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Gender issues and livelihood pattern of migrant women labourers of farm families

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ABSTRACT

Migration of labour is getting feminized especially in the developing countries like India in the recent past, and more so in Odisha state that face acute migration where farm women migrate for a better livelihood option. In the milieu, the present study was carried out to document the gender issues and livelihood pattern of migrant women labourers of farm families from Odisha. The study sourced data from a survey conducted in the labour congregating areas of Bhubaneswar during 2011-12. Highest percentage of women labour migrants were within the age group of 26-35 (40%) and lowest number was found within 56-65 age group (4%). Ninety two per cent of the respondents were wage labourers and among them, a majority (52%) of women performed both construction and road work, and 40% performed only construction work. A majority of the respondents (42%) earned a monthly income ranging from ₹ 2 000 to ₹ 3 000 and their total monthly family income varied from ₹ 5 000 to ₹ 8 000. However, 68% of the respondents saved their income for the future requirements and 32% of the respondents were living hand-to-mouth life due to a large family size. The income of majority of respondents ranged from ₹ 2 000 to ₹ 3 000 per month and their family income was also within the range of ₹ 2 000 to ₹ 8 000. Moreover, a meager amount of money was sent to the family at origin which is not even sufficient to purchase cereals and pulses. The study concludes that, adoption of effective and efficient region specific strategies through entrepreneurial skills coupled with some profitable agricultural business ventures will curtail the rate of rural migration.

Key words: Gender, Livelihood pattern, Migration, Women migrant labourers

Migration is a burning socio-economic issue in rural India especially agricultural sector. Since it is a function of job opportunities, both push and pull factors trigger the migration as few opportunities in rural India could not satisfy a large number of people. Moving towards urban areas is a common trend since independence as fast pace of urbanization is taking place in India. Although migration is perceived to be a positive phenomenon, migrants are said to experience many problems at the destination.

Since rural areas witness a large scale migration particularly from less developed regions of the country, agriculture is badly affected which in turn leads to unsustainable livelihoods (Modi 2010 and Anamica 2013). Traditional crop production does not offer any challenge and satisfaction to the educated youth of Punjab (Chand 1999). The withdrawal trend of the farm youth in India is stronger in regions with low value of agricultural production per capita and villages close to towns. At individual level, the trend is stronger among higher caste, better educated

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MATERIALS AND METHODS

The labour chowks in Gandhi Market, Salia Sahi, Saileshree Vihar and Delta Square of Bhubaneswar, Odisha

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were purposively selected for documenting the status of women labour migration in Bhubaneswar, Odisha, India, as these places witness large labour population of 500-2000 men and women who assemble daily in the morning to be picked up by labour contractors and individual persons. Hundred women labour migrants were randomly selected from these sites for collection of data through a semistructured interview schedule. The respondents were interviewed at the morning hours in the labour markets before they leave for their job at their respective place.

Apart from the conventional percentage and tabular analyses, a multiple linear regression model has been used to identify the factors influencing the livelihood of migrants. The functional form is specified as:

$$I_{Mi} = b_0 + b_1 X_{1i} + b_2 X_{2i} + b_3 X_{3i} + b_4 X_{4i} + b_5 X_{5i} + b_6 X_{6i} + b_7 X_{7i} + b_8 X_{8i} + b_9 X_{9i} + U_i \text{ for } i = 1 \text{ to n migrants.}$$

where, I_{Mi} , average income of the migrants in $\overline{\mathbf{x}}$ earned per month by the ith migrant; X_{1i} , age of the ith migrant; X_{2i} , dummy variable for marital status of the ith migrant; X_{3i} , dummy variable for caste of the ith migrant; X_{4i} , dummy variable for education of the ith migrant; X_{5i} , dummy variable for main occupation of the ith migrant; X_{5i} , dummy variable for land ownership of the ith migrant; X_{7i} , dummy variable for distance from migration of the ith migrant; X_{8i} , dummy variable for the type of work of the ith migrant; X_{9i} , number of work days of the ith migrant per month; b_0 , intercept; U_i , stochastic disturbance term; b_1 to b_9 , partial regression coefficients to be estimated by the ordinary least squares (OLS) method. In order to know the goodness of fit, the adjusted multiple coefficient of determination ($\overline{\mathbf{R}}^2$) was calculated using the following formula:

$$\overline{\mathbf{R}}^{2} = \left[1 - (1 - R^{2}) \times \left(\frac{n - 1}{n - k} \right) \right]$$

