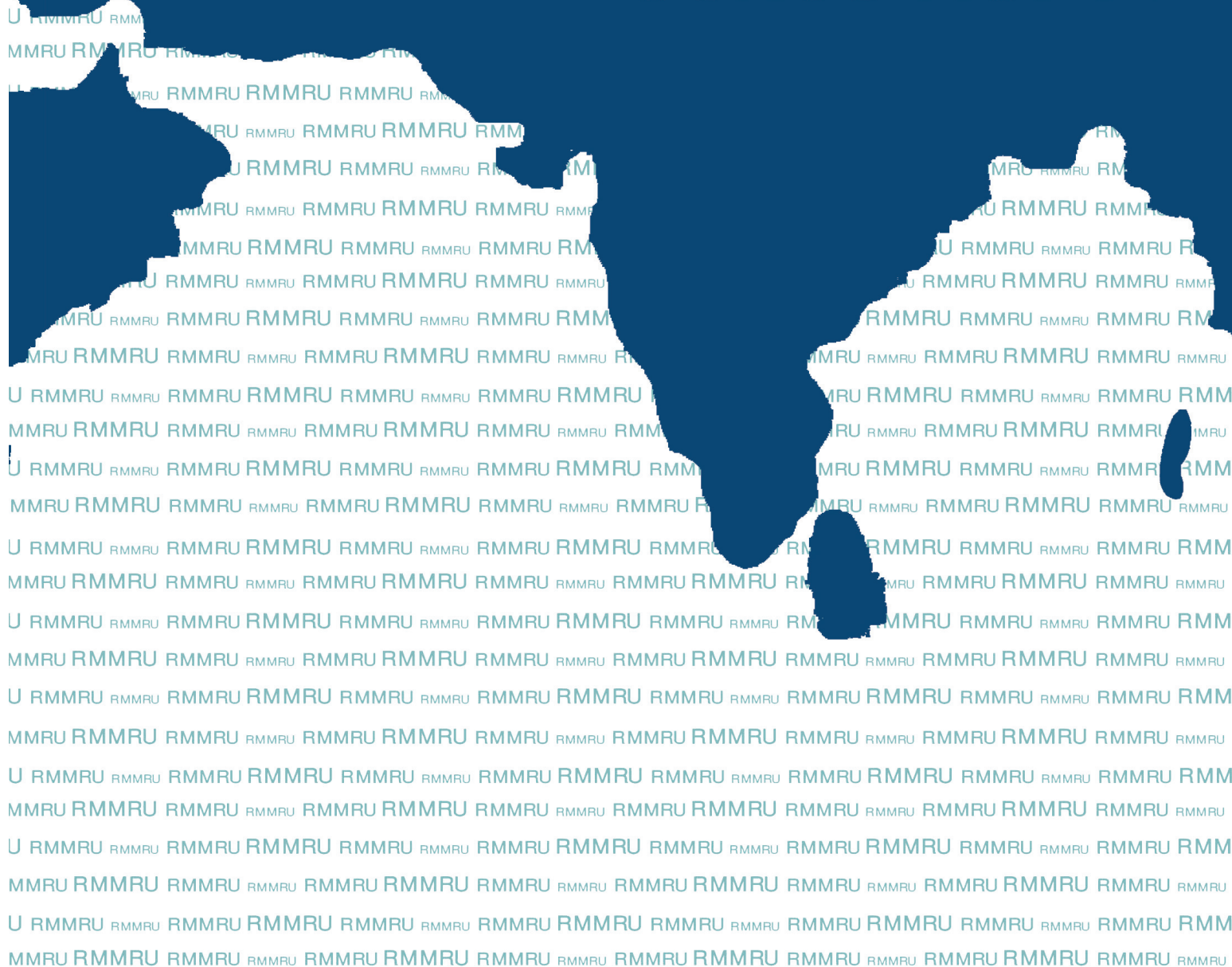




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**Internal Migration in Bangladesh: The Remittance
Dynamics of Domestic Workers and Rickshaw Puller**

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Key Words

ASA	Association for Social Advancement
BIDS	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
CNG	Converted Natural Gas
DPS	Deposit Pension Schemes
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
HSC	Higher Secondary School Certificate
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RMMRU	Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
TK	Taka (Bangladeshi currency)
YRF	Young Researchers' Forum
UPL	University Press Limited

Glossary

Char	Char a tract of land surrounded by the waters of an ocean, sea, lake, or stream. In the dynamics of erosion and accretion in the rivers of Bangladesh, the sand bars emerging as islands within the river channel (island chars) or as attached land to the riverbanks (attached chars), often create new opportunities to establish settlements and pursue agricultural activities on them.
Mahajan	Mahajan means local informal merchant, a dealer, a banker, a money changer, and a moneylender.
Eid ul-Fitr	Eid ul-Fitr is an Islamic festival that marks the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting.
Eid ul-Adha	Eid ul-Adha takes place on the tenth day of the Islamic month of Dhul Hijja. It is one of two Eid festivals that Muslims celebrate.
Salwar	Salwar is another form of popular dress for females. It consists of loose trousers (the salwar) topped by a long loose shirt (the kameez).
Sari	Sari is the traditional female garment of the Bangladesh. The sari is a very long strip of unstitched cloth, ranging from four to nine metres in length, which can be draped in various styles. The sari is usually worn over a petticoat and blouse.
Lungi	Lungi is the most commonly-seen dress of men, although it is not normally worn on very formal occasions. Lungis are worn by most men on a daily basis.

Puja	Puja is a religious ritual of the Hindu community to pray or show respect to God (or goddess).
Hawala	Hawala (also known as hundi) is an informal money transfer system used primarily in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. In the most basic variant of the hawala system, money is transferred via a network of hawala brokers, or <i>hawaladars</i> .

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Introduction

1.1 The Context

Rural-urban migration is a key livelihood strategy of many households in developing countries. Some scholars have identified rural to urban migration as a livelihood diversification strategy of some households. However, there is little information on the linkage of migration between rural-urban developments. Nevertheless, migration can meet the need for labour in areas of labour-intensive economic growth, predominantly in urban areas and benefits the rural poor by being a source of employment and income. Rural-urban migration is also seen by some experts to promote rural development through remittances, skill development and the combination of excess rural labour (De Haan, 1999:21). Since the migrants have close ties with the village, remittance is one of the main ways that migration can influence economic development in the rural areas. Remittance is generally conducive to broadly shared rural economic growth in several ways. Firstly, remittance typically involves increase in human development of the poor such as allocation of social-economic expenditures. Secondly, it involves an improvement in the distribution of assets and income. Thirdly, it reduces income inequality, changes in land tenure and places the land in the hands of small cultivators. Farmer can invest money in to the land, thus increase agriculture production (Mwabu and Thorbecke, 2004: i16-23).

Migration within and beyond the territories that now constitute Bangladesh has all along been an important livelihood strategy for many of its people. Today, both internal and international migration contribute to the creation of jobs and income for a large number of rural and urban Bangladeshi households. Internal migration plays a vital role in shaping the social and economic environment of the country. A recent review of available material on rural-urban migration in Bangladesh shows that urbanisation is the dominant feature of migration in contemporary Bangladesh. The 1991 Census calculated that 6 percent of households move each year. Eighty-five per cent of these move from rural to urban areas. Seven percent are within urban areas, six percent within rural areas, and two percent from urban to rural areas, which may largely be rural residents returning home, two percent of the total (Garrett and Chowdhury, 2004: 15). The 1991 census also shows that the capital city of Dhaka attracts a large segment of migrant population. In 1961 census, only 14.79 percent of Dhaka city was urbanised (Table-1), but the changes were underway. The Dhaka city urbanisation increased from 29.57 percent in 1974 and 38.5 percent in 1981 to 53.94 percents in 1991, mainly due to rural-urban migration (Afsar 2000). Now the total population of Dhaka Metropolitan area is 10.9 million and the growth rate of the population is 3 percent per year (Asian City Development Strategies: 2000).

Rural to urban migration is varies in its duration and can be permanent, semi-permanent, temporary, seasonal and circular. Most migration from rural to urban areas was by men who went to the cities for temporary and non-agricultural work. But, many migrants now seek to settle permanently in the urban areas. Many male migrants become rickshaw pullers. Dhaka had at least 280,000 rickshaws in 2000. Each rickshaw is operated by two pullers; one in morning and other in the evening shifts. If the average number of family members of a rickshaw puller is five, the rickshaws of Dhaka city alone are a source of household income where support for nearly three million people (Banglapedia)¹. Begum and Sen (2005) study describes that most of the rickshaw pullers originally came from very poor rural backgrounds, and that they have found rickshaw pulling to be somewhat effective as a route out of poverty. Upon entering the

advantage that a rickshaw puller has over an agricultural labourer is not so much a higher income, but the regularity of income flows, as it is not affected by high seasonal change like the rural agricultural labourer. Further, in consideration of the capacity to save, to access credit and to acquire assets, the average rickshaw pullers does appear to have a much better chance to escape poverty than their rural counterparts. Although rickshaw pulling provides an escape from the control of extreme rural poverty, they also face crises like personal insecurity, losing rickshaws and poor health which directly and indirectly effects on the household income.

In the case of women, they hardly moved alone. They usually moved because of marriage. Now, more women have begun to move independently to urban areas, especially divorced or separated women or young women (Garrett and Chowdhury, 2004: 17). The earlier arrivals initiate newcomers into the informal job market of rickshaw pulling, vending, van driving, shoe-shining, tea stall or restaurant servicing or simply day-labouring. Female slum dwellers seek jobs as house workers, hospital maids, and dish washers in hotels and restaurants or in some such role in order to enhance the survival capacity of their families. The major informal occupation in which women participated was found to be construction activities and domestic services. Since the 1980s, garment manufacturing has emerged as the most thriving industry in the private sectors. Nearly 2.5 per cent of total employment in the country is accounted for by the garments sector alone. Garment factories have provided female migrants with access to gainful employment. It is known that those women who work in the garment factories belong to the poorest of the poor rural households or are either widowed or divorced, and without male breadwinner within their households (Dannecker 2002: 48-49).

Migrants living in Dhaka city have economic, social and emotional ties with the village and sending remittance is one of the ways in which rural-urban relations are maintained. This group of people promote development in both urban and rural societies although not without considerable cultural dislocations. Nevertheless, so far hardly any research has been conducted that deal with patterns flows and utilisation processes of the remittances of internal migrants. This research makes an analysis on rural to urban migration and the remittances flows of two groups of informal workers; the rickshaw pullers and domestic workers.

1.2 Objectives:

The objectives of this study are:

- How the rickshaw pullers and domestic workers took the decision to migrate? How is information on migration option secured? How do rickshaw pullers and domestic workers secure work in the urban areas?
- What are their salaries/income and other entitlements? What are the mechanisms used for negotiating wages?
- Are they subjected to abuse and violence?
- What are the general patterns of remittances? What methods do they employ? What do they have role in decision-making within the family?
- What are the major policy reforms that may be advocated?

1.3 Methodology

The methodology employed in this study represents a combination of different approaches, both qualitative and quantitative. This paper is mostly based on output from primary [re]sources. It also relied on secondary information. Published material and research reports available from the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) and University Press Limited (UPL) constituted the most important sources of

migration about the people engaged in rickshaw pulling and domestic work. For this purpose, the study relied on individual interviews, focus group discussions as well as observational techniques. For the study, two separate questionnaires (based on interviews) were conducted with 200 respondents, 100 were female domestic workers and another 100 were male rickshaw pullers. Field visits were undertaken from April 2006 to August 2006.

Female domestic workers represented at least one year migration experience and were working at their current household for at least one year. To understand the different level of working condition of domestic workers, the study reflects upon interviews of domestic workers and their employers from four different locations of Dhaka city; these are, Gulshan, Dhanmondi, Mogbazar and Shantinagar. The first two combined reflect relatively rich households and the later two, middle income and low income households. The study also used different techniques to understand the nature of circular migration among the rickshaw pullers. During the field survey, we had to ask total 306 rickshaw pullers to find out who were the circular migrants. The total ratio of circular migrants to total migrants was 1:4. The field work was conducted in the locations of different areas in Dhaka city. Interviews were also taken with the owners of rickshaws and rickshaw garages.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical understanding of the research mainly draws from two broad areas of migration analysis. These are firstly causes of internal migration and consequences of migration. In the broader sense of the term, migration encompasses all kinds of movement from one place to another, alone or with others, for a short visit or for a long period of time, over a long or a short distance. In this study, the term 'Internal Migration' refers to rural-urban migration, which involves all types including permanent, semi-permanent, temporary, seasonal and circular.

The migration process is highly diverse. The pattern of migration changes over time. It is determined by the social and cultural institutions, embedded in the local customs and ideologies, and, hence, there is a diverse range of reasons for migrating. In addition, demographic, socio-economic, life-cycle, knowledge and opportunities about migration at the individuals and the households are also important in decisions about migration. Several recent reviews and collections have emphasised this aspect (Bilsborrow, 1998; de Haan, 1999; de Haan and Rogaly, 2002; Kothari, 2003; Mosse et al., 2005).

The early migration theories focused on the role of poverty rather than people as the reason for migration (de Haan and Yaqub, 2008: 3). The surplus labour model of Lewis (1954) and Rains and Fei (1961) explains the transfer of labour from low productivity agriculture to high productivity manufacturing. Therefore, labour is withdrawn from rural areas and employed in the urban sector without sacrificing any loss of agricultural output. However, the most important theoretical starting point for migration theories is the neo-classical economic models (Todaro, 1969 and Harris and Todaro, 1970), which built on Sjaastad's (1962) model of human investment that regards migration as an investment in human capital and its economic return over the working life of the individual. Todaro replaces Sjaastad's known urban incomes with their expected values in calculating their present values, although Todaro continues to assume that migration decisions are based on a rational choice, that is the difference between the discounted expected income streams in the sending and origin areas. In this model, potential migrants are seen as calculating their expected earnings (equal to their expected wages multiplied by their probability of being employed) in their place of origin and various destinations, and then migrating if the difference is positive and

process. According to Kothari (2003: 347), it is an individualistic theory based upon economic motives. Thus, motivation is an important characteristic of migration, whether voluntary, involuntary or impelled, independent/dependent, a decision which is dominated by 'push' factors or primarily shaped by 'pull' factors. Both of these, taken together, contribute towards the creation of the conditions for people to migrate.

The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theory, developed by Stark (1984, 1991), Stark and Bloom (1985) and Stark and Taylor (1991), rejects the neo-classical model, considering the decision to migrate to be a household decision rather than an individual one. Migrants may not in all cases make the decision to move alone, especially in traditional rural societies where the family welfare rather than the individual's welfare is the dominant consideration in any decision making. Also, many migrants may not be of the necessary age, or possess the required education and skills (Roy, Tisdell and Alauddin, 1992: 58 and Fan, 2008: 7). Therefore, decisions are arrived at collectively by larger units of related people, such as the family, household and community.

Within a household approach to decision making, individual household members have different capacities, characteristics and skills; hence, there is a division of labour. Households diversify their sources of income through the allocation of household labour over a range of tasks so as to achieve a satisfactory level of production. There are two objectives behind allocating labour in this way. One is that a household may decide to send one or more of its members in order to stabilise/maximise its income. Another consideration is to minimise the risk, so that a failure in one area will not necessarily result in a total economic disaster for the household. Thus, migration provides a strategy for diversifying the sources of income and thereby reducing the risk in order to stabilise the income. It also acts as a strategy for overcoming various market constraints to enable migrant households to engage in economic activities and invest in the migrant's place of origin (Brownlee and Mitchell, 1997: 46-47). An important consequence of NELM is the existence of remittances, that describes the positive links between migrants and development, emphasising the role of remittances on the decision to migrate that helps to reduce the vulnerability of migrant households (Hoddinott, 1992: 206-207; Taylor and Martin, 2001: 463; Cohen, 2005: 88). According to this approach, Cai (2003: 472) and Hamid (2007: 7-8) argue that remittances are not only considered as sources of income for the recipients but also represent the intra-familial relationships that demonstrate a high degree of interaction and common interest between the migrants and their families in their areas of origin.

Nevertheless, under the NELM approach, the role of gender in household migration has not been analysed. The approach describes migration by entire households and women are typically considered as tied movers (Pfeiffer, 2008: 14). However, Boyd and Grieco (2003) criticise the NELM approach, arguing that family/household decisions and actions do not represent unified and equally beneficial outcomes for all family members. This is because the members of the household, with their different activities and interests, can come into conflict with one another. In that situation, considering the ongoing power relations, it is strongly suggested that men and women have diverse interests which may affect the decisions about who migrates, for how long, and to where. However, men and women have different attitudes towards vulnerability and risk that influences the choices that they make with regard to diverse income-earning activities (Niehof, 2004: 330). In many cases, it is the elders of the family (usually male) who take the decisions regarding the roles of women, young boys and girls in migrating, and therefore control the distribution of resources and information (Chant and Redcliff 1992: 24; Jong, 2000: 307-308; Curran and Saguy: 2001: 66; Delon, 2002: 20). In this situation, participation of migration, young boys and girls are

Curran and Saguy (2001) of Thai Migrants, show that the heads of families are more likely to send their daughters to work overseas because they perceive them to be more reliable with regard to sending remittances. Therefore, gender analysis is an essential tool for unpicking the migration process, for understanding not only the differentiated motivations for and impact of migration but also the way in which the migration process is structured, emphasising power and exploitation (Chant and Redcliff, 1992: 17-24; Goldring, 2004: 820-824; Mahler and Pessar, 2006: 28; Donato et al., 2006: 4-5).

While the NELM emphasises the role of the family when analysing migration-poverty linkages, it fails to consider sufficiently cultural factors, values, and so on (de Haan and Yaqub, 2008: 4). There is a growing understanding of the important role of social networks and cultural capital in the migration process. The flow of information, perhaps better known as 'the network theory of migration', highlights the role of social contacts and social networks. Network connections become a form of social capital which gradually allows people to gain access to various kinds of financial capital (Lucas 1997; de Haan and Rogaly, 2002; Roberts and Morris, 2003). Bigsten (1996: 5) argues that social networks are important where there exists a lack of income or low income, uncertainty about future earnings and imperfections in the insurance and capital markets. Previously, the research on migration emphasised the importance of networks between males but recent research shows that women also have their own networks with other women and utilise them in order to migrate (Pedraza, 1991: 308 and Curran and Saguy, 2001:55).

Migrant networks operate within the interpersonal ties that grow from kinship, friendship and a shared community origin. Potential migrants rely on networks of social relations to supply them with valuable information about migration and job opportunities. In addition, they also receive their migration cost, accommodation and initial living costs from their relatives and friends at their destination (Hugo, 1997: 281; Gugler, 2002: 24; Pham and Hill, 2008: 66). The development of such networks decreases the cost and risk associated with migration and increases its expected net return (Banerjee, 1984; Bigsten, 1996; Kuhn, 2005). However, Bigsten (1996: 5) and Hogue (1997: 280) argue that these networks not only link individual family members with their friends and other family members in a range of destinations but also often link to them potential employers as well. This link guarantees the potential migrants work, on the one hand, but also assures the employer of a regular, trustworthy supply of labour.

A number of theoretical frameworks have been proposed as a means of explaining the migration process. Here, different migrants have different motives and different opportunities. The NELM has emphasised the family and its strategies as crucial elements in migration decisions. Families diversify the sources of income through the allocation of household labour to achieve income maximisation and risk minimisation. Migrants and their families enter into a contractual arrangement in which remittances play an important role in the decision to migrate. The community is also crucial as a migration network for facilitating and often determining the migration patterns. One of the most important aspects of migration networks is that social networks reduce the cost and risk of migration; hence, the households of origin use and rely on social networks to send potential migrants overseas to diversify their income.

