

GLIMPSES OF WOMEN'S LIVES IN RURAL BIHAR: IMPACT OF MALE MIGRATION

Amrita Datta and Sunil Kumar Mishra*

Bihar has a rich history of out-migration from the state, which goes back to as early as the nineteenth century. However, during the last few decades, migration for work has increased manifold. The sheer scale of out-migration in contemporary Bihar is astounding. At any given point of time, as many as nearly one-half of the total number of working men are absent from the state, as they are working elsewhere in urban and rural centres in the country and abroad. Migration from the state is almost exclusively that of the male population and is embedded in the lives and life choices of the people. It is not just a livelihood strategy but a way of life in rural Bihar. While there is considerable research on various aspects of migration including the nature and pattern of migration from Bihar, the profile of migrant workers, migration destinations and other such correlates of a migrant's life outside the village, there is sparse literature on the impact of this migration on people, especially on the women who are left behind in the village. Many research questions remain unanswered. How are institutions such as patriarchy in the village affected by male migration? How does male migration influence women's well-being and agency? Does migration have an effect on women's mobility? Does it empower or disempower the women who are left behind? What role does technology such as mobile phones play in enabling those left behind to communicate with their migrant family members? What impact does this have on the women left behind in the villages?

I. BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

The eastern Indian state of Bihar is characterised by low and stagnant economic growth, high levels of poverty, and the lowest levels of per capita income among the states in the country up to 2005. The Human Development Index (HDI) for the state has increased from 0.237 in 1981 to 0.308 in 1991 to 0.367 in 2001, and ranks the lowest among the 15 major states in India. Bihar is also ranked the lowest in the Gender Equality Index, and has witnessed a decline in absolute terms over an earlier period (Planning Commission, 2002). The literacy rate in the state, at 63.8 per cent, is the lowest in the country, and the female literacy rate,

* The authors are Associate Fellows at the Institute for Human Development (IHD), New Delhi. Emails: datta.amrita@gmail.com and sunilihd@gmail.com. This paper is part of a larger study on "Status of Women in Bihar: Exploring Transformation in Work and Gender Relations", undertaken by the Institute for Human Development (IHD) and supported by the International Labour Organisation. The fieldwork for the study was conducted by Abhilasha, Kumari Rishu, Pratibha Kumari and Vinita Kumari. The authors are grateful to Janine Rodgers, Gerry Rodgers and Dev Nathan for their comments on this paper, to Preet Rustagi, who directed the study, and to Alakh Sharma for his constant support and encouragement. The usual disclaimers apply.

at 53.3 per cent, is significantly lower than the male literacy rate, at 73.5 per cent (Census of India, 2011).

The state has a long history of migration, and the earliest migration stream can be traced to the 1830s, when people from Bihar migrated as indentured labourers to the British colonies of Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad and Fiji. Since the mid-1960s and the spread of the Green Revolution, a large bulk of migrants has been going to the north-western states of Punjab and Haryana to work as agricultural labourers. More recently, in the 1990s and 2000s, a significant number of migrants have also been going to several other areas to work in diversified occupations (Sharma, 2005).

The rate of migration from the state to both rural and urban destinations is very high, and is believed to have increased over the decade, with rural people becoming more mobile (Kumar and Banerji, 2010; Deshingkar, *et al.*, 2009). Remittances from migration have significantly contributed to increased incomes in the state (Bhaskaran and Mehta, 2009; Rodgers and Rodgers, 2001). Apart from contributing to growth processes in other parts of the country, the migrants from Bihar have also been key drivers of social change in rural Bihar. However, in recent times, they have been facing a backlash rooted in ethnocentric movements in the host locations (Kumar, 2009), such as Maharashtra and Assam.

In India, the decadal census and quinquennial surveys of the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) are the two large primary data sets, which give information on the incidence of migration, and throw some light on its nature and characteristics. According to the Census (2001), 29.9 per cent of India's population, or about 307 million people were migrants. The main reason for male migration was work and employment, whereas that of female migration was associated with marriage. The NSSO has found that about 27 per cent of the country's population or more than 245 million people in India were migrants. However, more than half of them were rural females, who migrated for marriage. From 1983 to 2000, the proportion of male migrants to the population varied between 24 to 27 per cent in urban areas, and that of rural males remained constant at 7 per cent. Specifically for Bihar, the outmigration rate was the second highest in the country (about 3.45 million), with the highest being for Uttar Pradesh, and the net migration rate was -31 (per 1000 population), which is the least for all major states in India. The proportion of male population migrating from rural Bihar to urban areas was found to be 68 per cent (NSSO, 2007-08).

Owing to their conceptual framework, survey design and empirical shortcomings, both the Census and NSSO exhibit a bias towards long-term and permanent migration. They tend to miss out on short-term and circular migration and thus under-estimate the incidence of migration. The Census of India defines a migrant as someone who has had "a change in the usual place of residence... with reference to his/her previous usual residence" (Census of India, 2001). According to the NSSO, "a household member whose last usual place of residence (UPR) was different from the present place of enumeration was considered as a migrant member in a household", the UPR of a person being the place where the person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more (NSS, 64th Round). In the former case, migrants are recorded only at the place of destination, and not at the

place of origin. Thus, if a short-term or seasonal migrant is at the origin area at the time of enumeration, s/he would be excluded. In the latter case, migration streams of less than six months are under-estimated. This means that short-term, seasonal and circular migration is not captured.

Micro and village studies have consistently shown higher levels of migration from the poor regions of the country than these conventional data sources (Kumar and Banerji; 2010; Rodgers and Rodgers, 2010; Sharma 1997). Deshingkar and Farrington (2009) estimate that more than 100 million people are short-term migrants in India, in contrast with NSSO's estimate of 10 million people. Contrary to the findings of the conventional sources, they argue that the rural poor are highly mobile, and circular migration is an integral part of the livelihood strategies of the poor. As the migration data for the Census and NSS are collected from the end of in-migrants, the duration of short-term migrants is under-estimated. Arjan de Haan (2002) questions the undue stress on the distress nature of migration from Bihar, and sees migration as a household strategy that builds on existing migratory links.