F test was used to test the overall significance of the regression equation and is given by,

$$F = \frac{R^2 / (k-1)}{(1-R^2) / (n-k)}$$

where, R^2 , multiple coefficient of determination; n, number of sample observations and k, number of parameters estimated from the sample including intercept.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Origin of women labour migrants

Women migrant labourers mainly hailed from five districts of Odisha, viz. Ganjam, Nayagarh, Cuttack, Khurda and Balangir. Highest number of migrants were from Ganjam district (64%), followed by Nayagarh (22%) and the remaining from Cuttack, Khurda and Balangir. Maximum migrants were from Ganjam due to logistical convenience apart from frequent occurrence of natural calamities such as drought, floods and cyclone. The cities like Cuttack and Khurda also attracted significant migrants due to urban amenities and opportunities.

Socio-economic profile

Personal profile of the women labour migrants as presented in Table 1 reveals that highest percentage of women labour migrants were within the age group of 26-35 (40%) and lowest number was found within 56-65 age group (4%). As per marital status of the respondents, eighty six per cent of women labour migrants were married and the rest fourteen per cent were unmarried, widowed and divorcees. As per the distribution of the respondents according to the household head, it was observed that twelve per cent of the households were headed by female and the remaining eighty eight per cent were headed by male. The caste composition of women labour migrants showed that highest numbers of respondents were SC (44%) followed by OBC (36%), ST (18%) and general category (2%). Odia was the mother tongue of sixty six per cent of the respondents, whereas, thirty four per cent respondents had Telugu as their mother tongue.

The data on the occupation of the respondents showed that ninety two per cent of the respondents were wage labourers and among them majority (52%) of women performed both construction and road work and rest 40% performed only construction work. Eight per cent worked as house maids and involved in paper folding work at press. Among the respondents about 48% of the respondents moved back to their village during the lean season (rainy and autumn) for performing various agricultural activities and caste occupation (barber, fisher woman, washer woman) and they were found to be the circular/seasonal migrants.

Comparison of occupation of women labour migrants with their spouse/father

A matrix was developed to know the relationship between the occupation of women labour migrants and their spouse/father (Table 2). The matrix revealed that out of 100 respondents, ninety two women migrants were wage labourers and the rest of them were housemaid (4 no.) and involved in paper folding work at press (4 no.). Out of those ninety two respondents, fifty six respondent's spouse/ father were wage labourers, twenty four respondent's spouse/father were working as mason, stone cutter, shopkeeper, rikshaw or trolley puller and performed caste occupation and rest twelve respondent's spouse/father were either not working or dead or divorcee. Out of four housemaid respondents, two housemaid's spouse/father were labourer and rest two housemaid's spouse were dead. In the case of the four women who performed paper folding work at press, two respondent's spouse/father were wage labourers and rest two performed both wage labour as well as caste occupation. Similar to the present finding, Deshingkar and Farrington (2009) also found in their study that farm labour works, casual labour work in construction, brick kilns and rickshaw pulling were the four most important categories of work for the poorest, unskilled landless and low caste migrants.

Parameters	Category	Percentage
Age	Young (upto 25 years)	26
	Middle (26-50 years)	68
	Old (above 50 years)	6
Education	Illiterate	76
	High school	14
	Collegiate	10
Marital status	Divorcee	4
	Married	86
	Unmarried	2
	Widow	8
Caste	General	2
	OBC	68
	SC	26
	ST	4
Mother tongue	Oriya	66
C	Telugu	34
Household head	Father	4
	Husband	82
	Self	14
Main occupation	Labour	92
I	Maid servant	4
	Others	4
Land ownership	No land	80
r	Landed owned	20
Housing type	Kuchha	46
0 · J · J	Pucca	14
	Semi-pucca	40
Materials possession	Wall clock	60
P	TV	34
	Radio	26
	Mobile phone	<u>-</u> 0 56
	Cycle	40
	Fan	34
	Other items* Sewing machine	-
	(2), trolley (4) and DVD player (2)	
Occupation of	Labour	76
husband/father	Caste occupation	4
	Others	20
Family size	Single member	8
	2-4 member	76

More than 5 members

Table 1 Socio-economic profile of women migrant labourers (n=100)

Reasons of migration

Migration of the people is influenced by several social and cultural factors such as quest for independence, the desire to break away from traditional constraints of social organization, conflict among family members also play their role in migration. Geographical and physical factors such as distance, natural barriers and weather and climate conditions also make an effect on the movement of people. Thus migration blows are determined by a complex interaction of economic, political, environmental and demographic factors. The respondents were asked to quote the reasons for migration from their place of origin to destination and the results are presented in Table 3.