The impact on development of migration always emerges as a subject of debate among academics, and it is very difficult to draw general conclusions about the role of migration in the migrants' areas of origin and destination. Empirical evidence suggests that migrants maintain strong ties with their place of origin, and remittances, knowledge, technology and skills transfer are one of the important means through which these relations are maintained (Dyckman and Kirsten, 2003: 3; and Meadale, 2006: 3). The

terms of consumption but also increase the liquidity of their savings and capital, enabling them to invest in education, health, entrepreneurship and both agricultural and non-agricultural production activities, all of which provide a high social return in most circumstances, thus stimulating economic growth and reducing poverty both directly and indirectly (ibid, XIII). Nevertheless, the net effect of migration on development remains complex and context-specific: data are scarce, and dependent on the size and frequency of these remittances and their uses, typologies of migration (whether permanent, temporary, seasonal or circular), with varying social relations that structure the migrants' movements, the nature of their employment, their income (higher-earning migrants feel less financial restraint and hence remit more money), their living costs (which determines their capacity to save), their degree of attachment, their willingness and motivation to share part of their earnings with those who remain back in their place of origin, and their intent to return to their place of origin (Hoddinott, 1992: 214; Taylor, 1999: 66; Ellis, 2003: 4; Black, Nathalie and Skinner, 2005: 5; de Haan and Yaqub, 2008: 8).

Internal migration often leads to broad range of consequences. The significance of migration is to accelerate urbanisation. In Asia the proportion of population living in urban areas has doubled in the last 50 years from 17.1 percent of the total population in 1950 to 34.9 percent in 2000 (Deshingkar, 2004:7). Although there are no formal data on the economic contribution of migrant labour in the cities, these migrant communities with wealth of energy, organisational skills and talent, works in the informal sector that Government can tap to their own advantages (Skeldon, 1997). Deshingkar (2004:43) study shows that according to one unnamed source nearly 90 per cent of all construction work in India is carried out with migrant labour. Without migrant labour, timely transplanting and harvesting would not be possible in many parts of South Asia, especially where land parcels are too small to mechanise. Many industries are geared towards export use migrant labour: for example, prawn processing and garment manufacturing.

Direct socio-economic impact of internal migration on the rural economy is also difficult to analyse. Remittances sent by migrants are found to be of greater relative importance to the income of the poorest of the poor. It reduces the uncertainty of the family income, provides investment funds and livelihood. Remittance helps to reduce poverty, even though in many cases it does not radically improve living condition. However, remittances also make up a large proportion on non-poor household's income. For example, in South Africa the proportion of remittances is 41% of the total household income (Haan *et al*, 2006: 18-19). In Vietnam, findings from the Institute of Sociology survey showed migrant remittances accounted for 60–70% total cash incomes of rural households (Anh *et al*, in Siddiqui 2005: 308). According to a report released by the consultative Group to Assist the poor, China's rural migrants sent home nearly US\$30 billion in 2005 (Murphy, 2006:6).

Different country studies show that most remittances used for household consumption and daily expenditure, including building and decoration new houses and weeding and funeral ceremonies etc. However, the multiplier effect of remittances has potentially contributed to the increase incomes and generated employment in the rural agriculture sector. Murphy's study (2006: 5-26) described that in the case of China, remittances have greatly improved the incomes of rural people. One source finds that remittances contributed 18 percent of total rural income. However, finding from different studies on the impact of remittances on agricultural production in China are contradictory. It was thought that remittances do not adequately compensate for the labour from farming. Direct investment of remittances in agriculture is only one potential way that these funds may support production. Another way is that remittances may

members no longer needed to rely on borrowing seed and fertilizer from neighbours before the harvest and on making their repayments in grain after the harvest. Nevertheless, remittances therefore provide a way for rural people to obtain a desirable property location and by extension, to gain access to local credit. Hence, even though farmland is not really an outlet for remittances in China, a small number of rural people do use their urban savings for strategic land investment.

Different studies also show that returning migrants can bring skills, funds, information about markets and new technologies and different values back to their native village. This can lead to far-reaching changes. A study by Yang (2004) in Thailand found that returnee migrants were using their knowledge and experiences to help villagers come together to solve local problems. A study by Simelane (1995: 213) of Swaziland found that the women did not perform in the traditional agricultural field due to the men's migration to the South African mining areas. A more crucial factor was the unavailability of new agricultural technology, but this situation changed when the migrants' remittances were used by women to hire second-hand tractors. This resulted in increased agricultural production and in the number of family fields under cultivation. Other empirical studies that address the significance of internal remittances include those by Curran (2001) of Thailand, Niimi, Pham and Reilly (2008) of Vietnam, Assan (2008) of Ghana and Sherbut (2009) of Kenya. These studies suggest that remittances have considerable potential to affect migrants' households' benefits for example, valuable source of household income and a means of risk diversification. Remittances can also be invested in human, physical and social capital to enhance the household income and production.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

This research only provides information on a section of internal migrants who works only in two professions in the informal sector. Internal migrants are working in many other informal and formal sectors which have not been covered in this study. In case of domestic workers as well it only covered home bound workers, not those who live outside the employer's house. Rickshaw pullers who permanently moved to Dhaka have also not been covered in this study. So, no generalisation can be made about both types of workers.

1.6 Structure of the Present Study

The report is divided into eight chapters including the introduction and the conclusion and policy recommendations. Chapter I outlines the objectives, methodology, theoretical framework and limitations of the study. The survey findings are presented from Chapter II to Chapter VII. Chapter II present the socio-economic conditions of the rickshaw pullers and domestic workers. Chapter III provides personal migration history information. Chapter IV elaborates their experiences of finding employment. Chapter V reveals the working conditions. Chapter VI portrays the nature and patterns of remittance. Chapter VII investigates the impact of migration of the rickshaw pullers and domestic workers. Finally, Chapter VIII brings together the major findings and policy recommendations.

Socio-Economic Characteristic of the Respondents

In this section, general background information of 200 respondents is presented. The main objective of this section is to provide basic information on the respondent's age, household situation, livelihood options, income opportunities and land ownership pattern.

2.1 Age Composition

The literature on migration suggests that comparatively young people internally migrate. Shaw (1975), Connell et al (1976), Oberai and Singh (1983) highlighted the high movement among the young adults migrant to urban areas. Afsar (2000:113) shows that 13% of permanent and 38% of temporary migrants migrated to Dhaka before the age of 20. Comparing between male and female migrants to urban areas, these different studies found a lower age for female than for male migrants. Hussain (1996) showed that a high proportion (44%) of the long term female migrants had moved to Dhaka at the age of 13 years. Table 2.1 and 2.2 presents data on the current age, the age of migration and age distribution of female domestic workers and male rickshaw pullers.

Table 2.1: Current age group and age during first migration of domestic workers and rickshaw pullers

Age Group	Domestic Workers		Rickshaw pullers	
	Current Age	Age During first migration	Current Age	Age During first migration
0-10	0	21	0	0
11-15	31	37	0	12
16-20	31	14	6	31
21-25	7	11	15	29
26-30	6	3	28	17
31-35	8	10	20	4
36-40	6	1	16	3
41-45	6	0	7	1
46-50	1	3	3	1
51-55	2	0	3	0
56-60	2	0	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 2.2: Age distribution

	Domestic Workers		Rickshaw pullers	
	Current Age	Age During first migration	Current Age	Age During first migration
Average	23.23	17.47	33.19	23.09
Minimum	11	4	18	10
Maximum	60	50	62	50

As many as 58 female domestic workers were under the age of 15 when they first migrated to Dhaka, while 12 of the 100 male rickshaw pullers were less than 15 years old when they first migrated. Overall, the average age of first migration for female domestic workers was 17.47 years, while for male rickshaw pullers it was 23.09 year. This corroborates the migration literature that in both categories a large number of respondents migrated at a very young age. However, female migrants were younger than male migrants when they first migrated; with 21 of them were less than 10 years of

domestic workers recruiting agents in rural villages stated that employers needed to pay them one month salary to cover the cost of rural to urban travel. Many employers do not want to pay this cost, therefore preferring to employ child or adolescent domestic workers who as individuals and their families had less bargaining power. They negotiated with the domestic workers' families that they will take some responsibility for the girl when she grows up and is ready for marriage. The employer also bargains a better deal by saying that they will teach the young girl different skills. So as an unskilled new comer, she should not be getting paid much. Young girls were also preferable because they would not switch job early, they would at least work at a present place for a couple of years. Another observation is, most employers were nuclear family and they had their children which young domestic workers also served as play mate of the young kids of the family. In case of rickshaw puller respondents, migration at a young age was tradition in their local areas. The average current age of female domestic works is much lower than for men reflecting the fact that female migrants often have to leave employment to marry and then live patriocally in their husbands' village.

It is seen in the profile of domestic workers that started work at a very early age. One of the interviewees was 4 years old when she first migrated. Interviewing employers gives important insights into this issue. This indicates the role of both demand and supply side in the labour market. It is interesting to note that the employers showed certain preference for employing young female children at home. The domestic workers are home bound. They will be working in the private sphere of the house and it is the wife of the households who usually manages the work of the domestic workers. The wives prefer young female workers. Moreover, families would like to maintain certain privacy from neighbours. A young male is viewed as to be going out and can mix with the wrong crowd. This can make the house vulnerable to petty theft or big robbery. A female child would have less mobility and they can bring less harm from outside.

In 75% of the households interviewed, the wives of the employers were housewives. They mainly did the cooking. They needed support in a hand for which young female children are better suited. Besides many of the houses do not have separate living spaces for domestic workers. Young ones female workers can sleep with female child or elderly members of the family. An older woman will have more requirements for privacy. Vice versa the family would require more privacy from an older woman. Some of the households specifically did not want an unmarried 16 to 25 years old girl in the house to limit the potential for sexual harassment from both sides.

So, one can see that in a way it is the demand side of the market which is actively operational in attracting young female children from villages.

2.2 Education Level

The rate of literacy of the respondents of these two migrant working groups was very low. Lack of access of schooling was not the reason for this. Respondents or their families had to think more in terms of their livelihood. Early drop out from school was very high. Table 2.3 shows that 42 of 100 domestic workers were not literate before migration. 16 of them could sign their names. 35 respondents attended class I to V and 7 attended up to class VI-VIII. There was no SSC and HSC level of education of female respondents. A section of female respondents attended primary school for a few years to obtain food and other facilities including free schooling for girls by the Government. Previous research on female migration to urban areas found that a very high percentage (89%) had no education at all (Hussain, 1996: 73), whereas now the data shows that entry to school for both sexes has increased. However, it is clear that they or their families could not afford to stay long in school and develop their human resources

A good number of rickshaw pullers had some level of literacy before migration. Of the 100 rickshaw pullers, 25 knew how to sign their names before migration. 17 respondents attended class I to V and 13 attended VI-VIII. Quite few of them studied up to SSC and HSC level, 42 of them were not literate.

Table 2.3: The Educational profiles by sex

Status	Domestic Workers		Rickshaw pullers	
	Current	Before Migration	Current	Before Migration
Not literate	33	42	37	41
Can sign	9	16	12	25
Class I to V	0	35	0	17
Class VI to VIII	0	7	1	13
SSC	0	0	0	3
HSC	0	0	0	1
Stop Education	58	0	50	0
Total	100	100	100	100

After migrating, respondents did not get an opportunity to continue studying. 58 female migrants had to stop education after migrating, whereas the figure is 50 for men. However, 9 female respondents learnt how to sign their names with the help of their employers. While, 12 of 100 rickshaw pullers knew how to sign their name, with most stating that they learnt to sign their name out of their own interest with the help of local NGOs and friends. One may conclude that migration stops the possibility of increasing own educational qualification of the migrants, particularly of female migrants.

2.3 Religion

Table 2.4 shows that an overwhelming 97% of the total respondents were Muslim. 2% were Hindus and 1% was Christian. Among the Muslims, 97 are domestic workers and 98 rickshaw pullers. The representation of the minority community in this study is not proportional to the ratio of population². One explanation for this could be that social networks played a major role in inducing migration. This favoured Muslims migration. Another explanation could be that households employ domestic workers of the same faith. It was found in interviews that Muslim households employed Muslim domestic workers, while the one Christian domestic worker was working with a Christian employer. Regarding the issue of less Hindus or other minorities in the rickshaw pulling sectors, the study found that local minority people prefer to work in their local area. The respondents also stated that people of Hindu faiths with a similar economic background preferred to work in their traditional jobs that they inherited from their ancestors, such as gold smith and potters.

Table 2.4: Religion of rickshaw pullers and domestic worker

Religion	Domestic Workers	Rickshaw pullers
Muslim	97	98
Hindu	2	2
Christian	1	0
Total	100	100

2.4 Marital Status

Table 2.5 shows the marital status of two professional groups under study. It is interesting to note that in case of domestic workers marital status before and after

remained unmarried. Conversely, in the case of rickshaw pullers, 50 of them were unmarried when they first migrated. Now only 12 remained unmarried. This shows that migration does not have any effect on the marriage prospects of rickshaw pullers, while for domestic workers migration can be seen as a deterrent to their getting married.

Interestingly, 21 female migrants were married before migrating, but only 10 of them currently retained their marital status. The number of separated and divorced women had increased highlighting the difficulties encountered by domestic workers and their partners in staying married. As noted earlier, some women also got married after migrating. However, once married, they would leave domestic work and stay with their husband or in the village³. The study also found a section of young rickshaw pullers stated that they migrated due to early marriage, with the need of a livelihood to maintain their wife and children pushing some migrants to migrate.

Table 2.5: Marital status of the migrants

Status	Domestic Workers		Rickshaw pullers	
	Current	Before Migration	Current	Before Migration
Unmarried	62	66	12	50
Married	10	21	87	50
Separated	15	6	1	0
Widow	12	7	0	0
Divorced	1	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100

2.5 Household size and composition

Family structure or composition is seen as an important demographic dimension, which influences mobility strategies (De Haan 2006). According to Mahbub (1997:148), migrants tend to come from larger families, members of joint and extended families are more likely to promote migration. It was found that males who move from nuclear families largely prefer short-term movements, such as commuting or seasonal migration. The current average size of family of the respondents is 5.96. Among them, the average family size of the female domestic workers is 6.09 and male rickshaw puller is 5.83.

55% of rickshaw pullers belonged to a nuclear family, while 45% of them were members of a joint family. Some of the respondents of joint family stated that they stayed together as they felt that collective income helped them to better manage family. A section of them also felt that it was their responsibility to look after their parents and extended family members. In case of female domestic worker, this question is answered better when we inquired about the head of the household. 57 female respondents stated their father were the head of the left behind family. 12 respondents stated their mother and another 12 said brother respectively. Only 3 stated husband and 9 respondents stated herself. This means domestic workers were mostly part of their parental family.

59% of domestic workers and 82 per cent of rickshaw pullers were sole migrants from the family. All other respondents had other members of the family who were also migrants, ranging between one extra migrant family member to five in one case. The majority of these sibling migrants lived with the respondents in Dhaka and presumably in most cases one was responsible for the arrival of the other following the literature on social networks and migration.

2.6 Household income

areas where very often a family has two or more sources of income both in cash and in kind and seldom keeps any detailed record of payments and receipt (Mahbub, 1997: 168). The number of income earners of the household is also very important to understand the income opportunities in the local and outside areas. This is significant in terms of the economic security of the family, as other members in the household help to run daily livelihood expenses. The earnings of migrants are invested in certain assets for the families. Also the number of migrants from a particular household adds to household economic security.

According to Table 2.6, the total number of current earning members of 100 domestic workers had 243. 100 rickshaw pullers altogether had 149 income earners in the families. 50 of domestic workers and 24 of rickshaw pullers had two income earners in their families. However, 65 of rickshaw pullers were only income earner in their family.

Table 2.6: Total number of current earning members of family

No. of earners	Domestic workers (Number)	Rickshaw pullers (Number)
1	14 = 14	65 = 65
2	50 X 2 = 100	24 X 2 = 48
3	20 X 3 = 60	8 X 3 = 24
4	11 X 4 = 44	3 X 4 = 12
5	5 X 5 = 25	0
Total	243	149

It is seen that comparatively domestic workers had more income earners of the family than the rickshaw pullers, with many female migrants helping other members in their family to find jobs. However, in the case of rickshaw pullers, it is very difficult to find a job for other members in their family or local people. They stated that it is very difficult to find a rickshaw puller job without strong trusteeship. Employer of rickshaw puller can not rely much on the new seasonal migrants as the incident of rickshaw stealing often occurs in Dhaka city and new seasonal migrants are more gullible to the tricks of rickshaw thieves.

The table 2.7 describes the total monthly income of the household⁴. Table 3.13 shows that the current average monthly income of the family of the domestic workers was Tk. 3195.50 and the rickshaw pullers were Tk. 3861. The highest monthly income of the rickshaw puller's family had the income of four earners. Among four, respondent's own income both from rickshaw pulling as well as cultivable land, one son works as salesman in the local shop and another two daughters work in the garment factory in Dhaka. The domestic worker had total three earning members of her family. Besides her own income, the income of her two brothers who work as drivers in Dhaka, has also been included.

Table 2.7: Total current monthly income of the family (Tk)

	Domestic workers	Rickshaw pullers
Mean	3195.50	3861
Minimum	3000	6500
Maximum	14000	11200

⁴ The income includes respondent's own income and the income of other members in their family. If the

families. The general trend of the respondents' family have been working on cultivation of own land, sharecropping, daily labourer, van/rickshaw pulling, factory working etc. Table 2.8 also shows that 57 of the rickshaw puller's family members work in agricultural sectors. Highest 33 of them work as agro labourer. However, 17 of them work as agro farmer which means they have their own cultivable land. 10 respondent's family members also work in petty trading. On the other hand, 38 family members of domestic workers work in agricultural sectors. Among them, 22 work as agro farmer and 14 as agro labourer. Family members of 11 interviewees work in factories, 10 work as day labourer. 9 of them also found work in rickshaw pulling and 6 in petty trading. It is interesting to note that few also work in technical and formal sectors. 5 work as drivers in buses, cars or CNGs, while 3 work in the government sector and another 3 work as salesmen in shops.

Not much difference was found in the area of occupation of female domestic workers families and male rickshaw puller's families. Most of these are low income earning professions. This may indicate that both rickshaw pullers and domestic workers represent similar socio economic background.

Table 2.8: Type of occupation of the respondent's family

Type of Occupation	Domestic workers (Number)	Rickshaw pullers (Number)
Agro labourer	22	33
Agro farmer	14	17
Sharecropping	2	3
Construction workers	3	4
Daily labourer	10	6
Rickshaw pullers	9	0
Van puller	4	1
Petty trader	6	10
Factory worker	11	7
Boat man	2	7
Garments worker		2
Carpenter		2
Textile mill worker		2
Mechanic		1
Chef (Cooker)		1
Security Guard	2	1
Hotel boy	1	1
Shallow engine driver		1
Nurse		1
Shopkeepers	3	1
Bus / car/ CNG driver /Contractor	5	
Government job (4 th Class)	3	

2.7 Land Ownership

There are many factors that contribute to out migration. The scarcity of land, landlessness and unequal land distribution are common features of villages where migration is common. This is consistent with finding in most migration study in Bangladesh (Khan 1969, Chawdhury 1978, Islam and Ahmeds 1984 and Hussain 1997). A study in Gujarat, India, found that 74% of short term migrants and 26% of long term migrants came from the landless household (SANDEE 2005). In our study of 200

do they possess.

There are different types of land ownership. First let us discuss homestead land. One can see a major difference between domestic workers and rickshaw pullers. Out of 100, 70 families of domestic workers possessed homestead land. Currently 2 more families owned homestead land. 87 rickshaw pullers out of the 100 interviewees, possessed homestead land. Currently 9 more have established ownership of such land. It was found that rickshaw pullers first intention was to buy land for their homestead. Compare to domestic workers, rickshaw pullers spent more on purchasing homestead land as their family live reside in the village. In case of domestic workers, majority of their extended family already had homestead.

