

Rural Urban Migration and Poverty: The Case for Reverse Migration in Bangladesh

**Ayubur Rahman Bhuyan
Harun –Ar-Rashid Khan
Sultan U. Ahmed**

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Rural-Urban Migration and Poverty: The Case for reverse Migration in Bangladesh

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The authors of this publication are, Dr. Ayubur rahman, Dr. harun-Ar-Rashid khan Professors of Economics, and Dr. Sultan U. Ahmed, Assistant Professor of Economics of Dhaka University. The views expressed in this publication are the authors' own and do not necessarily reflect those of CIRDAP, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

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Fax : 880-2-9562035

E-mail : rescir@citechco.net

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Foreword

In Bangladesh, explicit focus on poverty eradication in the development agenda requires formulation and implementation of sustainable anti-poverty strategies. The availability of reliable and timely information on the state and processes of poverty assists the policy makers in understanding poverty in its manifold dimensions and in identifying the causalities. The above requires institutional mechanism to (i) monitor poverty using multidimensional indicators; (ii) analyze micro impact of macroeconomic and structural adjustment policies; (iii) provide feedback to the policy makers in designing effective macro and poverty reduction policies.

CIRDAP, with assistance from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) initiated a project on 'Monitoring Adjustment and Poverty (MAP) in Bangladesh to address the above issues. Under the project, a number of 'focus studies' were conducted on poverty related issues. These studies generate information on the nature and conduits through which macro-policies create impact at the micro level along with providing relevant information on poverty.

The present study on 'Rural-Urban Migration and Poverty: The Case for Reverse Migration in Bangladesh' attempts to arrest the deterioration of urban environment and improve the urban economic and social conditions. The study examines among others, the nature, extent, causes and consequences of migration including reverse migration in Bangladesh. The study has generated information on social and economic factors of migration. The analysis have also been tried to made inter-temporal poverty scenario covering three episodes of before migration, after migration and reverse migration. I hope the study will be useful to the policy makers and experts in the area.

Professor Ayubur Rahman Bhuyan, Professor Harun-Ar-Rashid Khan and Sultan U. Ahmed, the researchers of study, deserve special thanks for their excellent work. I also thank Dr. Muhammed Solaiman, Director Research, CIRDAP who coordinated the study and other staff of CIRDAP Research Division including former MAP Staff for their efforts in successfully completing the study. I express my gratitude to IDRC and CIDA for providing financial support for the project.

January 2001

Dr. Mya Maung
Director General

Preface

The present volume contains the final report on the study on “Rural-Urban Migration and Poverty: The Case for Reverse Migration in Bangladesh” commissioned by CIRDAP under its ‘Monitoring Adjustment and Poverty (MAP)-Phase III’ Project.

The objective of the study has been to analyse the factors behind rural-urban migration in Bangladesh and suggest a policy framework for inducing reverse migration for promoting economic growth and alleviation of poverty.

The authors would like to thank Dr. Mujeri, Director Research of CIRDAP and his staff for extending all necessary cooperation and assistance for bringing the study to a successful conclusion.

The study is a joint product, and I express my heart-felt thanks to my colleagues Professor Harun-Ar-Rashid Khan and Dr. Sultan Uddin Ahmed for their excellent cooperation as co-authors, and for the keen interests they have taken in designing the survey questionnaire and supervising the work of the field investigators. I am also very grateful to the field investigators who had to work in a highly unfavourable physical environment and amid great inconvenience caused inclement weather and the prolonged floods.

Finally, the authors would like to express their sincere gratitude to Dr. mujeri for his constructive suggestions, and also to an anonymous referee for making some very useful comments. The authors themselves are, however, responsible for any error or inconsistency that may still remain.

The authors should feel amply rewarded if the study would serve the purpose for which it was intended.

Ayubur Rahman Bhuyan
Dhaka

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADP	Annual Development Programme
ASA	Association of Social Advancement
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BIDS	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
BRDB	Bangladesh Rural Development Board
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIRDAP	Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific
CMCs	CIRDAP Member Countries
CUS	Centre for Urban Studies
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
FFEP	Food for Education Programme
FFW	Food for Works
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOB	Government Of Bangladesh
GSS	Gono Sahajhay Sangstha
HRD	Human Resources Development
HYV	High Yielding Variety
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LGED	Local Government and Engineering Department
LGRD&C	Local Government, Rural Development & Cooperatives
MAP	Monitoring Adjustment and Poverty
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
PKSF	Pally Karma Shahayak Foundation
RDP	Rural Development Programme
RMP	Rural Maintenance Programme
SAM	Social Accounting Matrix
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SFDP	Small farmer Development Programme
SSC	Secondary School Certificate

TK	Taka – Bangladesh Currency
UN	United Nation
VGD	Vulnerable Group Development
VGFP	Vulnerable Group Feeding Programme
WFP	World Food Programme

Executive Summary

- (1) The process of migration in Bangladesh and the concomitant urbanization evolve from the circumstances characterized by extreme poverty and entitlement contraction among particularly the marginalised and the landless poor. The migration of the poor engendered the 'ruralization' of the urban centres by directly transmitting rural poverty and backwardness to the towns.
- (2) Urban population in the country grew during the past three decades at an annual rate of about 6 percent, compared to the rural population growth of just around 2 percent per annum. Internal migration has contributed the most to the high rate of urban population growth. This trend is likely to continue in the future as well. According to an ESCAP projection, rural-urban migration is expected to contribute to about 58 percent of Bangladesh's urban population growth, at least up to 2005.
- (3) The act of migration brings in its wake significant social and economic costs. Thus, there are now more slums, higher unemployment rate, more environmental hazards and pollution, unacceptable living conditions, more human frustrations, and more crimes than ever before. There is in fact no doubt that rural-urban migration is one of the contributors to the growing urban poverty and the undesirable consequences associated with the process of migration.
- (4) Migration reduces the number of the young, able-bodied, and the relatively better educated people in the villages. A continuous movement of this category of people from villages to towns may cause an imbalance in the quality of human resources between rural and urban areas, which may eventually impede rural development.
- (5) More often, the migrant may fail to get in town the appropriate job he wants. The long period of waiting for job increases his pecuniary cost and psychological tension. Often he ends up getting no job at all, and thus remains unemployed. What is worse, he may out of frustration choose criminal paths for making a living.
- (6) The information collected from field survey conducted for purpose of the present study reveals that the process of migration in Bangladesh is strongly influenced by both the push and the pull factors, of which the principal push factor is the situation of insufficient job prospects in the villages, while the perception of the higher probability of getting employment and earning higher income in the cities is the

predominant pull factor. Among the other pull factors, better education, better health services and various social amenities available in the cities stand out to be the more prominent ones.

- (7) The pull factors that induce migration to urban locations are largely the direct or indirect results of government policy, which has a built-in bias towards urban areas. The bias is reflected in the allocation priorities and the pattern of public expenditure during the various plan periods, and also in the disparate flow of credit to urban and rural areas.
- (8) It appears from the survey that although the migrants' perception of the probability of getting jobs in the cities was optimistic, getting a job was not any easier. About 60 percent of the respondents expressed that it was rather difficult to get jobs after migration and that the process of job search was painful and indeed very lengthy. But surprisingly, in spite of these difficulties, migrants seemed to be adamantly sticking to the city, thus lending support to the view that sufficient job prospects in the villages of these migrants are still a far cry.
- (9) The results of the survey also show that the migrants, when employed, enjoyed higher income and expenditure levels, better health services and sanitation, better educational opportunities for the children, and better housing. Nevertheless, they suffered from problems of extreme congestion, environmental hazards, deteriorated law and order situation etc. There are higher chances of accidents. The neighbourhood may not only be unclean, but may also be noise-ridden. In addition, familial and interpersonal relationships can undergo substantial setback. Children and adolescents have the danger of being exposed to the undesirable surroundings and associations. Juvenile crimes may increase as a result. These factors may act as added forces for the conscious migrants to reconsider the possibilities for reverse migration.
- (10) Asked about what would motivate them to go back to the village, about 90 percent of the respondents cited the establishment of new industries and creation of new job opportunities to be the important pre-condition. This is followed by other factors like the development of roads, improvement of educational opportunities, and the increase in the use of new technology in agriculture. The fulfillment of these pre-conditions, supplemented by the availability of essential amenities of life, including better health care and sanitation, education and housing, can create the environment congenial for setting the flow of migration in the reverse order.

- (11) Unless the benefits of migration to the cities can be generated in the rural setting even by a modest proportion, if not to the fullest possible extent, the idea of initiating and sustaining the process of reverse migration will not be translated into reality.
- (12) The regression analysis carried out in this study shows that the male out-migrates from villages in a greater number than the female who presumably are more likely to move out to another village due to marital reasons.
- (13) An inverse relationship is observed between the size of the family and the propensity for migration. It might be the case that for bigger families the act of migration may prove harder and the cost of migration larger than the smaller ones.
- (14) The married persons exhibit a higher propensity for migration, although it is not clear why this is the case.
- (15) The average age of the members of the household is positively related to, and the age of the principal migrant negatively related to, the decision to migrate. It may, however, be the case that the larger the size of the adult members in a household, the bigger is the probability that the principal wage earner in that household will decide to migrate to the town. Contrary to our hypothesis, we find an inverse relationship between the average years the principal migrant spent in school and his propensity to migrate. It appears that for the principal migrant, besides the educational level, many other factors may influence the decision for migration, and those factors may be more important for him.
- (16) The results of estimation of the probit model on reverse migration reveal, among other factors, that governmental efforts towards industrial expansion in the rural areas is likely to encourage migrants to go back to the village.
- (17) Also, the study has found that frequent visits by a migrant to the village probably reflect a less eager attitude on his part for return migration to the village with which he has been able to establish a close link through repeated visits. It might also be true that the migrants who are frequent visitors to the village may find it cheaper to leave the family in the village. They may be willing to endure the strains of visits to the village and live in the city without the members of their family.
- (18) Still another finding of the study corroborates the hypothesis that migrants having children attending schools in the city experience a lesser urge for return migration than those whose children are not. It then appears that the education of children is of

prime importance to the migrants whose demand for better educational environment can only be met in an urban setting.

- (19) It appears that the policy of stopping out-migration and inducing reverse migration becomes equivalent to the policy of poverty alleviation through the creation of employment and income generating activities in the rural areas.
- (20) The essential preconditions for generating the environment conducive to reverse migration and alleviation of poverty includes such measures as the creation of jobs in the agricultural and non farm activities, improvement in agricultural productivity, easy availability of credit to the land-less and the marginalized small farmers, enhancing access to ownership and/or use of land and other productive resources including modern technology, establishment of rural industries, development of rural infrastructure, improvement of educational and health facilities and establishment of vocational training centres in the rural locations, to name but a few.
- (21) Unless the gap between urban and rural areas in terms of the quality of life and living conditions can be systematically narrowed down, the objective of alleviation of poverty through inducing and sustaining the process of reverse migration will hardly be materialized.
- (22) Now the question is how far the governmental bodies as well as the non-governmental agencies have been successful in enhancing the quality of rural life and living conditions in the rural areas through their programmes and strategies.
- (23) Poverty alleviation and rural development received one of the top priorities in all the past Five Year Plans of the government. Governmental initiatives and efforts in this regard led to the formation of such programmes like (1) Cooperatives for the poor under the Bangladesh Rural development Board (BRDB), (2) Small Farmer and Landless Development Programme (SFDP) under the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives (LGRD&C), and (3) Food for Work Programme (FFWP) and Vulnerable Group Feeding Programme (VGFP) under the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation (now called the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief).
- (24) Over the years, governmental efforts in the alleviation of poverty by providing productive employment through the diffusion of modern agricultural technology, technological improvement of cottage and rural industries and non-farm employment generation in rural locations in areas like fisheries, livestock and rural infrastructure

(construction of roads, embankments etc.) were supplemented by the active participation of a number of non-governmental bodies, notable among them being Grameen Bank, BRAC, PROSHIKA, ASA, and RDRS.

- (25) Unfortunately, the poverty alleviation programmes during the successive plan periods did not produce the expected result. The country's economic reforms under the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) since 1980 have had a favourable impact on macro-economic stabilization and growth but had adverse effects on the poor. Economic growth has been accompanied by a worsening of income distribution between the rich and the poor.
- (26) In such a situation, the Government started targeted income and employment generating programmes as a 'safety net' for the poor that were left out of the market-based production and distribution process. These programmes implemented by Government Ministries/Departments and NGOs contributed significantly towards alleviation of rural poverty in the country. The most important safety net programme has been the Food for Works Programme (FFWP), that provides employment to the rural poor during the lean periods through construction of rural infrastructure. Other programmes such as Food for Education (FFE), Vulnerable Group Development Programme (VGDP), and Rural Maintenance Program (RMP) were also launched to accelerate the pace of poverty alleviation in the rural areas.
- (27) In order to address the issue of poverty alleviation in the near future, a number of steps are envisaged in the Fifth Five Year Plan (1997-2002). Government is keen on the objective of poverty alleviation which it wants to achieve through better education, health, and family welfare facilities, creation of self-employment opportunities for the rural poor in such activities as animal husbandry, fisheries, poultry, horticulture and various non-farm activities, the increase of wage employment opportunities through rural infrastructural development and maintenance, reformation of the safety-net programme of the FFW, ensuring adequate funds for the pro-poor projects, disbursing micro-credit to the poor, sustaining effective Government-NGO cooperation, correcting and reforming existing institutional arrangements, and so on.
- (28) A successful implementation of the poverty alleviation strategies as envisaged in the Plan can be expected to greatly contribute towards improving the economic condition and quality of life of the rural people, which in turn will probably reduce the pace of rural to urban migration and also set the environment for initiating a process of urban to rural remigration.

- (29) The objective of inducing a process of reverse migration will also call for a reduction of any urban bias that might be there in the Government's development strategy. Consistent policies in this regard will entail creation of incentives to encourage relocation of industries and businesses from urban to semi-urban and rural areas.
- (30) Thus, with a view to achieving a balanced spatial distribution of production and employment the Government may adopt a regional development strategy such that it will ensure the growth of small and medium sized urban or semi-urban centres, of which the Upazillas are good examples.
- (31) One can also visualize the possible beneficial effects of locating Export Processing Zones outside the major metropolitan areas, establishing industrial estates in semi-urban centres, upgrading the important rural haats and bazaars into growth centres, and establishing youth training centres in all thanas on creating favourable conditions attractive to the people that will influence their decision in favour of leaving urban locations and migrating back to the villages from where they originate.
- (32) There are also other forces at work that are likely to slow down the pace of rural-urban migration and also induce return migration. To cite an instance, Bangladesh Krishi Bank is currently contemplating to undertake a special programme to provide credit to the migrants who will be genuinely interested in migrating back to the village. The amount of credit the Bank proposes to provide to each migrant household should help rehabilitate the migrants in the rural areas. Programmes such as this, if implemented in right earnest, may be expected to reduce the flow of rural-urban migration and also encourage reverse migration.
- (33) The Government has established the Employment Bank with the objective of providing credit to the unemployed youths. The main activities for which the Bank's loans will be made available include poultry, hatchery, fish farming, horticulture, sericulture, light engineering, saloon, laundry, medicine shop, carpentry, automobile repairing workshop, bee keeping, food and fruit processing etc. The expansion of the Bank's operation outside big cities and towns is likely to encourage people to start business in and around the place of their origin and thus discourage the less rewarding act of migration.
- (34) Other ongoing poverty alleviation measures of the Government, viz., the "Asrayan Prokalpa", allowances for the elderly people, test relief and the post-flood VGD programme are expected to activate the rural economy and encourage reverse migration from the urban areas.

- (35) The initiation and acceleration of the process of reverse migration will ultimately hinge on the success in allocating resources for the upliftment of rural Bangladesh without at the same time jeopardizing the economic programmes in the urban areas. In other words, the trade-off between urban and rural development needs to be assessed correctly in keeping with the objectives detailed above.

Chapter 1

Rural–Urban Migration and Poverty: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Not long ago, in the literature on economic development rural-urban migration was considered socially and economically beneficial since it would permit human resources to shift from locations, where their social marginal products were either zero or very low, to places where their marginal products were high and also growing rapidly. Internal migration was in fact considered a natural process in which the surplus labour was withdrawn from the rural sector for supplying the manpower needed for urban industrial growth.

The process in fact constituted the cornerstone of celebrated development theories of Lewis and Fei-Ranis, which significantly influenced policy making in many countries with “unlimited supplies” of labour. The result was that the policies undertaken in most developing countries heavily concentrated on developing the urban sector, with the belief that the release of labour from the rural sector will increase productivity in that sector, and also that remittances, acquired knowledge, and skill transfer by the migrants will contribute to development in the rural areas. Rural-urban migration was thus considered an instrument for poverty alleviation in a labour surplus economy.

However, recent experience in less developed countries (LDCs) makes it abundantly clear that rates of rural-urban migration have tended to exceed rates of urban job creation and to surpass greatly the absorption capacity of both industry and urban social services. The increased rate of urbanization is now causing various problems such as overcrowding, difficulties of waste disposal, shortage of housing, inadequate educational facilities, poor water and power supply, traffic congestion, and environmental degradation. For these reasons, migration is no longer viewed by economists as an essential means to solve problems of growing urban labour demand. On the contrary, migration has now become a major factor contributing to the growth of urban surplus labour, exacerbating the already serious urban unemployment problem.

The LDC experience in rural-urban migration and the problems it generates is also shared by Bangladesh, where the spectacular growth of urban population in the recent years, which continues unabated, has been largely the result of the movement of people from rural to urban areas, thereby creating heavy pressure on urban jobs. Urban job creation is, however, generally more difficult and costly to accomplish than rural employment creation because of

the need for substantial complementary resource inputs for most jobs in the urban industrial sector.

Yet, stagnation of the rural economy, coupled with the pressure of population growth, is likely to raise the intensity of rural-urban migration, the problems created by such migration notwithstanding. Already, there is evidence that the growth rate of urban job seekers in Bangladesh in the recent years has exceeded the rate of urban population growth.

Some information about internal population movement in the country in the recent years, including the growth and distribution of the country's urban and rural population, is presented in the following section. This information will provide a rationale for undertaking an in-depth study on the phenomenon of internal migratory movement of population within the country, with the objective of investigating the causes behind such migration, assessing its implications, and exploring the prospects for initiating a process of reverse migration in the country. In fact, the present study is undertaken keeping the same objectives in view.

1.2 Trends in Bangladesh's Population Movement

Occupying only about 0.03 per cent of the World's land surface, Bangladesh at the present is 9th most populous country in the globe. Based on the current rate of growth of population, the country's population (currently at 126 million) is expected to reach 190 million in 2025. Data presented in Table 1.1 indicates that during the period between 1941 and 1991 the rural population in Bangladesh doubled, and urban population increased fifteen fold. The rate of growth of urban population accelerated since 1974. The disparate rates of growth of the country's urban and rural population are also evidenced in a United Nations study (UN 1991), which provides data on the annual growth rates of urban, rural and the overall population for the period 1970-1990, and the projected rates of growth for the period 1990-2005 to 2020-2025 (Table 1.2).

Table 1.1: Urban-rural population and their annual growth rate in Bangladesh: 1941-1991.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>	
	<i>Population (Million)</i>	<i>Annual growth(per cent)</i>	<i>Population (Million)</i>	<i>Annual growth(per cent)</i>
1941	40.45	1.6	1.54	3.6
1951	42.34	0.5	1.83	1.7
1961	52.58	2.2	2.64	3.7
1974	70.39	2.3	6.00	6.3
1981	76.35	1.2	13.56	11.6
1991	89.80	1.5	22.5	4.7

Source: BIDS, Urbanization and the Urban Poor in Bangladesh, 1992.

As can be seen in Table 1.2, urban population grew at around 6 per cent annually over the

last three decades, compared to the rural population growth rate of just about 2 per cent. The UN projection indicates that the relatively higher rate of growth of urban population will continue well up to the end of the first quarter of the next century.

Dhaka and Chittagong are the two major urban agglomerations in Bangladesh, and hence the rate of population increase in these two locations are of great importance to the policy makers. The population of these two cities in 1950 was 0.42 million and 0.63 million, respectively, which rose in 1990 to 6.65 million and 2.29 million, respectively, indicating a vastly greater rate of increase in population in Dhaka than in Chittagong (Table 1.3). The projection, reported in Table 1.3, indicates that the Dhaka population will rise to 12.2 million in 2000 and constitute about 35 per cent of the urban population of Bangladesh. In yet another UN projection, the city of Dhaka, which currently ranks 24th in the world in terms of population size of the urban agglomerations, will be 6th in 2010, with about 18 million population in that year (UN 1992).