Non-availability of work round the year and low wages were the most important factors which forced the respondents to migrate which may be due to following reasons: (i) Lack of agricultural activities since the requirement of wage labour in the agricultural farms is very limited except during the time of transplanting and harvesting, and (ii) Lack of nonagricultural activities such as construction work by panchayats or private house construction in their village as well as in the nearby villages. In this case, surplus population moves to the urban centers for gainful employment.

For 82% of respondents, non availability of productive resources was the push factor to move to the city, whereas 64% respondents came to the city by the influence of friends and relatives (who work in the city as wage labour). Family maintenance was also a driving force for 40% of the respondents because it was observed that most of the respondent households were landless and a few had the minimum land holding, with which they can barely manage

Table 3 Distribution of respondents based on their reasons for migration (n=100)

Reasons for migration	Percentage
Non-availability of work round the year	100
Low wages	100
Non availability of resources (agricultural land)	82
Influenced by friends and relatives	64
Family maintenance	40
Family dispute	34
Border area migration	34
Natural calamities	30
Repayment of loan	22

Table 2 Occupational profile of women labour migrants and their spouse/father (in numbers)

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Respondent's		Husband/father's occupation							
occupation	(L)	(CA)	(L+CA)	(M)	(SC)	(SH)	(T/RP)	At village	No work/
									Dead/Divorcee
Labour	56	4	6	4	2	2	4	2	12
House maid	2								2
Others	2		2						

L-Labour, CA- Caste-occupation, L+CA- Labour + cast occupation, M- Mason, SC- Stone cutter, SH- Shop-keeper, T/RP- Trolly/ Riskshaw puller November 2015]

the households for two or three months in a year. So, they seasonally move to the origin to perform agricultural activities in their own land and again come back to the city. Hence, migration was the best alternative source of income for the households to manage the family throughout the year. Family dispute and border area migration were the cause for 34% of respondents. Due to natural calamities 30% of the respondents moved to the city and 22% of the respondents migrated for repayment of debt.

Expenditure pattern on variation between different groups of parameters

The amount of average monthly income for the migrants decreases with the increase in age band. Migrants at young age tend to work more based on their capacities for additional income. However, the migrants' average family income for the age group between 26 and 50 was found to be low owing to their increased expenditure on clothing, rent, medicine, education, social functions, loan repayment and money that has been sent to their native. The plausible reason for higher expenditure in household incidentals was the highest average number of family members (4 members) in that group in relation to others. Migrants belonging to greater than 50 years' category spent more on travel (₹ 1 133/annum) and entertainment (₹1567/annum). Despite many education schemes for enrolment, the expenditure incurred on learning was least among the young age migrants (₹ 19.23/month). The study also gives insight on few interesting findings pertaining to the young age migrants. They saved the highest among others, spent more on food and had nil loans.

Among the social community groups, STs earned more as an individual but as a family earning, SCs income were the highest. The peculiar feature of STs is that their savings were almost double than OBCs and one and half times more than SCs. The reason was their expenditure on other items was much lower by all means. It was understood that they did not spend on travel and money transfer to their native. Even in education, they spent only ₹ 25/month. Among their expenditures, income spent on food was the highest (₹ 2 000/ month). Migrants from general community, so called 'forward' and 'affluent' among communities spent a large proportion of their income on clothing (₹ 3 000/annum), rent (₹1 000/annum), medicines (₹2 500/annum) and entertainment (₹ 1 900/annum). Migrants falling under SC category, despite having a reasonable savings (₹1354/ month), spent highest on food, social functions, travel and loan repayment among others, and, more on clothing, house maintenance and medicine.

