Impact of Migration on Poverty and Growth in Bangladesh

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Abbreviations

BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BMET	Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training
CIM	Current Internal Migrant
CIntM	Current International Migrant
DPS	Deposit Pension Scheme
F	Female
FM	Female Migrant
FMH	Female Migrant Household
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HH	Household
HHH	Household Head
HHs	Households
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
HSC	Higher Secondary Certificate
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IM	Internal Migrant
IMPD	Impact of Migration on Poverty and Local Development
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
KII	Key Informant Interview
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
Max	Maximum
Min	Minimum
M	Male
MM	Male Migrant
MMH	Male Migrant Household

MNMHH	Members of Non-migrant Household
N	Number of Individuals
NGO	Non Government Organisation
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
RIM	Returned internal migrant
RIntM	Returned international migrant
RMMRU	Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit
RSS	Rapid Screening Survey
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
Sq. Ft	Square Feet
Std. Dev	Standard Deviation
STIM	Short-Term International Migrant
T	Total
Taka	Currency of Bangladesh
TM	Total Migrant
TMH	Total Migrant Household
TNO	Thana Nirbahi Officer
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UNO	*Upazila* Nirbahi Officer
UP	Union Parishad
USA	United States of America
USD	US Dollar

Glossary of non-english terms

Bazar	Market
Bkash	A mobile phone based money transaction system in Bangladesh
Dalal	Middleman/ Broker/ Sub agent
Dhanmarai machine	Paddy processing machine
District Sadar	District headquarters
Eid	Muslim religious festival
Hajj	Muslim religious rituals
Hundi	An unconditional Order in writing made by a person directing another to pay a certain sum of money to a person named in the Order
Korimon	Engine driven improved rickshaw
Kutcha Road	Local mud roads
Madrasa	Religious Educational Institution
Mazar	Shrine
Maxi	Long loose dress
Mejbani	Local feast
Milad	Religious congregation
Nosimon	Engine driven improved rickshaw
Paanshupari	Betel leaf and nut
Pucca Houses	Brick building
Puja	Religious festival of Hindu community
Shamiana	Tent
Tempu	A motorized vehicle used as means of transportation
Tasbih	Rosary
Union Parishad	Smallest Unit of the Administration in Local Government in Rural Areas of Bangladesh
Upazila	Sub-district

Foreword

I am pleased to commend publication *Impact of Migration on Poverty and Growth in Bangladesh* prepared by RMMRU, under the leadership of Dr. Tasneem Siddiqui and supported by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).

According to World Migration Report 2018, more than 244 million people, live outside their country of origin. Migration is driven by various factors related to the search of a better future. Amongst migrants, the search for better employment opportunities remains one of the major drivers, in Bangladesh. Some very interesting findings have emerged from this book. It shows that although poverty reduces yet majority of poverty in the panel is transient as opposed to permanent. It has also found that significantly more women have mentioned that they chose to migrate for poverty alleviation, compared to men. The study also finds that over the last three years the cost of migration has reduced by 10 percent.

The phenomenon of labour migration has come about as a major influencer of development and poverty alleviation. Recognizing this phenomenon now there exist a global framework established to harness the potential of migration- known as the Global Compact. Similarly, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) puts migration at the centre of achieving multiple goals and targets related to economic development, protection and decent work.

Switzerland as a pioneer, in integrating migration as a development issue, became a key stakeholder in the global debate on migration since 2011. SDC is well positioned to play a determinant role in shaping future priorities in the debate and in linking political visions with concrete action. The first step to reach this vision requires substantial data collection and rigorous analysis.

So far, most of the studies on impact of migration are based on one-time surveys. Lack of repeat surveys hinders the analysis of migration over a period of time. SDC is particularly pleased to be part of this research initiative, which looks at different outcomes of migration through generating panel data for the first time in Bangladesh.

With the data of the first round of the survey (2014) it published the book, "Impact of Migration on Poverty and Local Development". In 2017, RMMRU revisited the same households. This has created a unique opportunity to understand the dynamics of poverty in internal, international and non-migrating households in Bangladesh. It also allows analyzing migration from different perspectives, such as through the gender lens.