Table 1.2: Population growth rate, urban and rural: 1970-2025

<i>Period</i>	<i>Annual average growth rate</i>		
	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
1970-1975	6.74	2.41	2.77
1975-1980	6.76	-	2.83
1980-1985	6.57	2.19	2.73
1985-1990	6.83	-	2.79
1990-1995	6.14	1.93	2.69
2000-2005	5.37	1.48	2.44
2010-2015	4.09	0.53	1.67
2020-2025	3.31	0.03	1.13

Source: *United Nations, World Urbanization Prospects. New York: Department of International Economic and Social Affairs (E.91.XIII.II), 1991.*

Table 1.3 : Actual and projected growth of population of major urban agglomerations in selected years.

Urban agglomeration	1950		1970		1980		1990		2000	
	Total (000)	per cent	Total (000)	per cent	Total (000)	per cent	Total (000)	per cent	Total (000)	per cent
Dhaka	420	23.66	1503	29.62	3290	33.01	6646	3497	12162	35.20
Chittagong	629	35.44	899	17.71	1330	13.42	2289	12.05	3857	11.16

Source: As for Table 1.2.

Two major factors, viz., natural increase, and internal migration together with reclassification of urban areas, have contributed to the growth of urban population in this country. According to an ESCAP study, the contribution of internal migration to the growth of urban population has slowed down a bit in the recent years, but yet this factor is expected to contribute about 58 per cent of the urban population growth, at least up to 2005 (UNESCAP 1993).

Whatever its causes are, the increasing urbanization, especially centering around larger/mega cities¹, has generated a wide variety of problems in terms of providing employment, shelter and basic services to the urban population which have become an important policy concern for the Government. The problems generated by urbanization are those of unemployment, housing, sanitation, environmental hazards, etc., which are the prominent features of urban life in Bangladesh today, and which have been contributing to the growing urban impoverishment in the country. The growing impoverishment of urban population as reflected in the increase in the absolute number of the poor and the hard-core poor over time has been well documented in a recent ESCAP study (UNESCAP 1993).

In so far as internal migration is a key factor in influencing the regional distribution of the country's population and, in particular, a contributor to the process of urbanization with all its economic and social consequences, gathering data on internal migration becomes important for enabling formulation of appropriate policies for the redistribution of population away from urban to rural locations. In Bangladesh the main internal migration flows are from rural to urban areas although other forms of migration such as urban to rural, rural to rural, or urban to urban, are not uncommon. However, the 1991 census data on internal migration by direction shows that the highest rate of internal migration is of the rural to urban type (51.8 per thousand), as against the urban to rural migration rate of 1.1, rural to rural 3.4, and the urban to urban migration rate of 4.4 per thousand (GOB 1994).

Available information on the inflow of migrants to the capital city, Dhaka, from other

¹ An urban area with population of 5 million or more is defined as a mega city in Bangladesh (BBS definition), though in the UN definition the cut-off point is 8 million.

districts of the country during the 1980s shows that the highest per centage of migrants came from Barisal (20.3per cent), followed by Dhaka district (19.5per cent), Faridpur (17.4per cent), and Comilla (15.5per cent) (BIDS 1992). The process of migration was influenced by both pull and push factors, of which the predominant pull factor was the expectation of getting employment and earning higher income, and the principal push factor was the situation of poverty engendered by natural disaster, landlessness, and lack of jobs.

As a consequence of the phenomenal increase in the number and rate of growth of urban population, caused largely by unchecked migration, the number of slums and slum dwellers is rapidly increasing in the country. In the city area, the poor migrants prefer slums for their initial settlement, obviously because of their poverty and low income. In 1991, there were about 2000 slums in Dhaka city alone (CUS 1992). At the present rate of urbanization, the slum population will in all probability increase further, with all its undesirable economic, social, demographic and public health implications that are putting the overall development efforts of the country in jeopardy. Formulation of an explicit policy on urbanization along with appropriate interventions for initiating a process of reverse migration whereby the migrant slum dwellers can be induced to return to their original rural locations therefore warrant immediate concerted action.

1.3 Rationale and Scope of the Study

The discussion in the foregoing establishes the rationale for the present study. While the observed trend in rural-urban migration is likely to continue in the foreseeable future, mitigating the many social and economic problems that result from migration will call for conscious government policy. This study is intended to make some tentative policy recommendations in that direction.

In general, the study examines the current trends in the process of migration in Bangladesh and its implications. In particular, the study examines the rationale of a process of reverse migration so that the process can be promoted as a development instrument. Within this context, the role of rural industrialisation, infrastructure development and other rural development efforts would be emphasized as restraining factors in rural-urban migration through providing employment and income to the rural poor and meeting their basic needs.

The study generates information on social and economic factors behind migration. It also provides policy insight into the impact and adequacy of current policies and suggests policy options to harness the reverse migration as a targeted development tool for spatial development and efficient rural human resource mobilisation.

An inter-temporal analysis of poverty situation between the periods before and after migration is done on the basis of data collected from the primary survey. This provides some interesting dynamics of rural economics linked to rural-urban migration. This exercise is intended to be an important supplement to the poverty monitoring survey.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to promote reverse migration as a development instrument to assist in accelerating equitable national development. The specific objectives of the study are to increase efficient mobilization of rural human resources through:

- i) examining factors, including government policy, that promote migration (both economic and spatial);
- ii) ascertaining the existing nature, pattern and extent of rural-urban migration;
- iii) assessing the process of rural-urban migration and its implications;
- iv) identifying the causes and consequences of such migration and its impact;
- v) identifying the impact of economic and demographic policies in terms of how these policies affect the decision to migrate, their consequences on spatial productivity, and their effect on rural-urban linkage;
- vi) identifying the social and economic costs of migration;
- vii) suggesting a policy framework for inducing reverse migration as a vehicle for promoting economic growth and alleviating poverty.

1.5 Methodology

The study is based on data collected through primary survey as well as from secondary sources. In addition, lessons have been drawn from previous studies on migration in Bangladesh and elsewhere, the relevant findings of which are presented in a separate chapter. Specifically, the review of the existing literature highlights the nature, pattern, causes, and the process of migration in Bangladesh and also in some other developing countries.

As for the primary survey, a structured questionnaire has been administered to obtain the necessary information pertaining to migration and probable reverse migration. The design of the survey questionnaire and the information desired are presented in appendix A of the study.

1.6 Organization of the study

While this introductory Chapter outlines the background, objective, methodology, and scope of the study, Chapter 2 presents a brief review of the available literature on the subject, with particular emphasis on some selected studies that have been carried out on migration in Bangladesh in recent times. Chapter 3 provides an estimable model of rural-urban migration for estimation purpose. The specification of the model is in line with the purpose of the study, which is to investigate the factors behind the process of rural-urban migration. Chapter 3 also formulates an estimable econometric Probit model that relates the probability of reverse migration to a set of pertinent socioeconomic and psychic factors. The model specification is intended to establish the rationale for initiating the process of reverse migration as an instrument for reducing poverty and promoting economic growth. This Chapter also presents the results of the econometric analysis of the process of rural-urban and reverse migration.

On the basis of information gathered from the survey, Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the observed causes of rural-urban migration, of the economic and social costs of migration, of the present poverty situation, and of the prospects for inducing reverse migration. Chapter 5 summarizes the major findings and conclusions of the study. In addition, it highlights some aspects of government policies that may have directly or indirectly contributed to the process of rural-urban migration and also indicates the need for adopting appropriate policies for initiating the process of reverse migration in the country.

Chapter 2

Review of the Existing Literature on Migration

The literature on migration is quite voluminous. In this Chapter we review some selected studies related particularly to internal migration in Bangladesh. This will bring to surface the observed nature, pattern, causes and the process of migration. Especially, the exercise will contribute to a thorough understanding of the subject and help identify the behavioural parameters of the migration process as well as glean many crucial elements related to the process of reverse migration.

We start with the paper by Chaudhury and Curlin² (henceforth C and C), which focuses on the trend, pattern and variations in net migration, the selectivity of the in- and out-migrants, identification of the reasons for in- and out-migration, the destination of the out-migrants, the place of origin of the in-migrants and also the push-pull factors underlying the process of migration of both sexes. Using data from 101 villages of Matlab thana for a five-year period (1968-69 through 1972-73) the study found that for both sexes, the rate of out-migration was higher than that of in-migration. The female, however, in-migrates in greater number than the male. (1.02 times more). The reasons behind this, according to these authors, are probably that the females usually move into the villages as brides or dependants while the males usually move out in search of job opportunities.

The study discerns two differential patterns in the out- and net migration rates by sex. During the first two years of the study period (1968/69) and (1969/70), net migration rates for males were at least 2.25 times higher than those for females. This trend, however, was reversed in the later years of the study period (1971/72 and 1972/73), when the out and net migration rates for females exceeded those for males. For the years 1971/72 and 1972/73, the difference between sexes in the net and out-migration rates was not as high as could be found for the periods 1968/69 and 1969/70. Higher female out-migration in the age-group 10-14 followed by the females in the age group 15-19 caused the higher out-migration of females during 1971/72 and 1972/73.

Family size has been found to affect the rate of out-migration. An inverse relationship has been observed between family size and the rate of out-migration. The rate of out-migration is higher for the smaller households, but declines gradually for household sizes of seven to nine. But the relationship is direct, i.e., increasing, in the case of very large households. Family

² R. H. Chaudhury and G.C. Curlin, "Dynamics of Migration in a Rural Area of Bangladesh," The Bangladesh Development Studies, Vol. 3, 1975.

type influences migration rate in a pattern that reveals the highest rate of out-migration for the single person family of both sexes.

Lower rates of migration prevail in the case of families comprising only husband and wife, and the joint families of both sexes for most of the study period. Families consisting of larger number of young and older members experience lowest rate of out-migration. Higher out-migration rates among the single male, smaller household size, single person family, and families containing only husband and wife, it has been said, may reflect a highly mobile characteristic of segments of population for whom it is easier to move between places and who can afford such movements once made.

The married females may show higher propensity of migration than the single women folks, probably because in a developing country like Bangladesh a single woman has less scope for independent mobility outside the village areas compared to their married counterparts. Largest household sizes may be associated with higher out-migration rates probably because of one of the following reasons:

- (i) Bigger family size may push for higher out-migration in the largest household sizes where adequate support for all the members of the family may be absent, thus encouraging a disgruntled member to leave the household.
- (ii) It can also be the case that bigger households probably are affluent,³ and some members may be motivated to move to the urban centres to avail themselves of diverse urban opportunities.

A person of the older generation having already spent a considerable time of his life in rural area may find it exceedingly hard to sever ties with the village where he owes his origin, and the values of which are more endearing to him than the new values in an uncertain urban setting.

The study also discusses the impact of various occupations on the rates of migration. The findings of the study reveal that during the initial period, the highest out-migration rate pertains to domestic servants, followed by mill and office workers and unemployed persons. Consistently low migration rates are found to prevail among the farmers. According to the study, the variation of these migration rates can be explained as follows.

The mill and office workers being already exposed to the world outside their villages and

³ A positive relationship between landholding and family size has been found to exist in various studies in Bangladesh.

having the required skills to work outside the rural areas decide to move finally to their places of work and thus avoid the inconveniences of commuting. Unemployed persons are pushed out of their village and move towards urban areas, which offer better occupational opportunities. The low rates of out-migration seem reasonable. The skill of farmers would be of limited applicability in the urban areas. It has been found that farmers owning some amount of land are less likely to move out from the village.

A study by Chaudhury⁴ finds a high out-migration rate for such lower socio-economic classes as the landless peasants. C and C does not interpret the data on the rates of in-migration by marital status, family size, occupation and family structures as they believe that for a majority of the cases, the characteristics are unknown. The likely reasons for in-migration by sex and age are the following:

Most of the male immigrants moved into the study area as dependants of those men who subsequently went back to village (i.e., the reverse migration). This is also true for female migrants, who find little occupational opportunities in the rural areas, and are thus pushed out of the rural settings towards the urban centres which are believed to offer better economic opportunities and better living conditions.

Regarding the destination of out-migrants, the study suggests that almost two thirds of the male and just over 50 per cent of women move towards urban areas. The findings thus testify that proportionately more males than females move towards urban areas, and conversely, more females than males move towards rural areas. This seems to be in line with the experience of those Asian and African countries where urbanization is still in an early stage, and where migration is characterized predominantly by the movement of males.⁵ The migration of males towards urban centres is propelled by a search for job opportunities and better living conditions. In contrast, a larger proportion of females make their way to village for marital reasons.

Roughly 45per cent of males move towards Dhaka, followed by Comilla which receives 24per cent of the males. About 48per cent of the females move within the Comilla district, followed by 28per cent of females who move to Dhaka. These trends indicate that females usually move out as dependants, and that a lot of males, when they migrate, leave their families and dependants behind to keep their old ties with the village intact. It is also interesting to find that a higher proportion of males (47per cent) move to bigger industrial places whereas a higher percentage of females (45per cent) move to non-industrial areas. This

⁴ R.H. Chaudhury, "Management of Immigrants of the Urban Regions of Bangladesh," paper presented at the Regional Conference on Human Settlements in Tehran, June, 1975.

⁵ United Nations, Report on the World Social Situation, 1967.

is probably because males tend to move to places having a concentrated industrial base, whereas for females, usually marital reason is one of the major reasons for out-migration. It is highly likely that a village woman probably will like to be married to somebody in her own village or in another village.

It is observed that the male in-migrants mostly come from the urban areas. This is in contrast to the case of female in-migrants who mostly migrated from rural areas. Inclusion of a large number of reverse migrants in the proportion of male in-migrants obviously has inflated that proportion. For some reason or other, a segment of the rural male out-migrants reverted back to their places of origin. These reverse migrants on average constitute 22 per cent of total male in-migrants coming from urban areas during the study period. A reason behind the reverse migration of males from both urban and rural areas to the study area may be that they are dependent within the familial structure. Females from rural areas moved to the study area as dependants while females originating from rural areas moved to the study area because of marriage. As explained in the study, marriage in our society usually takes place between communities of the same type, thus making the scope of marriage between a village boy and an urban girl a very unlikely phenomenon. These results confirm that in the rural society in Bangladesh, rural to rural marriage is the usual practice.

While the study admits that rural urban migration has some merit, it also takes note of the adverse consequences of such migratory process and recommends measures to slow down the stream of rural-urban migration. Some of the recommendations made in the study to achieve this goal are the following:

- (1) Job opportunities in the rural areas should be further enhanced.
- (2) The rural-urban wage differential must be narrowed.
- (3) Overall rural development program is needed.

The study by Jalal Alamgir⁶ on the rural urban migration is an important contribution to the body of literature on migration in Bangladesh. It first of all makes a theoretical analysis of the various internal dynamics of rural-urban migration in Bangladesh, and then associates the phenomenon with the broader international context. Within the framework of a push-pull model of migration, the study attempts to identify intra-rural polarisation and rural-urban inequalities as the leading internal causes of migration in Bangladesh.

The article makes a cogent discussion on the causes of migration within the framework of

⁶ J. Alamgir, "Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh: Theoretical Approaches to Understanding Internal. and External Dynamics," The Journal of Social Studies, vol.59, January 1993.

models that belong to two distinct classes. One of these considers migration a domestic phenomenon while the other considers it within an international political-economic framework.

The author also takes note of a most widely discussed migration model, the so called push-pull factor model, proposed by Lee in 1966.⁷ This model postulates that people's decision to migrate is related to two types of factors - the push factors and the pull factors. In the context of Bangladesh, the push factors that the author identifies are high person-to-land ratio, frequent occurrence of natural disasters, and the effects of the liberation war.

In Bangladesh, land is one of the most valuable assets of the poor. In order to get better occupational opportunities, landless rural masses often are compelled to move to the urban areas and growth centres. Frequent occurrence of natural disasters like cyclones, floods, and erosion of rivers compel people to migrate either temporarily or permanently to urban locations. The liberation war was no less a strong force that caused widespread exodus of people from the rural areas. The aftermath of the war marked by anarchy and chaos, when looting, harassment etc. prevailed in the villages also caused many rural dwellers to migrate to the urban areas in search of security.

The author discusses the pull factors with reference to two migration models, namely the urban bias theory model and the Todaro model. He considers, in order of importance, such factors as cheaper food, higher wages, better education and health facilities the prime pull factors behind the process of migration, while factors such as electricity, drinking water and sewerage, are what the author calls secondary pull factors.

Jalal Alamgir's observations on the theory of 'urban bias' as propounded by Michael Lipton⁸ and the well-known Harris-Todaro Model⁹ are also significant in the context of Bangladesh. The message of Lipton's theory of 'urban bias' is that government policies in the third world are biased towards cities, thus distorting the process of development in a manner which generates more incentives, amenities and opportunities within the major cities while neglecting or marginalizing directly or indirectly, the rural areas. Lipton, for example, thinks that government policy in many developing countries to keep food prices low is biased towards the urban areas because such policy benefits the urban population at the cost of the vast majority of rural population. Low food prices jeopardise the interests of the farmers who become increasingly marginalized (push) and attracts hungry rural people towards the urban localities (pull).

⁷ E.S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration", Demography, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1966, pp. 47-57.

Lipton's view bore adequate relevance to the food policy pursued in Bangladesh during the decade of the 1980s when food prices in cities were highly extremely subsidised than in rural areas. It is found that during 1987-88, food prices in all of the five largest cities were considerably lower than the national average.¹⁰ An explanation behind food price differential between rural and urban areas can be found in food aid. Most of the food aid received from the donors feed the urban middle class through cheap ration outlets. The cheaper foods in the urban centres are attractive for a prospective rural migrant.

In Todaro's famous model of rural-urban migration,¹¹ the decision to migrate has been made a function of the wage differentials that exist between urban and rural areas and the probability of finding a job in the city. Todaro's model thus emphasises the importance of the probability of finding a job in cities along with the prevalence of higher wages there, which motivates a prospective migrant to finally migrate. In a modified version of the model prepared jointly by Todaro and John Harris, the authors cite factor such as rural-urban differences in expected earning to be the leading cause of the process of migration in which the urban unemployment rate plays an equilibrating role.¹²

Jalal Alamgir has also questioned the applicability of the Todaro model in the context of Bangladesh. While it is true that in Bangladesh, the urban wage rate has always been higher than rural wage rate, the net differential may not be very wide and may even be insignificant for migration to take place. It cannot be said that most of the migrants from village got higher wages in cities. But they probably found more jobs in the urban informal sector than in the rural localities. One aspect of the urban sector in Bangladesh, however, as in many other developing countries, is the existence of a big public sector in the urban settings having artificially inflated higher wages. The author observes that such inflated higher wage coupled with cheap urban food rationing system and concentration of significant industrial and commercial activities pull rural migrants into the urban centres.

One of the drawbacks of the Todaro model, as noted by the author, is its assumption of full information on the part of the prospective migrant about the urban wage rate and the probability of finding a job. This may not always be true. And then it cannot also always be the case that economic factors alone affect the migration process. If we believe in that, we will be ignoring a lot of other factors, like marriage, dependency relations etc. (social

⁸ M. Lipton, Why the poor stay poor: Urban bias in World Development, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976.

⁹ M.P. Todaro, "A Model of Labour Migration and Unemployment in Less Developed Countries," American Economic Review, Vol. 59, March 1969.

¹⁰ Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1989.

¹¹ Op. Cit.

¹² J. R. Harris and M. P. Todaro. "Migration, Unemployment, and Development : a Two-sector Analysis," American Economic Review, Vol. 60, March 1970.

factors), floods, river erosion, drought etc. (natural factors), and so on.

Notwithstanding its limitations, the Todaro model points out the very crucial link between perceived employment opportunities and migration. This thesis finds support in Bangladesh also. Various studies corroborate that the basic motive behind the decision to migrate from rural to urban areas is guided by a search for employment opportunities in urban settings and that after the migration most of the people usually enjoy higher income.¹³ The monumental work of Harris and Todaro also has implication for rural industrialisation. This is because the model predicts that migration will stop when the urban and rural wage levels are equal. This may not, however, be true because migration can take place not only because of economic reasons but, in this process, social and various other factors can be important as well. As the author points out, a hypothesis can be formulated which predicts migration to continue, but at a diminishing rate as the probability of finding a job in the rural areas increases.