Having said that, the point that we make is that migration from rural Bihar is high, is almost exclusively male, and is embedded in the lives and life choices of the people. It is not just a livelihood strategy but a way of life in rural Bihar. While there is considerable research that studies the nature and pattern of migration from Bihar, the profile of migrant workers, migration destinations and other such correlates of a migrant's life outside the village, there is sparse literature on the impact of this migration on people, especially women who are left behind in the village. Many research questions remain unanswered. How are institutions such as caste and patriarchy in the village affected by male migration? How does male migration influence women's well-being and agency? Does migration have an effect on women's mobility? Does it empower or disempower the women left behind? What role does technology such as the use of mobile phones play in enabling the people left behind to communicate with their migrant family members? What impact does this have on the women left behind in villages? This paper, based on an empirical study conducted in 12 villages across 7 districts of Bihar attempts to address these issues.

Section I provides a background and introduction to the issue of migration from Bihar and of overall migration in India. Section II reviews literature on the impact of male migration on women from the broad strands of its ramifications on women's work, on women's decision-making power in the household, on the new roles and mobility of women, their old fears and insecurity, and on patriarchy. Section III, which is based on an empirical study, presents the objectives and methodology of the study, following which it discusses the background to the migration in the survey villages by highlighting key characteristics such as the incidence and destination of migration, basic information on the work profile and occupation of migrants, and details of remittances sent by them to their families. It then elucidates the findings of the empirical study related to the impact of male migration on women's work, on women's decision-making power in the household, on women's involvement in managing money, on access to credit, and on women's mobility.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE: IMPACT OF MALE MIGRATION ON WOMEN

Most research on migration has focused on the role of migrants at the place of destination, and little is known about their areas of origin (de Haan, 1999). Little research has been done on the impact of male migration on women, who themselves have not moved but live in village-based families where the male members have left to seek work in other parts of the country, or in other countries. Hugo (2000) contends that the families of migrants left behind have to deal with not only the absence of their men, but also the influences of newly acquired money, goods, ideas, attitudes, behaviours and innovations transmitted back to them by the migrants. According to Willis and Yeoh (2000), such household re-arrangements can represent an opportunity for a restructuring of gender relations. Just as women's migration, especially for employment, can prove to be 'empowering', male outmigration may also provide opportunities for greater responsibility within the household for the wives of migrants left behind. At the same time, such a responsibility may prove to be a double-edged sword. While the absence of a husband may provide greater freedom, there may simultaneously be economic disadvantages, especially if remittances are irregular or non-existent.

1. On Women's Work

The main motivation for migration is the search of employment and better income, and improve the quality of life for the household. Often, male migration leads to a rise in household income, and improved standards of living. In a study of a Catholic upper caste village of peasant origin in Goa, Mascarenhas-Keyes (1990) found that male migration led to the withdrawal of women from agricultural work. In the case of Nepal, while using data from the 2004 Nepal household survey, Loshkin and Glinskaya (2008) found that male migration for work has a negative impact on the level of participation in market work by the women left behind. The impact is the strongest for women in the age group of 25-35 years and for women who have completed 11 or more years of education. Gulati (1993) studied 37 low-income households in Alakad, in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, from where men had migrated to West Asia. She found that this migration led to radical changes, and that male-dominated families transformed into female-dominated ones after this migration. This stream of international migration was able to multiply family incomes by 5-10 times, and women controlled the spending and investment of these remittances.

At the same time, studies also show that the remittances sent back are simply not enough. In a study of poor peasants and landless families in rural Uttar Pradesh, Jetley (1987) finds that the additional income through remittances does not substantially change the economic status of the family, nor does it help the latter rise above the subsistence level. Instead, women left behind have to assume, in addition to familial and domestic responsibilities, the role of a breadwinner, and older daughters have to take up the household chores, and act as surrogate mothers to younger siblings. In a study of women of the Saora tribe in Orissa, where men migrate mainly to Assam, Geeta Menon (1995) finds that income from migration does not mitigate poverty, nor does it make amends for the problems women face in the absence of men. In a study of male outmigration from the rice-producing regions of

eastern Uttar Pradesh, Paris, *et al.* (2005) find that there has been a marked increase in women's agricultural work, including a wide range of farm tasks and a heavier workload, and consequently the women have less time for domestic tasks and childcare. In an intensive study of 44 women in 26 families which undertook family stage migration, wherein male migration preceded that of women and children, from Mexico to the United States, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) finds that remittances were less than what the women left behind expected or required. They had to resort to informal sector employment such as vending, washing and ironing to make ends meet. Women with young children were doubly burdened as they had to manage child-rearing activities, along with income-generating activities.

2. On Women's Decision-making Power in the Household

The structure and composition of a household is a crucial variable for understanding the impact of male migration on women. Using data from a large-scale survey in 33 states in India, Desai and Banerji (2008) argue that women living in nuclear families experience migration differently from their counterparts who live in joint families. The former, unlike the latter, experience both higher levels of autonomy and greater responsibility. With specific regard to nuclear households, Paris, *et al.* (1995) find that due to the absence of males, women have to perform tasks traditionally done by men, particularly, land preparation and other tasks during the peak cropping season. Their participation in decision-making related to the farm has also increased. Mascarenhas-Keyes (1990) has found that the absence of men for prolonged periods of time has made their wives the *de facto* heads of their households. The women have, in fact, become self-reliant, and manage both the households as well as remittances, besides supervising farms and house building. The fact that these households were largely nuclear have implications for greater autonomy of women. Hondagneu-Sotelo's study (1992) finds that long periods of absence of men from their homes has diminished the hegemony of the husband's authority and increased the women's autonomy and influence in the family.

On the contrary, Jetley (1987) argues that though women in migrants' families may be taking decisions regarding the daily subsistence of the family, major decisions such as those pertaining to the purchase and sale of land, and expenditure on ceremonies, among other things, are made by the men, when they visit home. Thus, the structure of the family in terms of authority remains unchanged.

3. On New Roles and Women's Mobility

In her study of the Saora tribe, where male-only migration is prevalent, Menon (1995) finds that migrants have maintained their links with their lands and families back home through the females left behind, thereby making the women upholders of tradition and protectors of household economic assets and family members. She argues, that these roles, on the one hand, prevent women from leaving, while on the other, they give the men confidence to move out. The main problems faced by women in the absence of male relatives included an increased workload, additional burdens, illness, shortage of food and medicine, labour scarcity, problems in childcare, and indebtedness.

In her study of male migrants from Kerala to the Gulf, Gulati (1993) has found that the migration of men breaks down women's isolation, increases mobility and brings them into contact with a wider network of institutions than were in their purview before. This helps them gain greater confidence and assume more responsibilities. Some of them even take up income-generating activities. Yet, there are extraordinary situations when women do need and invoke, the support of the network of relatives, friends and even institutions. She also finds that women are very careful about how they spend their remittances. High on their list of priorities is the purchase of land and building of a house, as well as investment in gold jewellery—all tangible goals in an uncertain world.