On behalf of the SDC, I would like to thank Dr. Tasneem Siddiqui and her team of dedicated researchers for their efforts in preparing this important study. We hope that this publication will not only serve as reference for interested readers and practitioners, in Bangladesh, but also inspire future researchers to continue the analytical work in the field of migration. Lastly, we hope that this research will support the Government of Bangladesh to devise evidence-based policies and strategies to maximize the development impact of Bangladesh.

Beate Katja Elsässer
Director of Cooperation and Deputy Head of Mission
Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Embassy of Switzerland

Preface

Internal and international labour migration played a major role in transforming Bangladesh to a lower middle income country from a low income country. Readymade garments and other manufacturing industries and the migrants' remittance are the two major foreign exchange earning sources of the country. Garments and other manufacturing industries are dependent on internal migration for steady supply of labour force. Remittances again are almost sole contribution of international labour migrants who work mostly in Gulf, other Arab and South East Asian countries. The Government of Bangladesh, civil society activists and development partners underscore the importance of migrants, yet it is only recently that studies have been conducted on the impact of migration on national economy as well as on the migrant households. Almost all these researches are based on one time surveys. In 2013, Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU) initiated a panel survey covering twenty districts of Bangladesh entitled SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey. The panel survey is supported by Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC). The aim of the survey is to understand the sustainability of impact of migration on migrants, their households and communities over a period of time. Accordingly, it conducted the first Wave of survey in 2014 and the second Wave in 2017. This book is the outcome of the second Wave of the survey.

We are delighted to share the major findings of the research in this book. It covers experiences of 6143 male and female internal, international and non-migrant households across twenty districts. The panel survey evolved through a long participatory process that involved close engagement and dialogue with the policy makers, academics, civil society members, researchers, and above all male and female migrants and their family members. We acknowledge the contribution of all those who helped RMMRU with their knowledge and experience.

In designing the panel survey we received guidance from Dr. Hossain Zillur Rahman, former Advisor, Caretaker Government, 2007-2008, Dr. Shamsul Alam, Senior Secretary and Member, Planning Commission, late Dr. Mahbub Hossain, former Executive Director, BRAC and Dr. Zahid

Hussain, Lead Economist, the World Bank. We are deeply indebted to all of them.

In order to receive inputs from policy makers, experts and activists RMMRU organised a validation workshop on 31 January 2018. We express our deep appreciation to all those who participated in the workshop and provided fresh insights. The comments of the stakeholders substantially enriched the research. Mr. Dildar Hossain from the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics not only helped the study at the design phase he also provided his valuable input at the validation workshop. Prof. Bazlul Huq Khandakar of the University of Dhaka, Prof. Abdur Rob Khan of North South University, Dr. Atiq Rahman Executive Director of BCAS, Dr. Rashed Al Mahmud Titumir of the University of Dhaka, Ms. Shahreen Munir of IOM, have also contributed to the study with their comments. We thank them all.

The Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training (BMET) has constantly been a good partner of RMMRU in many of its research and programme activities. In this research BMET designed a special programme to sort their data up to *upazila* and village level. Based on this RMMRU was able to divide the 64 districts of Bangladesh into high, medium and low migration intensity districts and then identified our sample unions and villages. We thank the concerned team of BMET and its Director General, Mr. Selim Reza for their support.

SDC and RMMRU panel survey is the first of this kind on migration in Bangladesh. Studying the impact of migration on same households after three years intervals is quite a demanding task. Identifying the households by a new batch of fieldworkers is indeed challenging. The panel households are not static; a section of them has migrated to different locations. Some homesteads are no longer available in the previous spot as environmental stresses such as riverbank erosion has displaced them. We received support from various quarters in conducting this research at the ground level. Our first point of contact for conducting the field office was the District Commissioners (DCs), *Upazila* Nirbahi Officers (UNOs) and Superintendent of Police. The DCs of different districts and UNO offices extended their support and security to the field work team. The study required the field enumerators to stay in remote and sometime sensitive locations. We deeply express our gratitude to the DCs and SPs of the twenty districts. We are also

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Studies have shown that labour migration, both internal and international, has been a major driver of growth in the colonial and post-colonial eras (Massey at al. 1998, Castles and Miller 1998). Industrial development in the West, as well as in post-colonial newly industrialized countries, depended heavily on a steady supply of labour. During these periods migration has been the main source of such labour supply. In the early years of independence Bangladesh was described as a bottomless basket and a test case of development. As of 2017 the country had lifted itself into the lower quartiles of the middle-income category. Economists have identified three sectors which have contributed immensely to this rapid growth. These are: garments and other manufacturing, foreign remittances, and services (Rahman 2010). Garments and other manufacturing depend largely on internal labour migrants, whereas remittances are generated by short-term international labour migrants.