To summarise, the article by Jalal Alamgir identifies such rural push factors as poverty, a high population/land ratio and natural disasters, and urban pull factors like higher wages, amenities, employment opportunities and lower food prices as major causes behind the phenomenon of rural-urban migration.

Some specific features of migration in Bangladesh as identified by the author are as follows: It is usually the rural poor, who migrate in the face of poverty and economic desperation. Those migrants without education and vocational skills are forced to reside in slum and squatter settlements. While most of the migrants are poor, some are not. As the author opines, “there are significant differences between the motives for migration of the rich and the poor”.

Jalal Alamgir also considers migration from the perspective of World System evolving out of the capitalistic development that took place in Bangladesh. The proponents of the idea of World System base the world economy on the foundation of a capitalist system which breeds an unequal exchange relationship between the core (the developed world) and the periphery (the under developed world) and where there is a superficial political boundary penetrated often by the movement of global capital. This approach places cities within a spatial structure that serves as the national core while thriving on the rural periphery. The nation in turn is the international periphery, of an international core comprising of international cities that serve as agents of western hegemony and global capitalism. Cities receive utmost importance in national planning and channel huge resources that are spent on building and maintaining hotels, restaurants, fountains, monuments, and a plethora of other

¹³ Centre for Urban Studies, Squatters in Bangladesh Cities, Urban Development Directorate, Dhaka, 1974.

western amenities to attract international capital. In such a scenario, the urban cities being the core of rural peripheries extract resources from the rural areas that are eventually spent on the industry-owning urban elite.

The extraction of rural resources pulls the rural population towards the city centres. The dependency relation between urban and rural areas makes the latter vulnerable to demands and shocks of the international capitalist economy. For example, in Bangladesh, jute prices decreased over much of the last decade due to the stiff competition it faced from synthetic fibres and Indian jute products. The result has been an increasing impoverishment and marginalization of the jute farmers, thus making them more susceptible to the push factors. The World System perspective thus explains population movement from rural peripheries towards the urban cores where economic powers are concentrated.

The effect of the World System can also work through penetration of capital into the rural areas. A positive impact is likely to be exerted if the penetration is of industrial capital absorbing the marginalized and the surplus population into the industrial activities and thus reducing the rate of migration. The opposite and negative effect can be observed if such capital displaces labour. Capital intensification in agriculture includes, among others, the use of high yielding seeds, tractors, pesticides, irrigation machines etc. which are more affordable by the rich and this give rise to polarisation of the rich and poor as well as displacement of rural poor. In short, the author's view is that an extractive and penetrative global capitalism is marginalizing the rural population and increasing the rates of migration.

It has been hypothesised in a study by Chaudhury¹⁴ that intra-rural inequality between the rich and the poor is the main cause (and a consequence) of rural emigration. The standard push-pull model receives an interesting twist if we consider the intra-rural variations in class leading to a dualistic pattern of migration. The poor migrate due to abject poverty while the prosperous farmers, landlords or their sons move out of the village to attend probably better schools or to look for prestigious occupations. It seems that the pattern of migration remains the same if education instead of income is considered to be the determinant. The lowest and highest levels of educated class contain the highest concentration of migrants.

It also appears that both push and pull factors affect migration simultaneously in the same community, although they affect different social classes. These two distinct classes, the highest and the lowest in social strata, as are affected by pull and push factors, are likely to be absorbed in the formal and informal sector respectively. Compared to these two classes, the

¹⁴ R.H. Chaudhury, "Determinants and Consequences of Rural out-migration : Evidence from Some Villages in Bangladesh ", *Oriental Geographer*, Vol. 22, No. 1/2.

middle echelons are likely to be more rooted to the village, probably for different reasons.

Although independent migration by women is increasing in the Third World as a result of growing demand in the industrial sector, it is nevertheless limited by factors such as women's inability, socio-economic and geographic causes, and social and religious norms. In Bangladesh, large number of females have in the recent past migrated to the cities and have been employed in the garments sector following the proliferation of export oriented garments industries requiring female labour. It has been found that about 61 per cent of female workers in garment factories in Dhaka were migrants and 35 per cent of such females migrated with their families.¹⁵

It can be the case in many developing countries that migration is of circular or chain type. Such frustrated migrants as those who find it hard to get a proper job, may decide to go back to the village thus establishing an argument for reverse migration of the population from urban to rural areas. It then is necessary for us to identify the pushback and pullback factors that can turn the migration process in reverse order. Some such factors, that the author mentions in connection with circular migration are also relevant for initiating a process of reverse migration. These factors are: obligation to parents, family and kin, and the need to maintain property in rural areas. One of the important pull-back factors in Bangladesh can be identified in cases where married male migrants leave for cities leaving behind their spouses and children. The circular nature of this type of migration provides the rural resident with valuable information on the existing job opportunities in the cities and induces chain migration where, potential migrants, on the basis of such information, decide to follow the migratory path of the pioneering migrant. The new migrants can initially receive valuable moral and financial support from the relatives/friends who are prior migrants and thus, the existence of such contacts has been an important determinant spurring more migration subsequently.

Following such lines of arguments, some authors have proposed what can be called a communication theory of migration that postulates the exchange or transfer of information between urban "senders" and rural "receivers" as the basic determinant of urban growth. Revolution in information technology like the spread of television, radio, etc. can exert important influence on the decision to migrate.

Krishnan and Rowe¹⁶ analyses the patterns of inter-district and inter-divisional migration using the data from 1974 census of Bangladesh and the 1961 census of East Pakistan. The

¹⁵ Rousan Jahan, "Women Workers in the Garment Industry," *Bangladesh Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1989.

¹⁶ P. Krishnan, and G. Rowe, "Internal Migration in Bangladesh," *Rural Demography*, Vol. V, No. 1 & 2, 1978.

study finds that during the period ranging between 1941-51, 1951-61 and 1961-74, the geographical pattern of internal movements has been a movement towards Westward/North-Westward regions. Except for Dhaka and Chittagong districts, population in all the remaining eastern districts declined. Age selectivity turns out to be an important feature of the migration process. The receiving districts gained people in the 20-49 age interval but they lost people in the age group 50-59. Districts, which lost population, received people in the 50-59 age group. This may imply a trend of reverse migration by the older population. Propensities of migration by the males and females were found different and underwent changes during the period of the study.

A regression model of inter-regional migration for the period 1951-61 was estimated in the study. The regression model includes the following set of variables:

- 1) Migration- out-migration rates (1961) under a logit transformation.
- 2) Stayer - a dummy variable representing a tendency to remain in the place of birth.
- 3) Distance- rough distance between regions measured by the number of regional boundaries to be crossed on the shortest path, and therefore also roughly representing intervening opportunities.
- 4) Farm size: the ratios (i/j - origin/destination) of average farm size in acres in 1960.
- 5) Land - the ratios (i/j) of per cent available but uncultivated land.
- 6) Literacy - the ratios (i/j) of regional per cent literate.
- 7) Age- the ratios (i/j) of regional per cent under the age 15.
- 8) Hindu - the ratios (i/j) of regional per cent caste Hindus.
- 9) Workers - the ratios (i/j) of regional per cent employed.
- 10) Density- the ratios (i/j) of persons per square mile.

The results of estimation implies a relaxation of migratory flows due to such factors as are related to costs of migration and inertia (as corroborated by the stayer and distance effects). It follows from the effect of farm size, intensity of cultivation, age and labour force participation that there had been out-migration from areas of high demand on land to areas of lower demand. The authors' view is that such outcome may be the result of fragmentation of land holdings, arising from inheritance pattern but not from any change in social factor. The population density factor goes hand in hand with the concentration of Hindu population and literacy, and according to the authors, represents a disguised urbanisation factor. Historically, density and literacy are related to the 'Hindu' variable in the sense that Hindu settlements are primarily in highly populated areas and urban centres. In short the regression results are consistent with the observations on net-migration that more urbanised areas receive larger number of in-migrants and that modernisation as proxied by the literacy rate indicates a pattern of movement towards urbanised communities, thus producing bigger social impact.

Bell and Kirwan¹⁷ (henceforth B & K) presents a model of gross migration flows between Scotland and the rest of Great Britain which deals explicitly with the incidence of return migration. The authors derive separate estimating equations for flows of migrants to and from Scotland. They identify three types of return migrants:

- (1) Those for whom returning to the low income region represents a logical progression in their career as a result of promotion or of an employment transfer.
- (2) Retired persons returning to the region of their birth or youth.
- (3) Discouraged migrants, whose employment or income expectations of migration have not been fulfilled.

It is the last-named group, which is of interest to us. In order to explore the phenomenon of return migration, B & K considers the effect of labour market conditions on the aggregate volume of migration and return migration. A fairly common practice in migration models has been to weight the incomes at origin and destination by some index of labour market conditions at the respective locations to account for the risk and uncertainty associated with the decision to migrate. Typically such variables as the rate of unemployment or level of vacancies have been used for such purpose. This implicitly assumes that migration tends to be a positive function of the degree of tightness in the labour market.

B & K hypothesises that, excluding the discouraged return migrants from consideration, the greater the level of excess demand for labour, the greater the flows of migrants both into and out of Scotland. The relationship would be opposite in the case of discouraged return migrants. The volume of discouraged return migrants will be higher in depressed labour markets when expectations are unlikely to be fulfilled. B & K finds support for the Vanderkamp¹⁸ thesis which argues that the flow of such return migration is likely to be towards the less prosperous region, which in this context is Scotland. This finding has the following implications for the labour market variables:

- (1) Outflow (migration from Scotland to England and Wales): The coefficient of the excess demand variable is likely to be positive because discouraged return migrants are likely to be an insignificant part of the total flow.
- (2) Inflow (migration from England and Wales to Scotland): In this case, the discouraged return migrants are more important. The volume of return migration is negatively related to labour market conditions, whereas the volume of new and autonomous migration will be a positive function of such conditions.

It then follows that the sign on the excess demand variable will be either positive or

¹⁷ D.N.F. Bell and F. X. Kirwan, "Return Migration in a Scottish Context," *Regional Studies*, Vol. 13, 1979.

¹⁸ J. Vanderkamp, "Interregional mobility in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, Vol. 1, 1968.

negative depending on which influence is the stronger.

B & K expresses the flow of migrants out of Scotland to England and Wales as a function of the stock of past Scottish emigrants resident there and of current and lagged values of the excess demand for labour. The flow of migrants into Scotland is written using a Koyck transformation. Ordinary least squares method is employed to estimate the principal estimating equations, the results of which are as follows:

A large part of Scottish inflow consists of the volume of return migrants as evident from the negative sign on the excess demand variable. This is in contrast to the coefficient of the same variable, which is both positive and significant in the Scottish outflow equation. Results of estimation also indicate that migrants probably take a short run view of the labour market conditions in taking migration decision.

The coefficient of the lagged dependent variable in that equation is suggestive of rapidly declining weights on past values of excess demand variable. Analysis of the results further suggests that return migration to Scotland constitutes almost two thirds of the total volume of return migration between Scotland and the rest of Great Britain. This may probably reflect the lower level of skill on the part of Scottish labour force. If it is assumed that the fixed cost of labour tends to be positively correlated with the skill level, employers may be reluctant to hire more unskilled workers in the face of falling demand and therefore, this may push many Scottish migrants back to Scotland. Econometric analysis confirms this result.

Yezer and Thurston's study¹⁹ on North-South U.S. migration shows that the necessary returns to migration are generally small and often negative in the first five years in the place of destination. The unsatisfied expectations may be due partly to imperfect information or to an over-optimistic evaluation of product and labour market conditions. The dissatisfied migrants may, therefore, rationally decide to revert back to the place of origin. The reasons may be that returning to the place of origin may involve lower costs of remigration than the other alternatives in consideration of the existence of family and friends at the original location who can provide accommodation and support as well as the much valuable help in the migrant's job search process. In other words, a migrant may be likely to face considerably less uncertainty if he returns to his place of origin rather than moving to another new location because information on the original location is likely to exceed in both quantity and quality than that in another new and potential destination.

Vanderkamp's seminal paper, cited earlier, examines the theoretical hypothesis that the

¹⁹ A. M. Yezer and L. Thurston, "Migration Patterns and Income Change", *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. 43, 1976.

average incomes in the two regions and the distance between them largely determine the flow of migration between the regions. Drawing a distinction among new, return and autonomous flows, he estimates reduced form equations for dealing with the situation of return migration as, he observes, it affects gross migration flows in opposite direction and thus creates the well-known problem of simultaneity. He says, it is likely that the state of labour market will vary negatively with the proportion of return migrants. In addition, he observes that the tests of hypotheses and the estimates of coefficients will be significantly influenced by the time period covered by a migration study. The return migrants, according to the author, are not only the people who are disappointed in the place of destination but also includes those who planned to return from the beginning. Contrary to the new migrants, the return migrants are not influenced by income and distance.

Raisul Awal Mahmood's study²⁰ attempts to explore such questions as the role played by migration in the context of rural poverty process in Bangladesh, the manner in which it has affected poverty, and also the role it has played in alleviating poverty in both urban and rural areas. The study considers lifetime migrants, migrant households, and individual migrants for the above purpose. The lifetime migrants are those who lived in the survey area in 1990, but then moved out of the locality permanently. The migrant households are those migrant households comprising of 483 members who permanently live away from the respective family. Individual migrants come mainly from male young population, and their educational level is significantly above the national average.

It is to be observed that this study not only considers internal migration but also international migration; about a quarter of migrants covered in the study are overseas migrants. Migrants are selected from large families which have average size of 7.56 compared to 5.54 for non-migrants. The study initially makes a comparison between migrant and non-migrant households with respect to the relative incidence of poverty. Four different levels of economic well-being of a household have been considered. These are: survival, sustenance, subsistence, and surplus. Survival income families are those which have per capita per annum income between Tk.3,718 and Tk.4,240; those families having income between Tk.4,241 and Tk.4,970 are sustenance families. Subsistence families have on an average income between Tk.4,971 and Tk.5467 while surplus families have an average income above Tk.5,469. The study finds a significantly lower incidence of poverty among the migrant households compared to non-migrant households. Above three-fourths of these families enjoy an income which is 10 per cent higher than the normative level of Tk.4,970.²¹

²⁰ Raisul Awal Mahmood, "Migration and Poverty" in Z.H. Rahman *et al* (eds.), Dynamics of Rural Poverty in Bangladesh 1987-1994, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, April 1996.

²¹ This normative level is based on M. Hossain, "Structure and Distribution of Household Income and Income Dimensions of Poverty," in Rahman *et al* (eds.), Rethinking Rural Poverty: Bangladesh as a Case Study, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1995.

It has been found that less than 10 per cent of the migrant households have per capita annual income less than survival income of Tk.3,718 wherein the corresponding figure for the non-migrants is 33 per cent. The author interprets this information as an argument for the cause of migration which he believes, is propelled more by the pull rather than push factors.

In examining the incidence of poverty based on non-income measures, Mahmood observes that, compared to non-migrant households, the incidence of poverty among migrant households is a lot lower.

Housing condition of migrants is also found to be much better than the non-migrants'. Over 75 per cent of the migrants own permanent houses constructed with corrugated iron sheets. The corresponding figure for non-migrants is 55 per cent. Sanitation facilities and hygienic practices are also found to be better for the migrants. More importantly, migrants compared to non-migrants are found to be better educated. The number of persons with higher levels of education is greater in the migrant households. While 14 per cent of migrant households are found to have SSC and higher levels of education, the corresponding figure is 5.1 per cent for non-migrants. The percentages of people with graduation and higher levels of education for migrants and non-migrants are 2.9 and 0.8, respectively.

Mahamood argues that the observed low incidence of poverty among migrant households compared to non-migrants can be explained in two ways. It might be that migrants are selected from the relatively well off section of the populace so that the incidence of poverty among them had already been lower compared to non-migrants. Then it is also most likely that migrants have become more affluent due to the benefits they reaped through migration. A third possibility can be thought of as a combination of the above two. The data used in the study reveals that the migrants were already relatively well off in 1990 compared to the non-migrants. While only 12 per cent of the migrant households would identify themselves as being extremely poor in 1990, the corresponding figure for non-migrants is 22 per cent.

It is, however, found that, there is a smaller proportion of non-migrant 'poor' households (42 per cent) than the migrant poor households (49 per cent). The proportions of both 'poor' and 'extreme poor' households among the migrants and non-migrants are 61 per cent and 65 per cent respectively, which implies little variation among these two types of households in 1990. This result goes along with respect to surplus categories of families, which do not show much variation among the migrants and non-migrants. While the proportions of surplus families among migrant and non-migrant families are respectively 7 per cent and 21 per cent, the corresponding proportions for self-sufficient families are 22.4 per cent and 14 per cent, which implies that the relative share of self-sufficient families was higher among the migrants. The study thus finds that migrant households differ positively from non-migrant

households with respect to the incidence of poverty. In addition, it reports a significant improvement of migrant households between 1990 and 1995 so far as the incidence of poverty is concerned.

To further explore the implications of these results, the author proceeds to look into the process through which migration affects the poverty situation of both migrant and non-migrant households. This shows the impact the process of migration exerts on employment generation, on labour force participation rate among migrant household members, and on the diversification of their income sources. Indeed, as can be predicted, a higher labour force participation rate is found among the migrant households compared to non-migrant households. While the mean number of migrant family members involved in economic activity is 2.48, the corresponding figure for non-migrant family is only 1.63. Crude activity rates of migrant and non-migrant households are 32.61 per cent and 29.44 per cent respectively. Greater labour force participation rates between sexes are also observed among migrant households. Among the migrant households, on an average 0.22 female family members are involved in income earning activities, whereas among the non-migrant households, the corresponding figure is only 0.16. The crude participation rates are 6.16 per cent and 5.58 per cent, respectively. Male participation rates also exhibit a similar pattern.

The author argues that the higher labour force participation rate among the migrant households is likely to be associated with higher average level of income and diversification of alternative sources. A major portion of their income comes from different non-agricultural sources such as wage and salary, profit from trade and business etc. Other sources found important for migrant households are rents, recovered loans etc.

As can be imagined, the higher level of migrant income should be reflected in the consumption, saving and investment behaviour of such households. Mean expenditures of migrant households on items of immediate consumption as well as on human resource developments are significantly higher than those of non-migrant ones. Especially, migrants are found to spend more on education, medical treatments, social works and religious activities. Migrant households are also found to undertake more capital expenditures such as spending on the purchases of land, machinery and transport equipment, construction and development of houses etc. These expenditures, no doubt, lead to more rapid well-being of such households, the author concludes.

Yadava and Yadava²², dwelling on the determinants of migration, sorts out a number of important hypotheses some of which are worth pondering over. Referring to some previous

²² K.N.S. Yadava and S.S. Yadava, Migration Studies – Evidence From Rural Field Studies, (New Delhi 1998).

studies²³, they predict a positive relationship existing between prior migrants and current migrants with respect to a particular place of destination. It is argued that the new migrants receive numerous assistance from the prior migrants, particularly at the early stage of their arrival in the urban areas. Migrants thus are sources of valuable information for the potential migrants who later are persuaded and motivated by the prior migrants to move to the urban area which offers superior lifestyle and economic opportunities compared to rural areas.

The authors' next prediction purports to relate positively the rate of migration with the distance of a village from the nearest urban centre. The relationship between the distance of a village from the nearest urban centre and the rate of migration has been hypothesised as negative in a couple of studies.²⁴ The argument is that, the nearer a village is to the urban centre, the lower the cost of information about job prospects and so, the quicker the flow of migration.

Yadava and Yadava, however hypothesises the above relationship as positive because, in their study, most of the surveyed villages were situated within a radius of about 20 kilometres from the city of Varanasi (a city of eastern Uttar Pradesh) and also, because they excluded the data on daily commuters, which is in contrast to other two related studies.²⁵

Next, Yadava and Yadava contemplates a positive relationship between the proportion of no-land households and the rate of out-migration. In a country where agriculture is the dominant occupation in the place of origin, it is usually the case that households owning large amount of land for cultivation often hire labour from other households. But persons owning no land is likely to lose interest in agriculture and may decide to move out. Persons owning small amounts of land may, however, choose to be agricultural labourers and may even cultivate large land area by leasing in lands from landlords.