Migration also acts as a catalyst to social change. In a case study of an illiterate Muslim woman, Hameeda, whose husband Jamal was an early migrant to Saudi Arabia, Gulati (1993) narrates:

"When Jamal is visiting home, he takes me out to the movies. He never insists that I should cover my head. My mother is very orthodox, and would never have permitted me such liberty. But she is in such great awe of Jamal that she does not interfere with anything he wants me to do on his short visits. Actually, now several women in our neighbourhood have stopped covering their heads and go to the movies in short-sleeved blouses. You need someone to take the initiative and introduce these small changes." (p. 31).

4. On Old Fears and Insecurity

For women who are left behind, male migration is not easy, and migration is viewed as a period of hardship (Hoodfar, 1996). Often, women's apprehensions about male migration are related to (the fear of) divorce and desertion (Menon, 1995). Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) found that many of the women were opposed to their husbands' migration, primarily because of the fear of being abandoned by them. She documents the trials and tribulations that the women left behind undergo, when they are faced with the duty of providing for their families, and caring for them, in the absence of their husbands. Women candidly share their feelings of how it is unfair that extra burdens are imposed upon them in such circumstances. Jetley's (1987) study throws light on the insecurities that women face when they are left behind by men. She finds that one-third of the women interviewed were positively unhappy about their men migrating, and one-half regretted the long absence of male members of the family. However, unlike the Mexican women in Hondagneu-Sotelo's study, these Indian women, regardless of how unhappy they were, did not find it appropriate to share their personal experiences. Yet, 43 per cent of them said that they felt lonely without their men., and felt helpless too. Male migration was viewed as unavoidable, and the women were reconciled to it. In a case study on the impact of outmigration on Khutauna Block in Madhubani, Bihar, Ram Nath Singh (1989) finds that while outmigration has brought about a transformation in both social conditions as well as social attitudes, it has also led to migrants developing extra-marital affairs in urban areas.

Gulati (1993) finds that in the absence of their men, women usually turn to religion for solace. They have to cope with the tension of living jointly with their relatives, as well as

face the difficulties of managing the children and taking care of the families. At the same time, they have to endure the emotional strain of long separations from their spouse.

5. On Patriarchy

Has male migration been a catalyst in the reorganisation of gender relations? Has it been able to make a dent on the institution of patriarchy? Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) argues that the migration process reconstructs patriarchy. While patriarchal gender relations are instrumental in organising (family stage) migration, lengthy spousal separations alter patterns of patriarchal authority and the traditional gendered household division of labour. She finds that long-term migrants, who had stayed in the US in 'bachelor communities', learnt cooking, cleaning and other domestic chores. When they were reunited with their families, they continued these activities, and such households had a more non-traditional division of labour. On the other hand, Jetley (1987) finds that when male migrants return home for a fortnight or a month every year, in rural Uttar Pradesh, India, they seldom help in household chores, though they are used to cooking, cleaning and washing in the city.

On the basis of anthropological fieldwork undertaken with families in urban Cairo, Egypt, where male members migrated to the Middle East/Gulf countries, Homa Hoodfar (1996) finds that traditional and less educated wives managed to improve their positions with respect to those of their husbands, within the household, during and after migration. On the other hand, better-educated wives whose husbands were skilled white-collar workers, were unable to do so, and lost out. They played a negligible role in the management of remittances and investments. She argues that migration may have feminised the Egyptian families, and led to women becoming *de facto* heads of their households, and contributing more to the household now, than they did before, but migration, by widening the gap between male and female incomes, had also hardened the traditional gender roles of men being breadwinners, and women being homemakers.

Migration is both gendered and gendering (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992). While migration being gendered is associated with the 'male' character of outmigration, it is also a gendering process in the sense that it can enable women to command a personal income, negotiate public spaces, foster their autonomy and esteem, and enhance their agency and well-being. In essence, migration is motivated by an aspiration for a better life. Be it the Saora tribals in Orissa, or the landless and small peasants in Uttar Pradesh, or the migrants from Kerala to the Gulf, an innate desire to improve the lives of their families is what initiates the process of migration, and sustains its trajectory. In rural societies, migration is not just about moving up the economic ladder. It symbolises modernity, and the possibility of upward (social) mobility. Migrants from the city bring back with them not just goods and goodies, but also new ideas and attitudes to a stagnant rural society. While women may have reservations about their men migrating, and endure their absence, they also aspire for economic and social change, and are agents in providing a conducive atmosphere for male migration. This is crucial for understanding complex gender roles and relations that define and govern the migration process in subtle, but fundamental ways.

III. FINDINGS OF AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

1. Objectives and Methodology

Based on an empirical study, this section¹ aims to analyse the impact of male migration on the lives of women left behind in rural Bihar. It explores the various contours of continuity and change in the lives of these women, while specifically assessing the impact of migration on women's work, both paid and unpaid; on their decision-making power in the household; on their mobility; and on their involvement in money management and access to credit. This empirical work is based on a survey of groups of women in 12 selected villages across 7 districts (Araria, Gaya, Gopalganj, Madhubani, Nalanda, Purnia and Rohtas) of north and south Bihar. A total of 88 groups of women across various castes [Upper Castes, Other Backward Castes (OBCs) I and II, Scheduled Castes (SCs) and (Scheduled Tribes (STs)] and socio-religious (Hindu, Upper Muslim, Lower Muslim) groups were interviewed.

The fieldwork for this study was undertaken from November 2009 to February 2010. In order to understand the impact of male migration on gender relations within the household and within the community, three sources of primary data were used. First was the household questionnaire, which was administered in 976 households in the 12 villages. Second was the village schedule, which was used to obtain crucial information from the key informants in the survey villages. Third and the most important was a specially designed gender module, which was used to complement the village schedule. As caste is the most important unit of social organisation in rural Bihar, the gender module was administered to groups of women from various castes in a particular village. Very often, hamlets within each village corresponded to caste habitations. All the *tolas* (hamlets) in each village were identified in consultation with the key informants in the village. The module was administered in various *tolas* in the village in order to capture the diverse groups of women in the village. Therefore, in a small village with less social diversity and few *tolas*, the number of gender modules administered was less than a village with more castes (and *tolas*). In all, 88 groups of women were interviewed. The module contained 93 questions, including some structured and others open-ended, facilitating the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data.