In recent years, short-term international migration has been acknowledged by Bangladeshi policymakers as a tool for enhancing development. In contrast, rural to urban internal migration is rarely acknowledged as a driver of development. Rather, urban planners look at internal migrants as a challenge that needs to be addressed during the process of urbanization. Recent policy documents and development strategies have unanimously incorporated short-term international migration as a developmental tool, while simultaneously setting goals to reduce the scope of rural to urban migration. This research aims to generate evidence which locates the contribution of both types of migration to development in rural areas. The study is particularly interested in the channels through which internal and short-term international migrants contribute to the economic and social development of the households they left behind and the ways in which the rural economy or the community from where they originate benefit or lose from their migration. Previous research suggests that international

migration has the potential to reduce poverty, create new employment opportunities, increase in the purchasing power of migrant households and bring dynamism to local economies. A few studies have also sought to identify specific contributions of internal migrants to the social and economic development of their households and communities of origin. Some important questions, however, remain unaddressed, mainly due to the cross sectional nature of the data that have thus far been available to interrogate these questions. Are the developmental outcomes of migration sustainable? What happens when migrants return after finishing his/her stint abroad? Can households maintain their living standards once the migrant members return? Do some of these families fall back into poverty trap again? In other words, is poverty among these households static or is it dynamic? This book attempts to answer some of these questions. Such questions can only be answered through a repeat survey of the same households.

1.1 Rationale and Objective of the Research

Since the late 1990s various attempts have been made to understand the impact of international short-term migration (INSTRAW and IOM 1999; Siddiqui 2001; Siddiqui and Abrar, 2003; Siddiqui ed. 2005; IOM 1999; Bangladesh Bank and IOM 2009; BBS 2013; World Bank 2007; World bank 2012 SDC and RMMRU 2015). Each of these studies drew important insights on the role of migration in development. The SDC and RMMRU 2015, BBS 2013 and IOM 2009 studies are based on large surveys whereas all the others are small-scale empirical researches. The World Bank reports are based on household income and expenditure survey of BBS. All these surveys, however, share the limitation that they are cross-sectional in nature, that is, the results are informed by a sample of households at a particular point in time. The nature of these data prevents the researcher from understanding the effect of migration over a period of time. A lack of panel data hinders rigorous analysis of the impact of migration on poverty and development. Only a panel survey can interrogate the dynamics of development outcomes experienced by the households of international migrants over a sustained period of time. In 2013 SDC and RMMRU designed a panel survey to fill this major research gap. This initiative aims to generate a set of panel data on the impact of migration on poverty and development over a period of 10 years at three-year intervals, Wave 1 in 2014, Wave 2 in 2017, Wave 3 in 2020, and so on.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to gather rigorous quantitative evidence to explore the sustainability of the downward trends in poverty among migrant households compared to non-migrant households in different geographic locations of Bangladesh. The ultimate goal is to help policymakers integrate migration into development policies and actions such as Five Year Plans, Sustainable Development Goals Implementation Plan, Climate Change Adaptation Plan, Delta Plan and other poverty-reducing, development enhancing strategies and actions.

This book pursues four broad research objectives: (1) to understand the relationship between poverty and migration over a period of time; (2) to locate the extent of growth, if any, in income, consumption and the investment patterns of migrant households over the survey period; (3) to advocate for the inclusion of migration data in mainstream national statistics; and (4) to highlight the implications of the observed relationships between migration, poverty and development for policy planning.

1.3 Review of the Existing Literature

The research agenda pursued in this book has been informed by the existing literature which is reviewed in this section. Four distinct strands of the literature are relevant to this work: the drivers of migration, migration and poverty, migration and growth in income and expenditure, and migration and gender. Each discussion begins with the international context and then presents the findings of existing research on these themes in Bangladesh.