Employment as a maid generates more income than doing other works at the migrated place (Table 4). However, the higher income does not lead them to spend more barring the rent paid for their house (₹ 500/month). Migrants who did construction work for their livelihood spent the highest on education (₹ 139/month) and sent highest money to their native (₹ 160/month). Construction and road work despite offering the second best individual income, the total family income per month constituted the highest among all other

 Table 4
 Income and expenditure particulars based on type of work at the migrated place

Income and	Type of work			
expenditure	Construc-	Construc-	Maid	Others
particulars in ₹	tion	tion and	servant	
		road work		
Self-monthly income	2395.00	2961.54	3550	1050
Average monthly family	5777.50	6792.31	5050	3500
income at destination				
Saving/month	550.00	1684.62	850	0
Food/month	1740.00	2215.38	1500	1500
Clothing/year	2350.00	2384.62	1000	1500
Rent/month	235.00	134.62	500	0
House maintenance/year	492.50	1084.62	0	900
Medicine/year	915.00	1115.38	900	1075
Education/month	138.75	92.69	25	50
Travel/year	560.00	850.00	0	400
Entertainment/year	1195.00	1261.54	1000	1400
On social function/year	325.00	830.77	100	0
Loan repayment/month	121.25	221.54	0	0
Money sent to native/ month	160.00	153.85	0	250
Electricity	17.38	12.88	20	25

categories (₹ 6 792). This led them to save a maximum amount (₹ 1 685) per month and spent highest on food (₹ 2 215/month), clothing (₹ 2 385/ annum), house maintenance (₹ 1 085/annum), medicine (₹ 1 115/ annum), travel (₹ 850/annum), social functions (₹ 831/ annum) and repaying their loans (₹ 222/month).

It is clearly evident from Table 5 that the income earned increases with the distance of migration. It follows the same pattern with the average monthly family income, savings, expenditure on food consumption and money spent on entertainment.

The study also investigated the income and expenditure pattern based on the family size at destination. Most of the variables corroborated the general logical conclusion. Self-income and family income per month were more in a family with more than five members at destination of migration. Owing to a high number of family members, the expenditure on different items were more leading to low savings per month (₹ 250).

Generally, education plays a crucial role in income determination. But among the selected migrated respondents, illiterate's average self-income was highest and average income was highest among the migrants who have high school education. Despite highest income, illiterates spent comparatively less on different items. Their expenditure was relatively more on travel (₹ 721/ annum), house maintenance (₹ 849/ annum), entertainment (₹ 1 261/annum), social functions (₹ 626/annum) and repayment of their loans (₹ 191/month). Migrants having a college level education earned less and spent less too.

Table 6 shows the pattern of expenditures between different income level groups. Migrants earning between

Income and expenditure	Distance travelled in km				
particulars in ₹	Up to 150	151-200	201-250		
Self-monthly income	2131.58	2775.00	3666.67		
Average monthly family income at destination	5244.74	5941.67	9833.33		
Saving/month	231.58	1233.33	3583.33		
Food/month	1805.26	1858.33	2916.67		
Clothing/year	2447.37	2104.17	2583.33		
Rent/month	228.95	114.58	266.67		
House maintenance/year	623.68	958.33	833.33		
Medicine/year	1047.37	985.42	1050.00		
Education/month	154.47	91.67	25.00		
Travel/year	684.21	741.67	550.00		
Entertainment/year	1194.74	1204.17	1416.67		
On social function/year	331.58	762.50	583.33		
Loan repayment/month	127.63	195.00	180.00		
Money sent to native/month	242.11	45.83	333.33		
Electricity	20.66	11.04	12.50		

 Table 5
 Income and expenditure particulars based on distance travelled during migration

 Table 6
 Income and expenditure particulars based on family monthly income level

Income and expenditure	Family monthly income level in ₹			
particulars in	Up to 150	151-200	201-250	
	Up to 5 000	5 001-10 00	0>10 000	
Self-monthly income of the respondent	2 305.00	2 892.86	3 500	
Average monthly family income at destination	3 935.00	7 341.07	12 500	
Saving/month	585.00	1 064.29	7 500	
Food/month	1 640.00	2 217.86	1 750	
Clothing/year	1 975.00	2 500.00	2 250	
Rent/month	210.00	160.71	250	
House maintenance/year	615.00	891.07	1 300	
Medicine/year	947.50	1 064.29	1 250	
Education/month	86.75	121.43	100	
Travel/year	685.00	692.86	500	
Entertainment/year	945.00	1 439.29	1 150	
On social function/year	200.00	689.29	2 500	
Loan repayment/month	44.00	232.32	400	
Money sent to native/mon	th 150.00	167.86	0	
Electricity	13.63	16.61	17.5	