The 12 survey villages were earlier studied in 1981–83 and 1998–99, and were revisited in 2009–10. The methodology for the selection of survey districts, blocks, villages and households was the same for all the three surveys. As rural Bihar is very heterogeneous, the pure random technique was not used. A combination of purposive and random sampling techniques was used. Six districts² were selected on the basis of the cluster analysis of 24 plain districts of the then state of Bihar.³ The cluster analysis was based on several variables (such as population growth, population density, urbanisation, tenancy, cropping intensity, use of HYV seeds, irrigation, etc.), and one district was selected from each cluster. Within each district, three blocks were selected, and in each block, one small and one large village selected. Altogether, 6 villages were selected from each district, and 2 villages from each district were selected for detailed investigation. Thus, a total of 12 villages were selected after a preliminary analysis

of village level data for 36 villages. A questionnaire for the census household survey in all the villages was specifically designed to permit a class stratification of each village, and subsequent sampling was undertaken within class strata. The seven principal groups in this class structure were: agricultural labour; agricultural labour not cultivating, poor-middle peasants; middle peasants; big peasants; landlords; and non-agricultural work.

2. A Background to Migration⁴ in the Survey Villages

The incidence of male migration was very high in the survey villages. From the household survey, it was found that the percentage of households with at least one male migrant varied from 35.3 per cent in Amarhi in Rohtas to 84.4 per cent in Mahisan in Madhubani (Table 1). On the whole, the incidence of migration was found to be higher in the villages of north Bihar in comparison to south Bihar.

An overwhelming majority of the migrants from the survey villages went to urban destinations for work (Table 2). An exception to this norm was the village of Belabadan in north Bihar, wherein a majority of the migrants went to rural destinations. The proportion of households with rural migration was found to be higher in the districts of north Bihar in comparison to south Bihar. In fact, in 2 of the 12 survey villages, all the migration was to urban areas. In another 6 villages, more than 90 per cent of the migrants went to urban areas. The remaining 4 villages in the districts of Purnia, Madhubani and Araria in North Bihar had considerably higher migration to rural areas.

From the village schedule, it was found that Delhi is the most popular destination for migrants. The national capital has migrants from all the survey villages, whereas Patna, the state capital, has migrants from very few survey villages. In addition, other common destinations for migrants include Mumbai in Maharashtra; Vapi, Surat and Ahmedabad in Gujarat; Gurgaon, Noida, Bhiwadi, Ghaziabad in the National Capital Region (NCR),

Table 1
Incidence of Migration from the Survey Villages

<i>District</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Households with at Least One Migrant Member (in %)</i>
Gaya	Alalpur Bishunpur	55
	Rupaspur Salempur	54.8
Gopalganj	Dewan Parsa	67.1
	Paharpur Deyal	76.2
Madhubani	Khangaon	61.9
	Mahisan	84.4
Nalanda	Chandkura	44.7
	Mohiuddinpur	72.4
Purnia	Belabadan	65.9
Araria	Jitwarpur	48.5
Rohtas	Amarhi	35.3
	Samhauti Buzurg	37.5

Source: IHD Household Schedule (2010).

Table 2
Destination of Migrants from the Survey Villages

<i>District</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Migrants to Rural Destinations (in %)</i>	<i>Migrants to Urban Destinations (in %)</i>	<i>Total (in %)</i>
Gaya	Alalpur Bishunpur	4.5	95.5	100
	Rupaspur Salempur	2.9	97.1	100
Gopalganj	Dewan Parsa	2.1	97.9	100
	Paharpur Deyal	0	100	100
Madhubani	Khangaon	12.9	87.1	100
	Mahisan	19.3	80.7	100
Nalanda	Chandkura	2.6	97.4	100
	Mohiuddinpur	9.5	90.5	100
Purnia	Belabandan	55.2	44.8	100
Araria	Jitwarpur	33	67	100
Rohtas	Amarhi	0	100	100
	Samhauti Buzurg	6.7	93.3	100

Source: IHD Household Schedule (2010).

Delhi; Kolkata and Siliguri in West Bengal; Jamshedpur, Ranchi and Bokaro in Jharkhand; Kapurthala, Moga, Barnala, Sangrur, Firozpur, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana in Punjab; and Panipat and Bhiwadi in Haryana. Muslims from Gopalganj districts were also found to migrate to Middle Eastern or Gulf countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman and United Arab Emirates (UAE).

Another feature of outmigration from the survey villages was the preponderance of migration outside the state (Table 3). In 2 of the 12 survey villages, the total outmigration was outside Bihar. In another 7 villages, more than 90 per cent of the migrants went to destinations outside the state. In the remaining three villages, two accounted for more than 70 per cent of migration outside the states, whereas only one village had less than 70 per cent migration outside the state.

Table 4 depicts the work status of the male migrants at their destination. In 8 of the 12 villages, a majority of the migrants were regular salaried workers. However, in 3 of the 4 villages in north Bihar, a majority of the workers were daily wage labourers. Clearly, the terms of work were more precarious for migrants from north Bihar vis-à-vis south Bihar. Interestingly, self-employed workers were found in 8 of the 12 villages, and they constituted almost 10 per cent of the total migrant workers in 3 villages.

Migrants commonly worked in small industries, and as skilled artisans, construction workers, sales workers and security workers (Table 5). There was a concentration of migrants from north Bihar in the agricultural sector.

Sending remittances to their families back home was a near universal phenomenon among the migrants (Table 6). In 3 of the 12 survey villages, all the migrants sent money back home. In another 7 villages, more than 90 per cent, and in the remaining 2 villages, more than 80 per cent of the migrants, respectively, sent money back home. The average amount

Table 4
Work Status of Male Migrants at Their Destination

District	Village	Work Status			
		Self employed Worker (%)	Regular Salaried Worker (%)	Daily Wage Worker (%)	Others (%)
Gaya	Alalpur Bishunpur	0	62	38	0
	Rupaspur Salempur	3	85	12	3
Gopalganj	Dewan Parsa	6.5	44	48	8
	Paharpur Deyal	0	86	14	0
Madhubani	Khangaon	2.9	54	41	5
	Mahisan	9.5	35	54	11
Nalanda	Chandkura	8.3	50	42	8
	Mohiuddinpur	9.5	62	29	9
Purnia	Belabadan	6.9	16	74	10
Araria	Jitwarpur	2.1	9.6	86	4.4
Rohtas	Amarhi	0	89	5.6	5.4
	Samhauti Buzurg	0	61	39	0

Source: IHD Household Schedule.

of annual remittance varied from approximately Rs. 15,000 to almost Rs. 40,000 per year; and was found to be lesser in north Bihar in comparison to south Bihar.