If one looks into cultivable land one finds that more women purchased cultivable land. As many as 9 of domestic workers bought cultivable land whereas not a single rickshaw puller bought it. However, one domestic worker had non-arable land as it was before.

Table 2.9: Number of respondents of land owner

Type of Land	Domestic workers (Number)		Rickshaw pullers (Number)	
	Current	Before	Current	Before
Homestead	72	70	96	87
Arable	34	25	47	47
Non-Arable	1	1	0	0
Pond	2	3	0	0
Others	0	0	3	2

According to table 2.10, the current average homestead land of domestic workers is 5.45 decimals where rickshaw pullers are 9.39 decimals. The average arable land of rickshaw pullers is 34.35 decimals and 11.61 respectively decimals of domestic workers. It can be seen from the table that the amount of arable land of rickshaw pullers has decreased after migration. The respondents stated that they used to live joint family, but the family split when he started migration and got married. As they had many family members and had very few land, the land was distributed family members. Therefore, the amount of arable land has decreased.

Table 2.10: Landholding Size of the Respondents

Type of Land	Domestic workers (Decimal)			Rickshaw pullers (Decimal)		
Current	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Homestead	5.45	0	54	9.39	0	33
Arable	11.61	0	611	34.35	0	495
Non-Arable	.50	0	50	0	0	0
Pond	.20	0	10	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	.43	0	20
Before	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Homestead	5.08	0	45	8.61	0	33
Arable	6.65	0	145	41.14	0	750
Non-Arable	.50	0	50	0	0	0
Pond	.18	0	10	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0

2.8 Conclusion

This section gives a brief idea about the socio-economic background of the

just that they got involved in other type of job not rickshaw pulling. Many respondents had no formal education and migrants are predominantly Muslims. Most women were unmarried before their first migration. On the other hand, the marital status of rickshaw pullers had changed since migration. The study found 50% of them unmarried before migration, now it decreased to 38%. It was also found that the average family size of 200 respondents families was little higher than national average. The findings also suggest that a large number of migrants came from landless families. Poverty may have enabled them only to opt for internal migration. At this point, it is important to understand the in depth reasons of migration. The next chapter will discuss the history of migration of 200 respondents.

Migration History of the respondents

This section describes the factors that contributed to migration of the interviewees, the ways they arrived at their decision to migration, the amount of times they have migrated, the modes of transport used and the cost incurred to migrate.

3.1 Years of Migration

Table 3.1 shows that on average domestic workers had 5.76 years of migration experience, compare with 10.11 years for rickshaw pullers. This reflects the fact that 60% of the interviewed domestic workers were below the age of 16, whereas the average age of interviewed rickshaw pullers was 33 years. This also reflects the fact that for many migrant female domestic workers their migration patterns are closely tied to their lifecourse and many start young but then have to stop once they reach an age to be able to marry, where they will then stop working and live with their husband. Prior to migration, many migrant female domestic workers wanted to work in the garments factory, which they failed to avail. As they wanted to work as garment worker, some of them could not adjust with domestic work within a couple of months and so they quit their work and went back to village. Over time, they realised that they would not find work at garments and then they returned to Dhaka and again took over domestic work as profession.

Table 3.1: Period of Migration

	Domestic workers (Years)	Rickshaw pullers (Years)
Mean	5.77	10.11
Minimum	1	1
Maximum	27	42

Table 3.2: Total years of migration of the respondents

Years	Domestic workers (Years)	Rickshaw pullers (Years)
0 – 5	65	31
6 – 10	22	34
11 – 15	8	18
16 – 20	01	12
21 – 25	02	01
26 – 30	02	01
31 – 35		00
36 – 40		02
41 – 45		01
Total	100	100

3.2 Role of social networking in Migration

Table 3.3 identify four main sources of information on migration namely relatives for 92, neighbours or friends for 71, immediate family 29 and the dalal for 8. In case of domestic workers, 56 respondents received such information from relatives, 33 from neighbours and friends. 8 respondents from dalal and the lowest 3 came to know from husband. It was known from the domestic workers that most cases they knew about work from relatives, however, local dalal were also seen to work as sub agent. On the other hand, 36 rickshaw pullers received information from relatives and 38 from Neighbours and friends

	(Number)	pullers (Number)
Immediate family/Husband	3	26
Relatives	56	36
Neighbour/Friends	33	38
Middleman (Dalal)	8	0
Total	100	100

3.3 Migration Decisions

Migration decisions are usually part of a continuing effort, consistent with traditional values, to solve recurrent problems to do with a balance between available resources and population numbers (De Hann, 1999: 14). Connell et al (1976) from their North Indian village migration research suggest that migration decisions are taken from family welfare and this decision is often made by the household head. Data from Hussain research (1996) indicates that 62% of the female migrants stated that migration decision had been made by their husband or father. Another study of Islam and Ahmad's (1984) where they noted that 55 percent of the migration decisions were influenced by the families and kin.

From this study it can be seen that migration decisions for females are determined largely by what its household members think about the long term viability of livelihood. For example, Table 3.4 shows that migration decisions of 71 domestic workers had been taken by their father as most female migrants were young children, adolescents and unmarried and had little or any role in migration decisions. Another 5 female respondents stated that their decision for migration was taken by relatives. These respondents stated that they did not have any plan to migrate but their relatives convinced their family and then them. Only, 17 domestic workers took the decision to migrate in consultation with their family. Two young domestic workers had made their migration decision on their own. They stated that they did not like to stay in village where their parents pressured them to study. To avoid study, decision to migrate came to their mind.

Which family member should migrate depended on many things. Whether a male child or female child should migrate depended on the offers of work and need of that person in the household's work distribution. Sometimes, male child was needed to perform some jobs in the household. So, female child was sent. For example, Roshna is from Gaibandha district. She was the second daughter of the house. She had five other brothers and sisters. Her elder sister was aged 15 years and Roshna was 12 years old. Minara, a returnee domestic worker went to her village on holiday. She approached Roshna's family as to whether they would give one of their daughters to be employed in Dhaka city. Minara's employer's sister has asked her to take a young girl for work. The father agreed and decided that Roshna, the second daughter should go as the first daughter was already closing the age of marriage. Services of the son were required at home. So he was employed in a hotel situated next to their village. Roshna did not have any say in her migration decision. Once it was decided that Roshna will come and work in Dhaka city she was extremely worried. She had heard from local sources that domestic workers had been killed by the employer. She had also heard that employers sometime hit domestic workers. Roshna was a good student. All along she wanted to study. It was her grand mother and mother who continuously told her that she needed to go and work, that it would help the family with income. They wanted Roshna to try and convince her employer to help them during her sisters wedding. Moreover, if she goes to work, there will be one less mouth to feed.

Salma on the other hand decided on her own to migrate. She was 22 years old

Individual agency in the decision to migrate is more visible in case of divorced, separated and widowed domestic workers. They either with family members or on their own decided to migrate. Romisa Begum is now 40 years old. She was 25 when she first migrated from her parental village. Romisa was married for 7 years. Once she had an accident in her husband's house and broke her leg and for four years she was bed ridden. Her husband eventually got married again and Romisa returned to her parental home. Her father was already dead. She, along with her mother, was dependent on her brothers. One day her elder sister's brother in law came to her house and asked her, whether she would like to go to Dhaka and work as a cook. Romisa's mother and her two brothers vehemently opposed the idea. Her elder brother said, "if I can eat then you will have food to eat. So do not go". But Romisa was determined. She saw her neighbour had bought some land with her income from Dhaka. She also wanted to do the same. She decided and came to Dhaka with her sister's brother in law. In the case of a married couple, the husband took migration decision.

It can be concluded that male heads of household play a greater role in migration decision of young females. However, it was the female members of the households who convinced the girls to move. In some cases, women themselves decided to migrate. The first migration trip is often done with the person who made the job offer. In most cases, they are migrants who have returned for holidays and only in a few cases it was with the dalals (Agents).

On the other hand, 76 of the rickshaw pullers took their migration decision on their own. 16 of them mentioned that migration decisions were influenced by their families. However, 4 of them were influenced by their relatives. 2 of them stated that migration decision was made by other people in the village. Regular migration takes place from the local areas. This also influenced them to migrate.

Decision makers	Domestic workers (Number)	Rickshaw pullers (Number)
Himself/Herself alone	02	76
Father	71	0
Husband/Wife	1	0
Herself jointly with husband/ himself jointly with wife	4	2
Herself/Himself jointly with family	17	16
With Relatives	5	4
Others	0	2
Total	100	100

3.4 Factors contributing to migration decisions

Recent theoretical literature has substantially broadened the horizon of analysis of the causes of migration. It combines both macro-level and historical-structural conditions with micro-level situational factors of the migrants. Mahbub's (1997: 135) frequently cited reasons for leaving the village were economic hardship of the family, shortage of agricultural land, and the migrants' negative attitudes towards a peasant farmer's occupation. These reasons account for 76 percent of the respondents stated reason for migration. One-fifth of the study sample mentioned the scarcity of locally available work as their main reason of migrating. In fact, the overall lack of local employment opportunities in the migrants' villages would be the most important root-cause of out-migration from any rural community in Bangladesh. It was also found in several studies about the difference causes of migration in gender bases. Hussain (1996: 83-84) pointed out the causes of female migration. Economic hardship of the family topped their list; migration due to marriage has been the major cause for recent migrants. However, migration for better work facilities, natural disasters likes river erosion and floods have also been addressed by some.

In the following section, the response on reason of migration of 100 domestic workers and 100 rickshaw pullers are presented. Table 3.5 shows that almost all the respondents assigned more than one reason for migrating. It was indeed the culmination of both structural and individual situation factors combined with the strong role of other issues that ultimately led to migration. Most respondents stated that they migrated due to economic and social reasons. However, it was also seen that economic reasons usually underlayed the social reasons.

Table 3.5: Reasons for Migration

Reasons		Domestic workers (Number)	Rickshaw pullers (Number)	Total
Economic	Due to poverty	62	37	99
	For Economic upliftment	1	4	5
	To diversify family income	0	3	3
	Sudden loss of crops	1	1	2
	To cope with sudden economic shock	0	16	16

	(riverbank erosion)			
	No work during off season	0	31	31
Social	Sudden death of main economic earner	4	4	8
	To ensure childrens education and future	1	2	3
	To arrange dowry for self/ sister/ daughter	2	0	2
	Shouldering responsibility of parental	14	4	18
	To escape unhappy and family relationship	5	1	6
	To escape harassment and violence	6	1	7
	For lazy and useless husband	2	0	2
	Husband separated or divorces	7	0	7
	Convinced by others	19	3	22
Others		1	3	4

Economic Factors

It is generally perceived that poverty is a major driving force behind migration decisions. 99 respondents stated poverty was one of the reasons that forced them to migrate. Among them, 62 were domestic workers and 37 rickshaw pullers. Those who migrated did not possess any arable land; have a big household size and few numbers of income earners of the family. A few domestic workers stated that their husband and son did not look after her and did not contribute to the family. However, lack of job availability, especially for women at the local areas, also forced many domestic workers to migrate.

Increase in income and bringing about a change in their fortunes were cited as reasons for migration. All felt the need for further improvement of their total family income. If we look at the background of 4 rickshaw pullers, three had own arable land and one had petty business of raw materials. Nevertheless, the income was so little that they need more money to reinvest. Those who had arable land stated that it takes a long time to get money from land. But, they need cash to buy fertilizer, seeds, irrigation, using tractor etc. In addition, there is no any other business and work in the locality during off season where they can earn. Hence, they migrated to Dhaka to utilise their time and labour and they return to the village after earning cash. On the other hand, domestic worker stated that both husband and wife decided to migrate even her husband had job but was not sufficient their expectation. They felt have lot of opportunities in Dhaka to earn more money.

For a few respondents the decision to migrate was a collective choice of their families in order to diversify family income sources. In such cases, other family members did have some level of income that was not seen by the families as sufficient. In these cases families had some surplus labour at their disposal and they wanted to diversify their income sources and send family members to Dhaka city. We found 3 rickshaw pullers that their family and father wanted to earn money from other sources.

Two respondents; one domestic worker and another rickshaw puller stated their sudden loss of crops forced them to migrate. A female respondent who resided in the

cope out the situation. Another rickshaw puller also stated same reason.

Sixteen rickshaw pullers continued rural-urban migration for coping with sudden economic shocks. We found different case studies during our fieldwork which is very important to understand different aspects of migration. One respondent whose home was Gaibandha district stated that he had a medium-sized boat which carried people and goods across the Jamuna River. Due to the construction of the Jamuna Bridge, he lost his income. Therefore, he migrated to Dhaka. Mr. Bazlur Karim resided in the Southeast district of Noakhali and had an income from CNG baby taxi. A few years back, he lost it in a road accident. It was his sudden economic shock which he lost his main source of income. Mr. Rahim Bhiuya, was in the Northwest district of Kurigram, described that he had a printing business. As he had another partner, he separated due to personal conflict with him. Nevertheless, the debt had been increasing day to day which he could not carry out alone. Hence, he came to Dhaka during the off season and earns cash which helps him to pay his debt. During staying in Dhaka, he finishes computer composing and designing tasks for final printing. Another respondent said that he got micro credit from a local NGO and bought a rickshaw. But, the income was not sufficient to repay the loan. Therefore, he sold the rickshaw and migrated in Dhaka. Another interesting finding was that one respondent stated that increasing the number of rickshaws in their locality persuaded many rickshaw pullers like him to give up rickshaw pulling as it had reduced the amount of daily income. A few respondents also migrated to Dhaka due to the failure of international migration. Two respondents deposited money ten years ago around Tk. 50,000, to the local dalal for getting a labour visa in Saudi Arabia. However, the local dalal failed to send them and did not refund money instantly but paid through several instalments.

Nine interviewee's families lost their agricultural land, which was their only means for livelihood, due to river bank erosion. Among them, 2 were domestic workers and 7 were rickshaw pullers. Their home was in the Northwest part of Bangladesh. Natural disasters like riverbank erosion contribute immensely to the process of marginalisation of a large number of people. Experts inform that about 1,200 kilometres of riverbank is actively eroding and more than 500 kilometres face severe problems related to erosion (Abrar and Azad, 2004:1). A field survey was conducted by the Disaster Management Bureau of the Government of Bangladesh in 1984/1987 indicated that of 462 upazillas, 94 were affected by erosion in 1983/1984, 61 in 1984/85 and 55 in 1985/86. The affected people, especially the poorer ones, are dragged down into endless suffering and disaster when their lands, crops, houses, hats and bazaars (rural shopping centres), trees and plants etc. disappear due to river erosion and many more lands and settlements are threatened. Among these only a few affected people are able to find new shelters while others become homeless for an uncertain period. The immediate impacts of riverbank erosion forces many people to permanently or temporarily migrate to urban areas or to other places where they hope for employment.

Social Factors

Out of 200 respondents, 8 stated that the reason for migration was the death of the main family earner. Of these, 4 were domestic workers. They were widowed and they migrated to ensure a livelihood for themselves and their children. 4 rickshaw pullers also stated that, as their father had died and there was no other male member in their family, they had no choice but to take up rural-urban migration.

Only 3 respondents; one was a domestic worker and another two were rickshaw pullers, had decided upon migration in order to ensure education for their children. One female respondent, whose home was in the district of Gaibandha, stated that she married at the age of 18 years. Unfortunately, her husband died after two years of

was expelled from her parent's family and they warned her not to come back again until she changes her mind. After that she got shelter at a government open place. She got micro-credit from a NGO and started new struggling life in Gaibandha district. But, the micro-credit was not sufficient to meet all her expenses. For her daughter's wedding, she borrowed a huge amount from local Mahajan⁵. The rate of interest was so high that she was forced to migrate in order to repay the loan. Two rickshaw pullers stated that rickshaw pulling is a very hard job and they do not want to see their children take part in the same profession. Therefore, they were earning money for carrying education cost of their children.

Two domestic workers stated that as they were still unmarried and they needed to earn money for their own wedding costs and their dowry. Dowry is still a social problem in Bangladesh especially in the Northeast districts. Abrar and Azad (2004) study found that the practice of marrying girls off young is widely prevalent in the study areas. This has been more so among the victims of riverbank erosion. The seasonal uncertainty of life and general insecurity makes them decide in favour of marrying off their girls at an early age. By the age of 15 or 16 most girls find themselves becoming mothers. Most marriages took place in which dowry had to be offered to the groom. On an average an amount of Tk. 40-60,000 is to be paid. Families that faced hardship and had to sell or mortgage property or incurred debt at high interest to manage payment of dowry to marry off female members make sure that they exact dowry from the bride's side when they marry off their own male members. In one of the group meetings at Chandimari, Lalamonirhat district, one women participant stated that she abhorred the practice of dowry and declared that she would never be party to such transactions while marrying off her own daughter and son. In this study it was found that many migrants came from the Northeast districts of Bangladesh, it is appears that this sort of social problem in that area is closely tied to migration.

18 of the respondents identified shouldering responsibility of the parental home as one of the main reasons for migration. Among them, 14 were domestic workers and 4 were rickshaw pullers. We found 12 widowed domestic workers who stated that the death of their husband put them under a huge responsibility. Another two women stated that their parents had been facing illness but she was the sole income earner of her family. She had to take all the financial responsibility for her family. Four rickshaw pullers also had to take responsibility to support their family as well.

5 domestic workers and one rickshaw puller were forced to leave their homes to escape unhappy family relationships. Female respondents stated that unhealthy relationship of their parents, bad relations with their step-fathers and abuse from their fathers were the main causes that made them decide to migrate. One female respondent stated that her father all times play batting which always turn into family chaos. One rickshaw puller stated that he had no good relations with his father. To be self-sufficient, he migrated in Dhaka.

7 respondents including 6 domestic workers and 1 rickshaw puller stated that they took the decision to migrate to escape harassment and violence. Female respondents stated that as their husband was drug addicted and always tortured them, they did not want to stay with their husband and wanted a free life. One rickshaw puller stated that he had a fishing business in another district. However, due to conflict raised among partners, he left the business. He came back to his own village and changed his occupation.

2 domestic workers expressed dissatisfaction about their state of life prior to migration. This was mainly due to the nature of their spouses. In these families

tension between them and their husbands. Seven domestic workers also stated that as a few of them were widowed and separated, they migrated to Dhaka to ensure their livelihood.

Others Factors

4 respondents stated other reasons that persuaded them to migrate. Among them, three were rickshaw pullers and one was domestic worker. Rickshaw pullers stated that they did not like to work in agriculture field. To avoid working in the field, they decided to find work in Dhaka. They did not want to stay longer time in Dhaka and the same in village. One domestic worker stated that she migrated to Dhaka as her parents pressured her to attend school. As she did not want to study, she came with her friend in Dhaka and found domestic work.

3.4.4 Conclusion

The study found poverty was the main causes of migration for both group. As many as 62 of domestic workers considered it whereas in the case of rickshaw pullers poverty and lack of access to work was almost equally mentioned as reasons for migration. Another important finding in the case of domestic workers was that social and family pressure was major reasons for migration of 19 respondents. In the case of male migrants, only three mentioned social or family pressure. Another important response from women was shouldering the responsibility of the parental home. Only 4 male mentioned this as a deciding factors. Therefore, contrary to social belief that sons take care of parents, it is the women who felt more responsible and in practice shoulder responsibility of the parents.