1.3.1 Drivers of Migration

Social scientists of different disciplines have proposed a variety of theoretical models to explain why migration takes place. The neoclassical models of structural change, microeconomic models of human capital, historical structuralist theory, social capital theory and cumulative causation theory are some of the major theoretical frameworks adopted in this regard. There is an emerging consensus among academics that none of the above theories can on their own adequately account for the causes of migration. Each

case of migration has its own internal and external dynamics, operational at all levels – macro, meso and micro – and also at both destination and origin areas. Each theory has some relevance in explaining the drivers of migration.

The historical structuralist approach offers an understanding of the broader socioeconomic and environmental structures that perpetuate human movement, including global and local realities (Singer, 1975; Stern, 1998). Neoclassical theories provide essential determinants such as geographic differences in supply and demand for labour and wage differentials between the receiving and sending areas (Harris and Todaro, 1970). The Push-Pull theory of migration sheds light on how migration arises as an equilibrium between socioeconomic forces between different geographical regions of the world and how the pressure of push and pull jointly contribute to migration (Lee, 1966). Individualist approaches explain the calculated response of decision makers which induce some to migrate and create barriers for others to migrate (Todaro, 1969). Approaches to the new economics of migration added the role of larger family units and communities in migration decision-making. They also demonstrate that people migrate not only to maximize expected income but also to minimize the wide range of uninsured risk faced by households in communities of origin. In this view, migration is a risk-reducing strategy, not only for individuals but also for households (Stark and Bloom, 1985).

Social network theory highlights the role of the social networks between migrants and potential migrants in driving migration. A social network is defined as a set of interpersonal ties that grow from kinship, friendship or a shared community of origin. Such networks increase the likelihood of further migration as they decrease the costs and risks of migration and increase the net expected returns. Network connections are described as a form of social capital that may substitute or provide access to financial capital to migrants (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

From the above discussion, one may conclude migration takes place due to a host of social, economic, and political factors, operational at individual, family and community levels both in the destination and origin countries.

More importantly, these theories are based on the premise that migration is an inevitable outcome of a mixture of factors.

1.3.2 Migration and Poverty

There is rich literature going back to Lipton (1980) that supports the proposition that poverty is both a driver of migration and an outcome affected by migration. Based on the data available at the time Lipton (1980) observed that migrants were more likely to be drawn from households that were relatively well-off to begin with. As migration is a lumpy investment, the poor were excluded from this income strategy, presumably because they were less able to finance this up-front cost. Over time, however, a deepening of migration networks may bring down the up-front costs required to migrate and so migration may become a cost feasible income generating strategy even for poor households (Mckenzie and Rapoport, 2007).

Taylor et al. (2005), Koechlin and Leon (2007), and Docquier et al. (2010) argued that policy interventions in the countries of origin, the types of labour demanded in the destination countries, the development of social networks by migrants and access to loans that help finance migration, have made various types of international migration accessible to poorer people too. There is also an important gendered dimension to the domestic workers in the Gulf countries who migrate from South and South East Asia: female migrants are often from more deprived backgrounds (Gamburd 2000; INSTRAW and IOM, 2000; Perera 2004; Siddiqui 2001; Roharto 2011; Rahman and Lian 2009).

Lipton (1980) was the first to point out that migration may increase inequality. Maphosa (2005) found that in Zimbabwe remittances simultaneously caused price inflation, exacerbated poverty for non-migrant sending households and increased inter-household inequality. A cross-country analysis also indicated that remittances are related to greater income inequality in Africa (Anyanwu and Erhijakpor 2010) and Latin America (Barham and Boucher 1998). Black et al.(2006) demonstrate how mutual causation between migration and inequality varies across space, both between and within different countries. They also highlight the crucial roles that institutions play in mediating the impact of migration on equality.