IV. IMPACT OF MALE MIGRATION IN THE SURVEY VILLAGES

In interviews with the key respondents in the survey villages, a unanimous agreement emerged across all the survey villages that migration for work had increased during the last five years. Women's lives were greatly impacted by this. In households where male members had migrated, women graduated to performing tasks that were earlier looked after by the male members. These included decision-making in the household, managing money, agricultural tasks, supervision of farms, and household enterprise management. The impact of male migration in the survey villages is discussed below as per the findings of the gender module.

As already noted, for the gender module, a total of 88 groups from 12 villages in 7 districts of Bihar were interviewed. Of these, 12 groups belonged to the upper castes, 14 were OBC I, 24 were OBC II, 28 were SCs, one group was ST, and 9 were Muslim groups. Of the 88 groups studied, 69 (78 per cent) groups had households with migrating males.

1. On Women's Work

Male migration at the survey sites brought about profound changes in the work that women did both within and outside the household. As many 59 (86 per cent) groups reported an increase in tasks when male members of the family migrated. Women necessarily undertook more tasks, including those requiring mobility. Women from 33 (48 per cent) groups reported that they went to the doctor, those from 31 (45 per cent) groups said that they went to the market, those from 6 (9 per cent) groups reported that they went to their children's schools, and those from 3 (4 per cent) groups said that they visited relatives on their own. While

Table 5
Occupational Status in the Place of Migration

<i>District</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Skill-ed Artisan</i>	<i>Transport Worker</i>	<i>Construc- tion</i>	<i>Coolie</i>	<i>Small Industry</i>	<i>Hotel Dhaba Restaurant</i>	<i>Sales Worker</i>	<i>Security Worker</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gaya	Alalpur Bishunpur	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	38.1	0.0	9.5	23.8	14.3	100
	Rupaspur Salempur	0.0	0.0	9.1	9.1	0.0	54.5	0.0	9.1	6.1	12.1	100
Gopalganj	Dewan Parsa	0.0	26.7	11.1	15.6	4.4	22.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	13.3	100
	Paharpur Deyal	0.0	14.3	0.0	7.1	0.0	64.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	100
Madhubani	Khangaon	10.1	2.9	7.2	23.2	2.9	17.4	7.2	7.2	11.6	10.1	100
	Mahisan	18.1	8.6	3.4	14.7	0.9	28.4	0.9	5.2	1.7	18.1	100
Nalanda	Chandkura	0.0	13.9	0.0	19.4	5.6	38.9	0.0	2.8	0.0	19.4	100
	Mohiuddinpur	0.0	9.5	0.0	19.0	9.5	38.1	0.0	14.3	0.0	9.5	100
Purnia	Belabandan	58.6	10.3	3.4	5.2	0.0	1.7	0.0	12.1	0.0	8.6	100
Araria	Jitwarpur	25.5	8.5	1.1	50.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	1.1	0.0	9.6	100
Rohtas	Amarhi	5.6	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	38.9	5.6	0.0	27.8	11.1	100
	Samhauti Buzurg	0.0	3.6	3.6	3.6	0.0	64.3	0.0	0.0	7.1	17.9	100

Source: IHD Household Schedule (2010).

Table 6
Remittances

<i>District</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Migrants Who Remitted Money Home in the Last One Year (in %)</i>	<i>Mean Annual Remittance (In Rs.)</i>
Gaya	Alalpur Bishunpur	96	26,150
	Rupaspur Salempur	88	20,000
Gopalganj	Dewan Parsa	96	38,909
	Paharpur Deyal	100	37,063
Madhubani	Khangaon	97	19,654
	Mahisan	99	19,788
Nalanda	Chandkura	97	26,297
	Mohiuddinpur	100	15,381
Purnia	Belabadan	98	16,684
Araria	Jitwarpur	100	17,950
Rohtas	Amarhi	83	33,400
	Samhauti Buzurg	90	19,308

Source: IHD Household Schedule (2010).

women were usually likely to go outside the *tola* in the company of other women, they also went alone when required.

2. In Agriculture

With specific regard to agricultural activities, women from 30 (43 per cent) groups reported that their tasks had increased after male migration. New agricultural activities undertaken by women included the management of farms, as reported by 8 (12 per cent) groups and animal husbandry, as reported by 4 (6 per cent) groups.

Although it appeared that the nature of work for most women has remained the same before and after migration, there were many caveats. Women who were agricultural labourers before their husbands migrated continued to remain agricultural labourers, but were performing more diversified agricultural activities, while additionally having to tend to animals and single-handedly undertaking many other activities which were earlier shared by the male and female members of the family.

Similarly, the burden of work increased tremendously for women who worked in family farms, and as sharecroppers, after the male members of their families migrated. Kurmi⁵ women in Paharpur Deyal said that they "struggled more than the men". In recent years, there has been a movement away from agricultural labour towards sharecropping in the survey sites. This trend naturally has ramifications for women's work in families which practised sharecropping, especially in the context of high migration in the region.

For families owning large tracts of land, women had to oversee work in the farms, pay agricultural labourers, and often take decisions related to sowing, transplanting, weeding, harvesting, usage of seeds and fertilisers, and other such activities in agriculture in the absence of their husbands.

3. In Non-agriculture

Not many changes were reported in non-agricultural work done by the women in the survey villages, after the migration of men from their communities. This can be explained mainly by the lack of options for non-agricultural work. However, it was found that animal husbandry absorbed a substantial proportion of the women's time across different castes and classes.

In the Mansuri⁶ *tola* in Jitwarpur, women were mainly agricultural labourers. They also worked as construction labourers and at brick kilns whenever they got the opportunity. They said that the burden of their work had increased after male migration, even though they did all these jobs earlier too. Musahar⁷ women in Khangaon claimed that "when men were there, the work was shared. Now women do that work alone". Musahar women in Jitwarpur said, "We have to work at home and also on the farms; more than the men." Kurmi women in Amarhi said that they now had to "pay labourers, oversee and manage work on the farm, give fodder to animals". Brahmin⁸ women in Jitwarpur stated that other than taking care of the animals on their own, they had "complete responsibility of children".