₹ 5 001-10 000 spent more on clothing, followed by food and entertainment. On the other hand, migrants earning more than ₹ 10 000 spent a maximum of their income on social functions followed by clothing and food. The table also shows a positive correlation between the income and savings level. Migrants earning less than ₹ 5 000 and between ₹ 5 001-10 000 saved around 15 per cent of their average family income, while migrants earning more than ₹ 10 000 saved around 60 per cent.

Linguistic differences in expenditure pattern indicated

that migrants' family speaking Telugu despite earning marginally less income, saved more relative to their counterparts speaking Oriya. The self-income difference between the two groups was estimated at ₹ 348 per month. Expenditure on food consumption, house maintenance and money sent to native were highest among Telugu speaking migrants. Contrary to this, Oriya speaking migrants spent a lot on clothing, medicines, entertainment and social functions.

The pattern of income and expenditure based on the nature of job, i.e. full time or part time has been analysed. Though full time employment generated higher income, the family income of full time employees was less by ₹ 717 relative to part time workers. This has been reflected in their savings. The difference in expenditure between two groups was significant in clothing, house maintenance, travel and social functions. It is interesting to note that full time employees had no loans.

Variables controlling migration of women agricultural labourers

Regression analysis indicates that, ceteris paribus, as age goes up by one year for the migrants, on average, the income derived from migration reduces by ₹ 23.64 and if the work day increases by one, the income from migration increases by ₹ 43.47/day (Table 7). The dummy variable on marriage indicates that on an average, a married migrant earns ₹ 340 less than others. Similarly, a literate migrant earns ₹ 626 less than an illiterate migrant. For caste variable, the analysis indicates a negative association between the income from migration and their social status with the exception of the migrants belonging to the general category. On an average, a migrant from a general category earns ₹ 1 655 less than others, OBC earns ₹ 1 842 less than others and SC earns ₹1 686 less than other communities. Similarly, a migrant who travels up to 150 km only, earns less by ₹ 1 005 relative to others and a migrant who travels 150-200 km for employment earns less by ₹ 617 in comparison to others. Among the work done in the migrated place, construction and road work offered ₹ 1 247 more than other jobs.

Migration and gender issues

A gender perspective on migration helps to understand the condition of women in the migration stock and their contribution (Sanyal 2010). While women mostly accompany or join family members, women in recent times are migrating on their own. Though research studies on migration claim that they are gender-neutral, in reality they often end up utilizing models of migration, based on the experience of men, even if women are considered and treated as dependents and their contribution is ignored (UN 2005).

The process of migration has a differential impact on women- whether they are left behind in the village in case their husbands migrate or in case they too migrate along with the males (Sontakki and Ahire 2011). In case of the former, the female-headed households are faced with the multiple tasks of not only running the household but also

Demonster	Estimated a	ډړ ۲	Cianif.	
Parameter	Estimated coefficients 'b' co- Standard		't' value	Signifi- cance
	efficient	error	value	cance
Intercept	4388.911***	1082.514	4.054	
A. Age (X _{1i})	-23.641***	8.644	-2.735	0.008
 B. Marital status (X_{2i}) 1 for married and 0 for others 		245.046	-1.387	0.169
C. Caste (X _{3i})				
1 for General and 0 for others	-1655.308*	867.095	-1.909	0.060
1 for OBC and 0 for others	-1842.297***	474.233	-3.885	
1 for SC and 0 for others	-1685.678***	493.094	-3.419	0.001
D. Education (X_{4i})				
1 for Literate and 0 for others	-626.292**	250.223	-2.503	0.014
E. Main occupation (2	K _{5i})			
0 for labourer and 1 for others	280.031	467.985	0.598	0.551
F. Land owned (X_{6i})				
1 for yes and 0 for no	312.348	224.550	1.391	0.168
G. Distance traveled (2	X _{7i})			
	-1004.739***	290.281	-3.461	0.001
1 for 151-200 km and 0 for others	-617.438**	309.664	-1.994	0.049
H. Type of work (X _{8i}) 1 for construction and road work and 0 for others	1246.829**	508.390	2.453	0.016
I. Number of work days (X _{9i})	43.471*	22.484	1.933	0.056