Adams and Page (2005) carried out ground-breaking work on the impact of migration on poverty. Their assessment, based on 71 developing countries, found that a 10 percent increase in official remittances per capita led to a 4 percent decline in the share of people living in poverty. Evidence from Latin America, Africa, South Asia and other regions suggests that remittances reduce the depth and severity of poverty (Adams 1991; Adams 1996; Ajayi et al. 2009; Anyanwu and Erhijakpor 2010; Fajnjylber and Lopez 2017; Gupta et al. 2007; Lachaud 1999). In Nepal, the dramatic increase in remittances was responsible for a significant reduction in the headcount poverty rate: from 42 percent in 1995-96 to 31 percent in 2003-4 (World Bank 2006). From the Mexico National Rural Household Survey, Taylor et al. (2005) found that international remittances become more effective in reducing poverty as the prevalence of migration increases.

Some empirical studies have been conducted on international migration and poverty in Bangladesh (The World Bank (2012), Sharma and Zaman (2009) Gimeneze et al. (2013), and Mahmood and Siddiqui (2014)). The World Bank (2012) analysed the Household Income and Expenditure (HIES) data 2010 and found that the poverty headcount rates of households in Bangladesh that do not receive remittances are 61 percent lower than the rest. Only 13 percent of the remittance receiving households were living below the poverty line in 2010 compared to 34 percent of non-receiving households. An analysis of the HIES 2005 data found that poverty amongst remittance receiving households was 17 percent but in the case of non-remittance receiving households the rate was as high as 42 percent. This lower rate of poverty may not only be due to remittance flows, however, as the migrant households may be better-off to begin with. Gimeneze et al. (2013) found that during the period 2000 to 2010, about 11 percent of the decline in poverty in Bangladesh was due to international remittances. Based on a quantitative survey of 1,200 households, Mahmood and Siddiqui (2014) found that, across different types of migrants, the poverty rate among short-term international migrant households was 20 percent, but 53 percent among internal migrant households.

While the above-mentioned studies of Bangladesh have tracked poverty rates over time, the notions of poverty that have been interrogated are all static, usually based on comparisons of the poverty headcount. The broader poverty literature, however, has paid considerable attention to

dynamic notions of poverty (Jalan and Ravallion, 1998 and 2000) and vulnerability to poverty (Dercon, 2001; Calvo and Dercon 2013 and Ward 2016, among others). In a recent study, Amare and Hohfeld (2016) examine the role of remittances in explaining poverty transitions in Vietnam. Jalan and Ravallion (1998 and 2000) distinguish between transient poverty and chronic poverty and analyze the determinants of each in China. Suryahadi and Sumarto (2003) have measured vulnerability to poverty in Indonesia before and after the 1997 financial crisis. This book will fill the gap in the literature that exists for studying dynamic notions of poverty in the Bangladeshi context, with an emphasis on the role of migration.

1.3.3 Growth

The literature on cross-country differences in growth rates is vast and mature (Durlaf, Johnson and Temple, 2005, present a thorough review). However, less is known about the drivers of differential growth rates between households within a country or community, in part because of the considerable data demands imposed by such a research agenda.

Dercon (2004) finds substantial heterogeneity in consumption growth experienced by households in rural Ethiopia. He finds that geographic factors, such as rainfall shocks are an important driver of this heterogeneity. Specifically, he finds large, persistent effects of a famine in the 1980s and also important effects from road infrastructure. Dercon et al. (2009) also studied the determinants of consumption growth in rural Ethiopia but focus on identifying the impact of public investments such as agricultural extension services and improvements in road quality. They find that "Receiving at least one extension visit reduces headcount poverty by 9.8 percentage points and increases consumption growth by 7.1 percentage points. Access to all-weather roads reduces poverty by 6.9 percentage points and increases consumption growth by 16.3 percentage points." Alem and Soderbom (2012) also using Ethiopian data, demonstrate that a rapid acceleration in food price inflation in 2008 had deleterious effects on consumption growth in that setting. Hoddinott and Gillian (2007) show that emergency food aid can protect consumption against weather shocks, but that a food for work scheme benefitted mostly wealthier households whereas the better targeted free food distribution was more effective at ensuring the consumption levels of poorer households. Elbers, Gunning

and Kinsey (2007) quantify the effect of risk on growth in the capital stock using household-level data from Zimbabwe. They show that two-thirds of the impact of risk occurs through ex-ante behavioral responses which are not usually accounted for when studying the effect of risk on welfare.