3.5 Location of Districts of Origin

Out of total 64 districts in Bangladesh, 50 districts were identified as the source of origin district of the respondents. 39 per cent of respondents (20 domestic workers and 58 rickshaw pullers) came from the Northwest districts of Bangladesh. 28 per cent of respondents (40 domestic workers and 15 rickshaw pullers) from the Northeast districts, 19 per cent of respondents (20 domestic workers and 18 rickshaw pullers) from Southwest districts and 15 per cent respondents (20 domestic workers and 9 rickshaw pullers) came from the Southeast districts of Bangladesh. A previous study also found that the Northwest region of Bangladesh is one of the highest areas of out-migration. Siddiqui and Skinner (2006: 1) found that Gaibandha has a high incidence of labour migration. Perceptions of key informants and focus groups in the Gaibandha chars reveals that between 70% to 95% of village households had at least one member migrating seasonally. Nevertheless, Northeast poverty stricken, Mymensing has long migration history, social network information. Many domestic workers in Dhaka city migrated from Mymensingh, not only because of the poverty of the family but also because social network and the easy communication between Mymensingh and Dhaka.

Among the districts with the highest rate of out-migration in this study were Mymensingh (29 domestic workers), Gaibandha (20 rickshaw pullers) and Rangpur (14 rickshaw pullers). As can be seen, the highest number of rickshaw pullers came from two district of Northwest- Gaibandha and Rangpur and the highest concentration of domestic workers was one district of Northeast-Mymensingh. Table 3.7 also described the tentative fare of each transport. This information was collected from the different transport stations in Dhaka city.

Table 3.7 Location of Districts of origin of the respondents and tentative cost of each transport, data collected from different transport stations

Region	District	Domestic workers	Rickshaw pullers	Tentative Transport cost (From home to
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Northeast	Jamaipur	1	3	150	80	
	Kisorgonj	3	4	90	50	
	Mymensingh	29	2	110	40	
	Manikgonj	0	1	120		
	Norsingdi	0	1	50		
	Narayangonj	0	1	16	6	
	Netrokona	2	1	200	120	
	Serpur	3	2	250	180	
	Sylhet	1	0	220	180	
Northwest	Bogra	0	5			
	Chapai Nawabganj	1	0			
	Dinajpur	1	4			
	Gaibandha	2	20	150	125	
	Jaipurhat	0	2			
	Kurigram	1	3			
	Kushtia	0	2	240		
	Lalmonirhat	2	1			
	Natore	0	1	180	125	
	Nilphamari	2	0			
	Rajshai	1	0			
	Ranjpur	4	14	130-180		
	Sirajgong	0	1	100	150	
	Tangail	3	5	110	60	
	Thakurgoan	3	0			
Southeast	Brahmanbaria	1	0			
	Chittagong	1	0	250	165	
	Comilla	4	2	80		
	Chandpur	5	2	60		60
	Feni	1	0	110		
	Gazipur	2	0	25		
	Laxipur	1	1			
	Noakhali	5	3	180	70	
	Rangmati	0	1			
Southwest	Barisal	5	3	250		180
	Barguna	0	2	250		180
	Bhola	3	2	250		
	Faridpur	1	5	150		
	Gopalganj	0	2	160		
	Jessore	3	1	210		
	Jenaidha	1	0	200		
	Maguea	1	1	170		
	Madaeipur	1	0	110	60	
	Norail	1	0	250		
	Potuakhali	0	1	250		200
	Priajpur	3	1	270		
	Rajbari	1	0	150		
Total		100	100			

3.6 Cost of Migration

Migration of any distance requires access to a little capital to cover the set up cost. The average cost of 200 interviewees of migration stood at Tk. 156.00. The figure includes all kind of expenses like local, district and city transports. The minimum cost paid for migration was Tk 35. In case of domestic workers, the average cost was Tk 170. The lowest migration cost was Taka 35 and the highest was Tk 375. One the other hand, the average migration cost of rickshaw puller was Tk 142. Here, the highest migration cost was Taka 400 and the lowest Tk 40.

large number of jobs have been created for female migrants in the garments sector, and many females prefer to work garment factories, this has created a shortage of domestic workers in Dhaka. During the time of interviews, many employers of domestic workers stated that they have to pay the conveyance to hire domestic workers from rural areas.

Table 3.8 shows that 73 of the rickshaw pullers bore their own migration cost themselves. 27 borrowed from different sources to bear the cost of transport. Some of them are relatively new migrants. In case of domestic workers, 49 of their employers borne their migration cost. However, 11 of them could mobilise part of migration cost from their own, 31 borrowed from different sources. 11 of them were from immediate family and 17 from relatives. The rest of 9 domestic workers had gathered money by selling their home furniture and cookery items.

Table 3.8: Sources of cost of Migration

	Domestic workers (Number)	Rickshaw pullers (Number)
Own source	11	73
Borrowed from immediate family	11	13
Borrowed from relatives	20	14
Sold belongings	9	0
Employer	49	0

Mode of Transportation

The mode of transportation depended upon the geographical distance. We found respondents came from different parts of Bangladesh. However, most respondents came from Northeast and Northwest parts of Bangladesh. However, few places were very backward, in those cases migrants had to change several transports. The cost of migration also varied due to it. It should be mentioned here that all migrants had to walk first to catch transport either it was rickshaw, boat or engine transports. According to table 3.9, 82 of 100 domestic workers used bus as common mode of transport. 14 used launch and 4 used train and truck. In case of 100 rickshaw pullers, 81 used bus, 4 used launch, 2 used truck and 5 used train. However, multiple transports also used by 8 male respondents. Regarding the mode of transpiration, any significance difference was not found between these two groups. More than 80% of them used bus as their main mode of transportation.

Some rickshaw pullers who used bus as transport took risk to sit roof of the bus. The reason is to spend less fare if they sit roof of the bus instead of inside. It is reported in daily newspapers that many people died due to road accident by riding bus this way. Road accidents also took place when people ride truck and train but sit on the top of the roof of bus and train.

Table 3.9: Different modes of transportation

Modes of transportation	Domestic workers (Number)	Rickshaw pullers (Number)
Bus	82	81
Launch	14	4
Truck	2	2
Train	2	5
Launch + Bus	0	5
Bus + Boat	0	1
Bus + Truck	0	1

Nature of Travels

General assumption is that women will not move alone. They will move with others. However, our research shows that although initially they moved in group, later they moved alone. As many as 81 travelled on their own when they visit their home. On the contrary rickshaw pullers seems to be moving in group or with one or two persons.

The study also found that many women who migrated long time ago, works as recruiter now. When they go back to their village, other employers request them for more workers. They get commission including transport cost from the employers. In case of rickshaw pullers, most respondents stated that they move to the city in a group because other people moves like them.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that on an average rickshaw pullers were migrating for around 10 years. Average migration year of experience of domestic workers was 5.76 years. Rickshaw pullers took migration decision on their own with same family, friends and relatives support. The domestic workers were mostly young when they first migrated and it is their parents who took the decision. Economic necessity is a major reason for both rickshaw pullers and domestic workers to migrate, yet lack of access to work was identified as another reason by rickshaw pullers. Time required to migrate was less in case of domestic workers but cost they pay was higher than the rickshaw pullers. The rickshaw pullers still move in groups. The domestic workers initially travelled in group by once they know the route and felt confident about their selves they travelled on their own. The areas with the highest number of out-migration of rickshaw pullers and domestic workers were concentrated in two areas; the Northeast and Northwest regions of Bangladesh. These areas are the most hard core poverty ridden areas of Bangladesh indicating the large correlation between poverty and migration. The next chapter will discuss how migrants find work, their working condition and their rights.

Experiences of Finding Employment

Finding good and timely employment is dependent on knowing employers, knowing work patterns and having access to labour markets. Without these networks the migrants often find themselves in the most vulnerable positions, left with the worst paid and less reliable forms of labour (Mosse *et al*: 2002: 59-88). This section discusses both the domestic workers and rickshaw pullers employment history.

Finding Work

Siddiqui and Skinner's study (2005: 12) showed that finding timely and secure employment is an area where temporary migrants can become vulnerable. The risk is that they might find themselves at the destination without access to work. The migrants often travelled to areas where they knew there was usually work, but availability of work was not always assured. Some migrants would normally have to wait a few days before employment was secured, the average maximum time without employment was one week while in one source area they reported having to wait as long as 20 days or even return without work. Migrants may suffer physical and financial insecurity while waiting for work. In some cases money would also have to be found to cover food and accommodation expenses. Migrants also spent a lot of money travelling to the destination and if work could not be found the migrant families could suffer big loss that would have to be covered by more loans or the selling assets.

This study found that most of the respondents lined up jobs before they migrated utilising their social networks. For example, female domestic workers did not have to go through a waiting period. Whoever they came with straight away connect them with potential employer, who in majority cases have earlier connected or requested for a domestic worker to the person concern. This person can be an employee of same or another house or could be just placement agent, or informal recruiter. In the case of rickshaw pullers, while they may have been aware of potential employers, initially they may have had to go through a waiting period. This is because new employers had to build up a level of trust with the rickshaw pullers due to potential for rickshaw pullers to have their rickshaws hijacked or earnings stolen. However, due to the nature of circular migration, many had already established relationships between them so there was no waiting period.

Table 4.1 shows the type of person who worked as a recruiter in the case of both the interviewee groups. It is interesting to note that both for domestic workers and rickshaw pullers, kith and kin were the major connectors, again highlighting the importance of social networks. In the case of domestic workers, it was the relatives who helped them to find employment in 44 cases and in case of rickshaw pullers, it was 48 in cases. A difference between these two types is that domestic workers never found job on their own whereas 11 rickshaw pullers found their job on their own. Here, in most cases respondents contacted with employers who were from their own villages. Again in case of rickshaw pullers, friends played the role in as many as 31 cases. For domestic workers, the second largest group of connectors are neighbours.

As noted earlier, employers themselves often acted as recruiters in case of domestic workers. When employers visited their home village and they found these workers and brought them to Dhaka. However, one female respondent stated that when an employer was visiting her home village, she contacted directly to the employer and requested to be employed. Conversely, rickshaw pullers were never recruited directly by employers.

	(Number)	pullers (Number)
Herself/Himself alone	0	11
Friends	5	31
Relatives	44	48
Neighbours	30	8
Father/Mother	3	2
Husband/Wife	3	0
Brother/Sister	3	0
Employers	12	0
Total	100	100

4.2 Nature of earlier employment

A section of domestic workers and rickshaw pullers were engaged in other jobs when they first migrated but later changed their occupation. Table 4.2 shows that 4 domestic workers worked in the garments industry and one respondent worked as day labourer (breaking bricks). The reason for leaving the previous jobs was non-payment of wages. In addition, they could not save anything from their wage. A large amount of money had to be spent on paying rent, and food. The respondents said that they preferred domestic work as they did not need to spend money for food and accommodation which is provided by the employer. Therefore their salaries are mostly saved.

47 of the rickshaw pullers also performed other jobs before working as rickshaw puller, these included petty trading, day labouring, garments work, hotel waiter. Another, 11 respondents were involved in more than two jobs. Respondents stated they often need cash for themselves and their families which were impossible to get once from the previous workplace as it was monthly payment. Therefore, rickshaw pulling is such a job that the respondents can earn cash on a daily basis. 6 of the respondents were retrenched auto rickshaw driver. They lost the job because of banning of two stroke auto rickshaw from the road of Dhaka city.

Table 4.2: Others job have been done in Dhaka City

Female Domestic workers (Number)	Numbers
Jobs	
Domestic work only	95
Garments workers	4
Day Labourer (Breaking bricks)	1
Total	100
Male Rickshaw pullers	
Jobs	
No previous job experience	53
Vendors (street petty trading)	6
General Labourer in Factory and Company	3
Auto Rickshaw/ CNG Auto Rickshaw / Taxi driver	6
Garments workers	7
Hotel/Messier	3
Construction labourer	8
Bus helper	2
Embroider worker	1
Factory + Garments worker	2

Construction +Day labourer+ Baby taxi driver	2
Total	100

It is interesting to note that most respondents worked in same profession with the same one employer for long time. Few of them changed employers. Out of 100 domestic workers, only 15 of them changed their employers. This was for better payment and benefits. Most of them changed once, some twice and few even changed job four times. For domestic workers it is difficult to change job as, movement of many of them are monitored and restricted by employer. Besides a relationship of 'Khalamoni' treated as family member also develop among employer and the domestic worker. This relation helps them to cope with staying out family. Unless being hurt by employers, domestic workers do not want to switch the job.

The opposite scenario was found in case rickshaw pullers. Only three respondents had been working with the same one employer. The rest of the respondents changed several employers. The average number of employers of that rickshaw pullers worked with was 4 and the highest number was 15. They did not think that employers were bad, but they had options to choose other employers. As most respondents lived near the rickshaw garage, they found more rickshaw owners from the same village, highlighting again the importance of social and community relations in terms of migrant employment. Also, as circular migrants, often when the migrants return from their village, the previous owner may not have his rickshaw free. He might have employed someone else when the rickshaw puller returned from village.

Conclusion

This section gives an idea about the experience of finding employment. It was seen that both for rickshaw pullers and domestic workers, kith and kin were the major connectors for finding employment. However, some rickshaw pullers also found jobs on their own. Conversely, in the case of domestic workers, employers themselves acted as recruiters, recruiting women in their home villages. Few domestic workers preformed other job before choosing domestic work. They left previous job because of non payment and low wages. In case of rickshaw pullers, 47% of total preformed other some other jobs. They also changed their rickshaw owners several times. In the next chapter, we will discuss the working condition and rights at work of the respondents.

Working Condition of the Respondents

This section describes the working conditions of both rickshaw pullers and domestic workers. First, it describes the working conditions of the domestic workers then it separately discusses the same of the rickshaw pullers.

5.1 Work condition of domestic Workers

5.1.1 Number of Current Employers Household Members

In order to understand the workload of the respondents, it is important to know the current household member of the employers. The average number of household members of the respondent's employers was 4.57. The highest number was 12 and the lowest was 2. For 75 domestic workers, they were working in houses where the husbands were the sole income earners. The wives were not working. 23 respondents reported one working female adult and only 2 respondents had two working female adults in the family.

Number of Domestic helper and Other staff

According to table 5.3, 47 houses had no other domestic workers except the interviewee. 42 houses had another one and 7 had two and 4 had three more domestic workers. It was seen that number of domestic workers depends on the number of household member of the employers. Those had joint family and had young children; they had more than one domestic worker not only to look after the household tasks but also for rearing children.

Table 5.3: Total number of domestic worker of the employer's household

Domestic Worker	Number
Respondent herself	47
One	42
Two	7
Three	4
Total	100

As many as 34 respondents had other staff in their household except domestic worker. Among them, 30 respondents stated that they had one staff and 4 respondents stated more than one other staff. We found four categories of other staff in the employers households. These include car driver, gateman, caretaker and gardener. In most cases, these people do not eat in the employer's house.

Table 5.4: Total number of other staff of the employer's household

Other Staff	Number
No Staff	66
One	30
Two	2
Three	2
Total	100

Working Hours

According to Bangladesh's labour law, a worker should work eight hours a day. Nevertheless, working hours of domestic workers often stretched beyond this limit. Out of 100 respondents, the average hours of work per day were 11.76 hours. The minimum hours of work per day were 6 hours. The respondent Ms. Rahima Khatun who worked

worked 16 hours per day. The average household member of their employers was over 4 and they were the only domestic worker at the workplace. At the same time, there was no scope of overtime and payment for overtime. Moreover, they worked 7 days per week. Domestic work is not considered as wage labour thus, it does not fall under labour law.

Types of Work

Domestic workers prepare breakfast, clean the house, washes cloths, prepares main meal and cleans kitchen utensils. Some of them also do some small grocery shopping. It should be mentioned here that not every respondents have to perform all these tasks. Employers fix the tasks. 77 respondents had their job dusting, sweeping, mopping, and washing clothes, cleaning cookerries and kitchen utensils. As 75 of the spouses (employers) were not working, all of them take part in some work; particularly cooking. Therefore, 61 respondents stated that they help their employers to arrange cooking materials. They also occasionally take part in cooking. Many employers stated that they avoided sending their domestic workers for small grocery shopping as they are concerned with the sexual security of the worker. Few of them stated that if domestic workers go outside, outsiders might offer them a better job and they might change jobs. 30 domestic workers had to do small grocery shopping.

51 respondent's job was to setting lunch, dinner and breakfast. They also reported that could not go the bed if any household member is yet to finish dinner. Looking after children was reported by 39 respondents. The study also found that employers, who had more than one domestic worker, fix separate tasks for each domestic worker. Employers also reported that they are careful about not putting too much workload on one domestic worker as this may lead them to find a new employer.

Table 5.6: Daily Types of works (Multiple)

Type of Works	Yes
Dusting, sweeping, mopping, washing clothes, cleaning cookerries and kitchen utensils, cleaning toilet	77
Cooking	61
Setting lunch/dinner/breakfast	51
Small grocery shopping	30
Looking after children	39

Types of work to be performed by these domestic workers varied mostly according to age, as well the employment status of the women member of the employer's households. Those who belonged to 4 to 8 years of age performed the following tasks: give company to the young child of the employers, play with the kid, and sit next to new born when the mother of the new born babies was busy doing household work. They also do petty work like bringing a glass of water, bringing medicine and giving snacks when guests come. In the kitchen, they help by peeling and washing vegetables. 9 to 12 years domestic workers are assigned more substantive work like shutting doors, cleaning and mopping floors, washing bathrooms, and helping in the kitchen. 13 to 18 years old are usually given some responsibility in cooking rice or lentils, washing clothes, cleaning and mopping floors. Usually due to household security reasons female child are not sent to shops for marketing but a section of the household

shopping.

5.1.7 Wage

There were no fixed minimum wages for domestic workers. Wages are negotiated by the employers and employees or in some cases by the dalal. Wages depend on age and skill of the worker. However, it also varied according to location of the work place and type of employer's household. The average monthly income of the 100 domestic workers was Tk. 652. The lowest monthly income was Tk 200 and the highest was Tk. 3000. The domestic worker whose monthly income was the lowest was 16 years old. The household member of her employer was only three. In addition the respondent had other temporary domestic workers. The respondent, who was getting monthly highest Tk. 3000, worked under a rich employer and resided at Bananai, one of the richest areas in Dhaka city. Table 5.7 shows that 56 respondent's monthly income was between Tk. 251-500 and it were their first employment. Therefore, it was difficult for them to bargain about salary or to verify the current wage structure in the local domestic work market. Their ages were between 11 to 25 years old. It is also seen that young domestic workers get a comparatively lower salary than adult domestic workers. 15 respondents stated their monthly income was between Tk. 501-750. They worked in such residential areas where lower and low middle class families live. 22 respondents had their monthly wage salary between Tk. 751-1500. Only two respondents had been earning above Tk. 1500. The amount of monthly wage depends on the place where the respondent works, their age, types of skill and also work experience. The study also found that there was a disparity between wages of domestic workers and other staff at a household. For example, a driver has a higher salary, on average Tk. 5000, than any other staff because it is technical job.

Table 5.7: Monthly Wage

Range (Taka)	Number
Up to 250	5
251-500	56
501-750	15
751-1000	10
1001-1250	5
1251-1500	7
1500+	2
Total	100

93 of the domestic workers got their wage regularly, Yet 7 respondents had experiences of not getting paid by the employer. Among them, 4 respondents stated that their employers did not pay a section of their wage. 2 respondents said that their salary started after working two to three months with no payment. The other respondent her employer always cut money from wage in different pretext.

Domestic workers wage are monthly. Usually it is up to them how thing or their family want to take that. 38 of them take it end of every month. 23 respondents take the wage from the employer when they go to home. They save money with their employers. They withdraw money from the employer when they need it or when they go home (table 5.8).