Table 7 Estimated coefficients from the regression model $(\overline{R}^2: 0.41^{***})$

***, ** and * indicate the significance at one, five and ten per cent level of probability.

looking after the family, children and the aged. However, in this study, it was found that the rural women who are engaged in agricultural work are not getting the expected profit as they procure seed, fertilizer and plant protection measures through a middleman on contract farming basis and sell their products to the middlemen on low price.

While women migrate along with their husbands, family members, relatives and friends, the new area of habitation is an alien one with no established social nets. In many cases, women also migrate several times to several destinations, which leave them with no social security and network. However, community neighborhood feelings are preserved in case of migrants from one particular area living together in the host location. Taking care of small children also is a major problem as the mothers work in the construction sites and there is no specific crèche facility to take care of the

Table 8 Gender issues in migration of women labourers of farm families (n=100)

Gender issues	Percentage	Rank
Disparity in wages	85	Ι
Break down of social fabric and security	79	II
Food insecurity	68	III
Physical and mental drudgery	66	IV
Access to health facilities	55	V
Health hazard	43	VI
Neglect of children's education	36	VII
Double burden of household and paid work	x 32	VIII
Caring small children	28	IX
Hostile host community	18	Х

young ones. Health, education and employment protection services are hard to obtain in the destination. Another vulnerable aspect is the children's education. Whether they migrate with the parents or stay back in the village, children are exposed to all hardships and deprivation from educational and health facilities.

Gender disparity exists in construction work as in some of the more laborious activities such as digging, plastering male are more preferred as compared to female (Ponnusamy and Krishna 2013). Migration entrenches restrictive gender stereotypes of women's dependency and lack of decision making powers (Srinath 2009). The gendered division of labour at destination results in women's skills being underutilized. The interaction with respondents during data collection revealed that despite increased income at migrated place, they could afford pulses, vegetables, fish and milk products.

Women labour migrants experience drudgery in construction and digging work due to adoption of traditional manually operated tools and methods. In this context, gender issue is seldom addressed through ergonomics for enhancing the work efficiency and productivity of women. Due to hard work and consumption of low quality food, the migrant women suffer from malnutrition. It affects specially the pregnant women to a great extent. Hard work results in frequent fever and poor health condition. Even the pregnant women do not get any ANC (Anti-natal Care) facilities such as iron tablets and maternity care in the work place. Reproductive health care cannot be availed by the mothers in the migrated place. Overall the health status declines as a result of migration. During the period of migration, all such facilities are foregone by the women and children.

Farm families especially women migrate to urban areas in order to escape from poverty, indebtedness, nonavailability of work and low wages. Though migration is considered as a better option as there is no work in the lean agricultural seasons, the impact of migration on women is very critical. The study showed that the migration of the assetless, women labour migrants cannot be compared with skilled or educated people migrating as it tends to enhance the physical, financial and emotional burdens on the women. Women continue to bear the double burden of household activities as well as working in the construction sites, which leads to a more drudgery prone life as compared to the working conditions in the agricultural fields in their own villages. It was observed that the women labour migrants have poor contact and social network with their friends and relatives at origin due to lack of time, heavy work load and distance. Thus in a nutshell migration of women labourers not only makes their life hard at destination but also hampers agriculture at the origin. Odisha is an agrarian state and 60% of the population earn their livelihood from agriculture. With less mechanization, agriculture is totally dependent on human power and agricultural activities and production are affected due to migration of men and women from the villages. Hence, there is a need to control migration of women and encourage them to stay back in the village to carry out agricultural activities to ensure a healthy life and secured future. The study also suggests that women empowerment and livelihood security through agricultural investment, targeted in key areas can reduce migration.

Empowerment of rural men and women through entrepreneurial skills and profitable agriculture practices can help in addressing the issue. Internal migration is purely a matter of personal choice and in rural areas out migration takes place due to economic compulsions. The major reason for migration is that agriculture is giving way to infrastructure development resulting in reduction of arable land area, coupled with natural calamities.

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