

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Yadav	250	200
Sahni	200	200
Muslim	200	250
Paswan	60	50
Chamar	25	30
Teli	20	0
Tatma	15	20
Lohar	10	5
Thateri	10	15
Sonar	10	10
Dhobi	10	10
Khatwe (BC)	8	10
Barber	7	4
Gaderi (shepherd)	6	5
Baniya	5	4
Koyri	5	4
	841	817

2 Paraul village Benipati block Madhubani. 17-18 km from Madhubani and 4-5 km from block. 2-3 km from main road. 2900 voters

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Musahar	250	300
Rajput	100	100
Brahman	100	125
Yadav	75	100
Paswan	70	35
Kyot (BC)	40	50
Muslim	40	40
Chamar	25	50
Mallah	25	10
Kayastha	25	50
Tatma	20	30
Lohar	20	25
Dhobi	10	20
Nai	10	7
Giri (FC)	10	10
Halwai (BC)	10	10
Teli	10	5

Farm land possessed by Brahman, Rajput, Yadav and Kayastha. Mango orchards. Paddy, wheat, maize, some sugarcane.

Gaya

3 Alipur village, tekari block, Gaya. Remote village 35 km from Gaya and 10-12 from block HQ. Road very bad.

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Yadav	60	30
Bhumihar	30	10
Kahar	20	25
Ravidas (chamar SC)	20	30-35
Paswan (SC)	10	15
Bhuiyan (SC)	7	9
Majhi	6	10
Dhobi	5	0
Carpenter	5	4
Dom	4	5
Halwai	3	2
Nai	2	3
Teli	1	3

Cropping pattern – paddy, wheat, masoor, chana, now very little sugarcane, mustard. Bhumihar and Yadav own the land.

4 Itra village, BodhGaya Block 4 tolas. District Gaya, , well connected.

Main tola

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
yadav	150	40
Muslim	150	125-150
Carpenters	3	6
Ravidas	1	0

Majhi Bigaha tola

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Majhi	100	25-30

Baijan Bigaha tola

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
yadav	25	10-15
majhi	40	15-20
Pasi	15	10

Pachanwa tola

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Yadav	50	20-15
Majhi	25	10-12
Carpenter	3	0

Purnia

5 Chopra village block bycee Purnia district. 25 km NH31 from Purnia. 3 km from bycee. Well connected

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Muslim	300	All houses many with more than one person
Harijan	20	"

All land with muslims and distributed relatively equitably. No very big landlords. Summer paddy and also kharif paddy. Jute. Lowland lots of flooding during kharif.

6 Lalhariya village connected 10 km from Purnea. Block Kasbah. 1.5 – 2 km from Kasbah

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Chaurasia (Paan)	150	125
Tatma (SC)	75	45
Yadav	25	15
Carpenter	15	15
Chamar	12	2
Nai	1	0

Land is held by the Chaurasia and carpenters. Paddy, wheat, jute. Some grow sugarcane and make it into jaggery for home consumption. Banana

7 Dhamdaha block, Kurkuron village, Purnia 40 km from Purnia. 5-6 km from Dhamdaha. No cars only tam tams and rickshaws.

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Muslim	400	500
Sau (Bania)	50	10
Rishidev (Musahar)	50	100
Yadav	40	10-15
Chamar	16	8
Gupta	10	8
Dhobi	10	6
Dom	7	0
Kumhar	5	2-3

Banana farming new. Paddy, wheat, maize, mustard, sunflower.

Sitamarhi

8 Gobindphanda, block Gumra, Sitamarhi. Connected. 6 km from Sitamarhi but 9 km from block hq but very near Rega block (2km).

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Chamar	110	100
Kanu (Bania)	100	40
Koyri	75	10
Brahman	50	40
Paswan	50	15

Yadav	35	10
Sahar (BC)	30	10
Nai	20	0
Lohar	10	0
Muslim	10	15
Kurmi	10	4
Kalwar	5	0
Amat (BC)	5	0
Mali	3	0

Lots of sugarcane here. Work all year round. Yadav and Kanu hold the land.

9 Pathanpura block Sursand Sitamarhi remote 23 km from Sitamarhi and 3 km from block

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Muslim	400	350
Koyri	65	10
Chamar	50	50
Nonia (Sc)	35	45
Sahu	30	5
Bhumihar	10	10-15
Dhobi	10	20
Kumhar	8	10
Halwai	6	3
Lohar	6	3-4
Khatwa	5	5
Paswan	5	3
Sonar	4	3
Nai	4	5

Muzzaffarpur

10 Mohammadpur Khajir village, Muzzaffarpur. Marhwan block. Well connected. Near Muzzaffarpur

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Muslim	100	150
Sahni/Mallah	100	300
Yadav	70	90
Lonia	45	20-25
Bania	40	50
Nai	20	5
Chamar	20	20
Kurmi	15	30
Kanu Bania	15	10
Lohar	7	4
Paswan	6	5
Koyri	6	3
Rajput	5	4
Kumhar	2	1
Sonar	1	0

Jobadih 2 ½ km from road . Castes Koyri, Nunia, Tatma, kumhar. Details of hh and migrating individuals need to be completed.