Dercon (2004) identifies the gaps in the literature that persist with regard to studies of economic growth based on microdata. He notes that too often the efforts of micro-economists have focused on effects that can be easily identified, as opposed to those which may be the most important drivers of household welfare. This book addresses this gap in the literature by gathering high-quality panel data and studying the effect of internal and international migration – two crucial and under-researched drivers of household welfare – on economic growth in this panel.

1.3.4 Gender

Gender differences in the labour market outcomes is an issue of increasing policy importance throughout the world. While the intensity of gender differentials vary across countries, it is now well established that women (i) make less money than men for the same jobs (Blau and Kahn, 2017) and (ii) have career trajectories that are different from men (Bertrand et al, 2010). In the context of Bangladesh, Ahmed and Maitra (2010) show that in rural areas women earn on average 43 percent less than men in 1999-2000. Even after accounting for endowment differences in the human capital this discrepancy persists. One of the ways women can break from this cycle is by migrating, which can potentially lead to higher wages. While internal migration by women has been widespread due to the ready-made garments sector, it is only recently that we have seen an increase in female participation in short-term international labour markets.

A large pool of literature has been generated on experiences of female migration particularly of those who work as domestic aides (Gamburd 2000; Perera and Siddiqui 2000; Raharto 2011; Rahman and Lian 2009; Siddiqui 2001). These studies show that female domestic workers who migrate from South and Southeast Asia to the Gulf and other Arab states often come from poor economic background. Filipino domestic workers to Hong Kong, Singapore and developed countries of the West are exceptions. Adams' work (1993) on female migration in Egypt identified the factors

contributing to migration decision of female domestic workers are more complex than that of male. Siddiqui (2001) finds that social determinants are as important as economic determinants of female migration from Bangladesh. None of these studies, however, provide a systematic analysis of pre- and post-migration poverty situations of the female migrants.

The above literature review allows the research to benefit from the knowledge generated by the impact of migration, on growth, poverty and gender. It also helps to identify the significant research gaps existing in this area. The impact of migration on poverty, income and expenditure growth is yet to be studied in Bangladesh using large-scale quantitative panel data. Following this assessment, this study has framed its research questions.

1.4 Research Questions

The SDC and RMMRU household survey Wave 1 (2014) research aimed to answer the following questions: How does international migration impact upon the poverty situation of individual households? Under what circumstances does migration help the poor to move out of poverty? Does international migration impact upon household poverty in a different way to internal migration? In other words, do different types of migration have differential impacts on poverty? Does the poverty outcome differ according to the gender of the migrant? Does the incidence and depth of poverty in internal, international and non-migrant households vary according to geographical location? In the Wave 2 survey (2017) of SDC and RMMRU, the most important question is whether or not the effects of migration on poverty reduction outcomes are sustained over a period of time? Would the migrant households be able to maintain their improved economic status once the migration of the member is completed?

In Wave 1, drivers of migration could not be studied rigorously. An important area of investigation in Wave 2 is to understand what drives people to move? More precisely, given similar socio-economic characteristics, why do some household send their family members outside the village for work while some others do not? In most of the literature on migration in Bangladesh wage differentials are emphasized, perhaps to the exclusion of other factors. This book will interrogate if social, political, environmental or demographic realities influence migration decisions.It will also explore

if there any gendered differences in respect to drivers of migration?

An important question to be interrogated in the Wave 2 survey is, how do the rates of economic growth differ among international, internal and non-migrant households? As this is a panel survey, we can study differences in the amount expended by the same household at two different points in time. This would not be possible with cross-sectional or even repeated cross-sectional data. The key research question in this regard is what the rates of expenditure growth among the surveyed households are? A related issue is, are non-migrant, internal migrant or international migrant households better able to capture the benefits of the growth that is accruing to these communities?

Another important question investigated is the rates of economic growth among sampled households. Because this survey is a true panel, we can study differences in the amount expended by the same household at two different points in time. This would not be possible with cross-sectional or even repeated cross-sectional data. The key research question in this regard is what are the rates of expenditure growth among the surveyed communities? Is expenditure growing uniformly on all subcomponents, or are some subcomponents experiencing faster growth than others? The focus of the study is on migration. As such, a related question is, are non-migrant, internal migrant or international migrant households better able to capture the benefits of the growth that is accruing to these communities and does this effect differ by expenditure subcomponent?