Out of 100, 7 domestic workers were not paid a salary on a monthly basis. Their parents received tiny amount of payments occasionally. In these cases, the arrangement with the employers and parents of the employees was that the employers will take some responsibility for the girl when she grows up and is ready for marriage. In other words, the employer will pay a lump sum for the payment of a dowry and cost of

know how much such verbal agreements are honoured after 10-12 years when they grow up. It is possible that these girls in their future may not be working in the same households. This implies that 7 of the domestic workers, who were not working against monthly a salary, virtually worked in exchange for food. Out of the remaining 93 domestic workers, 86 got their wages regularly, yet 7 respondents had experienced not getting paid regularly by their employer. Among them, 4 did not receive a section of their wages. 2 respondents said that their salary started after working two to three months with no payment. Another respondent's employer deducted money from her wage in a different pretext.

Food, Clothing and Other Benefits

Food expenses of 100 interviewees were borne by employers. 99 interviewees stated that they ate same vegetable, fish or chicken. In some cases, types of rice are different for the employers and domestic workers. 1 respondent said she eat separated food which they have to cook. In rich areas, employers allotted some money for their domestic worker for buying and cooking their own daily food.

Ensuring decent food by the employer is part of the verbal contract agreed with by the employer. Different types of food arrangements were observed. The dominant form is where the domestic workers and the employers ate the same types of food. This includes beef, chicken, vegetable, fish etc. When the family members finished their meal, whatever is left over the domestic workers ate. In rich households separate types of rice is cooked for the employer and the domestic workers. The employers eat a better quality of fine rice and the domestic workers ate coarse rice which is less expensive. In relatively poor households, both employers and domestic workers eat coarse rice.

In 53 households, along with the interviewee domestic workers, two to three workers were employed in different capacities. Separate curry was cooked for them. These curries were lower in standard than what the employers ate. Most of the domestic workers were satisfied with the food they ate. Compared to their home, they appreciated access to meat, different types of snacks and fruits. However, a section of them experienced, locked fridges, meat in a safe and other furniture's where food items are kept. These employers did not allow them to eat certain items as and when they desired, rather they had rationed access to them. One of the workers complained that her employers had a tendency to hoard special food stuff for their consumption. They gave her those items started going stale. In other words they do not have access to those items when they were freshly bought. The type of food offered is very much an internal arrangement within the household concerned. No outsider had any role in overseeing the quality of food provided by employers. Those who arranged the job did not have any role here.

It is common that when any employers recruit a domestic worker, several verbal agreements take place between two groups. Clothing is one of the things that domestic workers always get beside their monthly wage. Usually domestic workers get full set of clothes in two Eid's (Religious festivals). If it is young child, they receive dresses, salwar and kameez while elder women get a sari and blouse.

79 respondents received tips during religious festivals. If there is wedding and any other occasions in the family, or sickness then the employers provide monetary help. 55 respondents received a lump sum help from their employers for a special occasion in her family. 4 domestic workers borrowed a big amount from the employer for covering their families medical and wedding cost. Although the money was deducted from their main wage, respondents considered it as big help. The amount of money borrowed was

Employers provide the domestic workers accommodation. It is important to know their sleeping arrangement which is linked with their personal security. 49 respondents stated that they sleep with another female member of the household, either children, elderly relatives or other female domestic workers. 36 respondents had a separate room and it was mainly made for the sleeping purpose of the domestic workers. 10 respondents had no separate room but can lock the place where they sleep. 4 respondents stated that the place where they sleep can not be locked.

Health Care by the Employer

Usually employers arrange treatment when respondents face illness. Employers do not deduct salary of the sick days of the respondents. Table 5.13 reveals that 46 domestic workers stated that their employers arrange doctor's treatment during sickness. 87 domestic workers said that employers purchased medicine and 64 of them stated that their workloads were reduced during their sickness. Unfortunately, 2 respondents told that employers arranged nothing during their sickness. They went to doctor and buy medicines themselves. 5 respondents said that they had never been ill, so they did not know. The employment history of these two respondents was only 1.5 years. One of these respondents stated that her employer took extra care when had got fever. Her perception was that if she becomes sick, employer will not be able to do all works alone. So, employers are extra careful about the health need of the migrants.

Joveda stated that her employer took extra care when she had a fever. She felt that if she became sick her employer would not be able to do all the work alone. So, employers are extra careful about the health needs of migrants. A section of the interviewees mentioned that their relatives and neighbours, who helped them to find the job, do play a role in ensuring health care when they were sick. Some of them visited these domestic workers when they were sick and they also inquired about their state over the phone.

Table 5.13: Treatment of the employer during the sickness (Multiple)

Type of treatment	Respondents
Arrange doctor	46
Employer purchase medicine	87
Reduced workload	64
Employer arrange nothing	2
Never face sickness	5

Weekly and Long day Holidays

The concept of weekly holiday was not there with majority of the domestic workers, as noted most worked seven days a week. The domestic workers usually take long holidays once or more than that in a year. They go to their village home during the holiday. Table 5.14 shows that 74 respondents visited their village last year in 2004. 26 reported that they did not visit in their village last year. Nevertheless, some of them went to their village before that year. Out of 74 respondents, 38 respondents visited one time, 26 two times and 10 of them more than two times. Those who visited four times in year stated that they had to go home for personal reasons like to solve the problem of family conflict, final agreement to buy land, wedding purpose, sudden death and serious illness of the family members.

Table 5.14: Last year total number of time of visiting in village

Times	Respondents
None	26
One time	38

Termination of job

Only two respondents stated that they had experiences of termination of job by their employers. One respondent described that there was no driver at her employer house. Therefore, employer's wife had to take responsibility to leave and pick up her children at school everyday. When employer managed a driver, the employer's wife got sufficient time to do other house works. Employer had also had two other domestic workers. Therefore, employer told her to leave the job. Another respondent stated that when her employer got another domestic worker, she was terminated by employer.

Right to discontinue of Job

Domestic workers join their work on their own volition. Of course, different social and economic reasons work behind their motivation which we discussed in previous chapter. Technically they are also free to leave job, if they did not want to continue for any reason. 32 respondents resigned their previous job for several reasons. Table 5.15 reveals that 12 respondents left job because of bad behaviour of the employer or wife of the employer. 4 respondents had not been paid salary regularly. 4 respondents left previous job as they were not allowed to go outside or have time off. 4 respondents left because they were physically assaulted by the employers. Parents of two domestic workers advised them to leave the job. Among them, one respondent worked at a foreigners house which her father did not like. Suspicion of bad character of the employer by mother of a young domestic worker resulted in living the job. One respondent said that she felt uncomfortable when she works in a house where members are from another religion. She left the job after getting another. Access to better job pursued another three respondents to quit previous job.

Table 5.15: Reasons for changing job

Reasons	Respondents
Employer went to abroad/ other place	2
Bad behaviour of the employer	12
Advised by parents	2
Not been paid regularly	4
Wants more facilities	4
Different religion	1
Ability to get same job	1
Physically assaulted	4
Heavy workload	1
Not to adjust with Dhaka environment	1

Physical Assault

Any kind of physical assault of domestic worker is considered domestic violence in Bangladesh. Out of 100 respondents, 18 respondents had experience of physical assault. But for most of them it was not regular feature. Among them, 12 of them stated that they were assaulted by the wife of employer, two by male employer, one by employer's daughter, one by employer's brother, one employer's son and another by more than one household members of the employer. Most respondents described the types of assaults were slapping, kicking, using sticks and verbal abuses.

Verbal abuse is also quite common. If the domestic workers could not understand instructions or did some thing out of the ordinary, then many of them were verbally abused. It is clear that the majority of the employers did not mistreat their domestic workers. However, there is a shortage of awareness campaigns that highlight the right of domestic workers and including that physical assault should be treated as an extremely shameful criminal act

Rickshaw pullers interviewed in this study were circular migrants. They had no permanent houses in Dhaka. Therefore, the nature of work condition of the rickshaw pullers is different from domestic workers. This section discusses the work condition of the rickshaw pullers. This include accommodation and food arrangements, working hours, work days Income, problems faced, treatment during sickness, visits to home.

5.2.1 Accommodation Arrangements

The rickshaw pullers live in low house rent areas. However, respondents also prefer to stay in such place where rickshaws are available and stay together with the people of own locality. 74 respondents knew their roommates before they rent the place. Among them, 64 respondent's roommates came from the same locality of origin.

The respondents stay together to share the house rent and save as much as possible, as well as for security and for recreational enjoyment. The more number of roommates, the less house rent per person. The rickshaw pullers were staying in garages, local clubs, slums, buildings and local messes. In most cases they slept on a big flat floor where more people can stay together but no scope to put any extra furniture. Table 5.16 shows that the average number of people who shared accommodation was 16.64. The highest number was 80. This group actually lived in a big rickshaw garage. Out of 100 respondents, only one respondent had no roommate. He lived in a local club.

Table 5.16: The number of people stays together

	Number
Mean	16.64
Minimum	1
Maximum	80

The respondents had the intention to save more money and lived in low house rent accommodations. The rickshaw pullers felt that house rents were comparatively high for them. The agreement between house owner and tenant was that one person, on behalf of other roommates; take the responsibility to rent the room, house, or floor. He monthly collects money from his roommates. The average room rent that each respondent was taka 170.52 per month. The highest room rent was taka 550 and the lowest taka 30. The respondent who paid highest rent lived in the local club and did not share the space with any roommate. The size of his room was 5' X 5'. The respondent who paid minimum rent had 40 other roommates. The size of their room was 35' X 13'. According to the table 5.18, 62 respondents room rent had between the ranges Tk 30-150. 33 respondents had Tk 151-300 and 5 had more than Tk 300.

Table 5.18: The difference range of room rent that paid per respondent

Range (Taka)	Respondents
30 – 150	62
151 – 300	33
301 – 450	4
451+	1
Total	100

Food Arrangements

The study found that most respondents spent a good amount on food. One arrangement was that respondent pay everyday for arrainging breakfast, lunch and dinner to the head of the mess and the head of the mess recruit daily basis a women

pay average monthly Tk 150 to women for cooking. Table 5.19 shows that 67 respondents took their breakfast at hotel, 29 at mess and another 4 respondents at their relative's house.

Table 5.19: The place for food arrangement

Places	Number of Respondents	
	Breakfast	Lunch and Dinner
Hotel	67	19
Mess	29	77
Relatives house	4	4
Total	100	100

Table 5.20 reveals that the respondents spent the average amount of money in a day for food and other expenditure was Tk12.72. The highest amount was Tk 30 because the respondent had to spend money for smoking. The lowest amount was taka 5.00 because he shared with his relative. At the same time, the average amount of expenses for lunch and dinner was taka 38.40. The highest amount was taka 50 because the person lived alone in local club. Therefore, he had no scope to share expenses with other. The lowest amount was taka 30. So, the daily allotment for food depends on the number of roommates. However, it was also found that respondents often quarrelled with their head of the mess about the budgeting of food. Sometimes, the head buy very low items from market which make them suspicious.

Working Hours

Respondents do not maintain working hours like domestic workers do. It depends on their will. They always try to utilise their labour to earn money. The number of hours to drive rickshaw depends on age and health condition of the respondents, need for cash money and access of rickshaws. On average the interviewees pulled rickshaw for 9.26 hours per day. The highest hour was 16 and the lowest was 5 hours per day. However, the table 5.21 shows that highest 27 respondents drive rickshaw 8 hours per day. 22 respondents drive 10 hours, 16 respondents 12 hours and 13 respondents 6 hours per day.

Table 5.21: Driving hours of the rickshaw pullers

Hours	Respondents
5	2
6	13
7	6
8	27
9	6
10	22
11	1
12	16
14	4
15	1
16	2
Total	100

26 respondents pulled 5 days and 23 respondents pulled all 7 days. Only one respondent pulled rickshaw 3 days in week because he did not allotment of rickshaw more than that, as many rickshaw pullers are always in the queue. Those who pulled 7 days in week stated that they need to pass their time as they do not have any family

weak health not allowed them. As the current average age of rickshaw pullers was 33.19 years, age was also factor to pull rickshaw for longer time. It was observed most rickshaw pullers were facing malnutrition.

Daily Income

Earnings in a day depends on many issues such as the number of hour they pull, access of rickshaws, the amount of daily deposit, food and other costs. Earning in a day also depends on the access of rickshaws. Not always rickshaw puller can allot rickshaw for more than eight hours in a day or for whole week. They also have to deposit a fixed amount to the employer. The fixed deposit is on the basis of eight hours and amount is varied from area to area. The average deposit to be paid to the employer was Tk 56.60. The highest deposit was Tk 90 and the lowest taka 40. According to the table 5.24, the amount of deposit between Tk 40 to 45 was 40 respondents. Between Tk 50-70 was 39 respondents and the above Tk 70 was 21 respondents. The amount of deposit also fixed on the basis of eight hours. If any rickshaw puller drives more than eight hours, he has to deposit to the employer another extra one quarter of total amount of deposit.

Under this situation, below is the calculated daily income after deducting for daily food costs and the daily deposit to the employer. The average daily income of the respondents was Tk. 141.15. The highest income was Tk. 350 and the lowest was Tk. 90. The respondent who earned daily Tk. 350 pulled rickshaw more than eight hours and two times in a day. Table 5.23 also reveals that 38 respondents earned less Tk. 100, 37 respondents earned between taka 101 to 150 and 25 respondents earned more than taka 150 per day.

Table 5.23: Amount of Taka earned by rickshaw pullers per day

Range (Taka)	Number of Respondents
0 - 100	38
101-150	37
151-200	23
Above 201	2
Total	100

5.2.6 Treatment during Sickness

During the day time, rickshaw pullers work under the scorching sun. Although there is a cover for passengers there is none for the pullers. During the monsoon, only a few use an old rain coat, while everyone gets wet while driving. Due to such work conditions colds, fever and even typhoid is a common occurrence in their life. Pulling a rickshaw is also very hard work. It needs physical strength. Therefore, rickshaw pullers feel pain in their muscle. Hence, they can not pull rickshaw for long time. Employers of rickshaw pullers thought that the life expectancy of rickshaw pullers is lower than other professions. The air of Dhaka is also very polluted, with many rickshaw pullers reporting cases of asthma and headache.

The study found that most respondents go to a local doctor during sickness; some of them go to Dhaka medical college as it offer free medical treatment. Not many of them goes to local doctor or other place, they just buy medicine with the consultation of local dispensary shopkeeper or they buy their own. These dispensary shopkeepers are not real doctor. Hence, it is natural to be wrong medical treatment.

It was hard to estimate the amount of money spent for their medical treatment in a daily, monthly or yearly. Most respondents reported yearly expense of their medical treatment. Some gave daily and monthly. 21 respondents spent around Tk 50.00 and 22 spent around Tk 51.00 to 300.00. The respondents who spent more than thousand had

Rickshaw pullers are also considered a vulnerable group. They face different types of problems while driving rickshaws. Table 5.26 shows that 51 respondents were physically assaulted by passengers, other vehicle passengers or street people. It is seen that not any other professions like them is being assaulted by others because rickshaw pullers are very weak in this society. Accidents also often take place while pulling rickshaws.

38 respondents stated their rickshaws were stolen once. Hence, they were fined by the employers and had to pay full price of the rickshaw. Stealing rickshaws is very common in Dhaka, stated by the respondents. Five respondents said that as they influenced to the employers to issue a rickshaw for their local people who just came from the village but could not get a job. Unfortunately, his man lost the rickshaw but the employer fined him and collected money from him as the respondent was informal guarantor. 30 respondents said that their money was snatched by muggers. Those who drove their rickshaws at night were the most victims. Sometimes, they fought against muggers but most cases avoid them and gave everything because of threat of their life. 19 respondents said that passengers often do not give their fare. One respondent described his experience that he got a contract to go to one place. After reaching there, the passenger told him come back after few minutes with fare. But, he never came back. Another respondent blamed college and university students who sometimes do not give their fare. Only one respondent said that he was assaulted by the employer as he lost the employer's rickshaw.

Table 5.26: Type of problem faced during driving rickshaws (Multiple)

Type of Problems	Number of Respondents
Losing Rickshaws	38
Physically assault by Passengers or other vehicle passengers or street people	52
Money snatched	30
Passengers not gave rent	19
Others	1

5.2.8 Holiday and Leisure time

15 rickshaw pullers stated that they do not pull rickshaw all day in a week. They also feel to pass their time for watching television, chatting with friends, visiting friends and relative's houses. Very few of them stated that they brought their wives and children and had visited tourist places in Dhaka city. The rest respondents do not want to pass their leisure time. They said that they had come to Dhaka for earning cash money. Therefore, it is best to utilise their labour and earn as much as possible.

Visit and stay in rural home

As we mentioned earlier our target group the rickshaw pullers were seasonal migrants. They normally go back home after accumulating a reasonable amount of savings. Table 5.27 shows that on an average the respondents went back to their village home 8.20 times in a year. One went back 16 times. He lived in district of Narayangaong which is very near to Dhaka. His family member was seven and his father also earned money from petty trading. Some respondents went back twice in a month. The best time of visiting was during the harvest season. Some of them work in the village during this time. There respondents went back to village only 2 times in a year. The respondents mainly go to see off their family and also go for harvesting time and any demand of local labour. During staying in village, they are also involved in repairing home and family shopping etc.

3.00	4
4.00	5
5.00	1
6.00	19
7.00	4
8.00	32
9.00	4
10.00	5
11.00	1
12.00	15
13.00	1
14.00	2
15.00	3
16.00	1
Total	100

Sources of Income in Village

85 respondents work when they go to their village. Table 5.28 shows that, 60 respondents worked as agro labourer in different seasons. Their main jobs were sowing seeds, weeding paddy fields and harvesting. They go to their village during the month of June for sowing seeds, January to February for weeding paddy fields and April to May for harvesting. On an average, they get taka 40-60 per day. 9 respondents worked in their own cultivable land during seed sowing, weeding and harvesting. 10 respondents worked as a day labourer. They find different types of work in the local areas like earth work, local brick factory work and at a local small factory. One respondent worked as engine boat driver. He goes to his home during the rainy season and earns Tk.1500 in a month. Another respondent worked as cook (baburchi). During the winter season, many functions take place in this time and he earned Tk.2000 in last year. One respondent had a printing business in village. He comes to Dhaka when he needs extra money for his business.

Table 5.28: The Types of earning work of the respondents (Multiple)

Types of work	Number of Respondents
Agro labourer (showing seeds, weeding and harvesting)	60
Agro Farmer	9
Day labourer	10
Engine boat driver	1
Small printing business	1
Local cooker (Baborchi)	1
Petty vegetable trading	1
Engineer of sallow pump machine	1
Fishing trading	1
Petty rice trading	1
Sweet shopkeeper	1
Petty cloths trading	1
Work in a small clothing factory	1

5.3 Conclusion

This section gives a brief idea about the work conditions of rickshaw pullers and domestic workers. It is noted that both domestic workers and rickshaw pullers got their first job through their extended family members, friends and village neighbours. Both

the employers and a heavy workload. The study found that the employers of domestic workers bore the food cost of their employees, while rickshaw pullers arranged their own food. In the majority of cases, physical security of the female domestic workers was carefully looked after by the employers. The rickshaw pullers mostly lived together in a group. It was seen that domestic workers on an average works more than eight hour per day. Wage rate of domestic workers varied according to their age, skilled level, experiences and number of other working staff in the household. The average monthly wage of the domestic workers was Tk 652. Most of them received their wage monthly. Few of them also took wage from the employer when she goes to home and when she needs to send money at home. For rickshaw pullers the number of working hours depended on their health condition, their need for earning cash and access to rickshaws. The daily average income of the rickshaw pullers was Tk 141.15 after deducting all cost includes daily deposit to the rickshaw owner and daily food cost. An important finding of the research is that a large number of rickshaw pullers earn their living from both urban and rural areas. They work in Dhaka city but they also work in their villages during different agricultural seasons. They sow seeds, then they come to city, they pull rickshaw in city then again go back during harvest time. The next chapter will discuss the nature and pattern of remittances.