4. In Traditional Occupations

The widespread migration of men from the survey site to other parts of the country led to significant changes in the traditional occupations in the village as well. In the Dhobi⁹ community, as men migrated to cities, women now performed tasks which they did not do earlier. In addition to washing and ironing clothes all by themselves, they were also involved in delivering clothes to their *jajmans*, an activity which was only done by the men earlier. Interestingly, it has been noted that in the more developed villages such as Dewanparsa in Gopalganj, the Dhobis have stopped any sort of *jajmani*¹⁰ activities.

The Kumhar¹¹ community too reported that their traditional occupation of making clay pots has significantly declined, as the demand for these had reduced considerably within the village. Here too, men have migrated in search of work, while women have marginally remained involved in the traditional occupation.

Among the Mallahs,¹² it was found that as work for men is shrinking in their traditional occupation of fishing, the women are forced to undertake activities like preparing snacks, selling them in the *haat* (local market), becoming street vendors, and working for long hours. They also sold flour, after having it processed at nearby mills, *muri* (puffed rice), bananas and tobacco at the *haat*. These new activities undertaken by women were precarious and temporary in nature, reflecting the survival strategies of a community which struggles to find work in a changing environment.

In the traditional occupations, women's contact with the marketplace for business and sale was minimal. In the Koeri community, a caste which predominantly grew vegetables, the women were involved in all aspects of vegetable-growing except their sale. Men exclusively sold the vegetables, just as in the Mallah community, wherein the men sold their catch in the market. The women were not involved in this aspect of work. Migration did not lead to a greater role for women in traditional activities here, as it had in some other cases mentioned above.

5. On Women's Decision-making Power in the Household

It was evident that after male migration, women were more involved in taking household decisions. Women from 36 (52 per cent) of the 69 groups reported that they were more involved in decision-making in the household. It is interesting to note that with the aid of mobile phones, communication with migrants was easy and undertaken often.¹³ Women frequently consulted their husbands on the phone about various decisions to be taken in the household. Telephonic conversations with their sons and husbands in faraway lands were also a common source of news and information. If a woman lived in a joint family, the parents-in-law generally played a major role in key decisions made in the household. Having said that, women across *tolas* clearly articulated their involvement in crucial and everyday decision-making in the household, in the absence of their husbands. Mallah women in Mahisan said, "From buying vegetables to choosing our *saris*, we make all the decisions ourselves." Women in the Yadav¹⁴ *tola* in Amarhi said that they took independent decisions on matters ranging from arranging marriages to how to spend money. When a research investigator asked Ansari women in Jitwarpur whether they consulted their husbands who were away, they asked in an exasperated manner, "Are we supposed to keep asking them all the time?" Brahmin women in Jitwarpur said that they took decisions regarding their children's education and managed remittances. Women in the Chamar *tola* in Jitwarpur said that they took all the decisions on their own "because we don't trust anyone else".

At the same time, strong footholds of patriarchy were felt in the voices of women from some communities such as the Koeri women in Amarhi, who said, "All decisions are taken by our parents-in-law"; the Yadav women in Mahisan confided that their parents-in-law control everything and that they have to ask their husbands for consent before taking any decision. Another common response elicited from the Nai and Chamar *tolas* in Khangaon and the Harijan *tola* in Amarhi was that whilst women take small decisions on their own, they consult their husbands and parents-in-laws before taking bigger decisions.

6. On Women's Involvement in Managing Money

With their husbands away, women were also more involved in managing money in the household. Women from 36 (52 per cent) of the 69 groups reported that they were more involved in the management of money, after the male members of the household migrated. Here, it is interesting to note the caste-wise patterns. While not a single upper caste group of women reported a change in the management of money after male migration, a majority of OBC II and SC groups, and all the Muslim groups reported that women were more involved in the management of money in the household after male migration.

A woman in the Paswan¹⁵ *tola* in Belabadan said, "It (managing money) was a bit hard in the beginning, but we have got used to it." Women in the Kurmi *tola* in Paharpur Deyal, the Ansari¹⁶ *tola* in Mahisan, and the Chamar *tola* in Jitwarpur had identical responses, when asked if they were more involved in managing money in the absence of the male members of the household. They simply retorted, "If we don't, who will?" In some *tolas* of the survey sites, albeit a minority, women reported that only their parents-in-law managed all the money in the household.

7. On Women's Access to Credit

In the absence of male members of the family, women often face barriers in both accessing credit, and getting credit on favourable terms. When women needed to borrow money, the sources of debt were the moneylender, reported by 53 groups (77 per cent); neighbours, reported by 18 groups (26 per cent); relatives/caste members, reported by 4 groups (6 per cent) and Self-help Groups (SHGs), reported by one group (1.4 per cent). It was observed that women from the upper castes and OBC II communities found it easier to borrow money from neighbours and relatives/caste members, vis-à-vis women from OBC I, SCs and lower Muslim communities, who were on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder. Thus, while the richer, landed women from upper caste households were often able to borrow money from their friends and neighbours, the poorer women had to resort to borrowing from the moneylender. The interest rates varied from 5-10 per cent per month, and it appears that women from the poorer communities like the Chamars, Paswans, Musahars and Mallahs paid a higher interest rate. Paswan women in Khangaon revealed that the regular interest rate paid by them was 6-7 per cent per month, but sometimes, out of helplessness, when they required money urgently, they ended up paying an interest of as much as 10 per cent. Even in the Brahmin *tola* in Jitwarpur, women complained, "We often have problems in getting loans; it's not easy." In some communities, women borrowed from family members and paid them back with interest.

8. On Women's Mobility, on Patriarchy

As complex as the phenomenon of migration is, the larger impact of male migration can be considered to be a benign one, for women's mobility in rural Bihar. When asked if their mobility had changed during the last 10 years, as many as 68 (77 per cent) of the 88 groups answered in the affirmative. While only 7 (58 per cent) of the 12 upper caste women's groups felt that their mobility had increased during the last 10 years, all the 9 (100 per cent) upper and lower Muslim women's groups asserted that their mobility had increased. This indeed indicates that far-reaching changes are taking place in the attitudes of communities hitherto perceived to be conservative.

Thus, in spite of the strong hold of patriarchy in rural Bihar society, women were found to be quite mobile. The nuclear family was widespread, as was seen in the survey sites. It was also found that the pervasive hold of parents-in-law over the household and married women had considerably reduced. Kurmi women in Amarhi said, "Now, there are less restrictions, we get out of the house more often. Earlier, in-laws restricted us a lot."