Yadava and Yadava next argues how the level of educational attainment of the village is positively related to the rate of migration. In a developing country, the educational system is a fertile breeding ground of white collar job-seekers who are likely to migrate to the cities where most of the jobs are concentrated. Also for educated people, in contrast to less educated persons, urban areas offer more opportunities for employment. It is also expected that an educated person will not take much interest in menial agricultural work in the village as he may rather feel degrading his position in society by doing so.

²³ M.J. Greenwood, "A regression analysis of migration to urban areas of less developed country: The Case of India," *Journal of Regional Science*, Vol. 11, 1973; M.B. Levy, and W.J. Wadycki, "The influence of family and friends on geographic labor mobility," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 55, 1973.

²⁴ J.C. Caldwell, "Determinants of Rural-Urban Migration in Ghana," *Population Studies*, Vol. 22, 1968.

²⁵ S.M. Essang, and A.F. Mabawonku, "Determinants and Impact of Rural-Urban Migration: A Case Study of Selected Communities in Western Nigeria, African Rural Development, Paper No. 10, Ibadan: University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 1974.

The major factors influencing migration decisions, as it appears from the literature reviewed in the foregoing, may be summed up as follows:

- (1) The explanation behind rural-urban migration runs in terms of (a) push-pull factors (proposed by E. S. Lee), (b) the theory of urban bias (*a la* Lipton), and (c) higher expected urban employment and earnings (Harris-Todaro model).
- (2) The major push factors are abject poverty and high man-land ratios in rural areas and frequent occurrence of natural disasters. Man-made causes may also be important, a specific example of which is Bangladesh's liberation war.
- (3) The prime pull factors behind the process of rural-urban migration are higher wages, better employment opportunities and better education and health facilities, while better social amenities like electricity, drinking water etc. are secondary pull factors.
- (4) The essence of the urban bias model is that public policies are biased toward cities, which neglect the rural areas in ways that the rural poor become further marginalized (push), and hence attracted to urban locations (pull). National planning and development activities favour the urban locations, extracting resources from the rural areas thereby impoverishing the rural people and making them more susceptible to push factors.
- (5) Available studies find support for the Harris-Todaro model for Bangladesh, where the basic motive behind the decision to migrate has been found to be the search for better employment opportunities and higher income in urban areas. However, apart from economic reasons, various social factors like marriage and dependency relations, and natural factors like floods, river erosion, droughts etc. are also important determinants of internal migration.
- (6) Sex, marital status and the size of household influence the rate of out-migration.
- (7) Intra-rural inequality between the rich and the poor may be a factor behind rural-urban migration. The poor migrate due to abject poverty, while the prosperous farmers or their sons migrate to look for prestigious occupations.
- (8) Both push and pull factors affect migration of different social classes. Migrants comprise the highest and the lowest in the social strata, particularly in respect of the level of education. The middle echelons are more likely to be rooted to the village.
- (9) Migration can be of circular or chain type. Prior migrants may feed aspiring migrants with information about job opportunities and also provide moral and financial support, and thereby induce them to move to urban areas. This is also akin to the postulates of the so-called communication theory according to which information received from past migrants or through television and radio exerts important influence on the decisions to migrate.
- (10) Certain factors of circular migration are relevant for initiating a process of reverse migration as well. Frustrated migrants, who find it hard to find jobs, may decide to go

back to village. Other relevant factors for inducing reverse migration are obligation to parents, family and kin, and the need to maintain property in rural areas.

- (11) Age may be an important determinant of the decision to migrate, as the propensity to migrate by the younger section of the population may be generally high (Krishnan and Rowe).
- (12) Return migration is believed to be a positive function of the degree of tightness of the labour market (Bell and Kirwan; also Vanderkamp). Empirically, return migrants are mostly those whose expectations of employment or income have not been fulfilled.
- (13) The rate of migration is positively related with the distance from the nearest urban centre, with the proportion of no-land households, and with the level of educational attainment of the village.

Chapter 3

Model Specification for Rural-Urban and Reverse Migration

Two of the principal purposes of the present study having been to investigate the causes behind rural-urban migration and to explore the possibilities of, and prospects for, reverse migration, we intend to specify in section 3.1 of this chapter an estimable model that includes such individual household level and community oriented characteristics as are related to economic motivation for migration. This specification will help identify who the migrants are, what their pattern of migration is, and what factors explain the observed pattern of migration in terms of various socio-economic characteristics related to both the place of origin and destination.

In section 3.2, with a view to exploring the process of reverse migration, we attempt to formulate another estimable econometric probit model that relates the probability of reverse migration to a host of variables associated with the prospect for and probability of reverse migration. The estimated results of the econometric models are presented in section 3.3 of this chapter.

3.1 A Linear Regression Model for Rural to Urban Migration

In our review of Chaudhury and Curlin (1975), it was noted that married village males migrate to the city in a greater proportion than married females. It was argued that married females usually migrate to another village for marital reasons or for their dependent status which simultaneously implies that married females are more prone to move out than single women. Among the males again, single males probably can move out more easily than their married counterpart.

It was also noted that the rate of out-migration was higher for the smaller and the very big households than for medium size households. The reasons for such relationship were discussed at some length in the literature review carried out in the previous chapter.

We, accordingly, proceed to include the following three factors to check if the postulated relationship between the probability of migration and each of these factors is borne out. These factors are:

- (1) Variable SEX: Sex of the principal migrant. If male, then 1, and 0 if otherwise.

- (2) Variable MARR: Marital status of the principal migrant. If married, then 1, and 0 if otherwise.
- (3) Variable SIZE: Size of household (total number of members).

A positive relation is expected for all these three variables.

Among the demographic characteristics, age seems to be a very important factor. Villagers aged 15-30 years exhibit the highest rates of migration almost anywhere. The Study by John Connell *et al.* on a North Indian village found that within the adult migration group 60per cent were aged 15-24 years.²⁶ In Schultz's study on Colombia, the majority of the migrants belonged to 18 to 27 years group.²⁷ In contrast, the older section of the people exhibits a much lower propensity to migrate. As was argued in the literature reviewed, an old person may find it hard to sever ties with the village life, which he has lived for ages, and go to the city to embrace a new life.

We introduce, therefore, the variable AGE1, which is the age of the principal migrant, and the variable AGE2, which is the average age of the members in a household that migrated to the city along with the principal migrant. Variables AGE1 and AGE2 are expected to appear with negative and positive signs, respectively.

Land is the factor, which is the principal means of livelihood of the vast rural population of this country, and it must, therefore, be relevant in the determination of the migration behaviour of these people. This was also noted in our review of Jalal Alamgir (referred to earlier). One of the arguments is that landless rural masses are often are compelled to move to the urban areas and growth centres in order to get better occupational opportunities. A positive relationship between land holding and family size has been established in a number of studies.²⁸ We hypothesize, following a similar line of argument, that the lower the size of cultivated land per capita (in acre), the higher will be the propensity to migrate, and vice versa (variable PCLAND).

We discussed earlier the circular nature of rural urban migration where prior migrants feed the rural residents with valuable information on the existing job opportunities in the cities and induce chain migration. It was also noted that the new migrants initially are likely to receive valuable moral and financial support from the relatives/friends who are prior

²⁶ John Connell *et al.* Migration From Rural Areas : The Evidence Form Village Studies, New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1976.

²⁷ T.P. Schultz. "Rural-Urban Migration in Columbia". Review of Economics and Statistics , vol. 53, No.2, 1971.

²⁸ A.C. Walsh, and A D Trlin, "Newer Migration: New Socioeconomic Background, Characteristics of Migrants and Settlement in Auckland," Journal of Polynesian Society, Vol. 82, No.1, 1973.

migrants. We, accordingly, consider the variable PRIOR which assumes a value of 1 if the migrant was influenced by those who migrated earlier, and 0 if not. The variable is expected to come up with a positive sign.

We also argued about how disparities in amenities and facilities between rural and urban areas influenced rural-urban migration. Thus, an increase in these disparities resulting from improvements in transportation and communication as well as the expansion of education is undoubtedly one of the important factors contributing to rural-urban migration.

To proxy for amenities or level of services in the village, we use the proportion of rural houses without electricity (variable NOELEC), expecting a positive sign for the variable.

The educational level of a person has been identified as a significant factor leading to increased flow of migration. The tendency to migrate has usually been found to increase with the acquisition of educational qualifications. In a study of migration on San Salvador, Ducoff observed a high propensity of migration at both ends of the scale. People with little education and with high educational levels exhibited a high tendency to migrate.²⁹

Studies by Caldwell³⁰ and Foster³¹ on Ghana reached similar conclusions. Available evidence thus suggests a close relationship between increased propensity to migrate and the level of education. The cause behind this is probably that jobs requiring such educational attainments are concentrated mostly in urban areas where the differential rewards for such jobs are substantially higher.

We include, then, the educational level of the principal migrant (proxied by the number of years enrolled in schools) as one of the determinants of migration in our set of regressors (variable EDUC1). Another educational variable that we include is the average number of years spent in school by the members of each household (variable EDUC2), who migrated along with the principal migrant. The expected sign for both these variables is positive.

The relationship between the trend of migration and the distance of a village from the urban centres has been hypothesized as negative in most of the studies. This was discussed in chapter 2 in the review of literature on migration. Notable exception in this regard, however, is the proposition of Yadava and Yadava (1998) which was also noted in that chapter. We may argue that the nearer the rural area is to the urban centre, the lower the cost of

²⁹ L.J. Ducoff. The Migrant Population of a Metropolitan Area in a Developing country: a Preliminary Report on a Case Study of San Salvador. London: UNESCO, 1963.

³⁰ J. Caldwell, African Rural-Urban Migration: The Movement to Ghana's Towns. London: Hurst, 1969.

³¹ P.Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana. London: Routledge, 1965.

information on job prospect is, and so the quicker the flow of migration will be. Accordingly, we hypothesize an inverse relationship between distance and the propensity of migration (variable DIST).

Lastly, we would like to include, in line with the Harris-Todaro model, the rural-urban differences in expected earnings (variable EXPEAR) as one of the strong driving forces behind the process of migratory flows. This will allow us to observe if the Harris-Todaro proposition holds good and whether the criticism cited against the Harris-Todaro premise is valid in the context of a developing country like Bangladesh. We postulate a positive sign for the variable EXPEAR.

The above set of factors, we predict, simultaneously determine the dependent variable which is the probability associated with the act of migration.³² The dependent variable, which is the probability of migration, has been conceptualized in the following manner:

Imagine that there are 10 principal migrants interviewed, who hail from a particular district. Consider 5 of these 10 migrant households to migrate at a time. If the total adult members of these 5 households are 50, and 20 of these adult members have migrated to the town, the $20/50=0.4$ is the probability of migration for each of these 5 principal migrants. Considering 5 of the migrants at a time rather than 10 at a time will generate better variation of observations across migrating individuals.

3.2 Specification of the Probit Model for Reverse Migration

While this study attempts to unveil the factors that motivate rural-urban migration, its point of emphasis is rather on the question of reverse migration. Especially we intend to discover the rationale behind the process of reverse migration and to identify factors that will be relevant for initiating that process. With that in mind, we proceed to formulate an estimable econometric probit model that attempts to relate the probability of reverse migration (the dependent factor) to a host of variables associated with the process of reverse migration. A probit specification is chosen, which implies a normal cumulative probability density function for the critical value function.³³ The characteristics and assumptions for a binary

³² We have chosen to estimate a multiple regression model rather than any binary choice or limited dependent variable model (e.g., a probit specification) on the incidence of rural to urban migration. The reason for this is that the migrants who had been interviewed for this study are already city dwellers. For them the choice is not whether they would decide to migrate to the city or not because they are already migrants. In other words, if the interviewees were the prospective would-be migrants still residing in the village, as the case would be in an out-migration study, a binary choice specification would have been more appropriate. Since that is not the case, we rather think a multiple regression specification is more appropriate for an in-migration study like the present one.

³³ The use of probit model for our purpose has been inspired by some other studies that deal with the question of migration (e.g. R. E. Bilsborow *et al.* "The Impact of Origin Community Characteristics on Rural-Urban Out-migration in a Developing Country," *Demography* vol. 24, No. 22, May 1987.

probit are well known and can be seen in Judge et al , Maddala , Gujrati .³⁴

Before we specify the regressors, we, at first, would discuss how we can obtain an estimate of the probability of return migration. We believe there are such factors, the presence or absence of which has visible and very definite impact on the proposition of a migrant for reverse migration. What are such factors? Listed below are a number of characteristics that are closely associated with the process of return migration:

Characteristic 1: A migrant earning low income in the city may well think about going back to the place he migrated from. The question is how much low his income should be, which would make him less interested in living in the city or which would induce a probable reverse migration. We set a dividing income level at Tk. 1500, below which we consider the tendency for reverse migration to grow stronger. We attach a probability weight of 0.20 for a migrant who has less than Tk. 1500 as his monthly income.

Characteristics 2: The next characteristic that could be strongly related to the decision for reverse migration is the length of duration by the migrant in the city. We assume that the longer a migrant has resided in the city, the less likely it is that he will go back to the village, and vice versa. We set the dividing line at 2 years and predict that for a person staying less than 2 years in the city the probability of reverse migration will be higher. We attach a probability of reverse migration of 0.15 for a migrant who has been in city for less than 2 years.

Characteristic 3: A migrant who has left behind his wife (if married) and children in the village is likely to experience a stronger urge for reverse migration. We attach a probability of 0.25 for such a person.

Characteristic 4: A migrant who is not getting the expected wage in his job in the city may decide to return to the village. We attach a probability of 0.20 for such a migrant.

Characteristic 5: A migrant who frequently visits his village home may find a stronger urge to go back to the village in future than a person whose visits to his village are few and less frequent. We attach a probability of 0.10 for reverse migration for a person who makes at least 6 visits in a year to his village home.

³⁴G. G. Judge, W.E. Griffiths, R.C. Hill, and T.C. Lee, The Theory and Practice of Econometrics, New York, Wiley, 1980; G.S. Maddala, Limited Dependent and Qualitative Variables in Econometrics, Cambridge, U.K., Cambridge University Press, 1983; D.N. Gujrati, Basic Econometrics, McGraw-Hill, 1988.

Characteristic 6: A migrant, whose children are not going to school in the city, may have a stronger reason for reverse migration than one whose kids are attending city schools. We attach a probability of 0.10 for reverse migration for such a migrant.

3.2.1 Selection of the independent factors:

With the probit specification in mind we relate the probability of reverse migration of a migrant to the following list of factors, which, like the out-migration function discussed above, belong to the diverse economic and non-economic characteristics pertaining to the migrant and to the place of origin and destination.

A migrant's decision to go back to the place of origin is likely to be affected by the level of current expected earnings had he remained there for the length of the period of migration. A higher expected earning should be one motivation for him to return to the place of origin. Accordingly, we include the variable EXPEAR, which is expected to have a positive sign.

We would also like to include factors representing the psychic costs associated with the process of migration. Leaving familiar surroundings, family, and friends constitutes a psychic cost for the migrant who may decide to return to village if he evaluates such psychic cost to be substantial. The question is how to proxy for such psychic costs which obviously are difficult to measure. One proxy can be to use the frequency of the migrant's visit to his village for meeting the members of family, relatives and friends. It can be hypothesized that the more frequently a migrant visits his family, the more probably he evaluates his psychic costs to be higher, and vice versa. We have this factor, VISIT, the expected sign of which is positive.

As understood from our discussion in Chapter 2, educational qualification may significantly influence the process of migration. We predict that the relatively more educated people will get higher status jobs, including jobs in the formal sector. This, therefore, implies that the decision for reverse migration and the level of education (in terms of years of schooling) will be inversely related (variable EDUC).

For a migrant coming to the city and looking for jobs may prove either hard or easy depending on a number of factors. It is, however, understandable that for a migrant who is still looking for a job but has not yet been successful in getting one, has a higher probability of deciding to return to the village. We predict that for such a migrant, the length of period he is searching for job in the city and the probability of return migration will be positively related. We include the variable TIME to incorporate this idea into the model specification.

It is likely to be the case that if new job opportunities opened up in the village after a villager had migrated to the town, he may estimate the costs and benefits of living in the city and compare these with those of living in his former rural environment where job prospects, which hitherto were worse, are much better now. It may motivate him to get back to the place of origin if the perceived benefits of returning there are worth considering. We include the dummy variable NEWJOB, which assumes a value of 1 if new job opportunities have now shown up in the village locality, or 0 if nothing new in the way of employment generation has taken place. We expect the new job opportunities in villages and the probability of return migration to be positively correlated.

If a migrant considers various urban factors like less purdah, more entertainment opportunities etc. attractive, his propensity for reverse migration would be rather low. An inverse relationship between the two is thus indicated. We include the variable FACTATT, which has a value of 0 if such is the case for the migrant, and a value of 1 if those factors are not considered attractive.

In a similar vein, we imagine that a migrant, who detests various factors in city life like environmental pollution, congestion, lawlessness etc., may feel a strong urge for going back to the rural place of origin where he can breathe in fresher air and sleep in an undisturbed surrounding. We use the variable REPELL which has a value of 1 if the urban repelling factors are detested by the migrant, and 0 if he compromises living in that bitter environment. The variable is expected to be positively related with the probability of return migration.

Next we ask ourselves what implications it bears for the possibility of reverse migration if the children of a migrant are attending or not attending school. It seems reasonable that for a migrant, whose children are attending schools, the urge for reverse migration will be much less than another migrant whose children are not attending any educational institution. Accordingly, we incorporate the variable KIDEDU, which assumes a value of 0 if the children are attending schools, and 1 if not. The expected sign is negative.

A factor indicating the ratio of per capita educational expense to income can be assumed to directly affect the probability of reverse migration. If the ratio is high, the migrant may find it undesirable and therefore may feel a greater urge to go back to the place of origin. We call this factor EDEXP, which is the ratio of per capita educational expenditure to per capita income of the migrant household.

If a migrant experiences a loss of potential income during the period of job search in the city, he may ponder over the cost of such job search in terms of the incomes foregone that he

otherwise could earn if he rather stayed in the village. He may consider the cost of such job search unaffordable and feel that he could earn more, had he not left the village. This opportunity cost (OPPCOST), if high, may push him back to the village. In other words, a positive relationship is predicted to exist between the probability of return migration and the amount of the opportunity cost defined in the manner described above.

Next, we want to focus attention on the point that various development activities initiated by both government and non-government organizations can create an environment conducive to employment generation and income expansion in the village. Activities like development of infrastructure, establishment of agro-based industries, reduction of environmental pollution, availability of micro-credit and financing, implementing tax policy favourable to agricultural development etc., can bring real change in the rural areas, leading to better living condition as well as enhanced job prospects. We hypothesize that if the above areas received priorities in the development efforts of both government and non-governmental institutions, the probabilities of return migration will visibly increase. We introduce the variable DEVACT, which assumes a value of 1 if the above activities were undertaken in the village of the migrant, and 0 if not. The variable will be expected to appear with a positive sign.

One of the many facets of urban life is the high frequency of accidents of diverse nature. The migrant most probably will encounter such unforeseen adversities and must be facing loss in financial as well as in non-financial terms. The imputed value of such loss is likely to be positively related to the probability of return migration, i.e., the higher the imputed value of loss (in Taka) due to accidents met in the city is, the higher the probability of return migration will be. This idea is captured by introducing the variable, LOSS, and a positive relationship with the dependent variable is predicted for the factor.

It is pertinent to know if the migrant could get a job that is in line with his educational attainments. If he did not get a job commensurate with his capabilities or training, he might decide to return to his place of origin. We will use a dummy factor JOBEDU (which takes a value of 0 if he got a job in line with his educational background, and 1 if otherwise) to indicate the above idea. A positive sign is predicted for the variable.

It is to be mentioned here that because of the insufficiency of observations, our hypotheses relating to some of the variables such as NEWJOB, REPELL and EDEXP could not be statistically tested, but the data and information gathered from our survey indicate that these variables may significantly influence the migrants' decision to re-migrate to their place of origin.

3.3 Estimated Results of the Econometric Models

In sections 3.1 and 3.2 of this chapter we formulated an estimable linear regression econometric model on the process of rural to urban migration as well as a probit binary choice model on the phenomenon of reverse migration to the village by the urban migrants. While due to insufficiency of observations it was not possible to test a number of those hypotheses, we present below the results for a portion of these predicted propositions.