Nature and Patterns of Remittance

In this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the nature and pattern of remittances. Many research studies have discussed about the importance of remittances. We found that few studies had discussed the patterns and trends of remittances. Afsar (2000) in her study on *Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh* found that two-third of temporary and half of permanent migrants had remitted money to their root or branch families in village. In the case of temporary migrants, payment of remittances was generally made regularly on a month basis to the families. In the case of permanent migrants the size of remittances varied according to their place of residences (slum or non-slum), level of education and household income, landholding (cultivable land) and the purpose for which it was paid.

Number of respondents send Money

90% of the domestic workers send money to their home. Of the 10 domestic workers that did not remit money, 3 of them were separated from their husband and had no contact with their children. Therefore, they spent their income on their own. Another 6 respondents did not remit because they were working for less than a year. They will remit money to their families in village soon. In the case of rickshaw pullers, 99% of them remitted money to their home. Only one rickshaw pullers did not remit money to his village as he was paying a rickshaw owner for a stolen rickshaw. However, he had a plan to send money to his village once the problem is solved.

Number of times

Table 6.1 describes the number of times respondents remit last year to their families in village. The domestic workers, remitted money was 3.92 times in a year. The highest number of time remitted was 12. The rickshaw pullers remitted money many times. The average number of remitted was 12.30 and highest number was 48 times in a year.

Table 6.1: Total number of times remits last year (2005)

	Number of times	
	Domestic Workers	Rickshaw pullers
Average	3.92	12.30
Minimum	1	1
Maximum	12	48

* Total 11 respondents do not remit money.

The study found that the rickshaw pullers were seasonal migrants and were the main income earners of their family. They therefore needed to remit money to their families for their day to day consumption of food and clothing. Domestic workers usually did not remit for day to day consumption. Their income is seen as capital for small investments, wedding or dowry costs or needed for an unforeseen situation. Table 6.2 shows that out of 90 domestic workers, 39 of them remitted money one to two times to their families and 33 respondents remitted three to four times in a year. In case of 99 rickshaw pullers, 45 of them remitted money seven to 12 times and 31 of them remitted money more than twelve times in a year to their families.

Table 6.2: Total number of time respondents remits last year (2005)

Times	Number of times											
	Domestic Workers						Rickshaw pullers					
	*M	U	S	W	D	Total	M	U	S	W	D	Total

5-6	0	1	1	2	0	04	9	3	0	0	0	12
7-8	1	0	0	0	0	01	14	2	1	0	0	17
9-10							16	3	0	0	0	19
11-12	1	8	3	1	0	13	15	0	0	0	0	15
13-14							6	0	0	0	0	6
15-16							9	1	0	0	0	10
17-18							1	0	0	0	0	1
19-20							5	1	0	0	0	6
21-25							3	1	0	0	0	4
35							1	1	0	0	0	1
48							3	0	0	0	0	3
Total	10	62	15	12	1	100	87	12	1	0	0	100

+ None means have not yet started.

* M- Married, U- Unmarried, S-Separated, W-Widowed, D- Divorced

Who receives the remittances?

There is a significant difference between domestic workers and rickshaw pullers in who receives the remittances. Table 6.3 shows that for 66 of the domestic workers remittances are received by their parents. Another 13 of them are received by elder brothers and sisters; in these cases the respondents had joint family and brothers or sisters were their main household head. Their remittances were mainly used for buying land or paying debt. Only 2 respondents remitted to their husband whereas 10% of the interviewees of domestic workers were married. Few female respondents were separated or widowed, 6 of them remitted directly to their children. Another one sent money to her son-in-law as she had only one daughter who is married. Another female remitted to local Mahajan because she borrowed big amount for her daughter's wedding which she had been paying the loan for last three years.

As 87 of the rickshaw pullers were married, 62 male respondents sent money directly to their wives. Another 35 rickshaw pullers remitted to their parents, while 2 sent money to their brothers.

Table 6.3: The person who received remittances

Persons	Number of Respondents	
	Domestic Workers	Rickshaw pullers
Parents	67	35
Brother/Sister	13	02
Wife/Husband	2	62
Children	6	0
Others	2	0

Method of Transfer

An interesting area of investigation regarding internal migrant remittances is how do migrants send their remittances to rural areas? Earlier it was seen in different studies that internal migrants mostly use informal channels. Only a small number of them used the postal money order system and others. It was seen that social networks of the migrants played the dominant role in remittance transfers. Informal but institutional mechanisms like transfer service in exchange of money were not available much. Through informal network migrants have information on which month which person from their area of origin will be going to their village for vacation or for any other purposes. It is interesting to see how verbally they share such information amongst each other.

difference of method of transfer remittance between domestic workers and rickshaw pullers. Domestic workers mainly remitted money through their relatives or they carry money when they visit at home. On the other hand rickshaw pullers seldom remitted money through relatives, rather they remitted money through mobile phones or other methods.

For the 59 domestic workers who transferred money through their relatives. (father, brothers and sisters), their relatives would come to their workplace and collect the money from them. Another 23 domestic workers carried their money when they visited their village. Eight domestic workers sent remittances through the dalals who had originally recruited them for the job. When respondents are informed that the dalal is going to the village, they contact them and send their income through them. The table also shows that 3 respondents rely on post offices as a method of remittance transfer. However, they also stated that they feel insecure to use this method because the village postman sometimes steals their money or does not hand over the money to their families at the right time.

64 of the rickshaw pullers used mobile phones as their main method to transfer remittances. The study found that mobile phones have emerged as a new type of financial service provider. It works in a similar fashion to the existing *hundi* system⁶. Respondents described that they find people of the same village in Dhaka who have a small mobile telephone shop. These mobile shop owners have a contact person in the same villages of the respondents. When respondents need to send money, they give the money to the mobile shop owners in Dhaka and the mobile shop owners contact the person in the respondent's village. The person then hands over the money to the respondent's family. Respondents stated that the mobile phone system is the fastest method to transfer remittance. This whole process has a transfer cost including the calling bill and service charge as a percentage of the total amount of remittance. 28 respondents also stated that they carry remittance when they go to village. 13 respondents stated that sometimes their friends carry their remittances, while 32 respondents also sent money through other workers who were from the same village, again giving an indication of the significance of social networks in the whole migration process.

Table 6.4: Methods of transfer of remittances (Multiple)

Method of Transfer	Number of Respondents	
	Domestic Workers	Rickshaw pullers
Hand Carried	26	28
Friends/Close kith and kin	59	13
Dalal	8	3
Post Office	5	1
Other worker	0	32
Mobile phone	0	64

Amount remitted

Table 6.5 reveals that domestic workers remitted on an average Tk.4420 in a year; the highest remitted was Tk. 26400 and the lowest was Tk.400. The average amount of remittance sent by the rickshaw pullers was Tk.14,527 in a year. The highest amount sent Tk. 42,000 and the lowest was Tk.1000. It was observed that rickshaw pullers earned more money than domestic workers even when both categories of respondents worked on average the same amount of hours. The table also shows that the last year

domestic workers sent Tk.442,000.

Table 6.5: The amount of money was sent by the respondents (In a year)

	Taka	
	Domestic Workers	Rickshaw pullers
Average	4420	14527
Minimum	400	1000
Maximum	26400	42000
Sum	442000	1452700

Table 6.6 shows that 49.5% of total respondents' remitted money up to Tk 10,000 and another 29% of respondents remitted up to Tk.20,000 in a year. The study found that 73 domestic workers remitted between Tk.200 to 6000 and of these 73 domestic workers, 52 were unmarried. These unmarried domestic workers remitted bigger amounts than the others. 14 domestic workers sent up to Tk 12,000. For those who remitted more than Tk.12,000, their remittance was used mainly for buying agriculture land or mortgaged land. In case of rickshaw pullers, the highest 18 respondents sent remittance between Tk.11,000 to 12,000 in the last year. Another 20 respondents sent between Tk 14,000 to 16,000. If one compares between these two groups, rickshaw pullers remitted more money than domestic workers. The reason was that rickshaw pullers needed to remit in regular basis for maintaining their families. Most of them were the only income earner of their families.

Table 6.6: The average amount of money was sent by the respondents (2005)

Times	Number of times											
	Domestic Workers						Rickshaw pullers					
	*M	U	S	W	D	Total	M	U	S	W	D	Total
+None	1	6	3	0	0	10	1	0	0	0	0	1
0 – 1000	3	6	1	0	0	10	3	0	0	0	0	3
1001 – 2000	1	4	0	0	1	06	3	0	0	0	0	3
2001 – 3000	1	10	2	2	0	15	1	0	0	0	0	1
3001 – 4000	2	13	0	1	0	16	1	0	0	0	0	01
4001 – 5000	1	11	1	0	0	13	1	1	0	0	0	02
5001 – 6000	1	8	2	2	0	13	1	0	0	0	0	01
6001 – 7000	0	1	1	2	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	02
7001 – 8000	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	05
8001 – 9000	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	03
9001 – 10000	0	1	2	1	0	4	7	1	0	0	0	08
10001 – 11000	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
11001 – 12000	0	1	1	0	0	2	16	2	0	0	0	18
12001 – 13000							2	1	0	0	0	03
13001 – 14000	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
14001 – 15000							7	3	0	0	0	10
15001 – 16000							10	0	0	0	0	10
16001 – 17000							1	0	0	0	0	01
17001 – 18000							7	1	0	0	0	08
18001 – 19000	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
19001 – 20000							2	0	1	0	0	03
20001 – 21000												
21001 – 22000												
22001 – 23000												
23001 – 24000							6	0	0	0	0	06
24001 – 25000							2	0	0	0	0	02
25001 – 26000							1	0	0	0	0	01
26001 – 27000	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	01
27001 – 28000							2	0	0	0	0	02
28001 – 29000												
29001 – 30000							2	0	0	0	0	2
36000							2	0	0	0	0	2

Transfer Cost

The study found that 7 domestic workers and 70 rickshaw pullers had transfer costs to remit their money home. This mostly happened when they remitted money through mobile operators and dalals. The cost they incurred on average was a Tk.5 service charge for every Tk.100 remitted, although the charge varied from place to place. Sometimes, a little bit of money also had to be paid to relatives and friends when they carried money. Table 6.7 shows the average transfer cost of the domestic workers was Tk 32.90 in last year. The highest was Tk 100 and the lowest Tk 15.00. Domestic workers also send money through post offices. In that case, they had to pay for stamps. In the case of rickshaw pullers, the average transfer cost was Tk.670.19 in a year. The highest cost was Tk 1200 and the lowest Tk 20.00.

6.7 Confirmation of receipt of remittance

With regards to the security of remittance transfers, the study found that 6 domestic workers used employer's mobile phones or went to the mobile shop to inform their families about their remittances if they send it by mobile, dalals or friends. In the case of rickshaw pullers, 69 of their families were informed through mobile phones, indicating the extensive coverage of mobile phones in Bangladesh. 73 per cent of rickshaw pullers and 34 per cent of domestic workers stated that their families would also confirm through mobile phones the receipt of remittances if it was sent through means other than immediate family or hand carried by them.

Fraudulence Practices

In 8 occasions interviewee of rickshaw puller remittances were lost. This happened when they send remittances through their friends from same village. Their friends usurped the money and told the rickshaw pullers that they were hijacked or robbed while they were going home. On the other hand of domestic workers faced fraudulence while sending remittances. However, three of them stated that when their father comes to Dhaka in taking money, they gave instruction to hand over money to their mother. But, their mother did not get single.

Conclusion

This section, gives brief idea about the nature and pattern of remittances. It is seen that most of them send remittances on regular basis except 11 respondents; one rickshaw pullers and ten domestic workers. Rickshaw pullers remit money many times in a year, domestic workers only few times. Rickshaw pullers remit double than domestic workers. Both rickshaw pullers and domestic workers remit to their families and use different methods. Mobile phone plays an important role in sending remittance for the rickshaw pullers money. The study found that like international money exchangers, local level services have also developed in transferring remittance from urban to rural. It also helps both receiver and sender to get the confirmation of remittances. Sending remittances through mobile operating money transfers taka 5 per taka 100 transfer. The next chapter will discuss the utilisation of remittance of respondents and overall impact of migration.

The Impact of Migration

In this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the impact of internal migration at the individual, household and community level. Indicators which have been used to assess this are the income earned, the significance of the remittance sent by the migrants, the status of loan borrowed for purpose other than migration, change of land holding ownership and savings pattern. These are considered from the economic perspective. The social impact of migration is analysed through developing an understanding of credit worthiness, social status, relations between employee and employers and future plan of the respondents.

Table 7.1 shows that almost equal number of domestic workers and rickshaw pullers remittances were used in maintaining consumption need of the parents. Domestic workers were mostly unmarried and the rickshaw pullers were married. So, only 9 domestic workers maintained children whereas 74 rickshaw pullers had children and their own family to look after. Compared to rickshaw pullers, the domestic workers remitted less. Yet, higher numbers of domestic workers have savings. In home construction/repair, domestic workers remittances were used more, whereas rickshaw pullers were used more on day to day maintenance of their families. None the less, both groups of respondents belonged to bottom economic status of the community. They have not been able to purchase land of farm and other with remittances, highlighting that for the chronic poor, internal migration is a positive coping strategy but not necessarily a way out of poverty. I will now explore these issues in more detail below.

Table 7.1: Use of remittance in different types (in last one year) (Multiple)

Types		Number of respondents	
		Domestic Workers	Rickshaw pullers
	Clothing and food of parental households	57	60
	Clothing and food of own child	09	74
Education	Owens child education	07	52
	Education of others members of the family	10	12
Health Care		02	03
Savings	Savings in cash	32	16
	Savings in NGOs/Bank/ Life insurance company/ other company	03	22
Repayment of loan		10	68
Change land holding ownership	Land purchase	11	12
	Land mortgage in	05	16
	Release of mortgage	06	03

Home construction and repair		52	17
Business investment		06	15
Financing migration of other family members		00	02
Dowry/Marriage of family members		02	09
Religious and social occasions (Eid, Hazz, weeding, kathna, funeral)		13	41
Religious contribution (sadga, zakat, mahafil)		04	19
Purchase Livestock/ poultry		06	04
Others		02	

7.1 Economic Impact

7.1 Use of Remittance

Remittance from migrants has played an important economic and social role. A study on internal migration in Nepal found that family incomes have significantly raised because of migrant's remittances. Remittances are used for consumers' goods, better housing and education for children and have created rural market in the village. Remittances to villages have generally boosted the consumption patterns of the villagers. Remittance also helped to generate savings. Migrants and remittances have invigorated the land tenancy market in the area (Karn, 2006: 46). A study on *Labour Migration from Chars in Bangladesh* found that nearly all the participants told that they relied on remittances to repay loans, to buy food, clothes, household goods, repair homes, cope with the effects of erosion and flooding and purchase small assets such as chickens, ploughs etc. (Siddiqui and Skinner, 2005:16). In order to understand the impact of remittance, it is very important to locate different uses of remittance. Table 8.1 shows the pattern of use of remittance by domestic workers and rickshaw pullers in last year. The table presents of both types of workers.

Consumption of Clothing and Food

Most domestic workers were unmarried and parents were the main head of the left behind household. The study found that 62 of domestic workers were unmarried. Father was the head of the households of 48 domestic workers, the mother was 8 domestic workers and the rest of them were others. Therefore, 58 respondents stated that their remittance use for the consumption of clothing and food of parental households, highlighting the low socio-economic status of the majority of migrant sending households. Only 9 respondent's remittances use for clothing and food of their own child. In this case, the respondent did not send remittance directly to their children. The local guardian of children receives the remittance and spends for them. In the case of rickshaw pullers, 74 of their remittances use for clothing and food of own children. However, 60 respondents remittances use for the consummation of clothing and food of parental households.

Comparatively domestic workers had more income earners of their families than rickshaw pullers. 86 of domestic workers had more than one earning member of their families whereas only 35 rickshaw pullers had more than one. Most of them were nuclear family and he was the only income earner. However, 87 of rickshaw pullers were married and their average family members were 5.9. Therefore, it can be said that that rickshaw puller's households were very much depended on remittance for food and clothing. Rickshaw pullers have to also think their own food and clothing while staying in Dhaka. On the other hand, most domestic workers remitted one to four times in last year, a major portion of their remittances used for buying land or any emergency.

respondents also reported for the education of other members of their family. On the other hand, 7 domestic workers reported their remittances were used for the education of own child and 10 for other members of their family.

7.1.3 Health care

The study found that the remittances were spent for health care by the families of most respondents. Nevertheless, health care is considered here only as serious health condition of the respondent's family. 2 domestic workers and 3 rickshaw pullers remittances were used for health care purposes. One of the rickshaw puller sent Taka 22000 for the appendicitis operation of his son. Another two rickshaw pullers spent money for his father's medical treatment. The remittance sent by two domestic workers was spent for the medical treatment of their mother-in-law and brother.

As discussed previously, respondent's income was also used for their own medical treatment. In case of domestic workers, employers arrange doctors and purchase medicine. Nevertheless, 2 respondents said that employers arranged nothing during their sickness. They went to the doctor and bought medicines themselves from their own income. Most rickshaw pullers went to a local doctor or they just buy medicine with the consultation of local dispensary shopkeeper. It was hard to estimate the amount of their income spent for their medical treatment in on a daily, monthly or yearly basis. Most respondents reported yearly expense of their medical treatment. Some gave daily and monthly. However, 21 respondents spent around Tk 50.00, 22 spent around Tk 51.00 to 300.00 and the rest of them spent more than that from their income. It may be said that rickshaw pullers have to save money from their income for their own medical treatment.

Savings

A section of both domestic workers and rickshaw pullers had some savings. Two types of savings were found. One was cash saving and another was saving in Banks, NGOs and other companies. In the case of 100 domestic workers, 35 of them had some saving. Among them, 32 had savings in cash and another 3 of them had savings in a bank or insurance company. Of those who had saving in cash, 19 of them were unmarried their age group was between 15-25 years. 3 of them were married and their age group was 21-35 years. Another 10 of them were separated and their age was concentrated between 25 to 40 years. The average savings in cash was Tk 902. The highest saving in cash was Tk 4800 and the lowest Tk 100. 18 of them deposited cash to the wives of the employers, 12 of them kept the money themselves, 1 to mother and 1 to father. Domestic workers who deposited money to the wives of employers stated that they can withdraw the money when they wish. However, 3 domestic workers saved money with different companies. One female respondent saved around Tk 7500 in the Padma Life Insurance Company, a local company based in respondent's village. Another female respondent saved around Tk 2400 in a bank in Dhaka. The wife of employer informed her that money had been saved in her name but the respondent did not know the name of bank. The other domestic workers said that she saved around Tk 1308 in the Islamic Life Insurance Company in village and she had been saving for last six months and monthly deposit was Tk 218. There were many reasons for savings. Respondents were saving for insuring some financially security. Two domestic workers; one 18 years of age and another 20 years stated that they were saving for covering their wedding cost.

38 rickshaw pullers had some savings. The study found that 36 of them were married and only 2 were unmarried. Those who were married, their ages were concentrated between 25 to 50 years, while unmarried respondent's ages were between 25 to 30 years as well. It was found that 16 of them had saving in cash. The average amount of savings in cash was Tk 2062.50. The highest savings in cash was

banks, NGOs or other companies. 13 of them deposited money in the Banks (National Bank), local NGOs (Grameen Bank and ASA), Life Insurance Company and Government Post Office. 9 rickshaw pullers saved money in village based cooperative societies but could not recall the name. They were mostly married rickshaw pullers. It was stated by most rickshaw pullers that they were saving for insuring some financial security. However, five rickshaw pullers stated that they would buy rickshaws after saving big amount.

It was seen that rickshaw puller preferred to save money in the Bank/NGOs and other companies where as domestic workers preferred to save in cash. This is because domestic workers have less access to formal institutions.