As it appears from the Dhuniya *tola* in Belabadan, while the men migrated to Delhi, Punjab, Haryana and Kashmir, among other places, increasing the work pressure for women, they responded that they had become self-confident and more aware in turn; and now wanted their children to be educated, and also participated in SHG activity. In spite of the fact that they live in a village with literally no men, they said that they felt safe. A discussion with Chamar women in Jitwarpur revealed that after male migration to north India, their economic condition had greatly improved. The women said that they sometimes choose not to go to work, as the pressure to work for survival has considerably reduced.

9. Women's Mobility Outside the *Tola*

The *tola* in which a particular caste resides has been considered as an undefined boundary wherein women can move around. Historically, for most castes and communities, women's mobility outside the *tola* has been restricted, with the severity of the restrictions being defined by where women can be located in the caste hierarchy. The higher the caste, the more severe are the restrictions. Efforts were also made to assess if during the last 10 years, there had been any changes in women's mobility outside the *tola*. At the survey sites, the unanimous response was that women, across all castes had become more mobile, and had started going out of the *tola* for work errands and leisure more frequently than earlier. However, in the lower castes, where women have always been more mobile, and faced fewer restrictions, women said that there were no changes in the situation regarding their movement outside the *tola*, as they were fairly mobile in the past too, and continued being so.

It is interesting to note that male migration has been quite a catalyst in enhancing women's mobility, especially in some conservative communities. Women were seen to be going outside the *tola* to work in the farms as agricultural labourers and cultivators. It was observed in some upper caste *tolas* that the migration of male members of the family had led to women overseeing and managing day-to-day farm activities, which included dealing with and paying the labourers. In some communities, it appeared that economic hardships forced women to be more mobile. The Khatve women in Khangaon said, "Since the family size has increased, women have to go out more to work."

Women also went to their children's schools, to the doctor, the market, the local *haat*, and to purchase groceries and vegetables. In some survey sites, women revealed that they even visited the circus. High levels of religiosity were also observed among women across caste and social groups. Women across *tolas* reported that they visited temples regularly, and went to the river to take holy dips and pray. Young women left the *tola* to go to school, for tuition classes, and to visit their friends. The Paswan women in Mahisan said, "we can go alone for any kind of work now".

Women mostly went outside in the company of other women from their *tola*. However, there were instances when they also went out alone, and carried on with their work, if they did not find company. Among the upper castes, however, the picture was somewhat different. In Sahmuti Buzurg, in the Mahabrahmin *tola*, women said that they normally never went out, and if they did, it was with a male member of the family. Women in the Rajput¹⁷ *tola* said that they only left the *tola* for religious activities (*shiv charcha*) and to visit relatives. Women from the Lohar¹⁸ *tola* said that they went out only for visiting religious places, and would be accompanied by other women of their *tola*.

It has already been seen that most women go outside the *tola* to buy vegetables from the market; an overwhelming majority of them now even buy their own *saris*. This was not a common practice in the past. Not long ago, women reported that their mothers-in-law and husbands bought *saris* for them. While this may appear to be trivial information, yet, it is important in that it sheds light on the deep changes that are taking place in rural Bihar. It

reflects an enhancement of the agency of these women as their mobility increases. This is indeed an instrumental change in the social framework of the state.

In rural Bihar, where caste intersects patriarchy in myriad ways, women's perceptions about their own mobility are worth noting. A Brahmin woman in Jitwarpur said, "Earlier, we were taken care of. Now, there is a need to go out as families have increased, and prices too have increased." Historically, women in upper caste societies have stayed within the realm of their homes. Their movement in the outside world has been severely restricted. The lower castes, however, have always been fairly mobile. With growing disposable incomes in the rural belts, a process of *sanskritisation* can perhaps be observed, wherein the economically better-off lower castes now seem to look down upon women's work. It has been observed among the communities wherein women undertook paid work in the past that they are now confined to being homemakers, and quite content at not having to go out to work.¹⁹ Paradoxically, this *decreased* mobility of women outside the *tola* may be perceived as a leap in their social status in the village.

When the women were asked what they did for entertainment, their most common open-ended response was participation in religious activities, which cut across all castes and social groups. It appears that women, irrespective of their economic and social status, spent considerable time, energy and resources in the pursuit of religious activities, be it a religious meeting in the *tola* or an excursion to a pilgrim place. *Bhajan, kirtan, satsang, pooja path, shiv charcha, mandir, ganga nahana* were the various components of the religious portfolio of women in rural Bihar. This proliferation of religious activities in the recent past can perhaps be located in a stagnant rural society with no means of recreation for women, compounded by individual loneliness due to the absence of male members of their family.

V. CONCLUSION

We have seen that the migration of men has brought about several changes in the work women do—within and outside their household. Women have been undertaking more agricultural, as well as non-agricultural work, which includes the management of farms and animal husbandry. While women who were agricultural labourers have continued their work as earlier, the burden of work has increased tremendously for women who work in family farms and as sharecroppers. On the domestic front, women are responsible for taking care of children, and the burden of their household tasks too has increased. They have become more involved in taking decisions in the household, and in managing household finances and remittances. At the same time, they face barriers in both accessing credit, and getting credit on favourable terms in the absence of their men.

We have argued that male migration has been quite a catalyst in enhancing women's mobility, especially in some conservative communities. The impact of male migration has been positive for women's mobility, as the latter have now started going out for both leisure and work. At the same time, while they have been playing a major role in the private sphere, their participation in the public sphere is still limited. And, while the migration of men has brought about profound changes in women's lives in rural Bihar, patriarchy and caste continue to be institutions that define and govern them in a fundamental way.