3.3.1 Multiple Regression Model for Rural-Urban Migration

Results of the estimation of the multiple linear regression model on the rural to urban migration can be seen in Table 3.1. The explanatory variables of the model were explained in section 3.1 of this chapter. As can be seen in the table, the variables 'SEX', 'MARR', 'SIZE' and 'EDUC1' are not statistically significant, while variables 'EXPEAR', 'EDUC2', 'PRIOR', 'PCLAND', 'DIST', 'NOELEC', 'AGE2' and 'AGE1' are significant at 1 per cent level.

The variable 'EXPEAR' is statistically significant, but it appears with a wrong sign, which rejects the Harris-Todaro hypothesis that the rural-urban difference in expected earnings is one of the strong driving forces behind the process of migratory flows in Bangladesh. The result, although surprising, is in line with the findings of several econometric studies, which demonstrate that rural-urban migration is perfectly rational, even if expected urban income is lower than rural income. A small chance of reaping a high reward is sufficient to trigger rural-urban migration.³⁵ In fact, the relative deprivation in rural locations of Bangladesh might have been so acute that the villagers have found it worthwhile to leave the village, no matter what the expected income in the cities could be. Also, migration in Bangladesh could have been motivated by not merely economic reasons but by several social and other factors as well.

³⁵ See, for example, Oded Stark and David E. Bloom, "The New Economics of Labour Migration," American Economic Review, May 1985.

Table 3.1: Determinant Variables of Rural –Urban Migration

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Households</i>	
	<i>Regression Coefficient</i>	<i>t-value</i>
1. Differences of expected earnings (EXPEAR)	-3.37920 ⁻⁰⁸	-0.300*
2. Average years of School attendance of the associated migrant members (EDUC2)	0.012989	1.423*
3. Sex of the principal migrant (SEX)	-0.122631	-2.595
4. Information provided by the prior migrants (PRIOR) (Dummy 1 if the migrant influenced by others, 0 otherwise)	-0.051940	-0.981*
5. Per capita land owned, decimals (PCLAND)	1.729387 ⁻⁰⁴	0.765*
6. Distance of the village from the migrated town (DIST)	-2.96832 ⁻⁰⁴	-1.063*
7. Access to amenities (NOELEC: per cent of households without electricity)	2.599231 ⁻⁰⁴	0.631*
8. Marital status of the principal migrant (MARR, Dummy 1 if married, 0 otherwise)	0.185907	5.430
9. Size of the family of the migrants (SIZE)	-0.046879	-6.245
10. Average age of the associated migrants (AGE2)	0.002865	1.630*
11. Average age of the principal migrant (AGE1)	-0.003437	-1.749*
12. Average years of schooling of the principal migrant (EDUC1)	-0.020452	-4.356
Constant	1.080666	-
R ²	0.21	-
F	11.04	-

* Significant at 1 per cent level

It needs to be mentioned, however, that the magnitude of the regression coefficient of the variable EXPEAR has turned out to be small, not very different from zero, indicating that the variable has not been of much importance in influencing migration decisions in Bangladesh.

The variable PRIOR (information provided by the prior migrants) is statistically significant but has appeared with a wrong sign. This is difficult to explain, however. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents in our survey reported to have obtained jobs with the help of past migrants that happened to be their relatives and neighbours (see Table 4.8 in Chapter 4 below).

Other variables, which are statistically significant and which also appear with the expected signs, are (1) the average number of years of schooling by members of the migrant household (EDUC2), (2) per capita land owned (PCLAND), (3) distance of the village from the towns (DIST), (4) per cent of household without electricity (NOELEC), (5) average age of the principal migrant (AGE1), and average age of the associated migrants (AGE2). Among these six variables, the magnitude of the coefficients of PCLAND, DIST and NOELEC is

very small, which indicates that these variables did have little influence on the decision to migrate.

The average age of the members of the migrant household (AGE2) is expected to be positively associated with the decision to migrate, which is also proved in our study. Likewise, the age of the principal migrant (AGE2) negatively affects the decision to migrate. These results support Krishnan and Rowe's (1978) findings on the same parameters. Presumably, age reduces a person's propensity to migrate. While the more adult members are there in the household, the bigger is the probability that the principal wage earner in that household will decide to migrate to the town.

An unusual result of our regression analysis is that the variables SEX and EDUC1 are statistically not significant and also that these appeared with wrong signs. The negative sign of the variable EDUC1 indicates that the greater the average number of years the principal migrant spent in school, the lesser it is likely that he will migrate to the city. We, however, argued contrarily that the more educated a person is, the stronger will be his motivation for moving to the city, where there exist jobs that conform to his educational orientation. The negative sign of the variable as well as its weak statistical association with the dependent variable indicates that for the principal migrant there may be many other factors, which may influence his decision for migration to the city, and those factors may be more important to him.

The negative sign of the variable SEX in our equation rejects the hypothesis that it is the males who out-migrate from village in greater number than the females. However, this variable is statistically not significant, implying that its association with the propensity to migrate is not very strong.

Variables MARR and SIZE appear with the correct signs but these are statistically not significant. The hypothesis that the marital status of the principal migrant has a strong influence on the decision to migrate is therefore not borne out by our regression analysis. Variable MARR in our equation is not statistically significant.

Likewise, although an inverse relationship, as predicted, is observed between the size of family and the propensity for migration, the relationship is difficult to explain, because the variable SIZE is not statistically significant in our equation. It might, however, be that for a bigger family the act of migration may prove to be harder and the cost of migration larger than for the smaller families.

3.3.2 The Probit Model for Reverse Migration: Estimated Results

The estimated results of the Probit Model on reverse migration can be seen in Table 3.2. Only four of the variables appeared statistically significant, which are discussed below:

A significant t ratio can be observed for the variable *JOBEDU*, which reports whether the migrant could get a job in the city in line with his educational background. The hypothesis that if a migrant does not get a job that meets his prospect, then he will not want to go back to the village, is borne out. Such migrants seem to have a strong tendency to return to the village as is indicated by a significantly positive coefficient of the said variable.

The next variable under observation is *DEVACT* that brings out the information on the efforts of government to increase industrial setups in the rural areas. We hypothesized that such governmental efforts would encourage people to return to village. The coefficient is strongly significant and positive thus supporting the contention that the process of initiating reverse migration entails, among others, generating such prospects as creation of more economic opportunities in the rural areas.

The hypothesis that more frequent visits on the part of a migrant may indicate a greater possibility for reverse migration is not borne out. A highly significant and negative coefficient on the variable *VISIT* implies the opposite tendency that more frequent visits lead to lesser possibility for reverse migration. It seems that persons who can make more visits to the village, meeting more frequently friends, relatives or the members of the households, than those whose visits to their village homes are less frequent, are also probably financially more capable and stable, as visits to the place of origin entail expenses on travels, necessary shopping for members of the family, and even gifts for friends and relatives. These factors, consequently, may make it less imperative for them to return to the village with which he has been able to establish a close link through repeated visits.

Also, it may be the case that the migrants, who are frequent visitors to the village, will find it more convenient to leave the family in the village and be willing to endure the strains of visits to the village and live alone in the city, without the company of the members of his family.

Table 3.2 : Results of Probit Analysis of Reverse Migration

Model 1: Dependent Variable CHAR1: Migrants whose earnings are less than Tk. 1500
Independent Variables JOBEDU : Job obtained in line with Educational and training background

	Regression Coeff.	Standard Error	Coeff./S.E.	
CHAR1	1.95152	.49370	3.95281	
	Intercept	Standard Error	Intercept/S.E.	JOBEDU
	.18240	1.20739	.15107	0
	-.29185	1.09785	-.26583	1

Pearson Goodness-of-Fit Chi Square = 29.437 DF = 11 P = .002

Since Goodness-of-Fit Chi square is significant, a heterogeneity factor is used in the calculation of confidence limits.

Model 2: Dependent Variable CHAR1: Migrants whose earnings are less than Tk. 1500
Independent Variable DEVACT = Government efforts in increasing rural industries

	Regression Coeff.	Standard Error	Coeff./S.E.	
CHAR1	.30214	.07935	3.80747	
	Intercept	Standard Error	Intercept/S.E.	DEVACT
	1.27835	.20163	6.33992	0
	1.54093	.18928	8.14105	1

Pearson Goodness-of-Fit Chi Square = 1310.306 DF = 35 P = .000

Since Goodness-of-Fit Chi square is significant, a heterogeneity factor is used in the calculation of confidence limits.

Model 3: Dependent Variable CHAR1: Migrants whose earnings are less than Tk.1500
Independent Variable VISIT = Frequent visit to the family

	Regression Coeff.	Standard Error	Coeff./S.E.	
CHAR1	-.68996	.15380	-4.48595	
	Intercept	Standard Error	Intercept/S.E.	VISIT
	3.92016	.36907	10.62171	To meet with family
	3.48187	.40189	8.66368	To look after own property

Pearson Goodness-of-Fit Chi Square = 1297.902 DF = 31 P = .000

Since Goodness-of-Fit Chi square is significant, a heterogeneity factor is used in the calculation of confidence limits.

Model 4: Dependent Variable CHAR1: Migrants whose earnings are less than Tk. 1500
Independent Variable KIDEDU= Kids of the migrant attending school

	Regression Coeff.	Standard Error	Coeff./S.E.	
CHAR1	2.84004	.42374	6.70236	
	Intercept	Standard Error	Intercept/S.E.	KIDEDU
	-2.01714	.98956	-2.03843	0
	-2.84734	1.08870	-2.61534	1

Pearson Goodness-of-Fit Chi Square = 27.208 DF = 11 P = .004

Since Goodness-of-Fit Chi square is significant, a heterogeneity factor is used in the calculation of confidence limits.

In section 3.2 of this chapter, we hypothesized that those migrants that have children attending schools in the city will feel a lesser urge to return to the village than those whose children do not attend schools. This hypothesis finds support as can be seen from a

significantly positive coefficient of variable 'KIDEDU'. It appears that the education of children is of prime importance to the migrants whose demand for better education can only be met in an urban setting. It will be reasonable to say that the preconditions for initiating a process of reverse migration must include creation of better educational opportunities in the rural areas.

3.3.3 Multiple Regression for Reverse Migration

We have tried to estimate the equation for reverse migration by including all the important independent variables discussed in section 3.2 above. The multiple regression exercise has not, however, produced satisfactory results. The parameters and their coefficients are reported in Table 3.3.

Only two variables, viz., frequent visits to the family (VISIT) and the migrants' educational level (EDUC), are significant at 1 per cent level and have appeared with the right sign. The negative sign of the variable EDUC confirms our hypothesis that the decision for reverse migration and the migrant's educational level (in terms of years of schooling) are inversely related.

The variable VISIT appears with a positive sign in the multiple regression exercise, which is in line with our hypothesis that more frequent visits to family increase the possibility of reverse migration. This is, however, opposite to the result of our probit analysis, reported in the previous section, in which the variable VISIT appeared with a negative sign, indicating an inverse relation between this variable and reverse migration. The opposite directional movement of the same variable in two exercises is difficult to explain. Perhaps the inclusion of several other variables in the multiple regression exercise has influenced the result.

Table 3.3: Multiple Regression of Determinant Variables of Reverse Migration

<i>Variable</i>	<i>All Households</i>	
	<i>Regression Coefficient</i>	<i>t-value</i>
1. Migrants earning less than Tk.1500/month (CHAR1)	-1.92588 ⁻⁰⁴	-0.347
2. Leng	-0.17952	-0.395
3. th of stay in city (CHAR2)		
3. Migrant who visits village 6 times per year (CHAR5)	0.11578	2.211**
4 Frequently visit family (VISIT)	0.11334	4.965*
5. Migrants educational level (EDUC)	-0.02329	-5.428*
6. Job searching period in the past (TIME)	-4.6145 ⁻⁰⁴	-0.219
7. Difference of expected earning (EXPEAR)	1.5445 ⁻⁰⁷	1.300
8. Facilities in the town attractive (FACTATT)	-0.10753	-1.525***
9. Kids of the migrants attending school in the town (KIDEDU)	-0.03572	-0.607
10. Loss of potential income during job search (OPPCOST)	4.58812 ⁻⁰⁶	1.906**
11. Financially loser due to accident in town (LOSS)	5.7702 ⁻⁰⁶	1.293
Constant	0.59042	-
R ²	0.14	-
F	6.59	-

* Significant at 1 per cent level

** Significant at 5 per cent level

*** Significant at 10 per cent level

Among other variables, EXPEAR, FACTATT, KIDEDU, OPPCOST, and LOSS appear with the right signs. Only the variable TIME appears with a wrong sign. None of these variables are, however, statistically significant, and hence we do not discuss them here.

Chapter 4

Survey Findings on Rural-urban and Reverse Migration

The purpose of the present study is basically to examine the nature, extent, causes, and consequences of rural-urban migration, identify the relevant factors that promote migration, and assess the impact of economic and demographic policies on the decision to migrate. In particular, the study is intended to examine the rationale of a process of reverse migration and suggest policy options to harness the process as an instrument for development and for efficient human resource mobilization.

This chapter addresses the study objectives on the basis of the findings of our survey. First, we attempt to identify the principal factors that play instrumental roles in initiating and accelerating the process of migration and then highlight the poverty situation of migrants before and after migration. This is followed by an analysis of policies that will be required to induce reverse migration, especially in terms of their impact on the reduction of poverty and promotion of economic growth.

4.1 Motives for Migration

In order to get an idea about the nature and causes of migration, a variety of probable reasons behind migration were cited before the interviewee migrants. These reasons are: (1) no scope of job in the village, (2) to enhance income in the city, (3) for better education of children, (4) for purpose of getting higher/technical education, (5) for avoiding various social problems like prejudice, fanaticism, political chaos, dominating village elders etc., (6) infrastructural inconvenience (lack of gas, electricity, water), (7) dearth of entertainment opportunities in the village, (8) various natural catastrophies like flood, draught, river erosion etc., and (9) for getting better health facilities in the city.

The responses reveal that the process of rural-urban migration is strongly influenced by the incidence of push factors, of which the most important one is the absence of jobs in the village, and pull factors like the prospect for earning higher income in the cities. More than 75per cent of the respondents have cited the absence of job in the village as the principal reason for migrating to the urban areas (Table 4.1). The finding lends partial support for the Todaro-Harris thesis that relates the process of migration to the probability of getting job in the urban areas, coupled with the existence of higher wages, particularly the rural-urban difference in expected earning.

Table 4.1: Factors encouraging migration and dissuading reverse migration

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Encourages migration (per cent of respondents)</i>	<i>Dissuades reverse migration (per cent of respondents)</i>
No scope of job in village	78.8	76.3
Lower income in village than town	44.8	29.0
For higher/ technical education	8.0	5.3
To lead better life in town	4.2	13.5
Others	18.1	27.1
Total	100.0	100.0

To further confirm the respondent's view about the process of migration, a related question similar to the above was asked to elicit information on why a migrant, should he intend not to go back to the village, would stick to the city. The responses, again, are basically the same as the ones found with respect to the question on the causes behind rural to urban migration. Bulk of the respondents (76.3per cent) cited limited job opportunities in the village as the prime obstacle to return there. As many as 29per cent of the respondents cited lower income in the village than in town, while 13.5per cent of the respondents expressed their intention to lead a better life, as the motivation for staying back in the city (Table 4.1).

Before we embark on a discussion of the economic status of the respondents before and after migration, we may look at the educational profile of the migrants. Table 4.2 reveals that it is mostly those who are at the lower level of the educational attainment that have moved to the city. More than two thirds (67.7per cent) of the respondents fall into the lowest 4 categories as per educational attainment, of which the highest educational level indicates an incomplete secondary educational status. The proportions of respondents falling into categories of 'complete higher secondary level', 'incomplete university education', and 'complete university education' are, respectively, 6.2per cent, 8.8per cent, and 7.0per cent. It appears on the surface that people with lower educational background are under strong pressure to migrate than the more educated ones. This observation may, however, be less convincing because of the reason that a bigger segment of rural population have very low educational attainments and consequently this finds reflection in the size of migrant population in the city.

Table 4.2: Educational Status of the Principal Migrants

<i>Type of Education</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
No education	128	25.5
Incomplete primary education	49	9.8
Complete primary education	66	13.2
Incomplete secondary education	96	19.2
Complete secondary education	44	8.8
Incomplete higher secondary education	8	1.6
Complete higher secondary education	31	6.2
Incomplete university education	44	8.8
Complete university education	35	7.0
Total	501	100.0

4.2 Before and After Migration Poverty Situation

One of the objectives of the present study is to discern and understand the pattern of economic circumstances of the respondents before and after migration. This will help identify factors that are likely to be vital in initiating the process of reverse migration. If the economic benefits reaped by a migrant after migration to urban area can be generated in the rural setting, this will add to the motivation of the migrant to go back to the village. Accordingly, we try to analyze some of the economic parameters pertaining to a migrant, as they relate to the periods before and after his migration.

Consider first the data on monthly educational expenditure per child before and after migration (Table 4.3). From the table we see that while the proportion of households spending (a) less than Tk.25 and (b) between Tk.25 and 50 has fallen after migration, the proportion of households spending above Tk.50 per child is greater after migration (78.3 per cent, compared to 68.6per cent before migration).

Table 4.3: Monthly expenditure per child before and after migration

<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Less than Tk.25	12.8	9.7
Tk.25-50	18.6	11.9
Over Tk.50	68.6	78.3
Total	100.0	100.0

The occupational characteristics of the migrants before and after migration and also their preferred occupation, should they return to the village, provide some interesting results (Table 4.4). Farming, while it is a less preferred occupation after migration, appears, for

understandable reasons, to be the intended occupation of the largest number of return migrants. This leads to an important conclusion: In order to absorb more return migrants, it will be important to ensure the expansion of labor absorption capacity within the farming sector. This can be achieved by providing people with easy access to finance, agricultural inputs (fertilizer, pesticides, insecticides, etc.) and such other facilities that can enable the landless to own land and encourage the landed gentry for an expansion of farming activities, thus facilitating enhanced absorption of work force within the farming sector.

Table 4.4: Occupation of Returnees Before, During and After Reverse Migration

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Before Migration</i>		<i>After Migration</i>		<i>After reverse Migration</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>per cent</i>
Farmer	67	24.20	20	7.17	77	30.68
Weaver	4	1.45	-		2	0.80
Day Labourer	1	0.40	5	1.79	4	1.59
Petty Business	22	7.97	6	2.15	19	7.57
Mason/ Helper	14	5.07	13	4.66	33	13.15
Teacher	5	1.81	7	2.51	14	5.58
Pisciculture	1	0.40	3	1.08	2	0.80
Student	6	1.81	1	0.4	4	1.59
Unemployed	48	17.39	11	3.94	51	20.32
Garments Worker	64	23.19	119	42.65	31	12.35
Household Work	39	14.13	72	25.81	7	2.79
Service	1	0.40	6	2.15	-	
Cart Driver	2	0.72	5	1.79	-	
Blacksmith	2	0.72	7	2.51	-	
Potter	-		2	0.72	-	
Business	-		2	0.72	3	1.20
Carpenter	-		-		2	0.80
Boatmen	-		-		2	0.80
Total	276	100.00	279	100.00	251	100.00

A sizable proportion of the people that were listed as ‘unemployed’ before migration, however, tend to perceive to remain so after reverse migration. Perception like this probably grows out of a feeling that economic circumstances in the village are not going to be any better as the migrants make their way back home so that they would face the same situation in which they found themselves before they migrated to the city.

The proportion of garment workers is higher after migration than before migration, but it plummets after re-migration (23.19 per cent before migration, 42.65 per cent after migration, and 12.35 per cent after re-migration). Presumably, less opportunity exists for a villager to work as a garment worker, as most of the garment factories are located in and around the big cities.

Some sizable portion of the probable would-be re-migrants cited masonry/ helper as their intended occupation (13.15per cent). It appears that expansion of such job opportunities may be likely to motivate some migrants to return to the village.

The proportion of household workers, while it increases considerably after migration (from 14.13per cent to 25.81per cent), decreases to almost an insignificant level (2.79per cent) after reverse migration. It is not clear why the would-be re-migrants would detest accepting household work as an occupation. Probably exposure to the diverse jobs available in the city (e.g., working in the garment factories) makes the migrant indignant to work as a household worker where social prestige as well as economic benefits are probably lower than in other jobs.