Table 7.2: Types of savings in Bank/NGOs/ Other companies (Rickshaw pullers)

No.	Types	Company	Descriptions
1	Deposit Pension Scrim (DPS)	Padma Life Insurance Company (in village)	Already deposited Taka 3600. 10 years of Fixed term deposit and monthly deposit Taka 150.
2	Deposit Pension Scrim (DPS)	National Bank (Dhaka)	Already deposited Taka 1800. 10 years of Fixed term deposit and monthly deposit Taka 100.
3	Deposit Pension Scrim (DPS)	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 3600. 10 years of Fixed term deposit and monthly deposit Taka 300.
4	Deposit Pension Scrim (DPS)	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 2400. 10 years of Fixed term deposit and monthly deposit Taka 200.
5	Normal Savings	Grameen Bank (National NGO)	Already deposited Taka 3600. 10 years of Fixed term deposit and monthly deposit Taka 100.
6	Grammen Bima (Life insurance)	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 2400. 10 years of Fixed term deposit and monthly deposit Taka 200.
7	Normal savings	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 5000. 10 years of Fixed term deposit and monthly deposit Taka 103.
8	Normal savings	ASA (National NGO)	Already deposited Taka 1440. Weekly deposit Taka 103.
9	Normal savings	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 7220. Weekly deposit Taka 100 and 6 years of fixed term.
10	Normal savings	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 2400. Monthly deposit Taka 200. 6 years of fixed term.
11	Normal savings	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 3600. Monthly deposit Taka 100.
12	Normal savings	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 4000. Monthly deposit Taka 100.
13	Normal savings	ASA (National NGO)	Already deposited Taka 4200. Monthly deposit Taka 50.
14	Normal savings	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 600. Monthly deposit Taka 200.
15	Normal Savings	Grameen Bank (National NGO)	Already deposited Taka 600. Monthly deposit Taka 100.
16	Normal Savings	Grameen Bank (National NGO)	Already deposited Taka 1800. Monthly deposit Taka 50.
17	Life Insurance	In village but not known the name of the company	Already deposited Taka 1200. Monthly deposit Taka 100.

20	Normal Savings	Local Government Post office	Already deposited Taka 7000. Monthly deposit Taka 150.
21	Normal savings	ASA (National NGO)	Already deposited Taka 2400. Monthly deposit Taka 25.
22	Normal savings	ASA (National NGO)	Already deposited Taka 5000. Monthly deposit Taka 100.

Repayment of Loan

A section of remittances of both rickshaw pullers and domestic workers was spent on repayment of loans. Among the rickshaw pullers, some of them had savings and at the same time many of them had to also borrow money from different sources. They borrowed from local NGOs, local Mahajan, employers, relatives, friends and neighbours. Consequently, for 68 rickshaw puller's part of their income was spent in repayment of loans. It was not usually a big amount that they would borrow. As they were seasonal migrants and migrated several times to Dhaka, they would often need to borrow money for covering the migration cost each time. They would also borrow money for buying seeds, fertilizer and for buying cultivable land. In their absence, rickshaw puller's families also borrowed money and then the rickshaw puller would repay the loan when they returned home. For rickshaw pullers it appears that most of their earnings/remittances is spent on daily household consumption or repayment of loans, indicating that internal migration is not a way of accumulating enough assets to get out of poverty, rather it is a coping strategy for the poorest.

Conversely, domestic workers seldom borrowed money. However, often their families would borrow money. Only 10 cases were reported that domestic workers remittances were spent in repayment of loan by their families.

Under the micro-credit programmes, a few members of rickshaw pullers' households were involved in different NGOs activities. A section of remittance of rickshaw pullers was spent in repayment of instalments of micro-credit. One rickshaw puller's family got micro-credit which he spent for buying a rickshaw. However due to losses, he sold the rickshaw, but he had to keep paying the instalment.

Change land holding ownership

The study found three types of land holding ownership. One is direct purchase land, another is land leasing in and the other is release of mortgaged land. In case of domestic workers, 11 respondents contributed to their families in purchasing land. 3 of them contributed to Tk 2000-3000, 4 were Tk 6000-7000, 2 were Tk 11000-12000, 1 was Tk 20000 and the other one was Tk 25000. It was seen that 6 of them were unmarried and their age group was between 10 to 20 years, 2 were widowed, 2 were separated and only 1 was married. Those who were married, separated and widowed domestic workers, they were mainly 30+ years of age. It is interesting to note that those domestic workers who shared their remittances for purchasing land, few of them registered the land in their name. Out of 11 domestic workers, only 5 respondents registered the land in their name. 2 respondents registered their mother name and 1 respondent registered the land jointly with her and brother's name, 2 in brother's name and 1 her step sister's name. It was known from interview that they were normally absent when their families bought land. Their choice for buying a good land was not considered on that time. It was because they worked in Dhaka and they relied on their family members. One domestic worker, who was 51 years of age, told her story that she sent Tk. 25000 to her brother for buying land. Her brother bought land in her absence. After serving 15 years to her employer and arranging her daughter's marriage, she returned to her village for passing her retired life. However, she came to know then that her land was registered in her brother's name and her brother refused to give the land to her. The only action she felt she had was to migrate again to Dhaka and is still

families. On an average they sent Tk. 3667 for this purpose. It was known that 4 of them were unmarried, 1 was married and another one was widowed. It is interesting to note that although they helped their families releasing mortgage land, they did not get any share of it. Another 5 respondents' remittance was spent by their families for leasing land in. On an average they sent Tk 9600 for this purpose. Even though their contribution, they did not get any benefit from them. Their families or children are benefited from it.

In case of rickshaw pullers, 12 respondents purchased land. They were all married. Their ages were concentrated between 21 to 45 years. The study found that comparatively young rickshaw pullers earn more than elders. They invested money in buying land. On the other hand, 16 respondents spent their income for leasing land. 10 of them were married and 6 of them unmarried. It was known that there is no big amount needed in leasing land. Each district is followed different fixed amount for a year for leasing land. Comparatively the amount is less for the districts of Northeast than other districts. It is because the reasons of flood and river erosion prone area. Another 3 rickshaw pullers' remittance spent for releasing the mortgaged land.

Invest money in agricultural land

8 rickshaw pullers used remittance in buying agricultural inputs (seeds, fertilizer, water irrigation, and tractor) for their agricultural land. They stated that they need cash money to invest in their cultivable land. As it is matter of cash, they migrate to Dhaka to earn more and then buy the agricultural inputs. 2 domestic workers also contributed to their family for buying agricultural inputs.

Home construction and repair

Out of 200 respondents, 69 respondents' remittances were spent for the home construction and repair. It includes construction of a new home, renovation of the old structure, addition of facilities such as kitchen, store or toilets and repair of the house. Among them, 52 were rickshaw pullers and 17 were domestic workers. The study found that rickshaw pullers spent more money for this purpose. In addition, they also needed to borrow money from local mahajan and NGOs.

Business Investment

Investment in economic ventures by migrants was very low. Only 21 respondents' interested in small business. Among them 6 were domestic workers and 15 rickshaw pullers. Rickshaw pullers who had other businesses, such as fishing and printing, would invest money in their own business. One rickshaw puller gave Taka 15,000 to his brother to start a grocery shop. On the other hand, domestic workers helped their family member to buy vehicles such as rickshaws and vans.

Financing migration

Only 2 rickshaw pullers spent a section of their remittances in financing migration for their sons. Respondents' remittances had been used in sending their sons to Dhaka. Their sons also came to Dhaka for searching a job. Initially, rickshaw pullers spent on an average Tk 500 for migration cost. Food and accommodation cost in Dhaka was also borne by them.

Dowry/Marriage of family members

Incidence of dowry payment was high in the Northwest region of Bangladesh. 2 domestic workers mentioned that their sister's dowry was paid with her remittance. Another 2 domestic workers respondents were saving money for their own wedding costs. 11 rickshaw pullers spent their money went into the costs of wedding and dowry for their daughters.

like religious festivals, weddings, kathna, and funerals. Rickshaw pullers stated that they spent extra money for their children and families in the two Eid festivals. They also stated that they have to participate in different social and religious occasions, for example, 19 rickshaw pullers stated that every year there is a religious *Milad Mahfil* takes place in their locality. They have to contribute for organising the Mahfil. They also contribute in their local Mosques as well.

In the case of domestic workers, not all respondents knew how their income was spent. However, 13 respondents stated that their income was spent on religious festivals and another 4 respondents stated in religious contribution. Most domestic workers stayed at their home while they visited in the village as they did not need to attend any functions in the village. It may be that male can maintain more social relations or networking with others than female

Purchase livestock/Poultry

The purchase of livestock and poultry are also considered assets. These livestock and poultry could be easily sold during a crisis time. 10 respondents spent money for purchasing livestock's and poultries.

Social Impact

7.2.1 Credit Worthiness

Accessing credit is a very important element in organising economic life of any individual. This is more so for those who find themselves in distress and challenging condition. Out of 200 respondents, 74% of total respondents reported to increase social status of credit worthiness in the post-migration situation. Among them, 54 were domestic workers and 94 rickshaw pullers.

Domestic workers always tried to avoid borrowing money. The study found only 10 domestic workers who borrowed money and then repaid their loan. Nevertheless, domestic workers felt increasing their status of credit worthiness was good. If they want, they will be qualified to receive loans both from NGOs and the local mahajan. Rickshaw pullers stated that not only them but their family can also borrow money from others in their absence. The money lender gives money to their family as they believe that this family can return money. 51 rickshaw pullers stated that their family can borrow money from local neighbours, 37 from relatives or friends, 4 from local mahajan and 2 from Bank.

In the absence of rickshaw pullers, 78 families had credit purchase agreements with local shops. The agreement with the local shop is that when the respondent visits in the village, he will clear all the outstanding bills. However, respondents told us that the local shops always charge extra price for each item because of the credit purchase agreement.

Helping in Migrating and Finding Job

23 domestic workers and 34 rickshaw pullers helped other people in migrating and finding jobs. Amongst the 100 domestic workers interviewed they helped a total of 728 females to migrate and finally to manage a job in Dhaka. The study found that kith and kin were the major connectors of domestic workers to find employment in Dhaka. In the same way they help others village women to find employment. As there is demand of domestic workers in Dhaka, most cases employers or relatives of employers requested them to find a domestic worker for their house. So, when they visit in the village, they helped village women in migrating and finding job. The rickshaw pullers helped a total of 197 people in migrating. Regarding the question of relations, 25 rickshaw pullers stated that they helped their own village people, 6 helped family members and 3 helped friends.

Social relationship between employer and employee

themselves for their employer. The items include chira, muri, pitha, potato, rice, coconut, seasonal fruits, cane gur and snacks. Respondents stated that when they needed a large amount money in an emergency, they could get help from their employer. Some stated that their employer would take extra care with them, such as allowing them to take extra holidays, providing food, clothing and free medical treatment and they therefore wanted to reciprocate by bringing some items for their employers while returning from their village. However, rickshaw pullers did not have any such reciprocity with the employers. In the case of rickshaw pullers, as they are wage labourer, no such relationship is made between employee and employer.

Decision Making

In their absence, 47 rickshaw pullers stated that expenditures and other household decisions are largely taken by their parents. 46 rickshaw pullers said that wives were taking household decisions because they were a nuclear family. For those who were in joint families, wives and other family members would jointly take decisions. Only 7 respondents said that other family members take the decision. Rickshaw pullers also stated that although their families took household decisions in their absence, they gave instructions through mobile phones to the respondents. However, some respondents also stated that they do not need to give instruction to their wives or families. As they are seasonal migrants and have many years of migration experiences, their families know what they have to do in their absence. Moreover, they do not need because they return village during the season.

Table 7.6: Decision makers

Decision makers	Rickshaw pullers
Wife	46
Parents	47
Brother/Sister	04
Son/Daughter	03
Total	100

In the case of domestic workers, the study did not find them any role in decision making. As unmarried domestic workers sent money to their families, love and affection of their family members had been increased on them. However, they had not gained any power in decision making. Although unmarried domestic workers had no role in decision making of their family, some of them stated they can share their views with their family members when they phoned them. In some cases, some respondents stated that their views were worked into decision making. Some respondents also stated that although they have no role in decision making, at least they have been informed about familial issues.

Contact between Migrants and their families

Some drastic changes took place in Bangladesh in the recent past. Villages now have some degree of access to telecommunication, via access to mobile phones. Table 7.5 shows that 64 of total domestic workers contact with their families by mobile phone. They stated that most cases they use their employer's mobile. Sometimes, they also use public phones. 20 of them said that their families also phone them from the village's phone shop. 19 respondents said that they cannot directly contact with their families but they get news when relatives visit from home. 79 of total rickshaw pullers use mobile phone as their main means of communication with their families. Their family members also phone sometimes from the village phone shop.

Mobile phones help both these two groups in different ways. Before using mobile phones, migrants had very little contact with their families. They only learnt of the condition of their families if any village men visit their work place or when they visit in

she became spoiled. Thus, she brought her daughter to Dhaka and gave her a job in a garments factory.

Table 7.5: The way of communication (Multiple)

Types	Number of respondents	
	Domestic Workers	Rickshaw pullers
Visit relatives from home	12	4
Visit of family members of from village	7	3
Phone them	64	79
Family members also phone sometimes	20	10

Future Plan

Table 7.7 discusses the future plan of the respondents. Each respondent had more than one plan. Therefore, multiple responses have been included here. 31% of domestic workers were below 15 years old and they were unmarried. 23 of them said that they would go back and live in village after accumulating reasonable savings. They had mixed experiences of migration. Some of them expressed that they would buy livestock and sell milk in the locality. This they have learnt from watching a TV programme. One domestic worker stated that she had a plan to go back after reasonable saving and give money to her father for starting a small grocery shop. A few respondents could not adjust in Dhaka and missed their village life. 20 respondents stated that they have in their mind to get married and settle down in village. Most of them stated that their families had pressured them to migrate and work but that they would not need to work for a long time. When they grow up, they will return and settle in village. 12 domestic workers would like to get married and settle down in Dhaka. They mentioned that they liked Dhaka very much. Access to TV and satellite, the beauty of the city and access to electricity are some of the reasons for their choice. Some also stated to enrich their knowledge. They have playmates at their workplace and do not feel hard work as their employer's family is very small. Another 4 respondents who were unmarried also wanted to ensure a better future of their brothers and sisters. 20 married women want to continue with their present job. The reasons are that their family back home faces poverty at all times and jobs for women are not available in the village. On the other hand, 8 domestic workers have plans to do some other job; with their first choice being garments work. 8 respondents, who were married, stated that they wanted to ensure a better future for their children. They want to send more remittances so that their children can properly study so that they can find a good job in Dhaka and ensure their better future. They also stated that when their children will be grown up, then they will go back in village. One domestic worker had a plan to make a house in village after reasonable savings but want to stay in Dhaka.

In the case of 100 rickshaw pullers, 45 respondents stated that they want to stop migration after accumulating reasonable savings and organise a stable livelihood in the village. They had plans to start businesses in the village such as buying a rickshaw or van, opening a tea stall or small grocery shop or fishing. The study found that besides rickshaw pulling, few respondents had other business in the village. They migrated to Dhaka because they needed cash. Due to migration, many of them stated that they have learnt many things and have new ideas. 43 respondents stated that they would settle down in their village after getting married. As they are young and energetic, they want to earn as much money as possible now. One respondent wanted to settle down in Dhaka and bring his family, so he can send his children to school and ensure their better future. 20 respondents wanted to continue rural-urban migration because of the need for cash money. Moreover, they do not have any cultivable land in village and do

cost.

Table 7.7: Future plan (Multiple)

Future plan	Number of respondents	
	Domestic Workers	Rickshaw pullers
Continue as present job	20	20
Do some other job	08	12
After reasonable savings go back and living in own village	23	45
Get married and settle down in Dhaka	12	01
Get married and settle down in own village	20	43
Ensure better future for children	08	22
Ensure better future for brother/sister	04	00
Others	02	07
Do not know	01	00

Conclusion

The present section demonstrates that most migrants experienced a positive economic impact of migration in the sense that they can ensure their own livelihood and that of their families. 40% of total respondents spent remittances for the consumption and clothing, health care. Among them, most domestic workers remittances spent for the consumption of their parents and rickshaw pullers of their wives, children and other family members. This indicates the low socio economic status of these migrants and the fact that internal migration appears as a preferred coping strategy for some of the poorest. It is seen that a section of rickshaw pullers remittances went into repayment of debt as they frequently migrated to Dhaka, where they needed some initial cash, and thus borrowed money from different sources, highlighting again that it may be difficult for these migrants to use internal migration as a way out of poverty, since each time they move it is connected with small loans. However, land holding ownership has also changed due to migration. 23% of total migrants purchased land, 11% mortgaged land in and 9% released mortgaged land showing that for some internal migration has allowed them to acquire enough capital to buy or lease land as an attempt of climb out of poverty. It is interesting to note that domestic workers invested money for purchasing land, yet few of them registered land in their name highlighting the lack of change in gender power relations for women, even though they are now economic providers for many of the households. The study also found different savings patterns of respondents. Domestic workers prefers to save some portion of their income to the employer's wives whereas rickshaw pullers save to the Bank's, NGOs and companies like Life Insurance Company in a village.

Considering the social impact of migration, 74% of total respondents reported to greater credit worthiness in the post-migration situation. Rickshaw pullers stated that not only them but also their family can borrow money from others in their absence. The money lender gives money to their family as they believe that this family can return money, this is can be a crucial asset and coping strategy for the poorest and is a direct benefit accruing from migration. 23 domestic workers and 34 rickshaw pullers helped other people in migrating and finding job. The domestic workers helped total 728 female to migrate and finally to mange job in Dhaka. The rickshaw pullers helped total 197 people in migrating, indicating not only the importance of social networks to processes of migration but also the increased social power of returnee migrants, in that they become the new gatekeepers for potential migrants in the village. This increased social capital may in turn allo other economic an dsocial opportunities previously denied to them

poorest is essential in order to cope with shocks and stresses. In return, the migrants also feel to bring something for their employer while returning workplace from village, as a way of reinforcing this network.

Due to advanced technology, migrants can easily contact with their family by mobile phone. Migrant's families also phone them from village. Therefore, migrants can easily be informed about the condition of their families. They also send remittances in any emergency by mobile phone. Moreover, migrants' especially male migrants give instructions by mobile phone to their families on household expenditures, child's education, farming land etc.

Regarding the question of migrants' future plan, most migrants want to go back and live in village after generating reasonable savings. In addition, many of domestic workers want to settle down in village after getting married. However, many respondents also want to continue to migrate, with a major reason being to ensure a better future for their children and families.

Summary Findings, Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

8.1 Summary Findings

This study has attempted to encapsulate the internal migration experiences of the domestic workers and rickshaw pullers. One is circular migrant and the other semi-permanent migrant group. The most pertinent issue to understand were with respect to why these two groups of people migrated. What social and economic background did they come from? How did they finally take decision to migrate? The second set of issues is to understand experiences of finding work, the earlier employment history and overall work conditions in the places of work. This study has also attempted to address some of these questions. Although it was not possible to get comprehensive answers to all the issues raised, a general understanding of the dynamics of internal migration was reached.

The study found that both rickshaw pullers and domestic workers started to migrate to Dhaka at a very young age. The majority of domestic workers were below 20 years when they first migrated, while the majority of rickshaw pullers were a little older, with most below 25 years old. Rickshaw pullers felt that economic poverty was the main reason for migration. In addition, jobs are also not available during off season in their locality. Therefore, as part of a livelihood strategy they would migrate to Dhaka and ensure income for the household in all seasons. The study shows that for many households, their income is earned by combining rural and urban employment opportunities. Domestic workers also stated poverty as the main reason for migration. Employers of domestic workers prefer to recruit young domestic workers from their own village or through local recruiting agents. While recruiting, employers sometimes promise to the guardian of domestic workers to help them financially during their daughter's wedding. Dowry is often practiced in their locality and the poor can not afford it. Therefore, such unwritten agreements also takes place during recruiting time that the employer will help the girl by giving lump some money during her wedding. Another reason for recruiting a young domestic worker was that adult domestic workers may change their job and can find better placements once in Dhaka. The most important reason may be that the employers have to pay much less to the younger workers compared to the older ones.