Notes

1. The section is a part of a larger study titled, 'Status of Women in Bihar: Exploring Transformation in Work and Gender Relations', undertaken by the Institute for Human Development (IHD) and supported by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) for seeking broad insights into the status of women in rural Bihar with a view to examining any signs of transformation in work and gender relations.
2. In January 1990, a district of Araria was carved out from Purnia, one of the survey districts. Two of the survey villages lie in Araria. This explains the 7 districts under the current study, vis-à-vis the 6 districts in the original study of 1981-83.
3. Bihar has since been divided into two states. In 2000, Bihar was bifurcated and a new state, Jharkhand, was carved out from the southern part of erstwhile Bihar.
4. The survey uses a five-fold classification of migrants. The first category is that of people who migrate from the village for a period less than or equal to three months; the second, of people who migrate for a period greater than three months, but less than eight months; the third, of people who migrate for greater than eight months, and their spouse is a resident of the village; the fourth, of people who migrate for greater than eight months, and their spouse is not staying in the village, but visits the village for festivals and other special occasions; and, the fifth are people who migrate for a period greater than eight months, and are unmarried.
5. The Kurmi caste is classified as OBC II.
6. The Mansuris are classified as lower Muslims.
7. Musahars are the lowest in the rung of the Scheduled Castes (SCs).
8. Brahmins are accorded the highest status in the caste hierarchy.
9. Traditionally consisting of washerpeople, the Dhobi caste is classified as SC.
10. The *jajmani* system is a caste-based relationship wherein a particular lower caste family renders specific services to an upper caste family. This patron-client relationship is hereditary in nature, and an integral part of social life in rural India. In the recent past, the *jajmani* system has undergone considerable decline.
11. Traditionally comprising potters, the Kumhar caste is classified as OBC II.
12. Traditionally consisting of fisherfolk, the Mallahs are classified as OBC I.
13. As many as 58.1 per cent of the households in survey villages had mobile phones. Among migrant households, this number was even higher at 65.3 per cent.
14. The Yadav caste is classified as OBC II.
15. The Paswan caste is classified as SCs.
16. The Ansaris are classified as lower Muslims.
17. The Rajput caste is classified as upper caste.
18. The Lohar caste is classified as OBC II.
19. The Paswan women in Khangaon fit into this category. They also reported that women in their *tola* were less mobile than they were 10 years ago.

References

- Bhaskaran, Resmi and Mehta, Balwant S. (2009), *Tracing Migrants in Delhi from Bihar—An Enquiry on the Role of Migration as a Development Facilitator in Poor Origin Areas*, Institute for Human Development and South Asia Network of Economic Research Institutes (SANEDI), New Delhi.
- Census of India (2001), Office of the Registrar General India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.
- (2011), Provisional Tables, Office of the Registrar General India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.

- de Haan, Arjan (1999), "Livelihoods and Poverty: The Role of Migration—A Critical Review of the Migration Literature", *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 1-47.
- (2002), "Migration and Livelihoods in Historical Perspective: A Case Study of Bihar, India", *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 115-42.
- Desai, Sonalde and Banerji, Manjistha (2008), "Negotiated Identities: Male Migration and Left-behind Wives in India", *Journal of Population Research*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 337-55.
- Deshingkar, Priya and Farrington, John (eds.) (2009), *Circular Migration and Multi- locational Livelihoods: Strategies in Rural India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- Deshingkar, Priya; Kumar, Sushil; Choubey, Harendra Kumar and Kumar, Dhananjay (2009), "Circular Migration in Bihar: The Money Order Economy" in Priya Deshingkar and John Farrington (eds.), *Circular Migration and Multi-locational Livelihoods: Strategies in Rural India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 139-70.
- Gulati, Leela (1993), *In the Absence of Their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette (1992), "Overcoming Patriarchal Constraints: The Reconstruction of Gender Relations among Mexican Immigrant Women and Men", *Gender and Society*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 393-415.
- Hoodfar, Homa (1996), "Egyptian Male Migration and Urban Families Left Behind: Feminization of Egyptian Family or a Reaffirmation of Traditional Gender Roles?" in D. Singerman and H. Hoodfar (eds.), *Development, Change, and Gender in Cairo: A View from the Household*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, pp. 51-79.
- Hugo, Graeme (2000), "Migration and Women's Empowerment" in H. Presser and G. Sen (eds.), *Women's Empowerment and Demographic Processes: Moving Beyond Cairo*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 287-317.
- Jetley Surinder (1987), "Impact of Male Migration on Rural Females", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 22, No. 44, pp. WS47-WS53.
- Kumar, Awanish (2009), "A Class Analysis of the 'Bihari Menace'", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 28, pp. 124-54.
- Kumar, Girish and Banerji, Pranab (2010), "Poverty and Migration: Some Insights from a Study on Bihari Migrant Labour", Paper Presented at International Seminar on *Poverty in Bihar: Pattern, Dimensions, and Eradication Strategies*, Patna, India, April 18-20.
- Lokshin, Michael and Glinskaya, Elena (2008), "The Effect of Male Migration for Work on Employment Patterns of Females in Nepal", *Policy Research Working Paper 4757*, The World Bank, Washington DC.
- Mascarenhas-Keyes, S. (1990), "Migration, 'Progressive Motherhood' and Female Autonomy: Catholic Women in Goa" in L. Dube and R. Palriwala (eds.), *Structures and Strategies: Women, Work and Family*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 119-43.
- Menon, Geeta (1995), "The Impact of Migration on the Work and Status of Tribal Women in Orissa", in Loes Schenk Sandbergen (ed.), *Women and Seasonal Labour Migration*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 24-78.
- National Sample Survey Office (2007-08), *Migration in India*, Report No. 470, NSSO 64th Round, Ministry of Programme Implementation, Government of India, New Delhi.
- Paris, T.; Singh, A.; Luis, J. and Hossain, M. (2005), "Labour Out-migration, Livelihood of Rice Farming Households and Women Left Behind: A Case Study in Eastern Uttar Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40, No. 25, pp. 2522-29.
- Planning Commission (2002), *National Human Development Report 2001*, Government of India, New Delhi.
- Rodgers, Gerry and Rodgers, Janine (2001), "A Leap across Time: When Semi-feudalism Met the Market in Rural Purnia", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 22, pp. 1976-83.
- (2010), "Inclusion or Exclusion on the Periphery? Rural Bihar in India's Economic Growth", *Working*

Paper No. 3, Institute for Human Development, New Delhi.

Sharma, Alakh N. (1997), *People on the Move: Nature and Implications of Migration in a Backward Economy*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi.

— (2005), "Agrarian Relations and Socio-economic Change in Bihar", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40, No. 10, pp. 960-72.

Singh, Ram Nath (1989), *Impact of Migration on Socio-economic Conditions: A Case Study of Khutouna Block*, Amar Prakashan, Delhi.

Willis, Katie and Yeoh, Brenda (2000), "Introduction: Gender and Migration", in Katie Willis and Brenda Yeoh (ed.), *Gender and Migration*, 'Edward Elgar International Studies in Migration' Series, Cheltenham, UK, pp. xi-xxii.