In table 4.5, we summarize the findings on how the economic condition of the village has been affected by the exodus of people through migration. The largest number of respondents (14.37per cent) expressed that the process of migration has led to a reduction of the able-bodied population of the village.

Table 4.5: Impact of migration on the economic condition of the village: the Respondents' views

<i>Views</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>per cent</i>
Reduction of Able bodied people in the Village	72	14.37
Reduction of skilled people in the Village	27	5.38
Village Development Process Hampered	13	2.59
Deterioration of the Quality of Education	23	4.59
Law and Order Situation Deteriorated	4	1.00
No Adverse Effect	398	79.4
Total	501	100.00

The accessibility to micro-credit of the population is an important parameter in analyzing the situation of poverty in both urban and rural communities. The opinion of the respondents regarding availability of micro-credit suggests an insufficiency of such credits both in the before and after migration phases. Opinions of 88.4 per cent of the respondents attest to this conclusion for the before-migration period, while for the after-migration period, 78.8 per cent of respondents expressed similar opinion (App. Table 1).

Information on the sources of credits for the surveyed population before and after migration can be seen in App. Table 2, which reveals the predominant role of the non-governmental organizations in disbursing credit both in rural and urban areas. For the before-

migration period, about 64 per cent of the respondents cited NGOs as the major source of credit, while about 45 per cent of them cited government-initiated credit programmes as the source of credit. In the after-migration period, the governmental source of credit is mentioned by almost the same proportion of respondents. The major difference, however, is in the large proportion (88.22 per cent) of respondents identifying NGOs as the biggest source of credit availability. These findings point out the important role played by the non-governmental groups in Bangladesh in reaching the doorsteps of the poorest section of the population and at the same time, supplementing the efforts of the Government in the alleviation of poverty.

If we look at the statistics on the occupation of the principal migrant before and after migration, we get an idea of the major occupational groups that migrated to the city (Table 4.6). A big proportion of the principal migrants belonged to one or the other of the three categories, namely day labourer (10 per cent), student (37.2 per cent), and unemployed (15.4 per cent). The migration by the day labourers and the unemployed indicates a dearth of job prospect in the rural setting, while the migration by the students probably signifies better schooling facilities existing in the urban locations.

Table 4.6: Occupation of principal migrants before and after migration

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
Housemaid	0.8	3.8
Rickshaw-puller	1.4	6.0
Sales Assistant	1.6	3.6
Guard	-	1.0
Day Labour	10.0	4.4
Driver	0.6	9.4
Teacher	2.0	1.6
Politician	0.2	-
Government Service	0.4	6.0
Non-Government Service	1.6	19.5
Businessman	6.2	8.0
Housewife	4.4	0.4
Student	37.2	0.8
Hawker	0.8	3.0
Unemployed	15.4	3.8
Weaver	7.2	12.2
Farmer	6.4	0.4
Garments Worker	0.2	3.8
Handicrafts Worker	0.2	0.4
Servant	0.2	-
Others	3.2	11.6
Total	100.0	100.0

It is of interest to see in Table 4.6 the major occupations in which the principal migrants got absorbed in the urban sector. It appears that non-government service, weaving, driving, business, governmental services, and rickshaw-pulling are the occupations that absorbed most

of the principal migrants. It can also be seen that the proportion of the unemployed among the principal migrants after migration (3.8per cent) is far less than that before migration (15.4per cent) which indicates the existence of bigger job opportunities in the city. Non-government service, it can be seen, is an important sector that is capable of absorbing a large proportion of workers (19.5per cent) thus corroborating again the importance of the non-governmental sector as a source of employment in this country.

The occupational mix of the members of the principal migrants' households can be seen in App. Table 3. While a large proportion of such members belongs to the unemployed group, even a much larger proportion of them are housewives and students. While after migration the proportion of the unemployed goes down, the proportions for housewives and students do not undergo any substantial change. Housewives basically remained attached to the homes, and students continued attending educational institutions in the cities after migration.

Income being an indicator of economic well-being plays an important role in understanding the poverty situation prevailing in any locality. We have attempted to draw information on:

- i) the total monthly income of the principal migrant before and after migration, and also
- ii) per capita income of the migrant household both before and after migration (Table 4.7).

This unfolds profiles of migrants and migrant households whose income after migration increased substantially for both the principal migrant and each member of the migrant household. The mean monthly income of the principal migrant before migration was Tk.1492. This jumped to Tk.2749 after migration. The mean of per capita monthly income of the migrant household before migration was Tk.670. This increased to Tk.1100 after migration. In terms of money income, thus, migration amply rewarded the migrant people. The question is: how, in real terms, migration has benefited the people? We will come to that question presently.

Table 4.7: Average Monthly income of the principal migrant and per capita income of migrant households

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Migrant Income</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Household's per capita income</i>	<i>Range</i>
Before migration	1492	100-8000	670	60-6667
After migration	2749	50-25000	1100	86-13833
After Re-migration	2180	200-4000	-	-

One of the questions the respondents were asked was whether they got a job in the city commensurate with their educational qualification or training. About three-fourths of the

respondents answered in the positive (App. Table 4). We may interpret this as a sign of diversified job opportunities available in the city.

Several other questions were asked to the migrants in relation to their job search in the city. These are:

- a) How did the migrant obtain the job? (e.g., own initiative?)
- b) How hard was it to find the job before and after migration?
- c) If unemployed, how long has a migrant been searching for a job and how longer will he continue to search for a job?
- d) If job cannot be obtained by this period, what will he do?

A large proportion of the migrants (49.3per cent) mentioned about the relatives helping them most to find jobs (Table 4.8). Another large proportion (32.6per cent) claimed that they got jobs on their own initiative. It is interesting to note that very few people mentioned newspaper advertisements as the source of job information. It seems that migrants mostly pursued more informal paths in seeking jobs than following more formal paths of applying for jobs advertised in the media.

Job search before migration was not easy. This can be observed in Table 4.9. While about 35per cent of the respondents considered the task easy, about 53per cent of them considered it either relatively difficult or very difficult. This, of course, is an indicator of why they wanted to migrate in the first place.

Table 4.8: Means of getting job after migration to city

<i>Response</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Own initiative	137	32.6
Through Institutions	3	0.7
Newspaper advertisement	9	2.1
Relatives	207	49.3
Neighbour	59	14.0
Others	5	1.2
Total	420	100.0

Table 4.9: Relative ease or difficulty in getting job before and after migration: percentage of respondents

<i>Response</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Very easy	1.6	1.8
Easy	34.5	20.8
Neither easy nor difficult	9.7	10.7
Relatively difficult	20.1	17.3
Very difficult	32.6	48.8
Cannot say	1.4	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0

But, interestingly, job search proved to be difficult even after migration (Table 4.9). While about 21 per cent of the migrants found it easy to get jobs, about 66per cent thought it was rather difficult. This implies, among others, that for a new comer to the city the process of job search can be painful and very lengthy, which is further corroborated by the data on the length of time spent by those migrants who are still searching for jobs (App. Table 5).

People seem to be adamant in staying in the city as can be seen from the responses to the question that seeks answer on the length of time for which an unsuccessful (up till now) migrant will look for job in the city. An overwhelming proportion of the respondents desire to search for job for a very long time (5 years and over) (App. Table5). In fact, a large proportion (61 per cent) of our survey respondents (not tabulated here) indicated their desire to stay back in the city, even if they did not get any job.

About the probability ascribed by the migrants of getting job in the city at the time of migration, the responses were stronger for probability level beyond 0.5 (App. Table 6). This is most expected since a higher probability of getting work, as is described in the Harris-Todaro model, is one big factor that motivates rural to urban migration. About 53per cent of the respondents answered that they thought of roughly a probability between 0.5 and 0.75 of getting job in the city.

When asked about the basis of ascertaining the probability of getting work in city, bulk of the respondents (78per cent) mentioned prior migrants as the principal source of information on the job prospects in the city (App. Table 7). A much smaller but sizable proportion expressed no explicit reason for assigning the probability of getting work in the city (17.5per cent).

4.3 Remitting Behaviour of the Migrant

The survey indicates that about 60 per cent of the respondents remit money to the members of the family staying back in the village and/or to the near-relatives residing there (App. Table 8). The beneficiaries spend the remittances mostly on food and residential construction, repair and maintenance (App. Table 9). Obviously, meeting basic economic necessities is one of the major causes behind the migration of selected members of a household. The act of migration probably has contributed to the economic well-being of a section of the people to whom the migrant sends remittances. Especially, the remittances increase the gross income of the recipient villagers.

4.4 Household Expenditure Pattern:

The monthly household expenditure, too, like income, shows a marked increase after migration (Table 4.10). The mean monthly household expenditure rose from Tk.2738 before migration to Tk.3844 after migration. The breakup of expenditure into different expendable items/activities shows that expenditure for land purchase, for coping up with draught, for purchasing machinery, for household construction and maintenance, for land development, for excavating ponds etc. rose after migration. The only exception is the expenditure on sanitation, which went down after migration. This indicates that better sanitation available in the city made it possible to expend less on sanitation.

Table 4.10: Monthly Household Expenditure before and after Migration

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>
Before migration	2738	300	15000
After migration	3844	200	60000
After re-migration	2233	700	3000
In village for land purchase	44500	1500	300000
In town for land purchase	76250	4000	500000
In village for machinery purchase	1075	100	2000
In town for machinery purchase	7835	500	60000
In village for house construction	33302	400	600000
In town for house building	114243	1000	6000000
In village for pond excavation	8500	1000	20000
In town for excavation	33750	5000	85000
In village for land development	8689	500	20000
In town for land development	14550	700	60000
In village for sanitation	5024	500	20000
In town for sanitation	3772	200	20000

We have also compared the kind of prestige goods in the possession of migrants before and after migration. The prestige goods, for purpose of this study, include radio, TV, video, freezer, tape recorder, camera, wrist-watch, bicycle, motorcycle, and gold. Table 4.11 shows the mean market value of each of the items and also the number of households that possessed any of these items. It can be seen in the table that all items, except radios, were owned by a large number of households after migration, and the mean market value of each of the items is also higher after migration. This indicates that the migrants came to possess better items after migration than what they had possessed before migration.

Table 4.11: Mean market value of prestige goods in possession of an average migrant before and after migration

<i>Item</i>	<i>Before migration</i>		<i>After migration</i>	
	<i>Value (Tk)</i>	<i>No. of Household</i>	<i>Value (Tk)</i>	<i>No. of Household</i>
Radio	535	161	721	160
TV, Video, Fridge	8564	42	10927	119
Tape Recorder	4264	67	4143	144
Camera	2405	20	2809	46
Wrist watch	1227	215	1423	303
Bi-cycle	2623	72	2971	70
Motorcycle	33750	4	29000	7
Gold	15184	134	19790	173

4.5 Health and Nutrition

Information on health and nutrition of the migrant household before and after migration was obtained by asking questions about the sources of drinking water, sources of water for cooking, whether or not boiled water was used in the household, source of water for bathing, types of latrines used, place and type of medical treatment received, quality of health facilities available, etc.

It can be seen in Table 4.12 that almost all households before migration used tube-wells as the source of potable water (about 90per cent). This picture alters after migration when 66.7per cent of households still relied on tube-well water while about 31per cent relied on water supplied by the Water and Sewerage Authority.

Table 4.12: Sources of drinking water before and after migration: per cent of migrants

<i>Sources of Water</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Pond water	4.8	1.2
River water	2.0	0.6
Tube well water	90.0	66.7
Ditch water	2.4	0.8
Supply water (WASA)	0.8	30.7
Total	100.0	100.0

For cooking purposes, too, tube-well was the biggest source (59.9per cent) of water before migration, followed by pond water (31.5per cent) (Table 4.13). The after-migration picture of the same phenomenon changes somewhat when water for cooking comes not only from ponds (21.4per cent) and tube-wells (43.7per cent) but also from Water and Sewerage Authority (31.7per cent).

Table 4.13: Sources of water for cooking before and after migration: per cent of migrants

<i>Sources of Water</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Pond water	31.5	21.4
River water	5.6	2.8
Tube well water	59.9	43.7
Ditch water	2.4	0.4
Supply water (WASA)	0.6	31.7
Total	100.0	100.0

The major sources of water for bathing are ponds (48.2 per cent), rivers (12.4 per cent), and tube-wells (37.1per cent) before migration (Table 4.14). Interestingly, after migration, the use of canal water rises considerably while the use of pond and tube-well water drops relatively compared to the before migration situation.

Table 4.14: Sources of water for bathing before and after migration: per cent of migrants

<i>Sources of Water</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>Valid Per cent</i>
Pond water	48.2	34.3
River water	12.4	7.4
Tube well water	37.1	25.9
Ditch water	1.0	0.2
Canal water	0.8	0.6
Supply water (WASA)	0.4	31.5
Total	100.0	100.0

There is a small increase of the use of boiled water after the migration. While 95per cent of the households did not use boiled water before migration, the proportion of households using boiled water increased from 4.9per cent to a little over 14per cent after migration (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15: Use of boiled water before and after migration: per cent of migrants

<i>Yes/No</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>Valid (Per cent)</i>
Yes	4.9	14.1
No	95.1	85.9
Total	100.0	100.0

As can be expected, a large proportion of households before migration used ‘Katcha’ latrines (63.6per cent), which came down to 31.3per cent after migration. In contrast, the use of sanitary latrine rose from 31.4per cent before migration to 66.5per cent after migration. It can be said that sanitation as well as the use of the type of latrines improved significantly after migration (Table 4.16).

Table 4.16: Type of latrine used before and after migration: Per cent of respondents

<i>Types</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Sanitary latrine	31.4	66.5
Katcha latrine	63.6	31.3
Open pit	5.0	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0

The major provider of medical treatment/ services received by the respondents before migration was village doctors (59.6per cent), followed by physicians at the government clinic (25.3per cent). In the after migration period, the sources for such treatment seem to be more

varied. The non-government clinics (19.6per cent) and private doctors (16.4per cent), in addition to government clinics (31.3per cent) are important providers of health care (Table 4.17).

Table 4.17: Place and type of treatment before and after migration: per cent of respondents

<i>Place and type</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (per cent)</i>
Government clinic	25.3	31.3
Non-government clinic	4.4	19.6
Village doctor	59.6	31.7
Private doctor	6.8	16.4
Kabiraj	3.2	1.0
Ojha	0.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

The subjective evaluation by the respondents of the quality of health services received before and after migration reveals that while it was considered good by 12.9per cent of households before migration, 19.8per cent of the households considered it the same after migration (App. Table 10). Again, while 43.5per cent of households considered the quality of health services to be ‘not good’ before migration, this figure dropped to 28.9per cent after migration. As is understandable, these figures indicate that in the urban setting migrants receive better health care compared to the pre-migration situation.

4.6 Other Non-economic Characteristics

The interviewees were asked various questions about the many ‘non-economic’ characteristics pertaining to the place of origin and destination of migrants. Table 4.18 shows the responses to the question on the types of social customs existing before and after migration. About 47per cent of the respondents mentioned about the prevalence of child marriage; roughly 24per cent told about the purdah system; and about 13per cent mentioned about nasty village politics prevailing in the village before migration. The major social customs cited by the migrants after migration also happened to be child marriage (39.8per cent of the respondents), purdah system (24.9per cent) and village politics (19.1per cent). It seems that some of the major social customs found their roots not only in the villages but also in the urban areas within that section of the people who have migrated there. The other non-economic factors like conservatism, superstition, and law and order problems did not have any substantial impact on the lives of migrants either in pre- or post-migration periods.

The prevalence of the major customs namely child marriage, purdah, and lack of law and order both in the village and in the town, implies that social customs probably did not play

any major role in influencing the decision to migrate on the part of these respondents.

Table 4.18: Social Customs existing before and after migration: per cent of respondents

<i>Social Customs</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Child Marriage	47.5	39.8
Maltreatment of Matabbars	6.9	7.5
Purdah system	23.7	24.9
Conservative society	1.2	0.4
Different superstitions	1.6	1.9
Lack of law and order	4.7	5.0
Village politics	13.1	19.1
Others	1.2	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0

A question similar in nature but directed from a different angle went like this: what civil characteristics prevailing in the city appeared attractive to the migrants? The major characteristics cited by the responding migrants were: more recreational opportunities (25.1per cent), and improvement in economic condition (75.9per cent). Reduction of poverty appears to be one of the major goals of the migrants as can be verified by the above findings (Table 4.19).

Table 4.19: Urban characteristics that are appealing to migrants

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>No. of respondents</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
No strict purda system	25	5.0
More women liberty	48	9.6
More recreational facilities	125	25.1
Improved Economic condition	378	75.9
Others	31	6.2
Total	498	100.0

Among the urban characteristics that appear repelling to the migrants (Table 4.20), the predominant ones are overpopulation (56.1per cent cited this factor), polluted environment (cited by 55.1per cent of the respondents), lack of job (cited by 27.6per cent), and deteriorating law and order (cited by 16.5per cent of the respondents). Urban congestion, poor law and order situation, and pollution are factors that are severely detested by the migrants. It may not, therefore, be without ground to say that these problems are probably much less acute in the village and so could provide a motivation for the migrants to return to

the village, unless the economic circumstances prevailing in the rural areas prevented them from doing so.

Table 4.20: Urban characteristics that are repelling to migrants

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>No. of respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Lack of job in town	135	27.6
Polluted environment	270	55.1
Over Population	275	56.1
Deteriorated law and order	81	16.5
Others	400	81.6
Total	490	100.0

The data on the transportation system linking the village with the urban centres show that the use of pucca road underwent a marked increase and use of ‘katcha road’ a marked decline after migration (App. Table 11). This indicates that the village or place of origin of the migrant had been linked better over the years than what had been before he migrated.

One of the features pertaining to the place of origin of the migrant was a dearth of banking facilities. Asked about whether there was any bank within the locality or not, as many as 63per cent of the respondents answered in the negative (App. Table 12).

About the question on how much the place of origin of the migrant was related to the economic activities of the nearest town, 53per cent of the respondents expressed that the relationship was ‘very little’, while 36.8per cent of them thought that it was ‘little’. Only 8.7per cent of the respondents believed that it was very good (Table 4.21). The links between the migrant’s place of origin and the nearest urban centre seems to have slightly increased after migration.

Through the responses tabulated in Table 4.21, we wanted to understand such phenomena as the supply from the village of agricultural products and labour to the city, the number of customers from the village to the city etc. The responses received give an idea about the intensity of the relationship of the place of origin of the migrant with the nearest urban centre. Data gathered in this study, however, shows that this relationship was not very strong, so that for a village resident the only way to reap maximum benefit of the urban centre was to migrate there (App. Table 13).

Table 4.21: Link of Migrant's village with the nearest urban centre before and after migration: per cent of respondents

<i>Response</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Very little	53.0	42.4
Little	36.8	36.3
Very good	8.7	19.4
Cannot say	1.4	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0

About the place of origin, we also wanted to know about the types of technological improvement that might have taken place before the respondents migrated to the city. Such developments as the expansion of agricultural mechanization, use of irrigation tube-wells and power tillers, and HYV cultivation have been considered to be some of the aspects of such technological improvements. Both before and after migration, there was widespread use of irrigation tube-wells in the place of origin. The use of power tillers, however, rapidly increased after the migration (19.0 per cent of the respondents reported the use of power tillers after migration compared to only 3.9 per cent before migration) (Table 4.22). Agricultural mechanization does not seem to have gained momentum as the survey data indicates. It seems that technological progress in the agricultural sector has not made any substantial headway that could influence production and income significantly in the rural areas.

Table 4.22: Type of technological improvement in village before and after migration: per cent of respondents

<i>Type</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Agricultural mechanization	2.9	3.6
Use of irrigation tube well	92.5	76.6
Use of power tiller	3.9	19.0
HYV cultivation	0.8	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0

4.7 Reverse Migration and Alleviation of Poverty: Prospects and Possibilities

What prospects and possibilities do exist for initiating the process of reverse migration in Bangladesh, that is to say, migration from the country's urban to rural areas? How far, this process, if initiated and sustained, can contribute to the alleviation of poverty by increasing the income of the economically distressed population? In this section, we seek to provide an answer to these and other related questions based on the survey responses on the issue of reverse migration.