Almost half of the domestic workers were not literate before migrating. Domestic workers who attended primary school were due to introduction of free schooling for girls by the Government. Domestic workers thought during migration that they would get a better job in Dhaka particularly in the garments industry; however, due to lacking of the minimum literacy level, this was not possible. Therefore, the lack of education in the migration stream may lead them to end up with domestic work in Dhaka.

66 of 100 domestic workers were unmarried when they first migrated. After migration, only few of them were married. On the other hand, half of the rickshaw pullers were unmarried before migration. 37 of them got married after migration. Therefore, migration as domestic workers may have worked as hindrance for female migrants to get married, but it was not in case of male migrants.

The average size of the households of both rickshaw pullers and domestic workers were 5.96, this is little above the national average of 5.44. In the case of type of family of rickshaw pullers, 55 were nuclear family where he is the household head and the rest were from joint family. On the other hand, 57 of total domestic workers sated that father was the main head of left behind family. The study found that 62 of them were unmarried, 10 were married and the rest of them either widowed or separated or divorced. Besides respondents, 86 of domestic workers had more than one earning member of their families whereas only 35 rickshaw pullers had more than one. The study found that comparatively female workers had more income earners of their

was that individually rickshaw pullers had more income earning. But most of them were nuclear family and he was the only income earner. Domestic workers individually earn much less than rickshaw pullers, but many members of their families earn the rest.

The study found that the average years of migration experience of domestic workers were 5.76 year whereas the rickshaw pullers were 10 years. The average year of migration of rickshaw pullers were comparatively much higher than domestic workers, which may be because of the fact that many domestic workers would not migrate after getting married. Access to information is one of the key factors that contributed to making the decision to migrate. Different sources identified by the migrants were their husband, immediate family member, neighbours, friends and relatives. Migration decision is usually part of continuing effort and decision is often made by the household head. In case of unmarried young and adolescent domestic workers, the decision had been made by their parents or other guardians. They reasonably had little or no role in migration decision. Migration decision of most married and other domestic workers was on their own. On the other hand, majority married and unmarried rickshaw pullers had taken migration decision on their own. Few cases they consulted with their families. In considering the factors that contribute to migration, we found different socio economic reasons. However, land less, poverty, shouldering responsibility of parental, no work during of season were the main reason.

The study found that the average cost of domestic workers was Tk.170. while for rickshaw pullers it was Tk.142. Here, the highest migration cost was Taka 400 and the lowest Taka 40. It was also seen that in some cases the cost of migration of rickshaw pullers was less because people migrate in a group where they share the expenses. As both groups migrated from different districts of Bangladesh, It was noted that the rickshaw pullers bore their own migration cost, whereas for domestic workers it was often the employers who bore the cost of migration.

It was seen that both for rickshaw pullers and domestic workers, kith and kin were major connectors. In case of domestic workers, it was seen that family members, relatives and employers themselves were the main connector in finding work. In case of rickshaw pullers, friends and neighbours were their main connectors. In some cases of rickshaw pullers also found job on their own. They contacted door to door to the employers garage and requested them to give job. Most cases they got job because they found rickshaw owners were their same locality. The study also found that many rickshaw pullers also changed their rickshaw owners several times. The domestic worker did not change their job much. It indicates that young domestic workers have less information on available in job market.

In case of work condition of domestic workers, the average hours of work of domestic workers per day were 11.76 hours. They work 7 days per week. They get holiday when they take own initiatives and ask employer. Most respondents stated that employers willingly do not offer them leave. Their wages are often negotiated by the employers and employees or in some cases by the *dalal* (recruiting agents). Wages also varied according to the location of work place and economic status of the employer. The study found the average monthly income of the respondents was Tk.652. The amount of wages also depended on the age, skill of the respondents. Young domestic workers comparatively get a lower wage than adult domestic workers. Most domestic workers received their wage monthly. However, they take the wage from the employer when they go to village or when someone from village visits them. Regarding the question of food, clothing, and accommodation, 99 of female respondents eat the same as the employer and gets clothing in a year. 36 of them slept in separate room. Most of them sleep with female members of the household. Health care is very important issue to understand the right of domestic workers. Most cases employers arrange doctors and purchase medicine. Employers also reduce the workload and never deduct salary for sick day. On the other hand, rickshaw pullers have to arrange their own accommodation, food and clothing. They rent a house and stay in a group

was Taka 141.15. The study also found that 80 rickshaw pullers faced illness due to driving rickshaws. Therefore, each month respondents spend money for purchasing medicine. Losing rickshaws, assault by passengers, money snatched by mobs, passengers not give rent, assault by rickshaws owners; these are common problem faced by rickshaw pullers.

The study found that rickshaw pullers remitted to their families on an average 12.30 number of times in last year. Domestic workers remitted on average 3.92 times. It is seen that rickshaw pullers remit more money than domestic workers. The reason was that rickshaw pullers were circular migrants and their families maintain their subsistence through their income. Every month they need to send money to their families. They also carried money with them when they go home. Domestic workers on the other hand would send money back through family members since they would not be allowed very much leave. Most of the rickshaw pullers remitted money to their wives whereas most domestic workers sent money to their parents since they were unmarried. It is interesting to note that rickshaw pullers often use mobile phones for sending remittances with mobile phone shops working like money exchange companies. Mobile phones also helped the respondents in getting village information, as well as allowing migrants to give instruction to their family members in their absence.

The study found that most respondents spend remittances on daily consumption, clothing and health care of their families. It is seen with most rickshaw pullers that their remittances in particular are spent on day to day expenses since they are the single income earner of the household. On the other hand, domestic workers send their remittance to their families once or two times in year or they carry quite a big amount of remittances when they go home. These remittances are not available for family expenses; rather they are spent on asset accumulation. It is interesting to note that for the first few years, young domestic workers remitted all their money to their family home. Later, they start keeping some as saving. Domestic workers prefer to save some portion of their income with their employer's wives, whereas rickshaw pullers save with bank's, NGOs and insurance companies based in their locality. It was also seen that rickshaw pullers remittance went into repayment of debt. As they frequently migrate, they often need to borrow money from different sources for each trip. However, they also borrow money for repairing home constructions. Land holding patterns have also changed due to migration. 23% of total migrants did purchase some land. Among them, 11 were domestic workers and 12 rickshaw pullers. Respondents' remittances also used for other purposes like buying agricultural inputs, investing for businesses, religious and social occasions and purchasing livestock's and poultries. Many respondents felt that their social status and credit worthiness had increased following migration, so much so that they became new facilitators of migration for other potential migrants. A new type of relations was also seen between employer and domestic workers. When female domestic workers need cash money in emergency cases, they get help from their employers. In return, they also feel to bring something for their employer while returning workplace from village. Regarding the question of migrants' future plan, 23 domestic workers and 45 rickshaw pullers want to go back and living in village after reasonable savings. Domestic workers plan to buy livestock's and start poultry business, some wants to helps family member to buy rickshaw business or open tea stall in village. 20 domestic workers want to get married and settled down in village. A few domestic workers wanted to marry and settle down in Dhaka. Many rickshaw pullers wanted to continue to migrate, indicating the fact that previous migration had not allowed them to accumulate enough assets to escape chronic poverty.

8.2 Conclusion

This study reveals that rural to urban migration for domestic work is quite common for women of a poorer socio-economic background. 100 interviewees show that women of different ages, ranging from very young to mid age migrated for work. Nonetheless the

cases they attempted to ensure decent food and clothing for the young girls of their families. Relatively older women who made their own decision to migrate wanted to ensure their sustenance through migration and a few of them subsidised their families in upbringing their own children. 40% of the domestic workers had at least one other member in their families with migration experience. This implied that the domestic workers were not unfamiliar with migration. Perhaps for this reason, a section of them naturally accepted migration as livelihood.

Compared to the internal migrants of previous times, the educational profile of the domestic worker interviewees were much better. 60% of the interviewees possessed some educational background ranging from I to VIII. Again, among the domestic workers compare to the older ones the educational level of the younger domestic workers were much better. It was also found that a section of the young ones were taken out from school before they were sent to Dhaka for domestic work.

Analysis of the migration experience of domestic workers shows that the highest proportion of them was from the North east districts of Bangladesh. Informal social networks played the most important role regarding information on migration. Along with immediate family members who have migrated earlier, domestic workers who came to villages, during holidays and the potential employers during their visit to their village provided information on possibilities of domestic work.

There is as strong correlation between household position and the migration decision making authority. In the case of young girls, it was mostly the fathers who took migration decisions on their behalf. In the absence of a father, when mothers were the household head, they played the key role. When mothers were dependent on others i.e. son, daughter, in laws, then these people also had a say in the migration decision. A small section of not so young girls wanted to migrate to work in the garment factories of Dhaka city. They convinced their families that it would be good if they migrate. Later, of course, they did not find work in garment factories and they end up performing domestic work. One woman migrated with her husband and both of them were working in the same place, wife as a domestic worker and her husband as a guard.

Again social network s are crucial in organising the first journey of migrants to their destination. It was also the social network which played a catalytic role in placing migrants to specific houses, about which they were convinced that the domestic workers will be safe in those houses. Only in 8% cases dalals arranged both the journey and job for the domestic workers.

Available studies on rural to urban migration for domestic work usually highlight some of the push factors operating the supply side of the labour market while explaining the factors that contributed to migration. This research on the other hand, respects the supply side realities but identified some major demand side factors which pulled particularly the young female child from rural areas to the capital city to perform domestic work. Currently there are no policies from the government side to restrict the employers from encouraging these young girls' parents to take them out from school and send them to the job market. It was found that due to the low possibility of movement of young domestic workers out side the work place, privacy and security of the employing household and most importantly low wage arrangements, inspire the urban employers to look for young girls from rural areas. There is no set minimum wage for domestic workers. Wages earned by domestic workers were found to be very low. The wage rate also varies according to locality, economic status of the employers' households, age and skill of the workers. It is important to highlight that the colony of

also negotiated by the employer and the person who brought the worker. This means social networks play a role in fixing the terms and condition of work. There is no common standard in the area of food, health care, accommodation etc. In general the employers did not mistreat the domestic workers but, none of the entitlements were respected as rights. They are treated as patronage distribution by benevolent employers. Older domestic workers rarely experienced physical assault but 18% of young domestic workers experienced some kind of physical assault. The acceptance of beating while teaching how to perform a certain job is becoming unacceptable in the broader social context of Bangladesh yet it is practiced. Therefore, whether an employer will hit young domestic workers or not remains the prerogative of employers. Although this research did not encounter extreme battering situation of domestic workers, newspaper reports periodically do highlight incidents of torture and abuse of domestic workers. Therefore, protection particularly of under aged domestic workers, in the private spheres of employers home should be brought in to the policy agenda.

On the other hand, the study also amply demonstrated that a personalised relationship emerges between the employers' family and domestic workers, friendship develops between domestic workers and young children of the employer, and a bond develops between the aya and the new born baby. This relationship works as social capital for the domestic workers. In unforeseen situations, they receive support from the employers' family.

The 100 cases indicate that the domestic workers, who have family back home, remit almost every penny that they earn. All other support received in cash and kind is also transferred by the domestic workers to their families. Some differences were observed regarding method used in transferring remittances in respect to domestic workers and other internal migrants. Other internal migrants among other things use extended social network to send remittance at virtually no cost. The domestic workers for some reasons hesitate even to send money through those who brought them to Dhaka city if they were outside their immediate family. Predominantly they use three methods. If any of the immediate family members i.e. brother, sister, aunt were going to village then they send money with them, or else, immediate family members came to Dhaka just to take back the money. The third method is the most common, domestic workers hand carrying the remittances when they went to their village during holidays.

This study also indicates that the income of domestic workers is not available to the families for a monthly basis. So in the majority cases, they could not be used in day to day consumption. Remittances were used in supporting longer term activities like purchasing books in the beginning of the year, warm clothes during winter, buying water for irrigation or buying seeds for agricultural production. They also invested in land purchase or mortgaging in lands for cultivation, bought livestock's or poultry for rearing. Such avenues do help families with creating employment for themselves. The most is that the domestic workers income created employment for broader family members yet they hardly have opportunity for generating personal wealth. Young ones could be seen as the sacrificial lamb of the house, middle aged ones income goes into family maintenance with supporting jobs for brothers or and the older women income is mostly used by the children. A mechanism needs to be developed to ensure the use of remittances for the future of the domestic worker herself.

Rural-urban migration meets the need of both places. As the average size of the

for female adult service holders in Dhaka city to continue their job and also look after their household activities. However, there are no reliable child care facilities all levels of workers in Dhaka city. These domestic workers also provide child care facilities. Financial benefit from domestic work may not be that high, but still it is cash income. Domestic work in the city areas, females have become other income earners of their families. The study found that most domestic workers' families had more than one income earner. A section of their remittances are spent for food consumption and cloth. Nevertheless, most of their remittances had been spent for assets formation. Their remittances were spent by their families for purchasing land. Their families can also save money for other purposes. In any emergency, domestic workers help their families. Most cases employers financially help them. Even though domestic workers give up the job, they come or visit to their previous employer's house and get help in any emergency. Therefore, new kind of relations has been built up between employers and employees. Employees bring something for their employers when they return from holiday. Domestic workers are also source of finding job in Dhaka city for other villagers. Due to demand of domestic work, settled domestic workers in Dhaka city provide domestic workers to other city households. Therefore, social network helps in creating jobs. Although domestic workers contribute to their families by virtue of their income, yet they had little option in taking decision in their families. The study found that most domestic workers were very young below the age 16 years. City dwellers had their tendency to use child labour. Although government of Bangladesh offers free primary education, these young domestic workers are deprived of their own human development. The study found that most of them were not mentally ready to work as domestic workers. Therefore, most young domestic workers want to go back in village after reasonable savings. It is also seen that Domestic workers work more than eight hours per day. Most of them had no separate sleeping arrangement. Therefore, many of them concerned their personal security. Most domestic workers had intention to save some portion of their wage to the wives of the employers. This is because domestic workers have less access to formal institution.

Rickshaw pullers were earning from both places. Their tendency was to utilise their labour and increase their income. During the off season, they come to Dhaka and pull rickshaw as it is easiest job to get. Again during harvest season, they go back village, cultivate land and work as day labourer in agricultural fields. If they think to stay in village, their life would be under poverty. So, they diversified livelihood through circular migration thus reduce poverty. It is true that rickshaw is now part of city. It is thought one of main means of transportation. Mid, lower mid and poor class people include young children and elderly use the rickshaws. Public transportation is not well organised even though it is available. The environment of the road and footpath is not good shape that people do not like to walk and go long distance for catching bus. Dhaka has now 280,000 rickshaws and it is creating livelihood more than three million people in Dhaka city. Most of the rickshaw pullers originally came from very poor rural background. Those who are circular migrants do not bring their families in Dhaka. Therefore, they are helping to the urban civic maintenance by not bringing their families where there is no accommodation for service providers. Their income is totally spent in to rural society. Hence circular migration promotes development thorough remittances. Remittances sent by the migrants have greatly improved the incomes of rural populations, buying agricultural inputs and agricultural production. In addition, Remittances also spend for the human development of rickshaw pullers families and assets formation. Due to their income, their families have access to credit from friends, neighbours and have credit purchase agreement with local shop. The study found another type of chain migration through this mobile. It was seen that migrants prefers to stay in such areas where he finds the people of same locality. Social relationship with employer and employee allow opportunity to find job for other family members. Decide

work is available, in an emergency cases like to send money, serious health condition, decision making on education child etc. Here, private phone operators informally take part to transfer remittances. It is also seen that rickshaw pullers live in the city in human situation. Loosing rickshaws, assault by passengers, money snatched and passenger not give rent; these are common problem faced by rickshaw pullers during pulling rickshaw. However, police or other forces ignore them listing complains.

8.3 Policy Recommendations

Domestic Workers

Recommendations: The Government of Bangladesh has a specific policy to discourage child labour in the formal sector. Similar policies have to be framed for discouraging child labour in the informal sector. A minimum age for employing domestic workers has to be set by the state in consultation with civil society. Given the reality of Bangladesh it would be hard to strictly implement such a policy. Therefore, employment of young girls can only be allowed when the employer would take the responsibility for ensuring the enrolment of a young girl child into school or any other vocational training and a due wage.

Civil society organisations should articulate demand so that the state imposes strong disincentives against the demand side that attracts the parents of young girls to pull off their children from school and send them to work. At the same time, those who want to avail the services of domestic workers should be made compelled to pay due wages. Civil society organisations need to highlight in different public forums the current wage structure of the young domestic workers and shame those employers who employ workers with such a low wage. The state should include domestic work in the list of wage labour and fix a minimum wage according to the type of job performed irrespective of age.

Along with strict implementation of a domestic violence law in cases of physical assault of the domestic workers, an awareness campaign and social movement needs to be launched to prevent such physical or verbal abuse in the first place. Young members of the household where domestic workers are employed should be made part of the campaign so that they prevent their parents from being abusive. Positive stories where employers take good care to nurture the human resource of young domestic workers should be highlighted through media. This may lead other employers to follow suit. NGOs can also play a vital role in opening a discourse on the rights of domestic workers, i.e. right to education and skill development, right to recreation, right to be prescribed working hours and weekly break and right to communicate with their family for both young and adult domestic workers.

In recent time, initiatives have been taken to ensure the better utilisation of remittances of international migrants. Central bank, public commercial banks and private banks have come up with special investment packages for international migrants and their family members. Packages should also be developed targeting internal migrants. Domestic workers are particularly handicapped when it comes to the issue of investment options which will help the domestic workers with future income. Avenues should be thought of so that young domestic workers do not end up as sacrificial lambs of the family. Domestic workers should be able to save her income for her own future. NGOs can come up with special packages for domestic workers. The employers should be encouraged to open a bank account for the domestic workers and salary should be paid into that account. Young domestic workers should be informed through electronic media that they should have control over their own earning and they need to make a thoughtful investment of their income for ensuring better opportunities for future earning.

Different short courses are offered by private sectors and NGOs on areas such as home managements, catering, computing etc. Employers should be made bound to pay for such skill development of domestic workers. If the employers do not pay, the domestic workers should be encouraged to use their wages for skill development. Again, they should be informed that instead of saving for bearing the cost of marriage it would be much better to invest in skill development. This has the potential to increase the opportunity of arranging marriage from a better negotiating state.

Rickshaw pullers

- Ensure allocation of space in urban plan for service provider like for rickshaw pullers
- Stop eviction without allocation alternative spaces for rickshaw pullers
- Ensure better health care service to the rickshaw pullers
- Modernisation in rickshaw which covers not only the passenger but also the rickshaw pullers from hot or rain.

Bangladesh in Census Years

Former District	1961		1974		1981*		1991	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Chittagong	5.97	4	10.24	4	38.36	3	38.72	2
Chittagong H.T.	12.49	2	20.98	2	31.14	2	34.39	3
Dhaka	14.79	1	29.57	1	38.52	1	53.94	1
Khulna	7.06	3	14.63	3	22.41	4	26.37	4
Kushtia	5.40	5	3.33	5	14.53	5	14.99	6
Rajshahi	2.28	15	5.78	9	10.34	12	17.08	5

Note: *Urban Population in 1981 covers only Pourashava (Municipality) and city Population.

Source: Census of Population, 1991, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS).

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