Nalanda

Mohanpur Village, Block Hilav, Nalanda. 12 km from Bihar Sharif. 5 km from Silav. Well connected. Very near Nalanda 2 km.

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Koyri/mahato	100	20
Majhi	80	120
Paswan (SC) erst dusad	75	40
Ravidas (SC)	35	50
Yadav	20	10
Kahar	20	15
Bhumihar	20	6
Nai	20	7
Pasi (sc) choudhary	15	10
Brahman	10	4
Dhanuk (BC)	8	4
Dhobi	5	4

Ajaypur remote. Block Noorsarai, Nalanda. 20 km from Nalanda 6-7 km from block, 5 km from main road, transport by tum tum.

Caste	HH	Migrating individuals
Kurmi	400	100
Majhi	200	150
Yadav	85	30
Parsi Toddy	40	25
Paswan	35	15
Brahmin	20	7
Baniya	15	0
Muslim	10	0
Carpenters	10	0
Kumhar	8	4
Nai	8	3
Kanu (BC)	4	5
Dom (SC)	2	0

Land mainly with Kurmis. Paddy wheat, mustard, lentils, potatoes.

Appendix 3 People/Organisations Contacted

1. Irina Sinha (Project Manager, WDC, Patna)
2. Sandeep Paundrick (Project Director, BRLP, Patna)
3. Kamlesh (State Project Coordinator, BRLP, Patna)
4. Sudhakar (Dr. Reddy's Lab, Patna)
5. C. M. Raju (Special Secretary, Rural Development, GoB)
6. Saibal Gupta (ADRI, Patna)
7. Prabhat Ghosh (ADRI, Patna)
8. Sunita Laal (ADRI, Patna)
9. Prof. Sudhir (A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Research, Patna)
10. Arvind Singh (NIDAN, Patna)
11. Mr. Pandey (CWS Resource Centre, Patna)
12. Kamaleshwar Prasad (Chief Postmaster General, Patna)
13. K.K. Jha (Assistant Commissioner, Office of the Chief Postmaster General, Patna)
14. Jai (PRAXIS, Patna)
15. Shailesh (PRAXIS, Patna)
16. Anindo (PRAXIS, Patna)
17. Sudhir (BPO, BRLP, Nalanda)
18. Sanjay (Coordinator, BRLP, Nalanda)
19. Anjani Kumar Sinha, Project Coordinator, Deep Project, Nalanda
20. Mr. Mithiles Prasad, Jan Jaagran Sansthan, Nalanda
21. Ashok Paswan, Jan Jaagran Sansthan, Nalanda
22. Harendra Kumar, Jan Jaagran Sansthan, Nalanda
23. Shailendra Prasad, Jan Jaagran Sansthan, Nalanda
24. Satish Kumar, Jan Jaagran Sansthan, Nalanda
25. Mr. Sanjay Singh, Project Supervisor, Swawlamban Project, Nalanda
26. Mr. Sushil Jha, Superintendent, Indian Post Office, Nalanda Zone
27. Mr. N. P. Singh, Chief Post-Master, Nalanda
28. Mr. Chandrama Singh, DDM, NABARD, Nalanda
29. Mrs. Pratima, ADC/IAS, Nalanda
30. Rajan Gautam (BPO, BRLP, Gaya)
31. Ajeet Singh (Coordinator, BRLP, Gaya)
32. Pushpa (Coordinator, BRLP, Gaya)
33. Mr. Shravan, ADC (IAS), Gaya
34. Mr. Sanjay, Secretary, Avidya Vimukti Sanstha (AVS), Gaya
35. Mr. Vinay Kumar, Women Development Cooperation (WDC), Gaya
36. Mr. Manish, Women Development Cooperation (WDC), Gaya
37. Mr. Binod Jha, DDM, NABARD, Gaya
38. Mr. Sharma, Director, Agriculture Development, Gaya
39. Mr. Chhedi Prasad, Director, Samagra Seva Kendra, Bara Chattee, Gaya
40. Mr. A. P. Vidyarthi, Department, SC Development and Welfare Borad, Gaya (was not available in the office)
41. Mr. Satyendra Singh, Director, NIRDESH, Muzzaffarpur
42. Mr. Tripurari, Project Coordinator, NIRDESH, Muzzaffarpur
43. Mrs. Usha Singh, NIRDESH, Muzzaffarpur
44. Mrs. Neelam Pathak, NIRDESH, Muzzaffarpur
45. Mr. Vinay Kumar, DM, Muzzaffarpur
46. Raj Mangal Rai, Field Officer, Kanti block, NIRDESH
47. Mr. Sinha, Accountant, Adithi, Muzzaffarpur
48. Director, PLAN-Adithi, Muzzaffarpur