Having studied the patterns of growth in expenditure and its subcomponents, the study will interrogate the theme of poverty in the panel. Has the economic growth that we observe in this panel been accompanied by reductions in poverty? What are the changes in sample poverty rates between the two Waves of the survey? Relative to the robust growth, reductions in poverty are found to be fairly modest. This leads to the next question: is high growth and relatively little poverty reduction explained by the rich disproportionately benefitting from growth while the poor are left behind? What are the rates of growth among the poor and the non-poor? Is the majority of poverty in the panel chronic/ structural, or is it transient/ temporary? What proportion of the poor are poor in both periods, and what proportion are poor only in one period? What are the factors that drive

poor households below the poverty line? Is migration associated with the incidence of poverty? Are non-migrant households more likely to suffer from transient poverty or chronic poverty compared with international migrant and internal migrant households?

Concerning gender, the study aims to interrogate what does migration mean for male and female migrants? Are the driving forces of male and female migrants different? Does gender play any role in determining who can migrate and who cannot? Is there any selection bias? Are the socioeconomic characteristics of male and female migrants different? What are the gender differences in the costs, choice of occupation and destinations across gender? Finally, what are the gender differences in wages and more importantly, are there any differences in terms of wage growth over time across gender?

Interrogation of these research questions will yield substantive policy recommendations. Addressing poverty may require policy interventions within the country, at the local, national and even international levels. To increase opportunities in the areas of migrant investment and philanthropy, the findings may recommend a greater degree of inter-ministerial and agency policy coherence. Perhaps policy measures are needed with respect to better protection of the rights of migrants at work, possibilities of collective bargaining and establishment of social protection. This panel survey has been designed to study various dynamic processes that are likely to differ between the households of non-migrants, internal migrants and international migrants.

1.5 Analytical Framework

Growth and Dynamic Poverty: The issues of growth and poverty are analyzed in this book using quantitative research methods. Due to the availability of panel data, it is possible to compare the level of consumption of the same household in different periods of time. The proportionate change in the level of consumption defines the level of economic growth experienced by individual households. Quantitative tools and statistical analysis are used to identify correlates of economic growth in this setting and to understand the relationship between migration and different growth experiences of households.

The neoclassical economic paradigm focuses mainly on economic growth as the key driver of household welfare. However, factors other than market forces may impede the ability of different households to participate in economic growth. Political economy considerations and the nature of technological change may be such that growth is concentrated among those who are better-off to begin with, so that the poor are systematically excluded from growth opportunities. In this case, an economic system may be described as lacking opportunities for the poor to participate in growth, and poverty would be mainly structural, or chronic in nature.

In contrast to the above, it may be the case that the even when the overall incidence of growth is pro-poor, substantial heterogeneity may exist between households in the riskiness of consumption. In this circumstance, even though all households can in principle participate in economic growth, uninsured risks may cause them to fall into poverty for periods of time. It is not a lack of growth opportunities that causes persistence in rates of poverty, but rather a lack of insurance opportunities.

This book will use quantitative analysis and statistical methods to understand the relative importance of each of these forces in the growth-poverty nexus in Bangladesh.

Drivers of Migration: In analysing the role of the environment in driving migration the Foresight Report (2011) has developed a framework that integrates different approaches ranging from historical structuralism to human capital to household decision-making theory, etc. In this book, we have utilised the Foresight framework in analyzingthe drivers of migration.
The Foresight report identifies five influential factors of migration decision making which operate at the macro level. These are: economic, social, political, environmental, and demographic (Foresight, 2011: 42). Economic drivers include scope or lack of employment opportunities, growth or decline in income in origin and destination areas or countries. Demographic drivers include the size and structure of populations in origin areas, together with the prevalence of diseases that affect morbidity and mortality. Social drivers include familial or cultural expectations, the search for educational opportunities and cultural practices such as marriage. The environmental drivers of migration include exposure to hazard and availability of ecosystem services. Political drivers cover conflict, security, discrimination

persecution, and public or corporate policy. Economic drivers continue to be the most powerful in most situations.