The migrants were asked, among other questions, whether they occasionally visited their village and why. Around 88 per cent of the respondents' reply was that they wanted to meet

the members of the family, while 24per cent of the respondents said that they visited the village on occasions to look after their property (Table 4.23). These data reveal that the migrants that have left some of the members of their families behind are probably more inclined to visit their places of origin. It is, however, not clear if they also exhibit higher propensity for reverse migration.

Table 4.23: Reasons behind Migrants’ Occasional Visits to the Village

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
To meet with family	408	87.7
To look after own property	112	24.1
To meet village people	95	20.4
To do development/ social work	3	0.6
Others	6	1.3
Total	465	100.0

A more direct attempt to elicit this information was to ask whether a migrant intended to go back to the village permanently and, if so, why. Interestingly, the biggest proportion of respondents stated that they would like to go back to village to take care of their parents (51per cent). The desire to look after property holdings was cited by about 37per cent of the respondents. The inadequacy of income and lack of good job prospects in the city were cited by 27.7per cent and 7.9per cent of the respondents, respectively, as the likely reason why they intended to re-migrate to the village (Table 4.24).

Table 4.24: Motivating Factors behind Return migration

<i>Factors</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Do not get job in town	23	7.9
Income received in town not sufficient	81	27.7
To fulfill obligations to parents	149	51.0
To look after properties	107	36.6
Others	112	38.4
Total	292	100.0

It thus appears that the process of reverse migration involves not merely economic decisions, but also other non-economic considerations evolving from deep-rooted moral and familial values. This does not, however, underestimate the economic reasons that work behind the process. If job and income prospects become worse in the city, the probability for return migration is likely to go up. Ownership of properties in the place of origin by the migrant is also a factor that can create a strong urge for him to move back to the village.

The interviewees were asked if they knew any persons who had returned to the village and, if they had known any such persons, what really were the reasons for their decisions to re-migrate. The answers are strikingly similar to the responses on the question about why the migrants would, if at all, want to go back to the village. Lack of job opportunity (cited by 74.2 per cent of the respondents), and low income in the town (cited by 19.9 per cent of respondents) were the dominant reasons for the return of those people known to the interviewee migrants (Table 4.25).

For a segment of these people, the reason for return migration was the enhanced job opportunities in the village hitherto unavailable. This supports our hypothesis that expansion of employment and job opportunities in rural areas will act as a significant motivation for many migrants for return migration.

Table 4.25: Reasons behind Migrants' desire to permanently return to Village

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
Do not get job in town	112	74.2
Job opportunities available in village	21	13.9
To fulfill obligations to parents	2	1.3
To look after properties	5	3.3
Income in town not sufficient	30	19.9
Others	9	6.0
Total	151	100.0

To further ascertain the motivation for return migration, another question was asked: what kind of development activities, if undertaken in the village, would likely encourage the migrants for return migration? (Table 4.26). In response, a substantial proportion (90 per cent) of the respondents cited the establishment of new industries and creation of new job opportunities as the likely basic motivation for taking a decision on reverse migration. The development of roads was cited by about 36 per cent of respondents, improved educational facilities by 26 per cent, and increased use of modern technology in agriculture by 18 per cent.

Table 4.26: Development Activities in village that may induce reverse migration

<i>Development Activities</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Development of Road Communication	126	35.6
Establishment of New Industries and Job Creation	319	90.1
Improved Educational Facilities	92	26.0
Increased use of Modern Technology in Agriculture	64	18.1
Others	233	65.8
Total	354	100.0

If these are some of the motivations that are likely to induce reverse migration, then it is of interest to see what kind of development activities, in actuality, have taken place in the place of origin of the migrants after his departure from there. Ironically, a very small proportion (5.08 per cent) of the respondents reported that new industries have been established and job opportunities created after their migration (Table 4.27). This gives us the idea that the rural areas are probably not yet able to absorb any stream of migrants returning to their place of origin.

Table 4.27: Development activities reported to have taken place in village after the respondents' migration to urban locations

<i>Development Activities</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
Development of Road Communications	382	78.9
Establishment of New Industries & Employment	24	5.0
Improved Educational Facilities	364	75.2
Increased use of Modern Technology	183	37.8
Others	927	191.5
Total	484	100.0

It can be seen from the responses, however, that some development in the transport system and some technological improvements in agriculture have taken place in the villages from where the migrants originate. These improvements must, however, be supplemented by enhanced job opportunities and availability of better medical services in the rural areas before these areas can again become attractive to the migrants that had left their homes before.

The act of migration, while it can bring benefits in economic terms, may be repelling for a host of unpleasant and adverse circumstances which an urban environment usually breeds. There are far more chances of accidents, the environment may be highly polluted, congestion and noise pollution can become extreme, to speak of but a few. In addition, familial and inter-personal relationship can undergo substantial setbacks, children and adolescents may have higher possibilities of being exposed to undesirable moral and degenerate surroundings.

These factors may act as added forces for conscious migrants to be induced towards reverse migration.

The study investigated if in the city the migrants faced accidents or injuries that caused them financial as well as emotional loss. A substantial proportion of the respondents answered in the affirmative (78.4 per cent) (App. Table 14). The number of respondent migrants reporting accidents and injuries they have faced appears to be on the high side, but it is not at all unlikely.

In fact, apart from suffering actual injuries, the migrants, who are new-comers in the city and who are ignorant of the rules of the road and unaccustomed with the vicissitudes of city roads with diverse types of slow- and fast-moving traffic plying thereon, are constantly in the fear of facing sudden accidents. They remain scared of the lack of safety and security of their own selves as well of their dependents. They are also fearful of possible dangers of looting and hijacking, which may cause them immense psychological setbacks. While the respondents did not elaborate on the type of accidents they faced, the data confirms our suspicion that urban life, fraught with congestion, pollution, and psychic strain, can be repelling from non-economic standpoints (see also App. Tables 15 and 16).

There can be no doubt, as is supported by the findings of this study, that the creation of more job opportunities and betterment of income prospects in the rural areas are at the heart of the task of initiating a process of reverse migration and alleviating poverty among the poorer sections of both urban and rural dwellers. Policy implementation in this regard calls for efforts that focus more strongly on the expansion of employment opportunities, for example, through investment in agriculture, infrastructure, land development, better housing and sanitation, establishment of rural industries, and setting up of more educational institutions. For rolling the migration ball in the reverse direction, creation of better living conditions through enhanced economic prospects, availability of essential health care, and improved educational and housing services beyond the existing levels are essential preconditions that have to be met. Unless the benefits and amenities, which the migrants were used to enjoy in the cities, can be generated in the rural setting, at least in part, if not to the fullest possible extent, the idea of alleviation of poverty through initiating and sustaining the process of reverse migration can hardly be translated into reality.

Chapter 5

Summary of Major Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

The findings and conclusions of the study regarding the causes and consequences of rural-urban migration in Bangladesh and the principal elements of policies required for inducing reverse migration can be discerned in the foregoing chapters. This concluding chapter sums up the major findings, without, of course, making monotonous repetitions, and also makes some additional observations on past and present policies and efforts by Government that may have influenced the decision to migrate and also those that may induce a process of reverse migration in the country.

As is mentioned in the introductory chapter, rural-urban migration was once regarded as a natural process of economic development, because the surplus manpower released from the rural sector was needed for urban industrial growth. In particular in the developing countries having abundant supplies of labour, rural-urban migration was considered socially and economically beneficial because it enabled human resources to shift from locations where their marginal products and hence earnings were either zero or very low to places where these were high and also growing. In general, the decision to migrate came to be the function of variables like the income differential between the countryside and the town, the chance of getting a job, the risk attitude of the migrant, and information on availability of jobs in urban locations.

In more recent times, the opinion on the impact of migration on development underwent a sharp reversal. Rural-urban migration came to be viewed as having a negative impact on the development of many countries by adversely affecting the economic conditions of both towns and villages. These negative impacts can be said to represent the costs of migration.

Thus a migrant may often fail to find an appropriate job in the city. Before migration he might have had a rural sector job, may be a very low productivity one, but after migration it often happens that he ends up getting no job whatsoever, thus becoming unemployed. Worse still, he may out of frustration choose to adopt evil paths for making a living.

Migrants tend to be of young and adult ages and are also better educated relative to the national educational level. Migration thus tends to drain rural areas of these individuals who could have played a vital role in increasing the productivity of the rural economy. In short, a continuous movement of the young and the educated from the village to towns may cause an

imbalance in the quality of population between rural and urban areas and may eventually impede rural development. The present study confirms the apprehension that the process of migration in this country has led to a reduction of able-bodied population in the villages.

That migration contributes to creating problems of extreme congestion, environmental pollution, and growth of urban slums with multifarious social problems associated with slum dwellings is well known. Empirical evidence thereon abounds in related studies on the developing countries in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa and Asia.³⁶ In Bangladesh, too, rural-urban migration has been the principal contributor to the growing urbanization and the increasing number of slum dwellings [Alamgir, 1993].

The present study reveals that rural-urban migration and hence urbanization in Bangladesh is poverty driven, caused by extreme entitlement contraction among a sizeable segment of the rural population, who happen to be among the marginalized peasantry and the landless poor. The migration of the rural poor to the urban centres has caused a direct transmission of rural poverty and backwardness to the towns, engendering the process of 'ruralization' of the urban areas. With the increase in urban population, the number of shanty areas and slum dwellers are also rapidly increasing.

Concomitantly, there are the increases in the rate of unemployment, grim living conditions, environmental hazards and pollution, growing frustration and crime, and so on. Rural-urban migration is thus a major contributor to the growing urban poverty and the unwelcome consequences that migration and urbanization generate.

Our reviews of the available literature on internal migration in Bangladesh indicate that a significant majority of the migrants come to the city to seek employment, as no job is available in rural areas, or that they think that better jobs can be found in towns. This conclusion of the past studies is also confirmed in the present study.

Information gathered from our field survey indicates that the process of migration in Bangladesh is strongly influenced by both the push and the pull factors, of which the most important push factor is the lack of jobs in the villages, while the prospect of getting employment and earning higher income in the cities is the major pull factor. Other pull factors are better education and health facilities and better social amenities in the cities. For understandable reasons, the pull factors attract the relatively well off people of the rural areas, whereas the push factors influence the marginalized poor the most. The push factors for the relatively poor are so strong that they are bent upon staying in the city, after they migrate, no

³⁶ Population Crisis Committee, "World Population Growth and Global Society," Report No. 13, Washington, D.C., 1993.

matter how long they have to wait to find a job there. In fact, it is the presence of extreme poverty, a consequence of joblessness, which is a major force behind out-migration from the village to the cities.

The pull factors, which attract the rural people and induce them to migrate to urban locations, are in a large measure the direct or indirect results of government's development policy and effort, that have always been biased towards the urban areas. Thus, allocation of public funds in the successive five year plans has been consistently biased towards the urban, and against the rural sectors.

The extent of the bias is difficult to determine because plan documents do not provide break-up of resource allocation by urban and rural sectors as such, but the plan targets and priorities provide some indication about that. Thus, in matters of fund allocation, the rural sectors, viz., agriculture, flood control and water resources, and rural institutions are treated differently from the urban sectors, which comprise industry, power, physical planning and housing. Transport and communications, health and family planning, and education sectors serve to benefit both urban and rural areas, but empirical evidence shows that the bulk of the resources of these sectors are spent in the urban areas, and only a small fraction is spent in the rural areas.

The pattern of public expenditure during the various plan periods shows that the urban areas, which account for about 20 per cent of the country's population, receive roughly a-half of total plan allocation, while the rural areas that account for 80 per cent of the country's population get the other half.

In fact, the overall development strategy of the country has always been biased against rural areas. The inward-looking import substitution strategy of development pursued under the Pakistan regime during the 1950s and the 1960s, and thereafter in independent Bangladesh during the 1970s, which attempted industrial development at any cost, favoured industry and urban activities, virtually totally neglecting agriculture and rural development.

The urban bias of development is evident in relatively larger public expenditure incurred in urban areas on social infrastructure and basic amenities like health, education, water and sanitation, and social services. Expenditure on primary health care and primary education, of which the major beneficiaries are the rural people, is a small proportion of total sectoral allocations, while the largest portion of the allocations goes to secondary and tertiary health facilities, universities, and institutions of higher learning, all of which are located in the urban areas.

Similarly, budgetary resources of the transport sector, the benefits of which are apparently reaped by both rural and urban areas, are spent generally in building urban-related capital-intensive facilities like air, sea and river ports, bridges, roads and highways. Again, allocation to industry, which goes mainly to large and medium scale publicly owned enterprises, benefit the urban areas where these industries are located. Small and cottage industries, which are usually located in rural areas, receive little support and encouragement in official policy statements and actions.

Finally, the Government's credit policy favours the urban areas. Although disbursement of rural credit has been showing an increasing trend in the most recent years, as high as 80 per cent of all credit is still disbursed in the urban sector. Moreover, much of the limited supply of available rural institutional credit goes to the rich land owning peasants and rural traders who have strong links with urban areas for trade, employment, and their children's education, for which reasons a significant proportion of such credit is channeled to urban areas. All these clearly show that government policy and programmes have a built-in bias towards the urban areas, which is an important contributor to the process of rural-urban migration.

The policy of stopping rural-urban migration and inducing reverse migration thus becomes equivalent to the policy of poverty alleviation through the creation of employment and income generating activities in the rural areas. Meaningful poverty alleviation measures such as creation of jobs in agricultural and non-farm activities, improvements in agricultural productivity, easy availability of credit to the land-less and the marginalized small farmers, enhancing access to ownership and/or use of land and other productive resources including modern technology, establishment of rural industries, development of rural infrastructure, improvement of educational and health facilities, and establishment of vocational training centres in the rural locations could be expected to hold in check the exodus of the rural population to the cities, or at least to reduce the flow of migrants to the urban centres to a significant extent, and, hopefully, to encourage the migrants with unfulfilled expectations to return to their places of origin.

It may be mentioned here that, apart from enhanced job prospects, better educational and health care facilities, and other social amenities that make for better living conditions are added attractions of the migrants towards the city life. In our study, a number of respondents indicated that they had migrated to the city with a view to giving their children a better education. They feel that there is a wide gap between the urban and rural areas in terms of both the quality of education and the type of educational institutions providing a wide range of facilities, which encouraged them to migrate. For inducing reverse migration, therefore, the essential pre-conditions seem to be the expansion of employment opportunities, as

mentioned above, and also the creation of better living conditions through improved availability of essential health care and educational services. Unless the like of the amenities enjoyed by migrants in the cities can be made available in the rural areas, at least partly, if not to the fullest extent, the idea of alleviation of poverty through inducing and sustaining the process of reverse migration will hardly be translated into reality.

It is admitted on all hands, however, that alleviation of poverty in Bangladesh has been at the heart of the Government's development strategy, particularly since independence of the country. Implicitly, one objective of such strategy has also been to slow down the pace of rural-urban migration, and for that matter to reduce the problems associated with excessive urbanization. For this reason, an assessment, made below, of past poverty alleviation efforts by government and the objectives and strategies of the Fifth Five Year Plan should be instructive.³⁷

The First Five Year Plan laid special focus on rural development and equitable distribution of benefits of development. It adopted a strategy for expansion of employment opportunities and acceleration in the rate of GDP growth as well as effective fiscal and pricing policies for equitable distribution. Since, however, the major preoccupation of the Government in the immediate aftermath of independence was with achieving the recovery and rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy, the distributional objective did not receive much serious attention during the plan period.

The Second Five Year Plan aimed at reducing poverty through participation of the rural poor within an expanded programme for development, expansion of employment opportunities beyond the growth of labour force, acceleration of food production, and a more equitable distribution of income, resources and opportunities for better social justice.

The prime focus of the Second Plan was rural development, the cornerstone of which was stated to be the development of the agriculture sector which was expected

to be the prime mover of development in rural areas. Towards this end, the Plan aimed at making major institutional changes like land reform, local level organization and regional planning. However, certain constraints impeded institutional development in this respect. But what is significant is that programmes directly targeted on the poor gained momentum during the Second Plan. Notable among them were the governmentally operated programmes like

- 1) Cooperatives for the poor under the Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB);

³⁷ The assessment attempted here is based on the masterly treatise by Hasnat Abdul Hye, **Below the Line: Rural Poverty in Bangladesh** (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 1996), and Planning Commission, **The Fifth Five Year Plan 1997-2002**.

- 2) Small Farmer and Landless Development Programme (SFDP) under the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives (LGRD&C); and
- 3) Food for Work Programme (FFWP) and Vulnerable Group Feeding Programme (VGFP) under the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation (now called the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief).

In addition, the Grameen Bank, established as a specialized financial institution by Government order, Rangpur-Dinajpur Rural Service (RDRS), Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), and several other NGOs expanded their programmes in various parts of the country during the Second Five Year Plan. The achievement of the Second Plan in terms of employment generation and poverty alleviation was, however, limited, although some successes were visible in the development of rural infrastructure. Generation of employment for the poor made little headway because of the limited volume of resources available for the purpose. The Plan's emphasis having been on the development of agriculture and agricultural infrastructure with very little provision for the landless poor, the programmes benefited mostly the land owning class. The coverage of micro credit given by the NGOs was also too small to make any perceptible impact on the condition of the rural poor.

As in the previous Plans, the Third Five Year Plan also aimed at reducing poverty by ensuring better access of the rural poor to the means of production through providing facilities in such areas as development of agriculture, basic physical infrastructure, employment and production programme for the rural poor at the micro-level and social service needs. The general strategy of the Third Plan for poverty alleviation was to provide productive employment through diffusion of modern agricultural technology, technological improvement of cottage and rural industries, and non-farm employment generation in rural areas in areas like fisheries, livestock, and rural infrastructure (construction of roads, embankments etc.).

As a stark contrast with the earlier Plans, the Third Plan adopted a social accounting matrix (SAM) to monitor the effect of development on employment, income and poverty alleviation. Ten socio-economic groups were shown in the matrix of which eight were in the rural areas.³⁸ A number of policy instruments comprising investment programmes, tax and price policies, and FFWP were to be used to ensure the desired economic status for each of these groups within the broad objective of poverty alleviation. Overall, the Third Plan

³⁸ The ten socio-economic groups are: (1) the landless, (2) marginal farmers with 1.5 acres of land, (3) medium farmers with 1.5-5 acres, (4) medium farmers having share-cropped land, (5) large farmers with 5-10 acres, (6) very large farmers with land above 10 acres, (7) the rural informal employment group, (8) the rural formal employment group, (9) the urban informal employment group, and (10) the urban formal employment group.

programmes for poverty alleviation, however, met with limited success.

The Fourth Five Year Plan aimed to increase employment opportunities, particularly for the lower 50 per cent of the population residing in rural areas, in both farm and non-farm sectors of the economy. Human resources development was given a high priority in the Fourth Plan. Employment generation was taken both as an objective and a strategy for poverty alleviation. The group-based approach of the Third Plan was also adopted in the Fourth Plan. As part of the long-term strategy for poverty alleviation, the Fourth Plan emphasized on accelerating the process of converting relief-oriented FFWP into a development oriented one so that the poor can gradually be made self-reliant. It also put emphasis on restructuring the allocation of sectoral investment in favour of those sectors which promote human resources development and enhance the income, particularly of the rural poor.

The Fourth Plan emphasized a time bound poverty alleviation programme, which would have to be worked out at the local level. To that end, the Plan provided for community participation, both within the local government organizations from village to Thana in a two-way planning process and also through the NGOs that will be required to integrate their activities with Thana development activities. In fact, the Palli Karma Shahayak Foundation (PKSF) that was set up in 1990 for providing loan to NGOs was expected to facilitate the functioning of NGOs in poverty alleviation.

The objective of the Fourth Plan from the point of view of poverty alleviation was not, however, achieved. For lack of coordination, the NGO's time bound plan for poverty alleviation did not materialize, just as the expected involvement of the community in the two-way planning process through local level organizations remained unrealized. Likewise, the much-publicized objective of human resources development remained unfulfilled because the actual sectoral allocations on education, health, population and family planning, social welfare, women affairs and youth development fell far short of the requirement.

The poverty alleviation programmes during the successive Plan periods thus did not produce the expected result. The country's economic reforms under the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) since 1980 have had a favourable impact on macro-economic stabilization and growth but had adverse effects on the poor, because there is a trade-off between faster growth and distribution. In such a situation, the Government started targeted income and employment generating programmes as a 'safety net' for the poor that were left out of the market-based production and distribution process. These programmes implemented by Government Ministries/Departments and NGOs contributed significantly towards alleviation of rural poverty in the country.

Among the Government organizations, the BRDB has been the most important in respect of poverty alleviation. It provides macro-credit funds under the poverty alleviation programme for production and employment for the rural poor. PKSF is another, which, out of funds obtained from the ADP and grant from the Revenue Budget, provides income generating employment opportunities, particularly for the rural poor women. Besides, specific programmes on rural and urban poverty are also taken in ADPs.

Apart from BRDB and PKSF programmes, projects implemented by the Local Government Engineering Department (LGED), a leading organization under the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives (LGRD&C), play a significant role in poverty alleviation. The most important contribution of this organization so far has been the creation of jobs in the rural areas for the landless, the marginal farmers and the destitute women, and the development of rural roads, Haats and Bazars, especially the growth centres. The programme of developing important rural Bazars into 'growth centres' and linking them by all-season motorable roads to the Thana headquarters or the national highway has greatly facilitated the creation of job opportunities through infrastructure development and maintenance schemes. An evaluation of LGED's infrastructure development projects (IDP) that were completed between 1986 and 1996 shows that these projects have had better income-generating and employment-creating effects than the country's two most important poverty alleviation programmes, viz., the Test Relief and the Food for Work.³⁹

Among safety net programmes, the Food for Work programme (FFWP) has been of great significance. Operated by five government line ministries and more than 60 NGOs and assisted by the World Food Programme, bilateral donors as well by government contribution, FFWP is the largest development project which provides employment to the rural poor during the lean periods through construction of rural infrastructure. More recently, a Food for Education (FFE) programme was launched to encourage the distressed families to keep their wards in primary school. The Vulnerable Group Development Programme (VGDP) was also introduced to benefit the destitute women. Of late, however, the volume of foodgrains available for FFWP and VGDP has declined, which has had a negative impact on the extreme poor. Another important poverty alleviation project is the Rural Maintenance Programme (RMP), which is currently being implemented by LGED in collaboration with CARE.

Alongside the government programmes, Bangladesh Krishi Bank, a specialized financial institution, Rajshahi Krishi Unnayan Bank, Grameen Bank, and several NGOs like BRAC, PROSHIKA, ASA, GSS, RDRS etc. participate in poverty alleviation programmes,

³⁹ Bureau of Economic Research, University of Dhaka, **Evaluation of Infrastructure Development Projects (IDP) under RESP-I and RESP-II**, September 1997.

especially through providing micro credit to the small farmers, the landless and assetless people, and the destitute women. Customers/clients, who are making proper utilization of the micro-credit facilities, have started experiencing some favourable changes in their economic condition. However, the impact of these institutions on the economy as a whole is still limited, because these have been able to cover only a small proportion of the country's rural poor.

The issue of poverty alleviation has received prominence in the Fifth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) which has drawn a pro-poor plan for alleviation of rural poverty. Its objectives, among others, are:

- a) develop human resources with adequate provisions to expand and strengthen education, health, population planning and family welfare facilities, measures and services;
- b) link the rural poor with basic social services/institutions in the fields of education, health, population planning, family welfare, drinking water supply, sanitation etc.;
- c) increase gainful income generating activities and employment opportunities on a sustained basis for the rural poor;
- d) strengthen small scale and informal sector production;
- e) improve technology and skill as significant elements of human resources development for productive activities of the rural poor;
- f) provide the rural poor with better access to resources, especially to micro-credit which is critically important and has high poverty reduction potentials;
- g) give particular attention to the development of the hard-core rural poor and poverty-depressed areas;
- h) promote participation and development of the poor and disadvantaged women along with males;
- i) empower the poor through affirmative activities and participation in the local government institutions.

With a view to achieving the objectives of the pro-poor plan, the Fifth Plan has formulated well-articulated strategies, of which the following are particularly relevant for alleviation of poverty in the rural areas:

- a) The Plan recognizes that human resources development through education, better health and family welfare makes important contribution to poverty alleviation, and as such it attaches high priority for human resources development and will gradually allocate more funds to make the HRD programmes sustainable.
- b) The Plan will create self-employment opportunity for the rural poor, mainly through

targeted production and employment programmes and increase wage employment opportunities through rural infrastructure development and maintenance. LGED and BRDB will play significant roles in this regard.

- c) The assetless/landless and small farmers will be the target groups under the production and employment programme.
- d) The existing successful targeted poverty alleviation programmes/projects will be continued and expanded. Care will be taken for corrective measures in their institutional arrangements, if warranted, for more effective implementation.
- e) Among major programmes, safety net programmes of FFW will be reformed and adjusted to make their operation sensitive to special needs of the poor areas.
- f) Evidence shows that safety net programmes do not reach the poor during the period of most acute need, i.e., in the wet post-monsoon season. The current portfolio of FFW projects will therefore need to be changed in favour of a mix that allows greater flexibility in selecting projects during this season. The move from providing Food for Work to Cash for Work may also be useful as it will provide greater flexibility over the choice of both projects and commodities for consumption.
- g) In addition to the pre-existing successful projects, new targeted pro-poor production and employment projects based on social mobilization will be taken up. Paying particular attention to the hard-core poor, these new projects will aim at poverty reduction of the rural poor by sustained increase in productive employment, particularly self-employment opportunities in nutrition-oriented activities like animal husbandry, fisheries, poultry, horticulture and various other non-farm activities.
- h) Adequate funds for the pro-poor projects will be channelled from the Government, donors, and other source, e.g., the commercial banks. Bulk of the funds will be given to the poor as micro-credit to enable them take up productive income generating activities, in both farm and non-farm micro enterprises.
- i) The NGOs will continue to expand their pro-poor and rural development projects. For this purpose, effective Government-NGO cooperation will be ensured.
- j) The new production and employment projects will be based on social mobilization of the poor. Under the social mobilization strategy, the poor at grass-roots will be enabled to organize themselves, identify their own problems, make their own

development decisions particularly in fields which concern them most. The government functionaries, local leaders and local government bodies, will help this process.

- k) Local government bodies in rural areas will be involved in different stages of the pro-poor projects as facilitators and will be integral parts of local level planning structure.

If the objectives of the Fifth Five Year Plan, as outlined above, can be achieved, the economic conditions of the rural areas will be significantly improved and the quality of life of the rural people will become better, which will contribute positively to reducing the flow of migration from villages to towns and induce reverse migration from urban locations to rural areas.

While measures to increase employment and alleviate poverty as conceived in the Plan will raise the attraction of rural areas to past migrants and probably induce reverse migration, conscious government policy will be warranted to reduce any urban bias that may be there in the Government's development strategy. For example, the Government may devise some kind of incentives that will encourage relocation of industries and businesses from urban to semi-urban and rural areas. With a view also to achieving a balanced spatial distribution of production and employment the Government may adopt a regional development strategy such that it will ensure the growth of small or medium sized urban or semi-urban centres, of which Upazilas are good examples. In this respect, one can visualize the possible beneficial effects of locating Export Processing Zones outside the major metropolitan areas, establishing industrial estates in semi-urban centres, upgrading the important rural Haats and Bazars into growth centres, establishing youth training centres in all Thanas on creating favourable conditions attractive to the people that will influence their decision in favour of leaving urban locations and migrating back to the village from where they originate.

There are also other forces at work that are likely to slow down the pace of rural-urban migration and also induce return migration. To cite an instance, Bangladesh Krishi Bank has recently conducted a survey in major slums of Dhaka and Chittagong metropolitan areas and is contemplating to undertake a special programme to provide credit to the migrants who will be genuinely interested and willing to migrate back to the village. The amount of credit the Bank proposes to provide to each migrant household should be sufficient for their rehabilitation in the rural setting. Programmes such as this, if implemented in the right earnest, may be expected to reduce the flow of rural-urban migration and also encourage reverse migration.

The Government has established the Employment Bank with an initial capital of Tk 500

million to provide credit to the unemployed youths. Currently the Bank operates only one branch. It is expected that by 1999 it will open branches in as many as 19 administrative districts. In order to be eligible for borrowing from the Bank the client must be a permanent resident of the district in which the Bank branch will operate, and the borrower must also be the owner or a director of the project for which the loan will be taken. The main activities for which the Bank's loans will be made available include poultry, hatchery, fish farming, horticulture, sericulture, light engineering, saloon, laundry, medicine shop, carpentry, automobile repairing workshop, bee keeping, food and fruit processing etc. In short, the Bank will finance all those activities for which there is already a lot of demand in the market, but adequate supplies of which have not been forthcoming. The loan will be available also to individual groups, each comprising 5 members from the same village, or union, or Thana. Each group will be given a start-up loan of a minimum amount of Tk 500 thousand and a maximum of Tk 2 million. The expansion of the Bank's operation outside big cities and towns is likely to encourage people to start business in and around the place of their origin and thus discourage the less rewarding act of migration.

The linking up of the depressed northern part of the country with the prosperous South by the Bangabandhu Bridge over the river Jamuna may also influence people's decision to migrate to Dhaka and its metropolis from the northern parts of the country. The Bangabandhu Bridge by opening up opportunities for expanding various economic activities on the other side of the Jamuna will ease the unemployment situation there. Enterprising people interested in seizing new business opportunities may also migrate back to the northern part of the country.

Several other poverty alleviation programmes are either contemplated or have already been undertaken by the Government. These are the "Asrayan Prokalpa", allowances for the elderly people, test relief and post-flood VGF programmes for the poor. These programmes, if properly implemented, are expected to activate the rural economy and set in motion forces that may encourage the process of reverse migration in the country.

On top of everything, a vigorous drive to rural development may be pursued so as to impress upon the would-be migrants to give a second thought before they decide to migrate, and upon the past migrants that stay in their current locations without good jobs or no jobs to give a final thought that it is in their best interest to go back to village and make a reasonably respectable living there.

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APPENDIX A

Design of Survey Questionnaire to Collect Data on Migration and Reverse Migration

To obtain the desired information on the causes of rural-urban migration and to establish the rationale for reverse migration, a structured questionnaire was designed and administered. The questionnaire consisted of identifying people that migrated and of finding answers to questions such as why they migrated and what factors had influenced their decision to migrate. Non-economic factors which are social, physical and cultural in nature as well as such characteristics as age structure, and gender, educational attainments of migrants plus diverse push and pull economic forces (income, expenditure, valuation of total property holdings etc.) were included in the questionnaire. In addition, the questionnaire also included such questions as are likely to be directly and indirectly related to the process of reverse migration. Migrants were asked specifically about the factors that would motivate them to go back to the village, whether they were satisfied in the urban setting, whether they were earning enough wages in the city as expected, whether they find the urban congestion, pollution and lawlessness abhorring and unhealthy, and so on. The responses to these questions provide important insights to understand the process of initiating reverse migration in Bangladesh. Various occupational groups were covered to gather such information.

Such people as housekeepers/servants, garments workers, rickshaw pullers, auto-rickshaw drivers, bus conductors, hawkers, peddlers, shoe shiners, street side vendors, small shop owners, office peons, bearers, orderlies, clerical staff in private offices and NGOs, railway porters, assistants in electronics, TV, Fridge, VCR repairing, and construction workers have been interviewed to enhance the randomness of the study. Around 500 migrants were interviewed in the Dhaka city for the purpose of the study. The interviewees are all 15 years of age or older and migrated to Dhaka during the last 10 years, i.e., since 1988 till now.

The questionnaire has been arranged under the following headings:

(1) Questions on the Educational Level and Training Completed by the Migrants:

This section includes apart from the questions on the educational attainments and training, such queries as the reasons behind non-enrolment in schools, and further investigates the enrolment status and educational expenses of the children before and after migration.

(2) Questions on Migratory Behaviour and Reverse Migration:

This section covers various questions pertinent to capture the migratory behaviour and the probability for reverse migration of the migrant. Questions asked are geared to generate the following informations:

- (a) The year of migration, (b) Did the migrant move out alone or along with the family? (c) If all the members migrated, what was the size of the family before and after migration? (d) What are the sex, age, marital status and educational qualification of the principal migrant and other migrating members? (e) What is the distance of the village from the city? (f) Has the migrant moved out permanently or temporarily to the city of Dhaka? (g) What are the reasons behind the decision to leave the village and come to the city? (h) Does the migrant occasionally visit his place of origin? (i) Does the migrant think about returning to the village? If yes, why? If not, why? (j) Is the migrant aware of such person/persons as have moved back to village and why they have gone back? (k) What kind of work the return migrants are absorbed in? (l) How has the economic situation of the village been affected by the exodus of people? (m) What areas of activities received priority in the development efforts of the government and non-governmental bodies? (n) How adequate was (is) the availability and how easy was (is) the access to micro-credit before (after) migration? (o) What are the sources of such credit and what is the percentage of families in the community who used to obtain such credits? (p) What kind of development activities, if initiated in the village of origin of the migrant, would motivate him to go back there? (q) What kind of development activities have in fact taken place after his departure from the village? (r) What kind of troubles the migrant has encountered after coming to the city? (s) Has the migrant met any accident in the city of any kind? If yes, what will be the imputed value of loss arising from such accident?

(3) Questions on Income and Employment of Migrant:

In this section, we try to discern the occupational traits of the migrant, his monthly income, the per capita income of the migrant household, various characteristics related to the job search by the migrant in the city (e.g., did the migrant get a job in line with his educational qualification? Was it hard to find the job? How long was the search for job? What was the amount of daily wage in cash and kind? What is the probability assigned by the migrant of getting job in the city at the time of migration and the basis of assigning that probability? Did the migrant lose job in the city? If yes, for how many times? etc.

This section also covers questions on various occupation-related characteristics of the principal migrant during his stay in the village as well as characteristics relating to his remitting behaviour.

(4) Questions on Expenditure Pattern of Migrants before and after Migration:

This section generates information on the following aspects of expenditure behaviour of the migrant/migrant household:

- (a) What is the amount of per capita monthly expenditure of the migrant household before and after migration?
- (b) What are the nature and level of household capital expenditures during the last one year in city and during the 12 months before migration in the village?
- (c) What is the per capita expenditure on food item before and after migration?

(5) Questions Related to Familial Resource Endowment of the Migrant Household before and after Migration:

The purpose of this section is to record the familial resource endowment and possession of 'prestige' goods of the migrant household before and after migration. The list of familial resource includes land, cultivable land, cows, goats, poultry, transportation, professional equipments, utensils, furniture, apparels, shops, financial resources etc. The list of prestige goods includes items like radio, TV, VDO, refrigerator, tape recorder, camera, wrist watch, bicycle, motor bike, gold ornaments etc. Besides such information, additional data are collected on the type of household structure (Tin Shed, Pucca or Kutcha structure) and on the availability of electricity before and after migration.

(6) Questions on Health and Nutrition:

The purpose of this section was to elicit information on the health and nutrition status of the migrant. The collected data generates this following information:

- (a) The sources of drinking water, water used in cooking and bathing before and after migration.
- (b) Whether the migrant drinks boiled water or not and what is the source of fuel for boiling drinking water.
- (c) Kind of latrines used before and after migration (pucca toilet, open latrine etc.).
- (d) Sources of medical services received before and after migration (e.g., Govt. clinics/hospitals, non-governmental clinics, village doctors, kabiraj etc.).
- (e) Quality of medical services received (good, fair, bad) before and after migration.

(7) Questions on Non-economic Characteristics:

Attempts are made in this section to capture some of the social characteristics as follows:

- (a) Customs prevailing in the village/locality before and after migration (e.g. child marriage, purdah system, conservative society inhibiting free movement of women folks, pregnancy, insecurity, lack of law and order, political chaos, conflict etc.

- (b) Urban amenities/characteristics appealing to the migrant (absence of many of the factors mentioned above, entertainment opportunity etc.).
- (c) Urban factors repelling to the migrant (e.g., a polluted environment, over- population, deteriorating law and order).

(8) Questions of Miscellaneous Characteristics:

This section contains diverse questions of miscellaneous character like the following:

- (a) Mode of communication from the village to the nearest town (Railway, Kuccha roads, Pucca road, Boat etc.)
- (b) Existing type of banking institutions in the village (Commercial, Investment, Grameen, Cooperative etc.)
- (c) The way the village of the migrant is connected with the commercial activities of the nearest urban centre (e.g. supply of agricultural products to the town, labour supply of a permanent or technical nature, people communicating from the village to the city etc.)
- (d) Technical innovations taken place in the village recently (mechanization of Agriculture, use of irrigation tubewell, use of power tiller, HYV's etc.).

APPENDIX B

Appendix Tables

App. Table 1: Migrants' Opinion about the Availability of Micro-credit in Village – Before, After, and After reverse Migration

<i>Period</i>	<i>Adequate</i>	<i>Inadequate</i>
Before Migration	36 (7.2)	443 (88.4)
After Migration	90 (18.0)	395 (78.8)
After Reverse Migration	3 (1.0)	8 (2.0)

Note: Figures in parentheses indicates percentage of Respondents

App. Table 2: Sources of Credit to the Migrant Population

<i>Period</i>	<i>Government</i>	<i>Non-Government</i>
Before Migration	226 (45.11)	323 (64.47)
After Migration	230 (45.91)	442 (88.22)
After Reverse Migration	3 (0.5)	3 (0.5)

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate percentage of Respondents

App. Table 3: Occupation of the other migrant members before migration

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>No. of members</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Government Service	12	1.7
Non-Government Service	17	2.3
Businessman	20	2.8
Housewife	209	28.7
Student	176	24.2
Unemployed	95	13.1
Weaver	42	5.8
Infant	77	10.6
Farmer	36	5.0
Others	43	5.9
Total	727	100.0

App. Table 4: Getting job commensurate with one's educational qualification

<i>Response</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Yes	370	74.6
No	126	25.4
Total	496	100.0

App. Table 5: Period (1) already spent on job search and (2) intended for further job search

<i>Period (Months)</i>	<i>Time already spent (Per cent)</i>	<i>Intended duration of time for further job search (Per cent)</i>
Less than 3 months	2.0	1.2
3-6 months	4.6	2.8
7-12 months	5.0	4.2
13-36 months	5.2	4.4
37-60 months	2.4	1.2
60 and over	80.8	86.2
Total	100.0	100.0

App. Table 6: Probability ascribed by the migrant of getting job in the city

<i>Probability</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Less than 20 per cent	23	4.6
21-50per cent	68	13.6
51-75per cent	264	52.7
75+	146	29.1
Total	501	100.0

App. Table 7: The basis of ascertaining the probability of getting work

<i>Basis</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Prior migrant	384	78.0
Information centre	16	3.3
No reason	92	18.7
Total	492	100.0

App. Table 8: Remittance of money by Migrants to relatives in the village

<i>Yes or No</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Yes	297	59.8
No	200	40.2
Total	497	100.0

App. Table 9: Use of remittance money by migrants' family

<i>Nature of Use</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Food	94	32.1
Residence	1	0.3
Both	150	51.2
Education for FM	16	5.5
Debt Repayment	3	1.0
Utensils	21	7.2
Others	8	2.7
Total	297	100.0

App. Table 10: Quality of Health facilities before and after migration: Per cent Of Respondents

<i>Response</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Good	12.9	19.8
So So	43.5	51.3
Not Good	43.5	28.9
Total	100.0	100.0

App. Table 11: Mode of Transportation to the nearest town before and after migration

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Railway	2.0	1.6
Road-Kutchha	46.9	29.0
Road-Pucca	44.2	64.4
Waterway	6.5	4.3
Others	0.4	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0

App. Table 12: Bank Branch available in the village

<i>Yes/ No</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Yes	182	36.8
No	312	63.0
Total	494	100.0

App. Table 13: Type of linkage with the urban centre before and after migration: Per cent of Respondents

<i>Type</i>	<i>Before (Per cent)</i>	<i>After (Per cent)</i>
Supply of agricultural product	75.1	66.9
Seasonal labour migration	24.9	33.1
Total	100.0	100.0

App. Table 14: Accidents faced by Migrants in the town

<i>Response</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Yes	393	78.4
No	108	21.6
Total:	501	100.0

App. Table 15: Accidents met by Family Members after Migration

<i>Response</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Yes	179	35.8
No	321	64.2
Total:	500	100.0

App. Table 16: Troubles faced in the City by the Migrants

<i>Item</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Do not get job on time	187	38.4
Job not as expected	99	20.3
Bribes paid for job	27	5.5
Family relationship hampered	8	1.6
Others	166	34.1
Total	487	100.0