An important feature of the framework is that the existence of migration drivers does not necessarily imply that migration will occur; whether migration will occur or not will depend on a series of intervening factors and personal and household characteristics. Intervening factors are located at the meso level that includes the cost of moving, social networks, the presence of recruitment agencies, access to technology and political/legal framework (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Personal and household characteristics include age, sex, education, wealth, marital status, preferences, ethnicity, religion and language. By using this framework, this study will try to identify the circumstances under which some people decide to migrate and to compare them to those circumstances where others do not.

Framework of Gender Analysis: This research follows a dual approach. On the one hand, gender analysis is integrated in each of the individual chapters. Initial analysis in all of these chapters is done at the level of migration status- international, internal and non-migrant. Later, each type of migrant is segregated on the basis of sex and further understanding is drawn on the basis of gender. On the other hand, there is a dedicated chapter that analyzes a comprehensive set of gender research questions. The approach is to analyze the gender differences at different stages of the migration cycle and complement work done by the ILO (ILO, 2014) in this regard. More importantly, it provides novel evidence of gender differences in the monetary returns from migration and how these differences vary over time.

1.6 Research Instruments

The Wave 1 survey utilised 6 research instruments to address the research questions. These were (1) literature review, (2) Rapid Screening Survey, (3) household survey, (4) key informant interviews, (5) case studies, and (6) validation workshops. We have followed the same instruments in the Wave 2 as well.

Literature Review: Any study's design requires a comprehensive review of the existing literature. A literature review allows researchers to benefit

from existing knowledge and to identify the research gaps. The literature review for this study covered the relationship of migration and poverty, (b) quantitative surveys and studies carried out in the Bangladeshi context, and (c) concepts and methods for understanding and evaluating drivers of migration, dynamic poverty, assessment of growth or decline in family income and expenditure and gender.

Rapid Screening Survey: This study is the second Wave of a panel survey. This means the study team has gone back to the same households whom it had interviewed earlier. It, therefore, does not require any fresh sampling. A small team of researchers first identified the names and addresses of the previously surveyed households. This was done just before holding the actual survey. A major problem encountered during the first Wave of the survey, however, has been locating the required number of female international migrants. The gendered analysis undertaken in that work depended on a small number of women. To enhance the robustness of the gendered research outcomes, this wave of the survey adds three new districts which have been identified by the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) for producing female migrants. Besides these three, two old areas have also been replaced as administering surveys in those areas was problematic during the first phase for security concerns. For the purposes of the current research, these households are only observed once and so are not used in analysis that depends on repeat observations, however after Wave 3 of the survey they will also be observed multiple times. The non-migrant households of the previous districts also do not require rapid screening surveys as they are also the same households interviewed in the first round. However, rapid screening of non-migrant household was conducted for the newly included districts.

Household Survey: Altogether, four questionnaires had to be developed for Wave 2 of the survey. The first set is for the panel survey of migrant households who had already been surveyed in the first round. The second one is for the households of newly added districts not covered in Wave 1. Besides, in the older districts as well, all the households were not found. To keep the number of respondents fixed, households which have left the study sites were replaced by new households from the same areas. The new households in areas that were surveyed in Wave 1 were drawn from the rapid screening that was done in 2014. This questionnaire for

households of new districts and replacement households in old districts should be the same as to the questionnaire administered during the Wave 1 survey. The household survey questionnaire for repeat households would concentrate on understanding the changes that have taken place with respect to poverty, growth and gender between 2014 to 2017 in all types of households, international, internal and non-migrant. Third and fourth sets of questionnaires are for non-migrant households. The third one is for those who participated in Wave 1 survey and the fourth one is for new participant households from newly included districts as well as those who replaced households from Wave 1 who were subject to attrition from the sample, for example because they moved and could not be traced.

The questionnaires will be organized under 7 broad headings: (i) contact information; (ii) household grid; (iii) information on current migrants, their migration history, drivers and costs of migration, remittance pattern, etc.; (iv) information on returned migrants, again covering their migration history, skills enhancement, return experience, remittance pattern, expectations of migration, etc.; (v) household income and expenditure; (vi) asset investment and savings; and (vii) social and community impacts.

Key Informant Interview (KII): During the first Wave of the survey, union, village and community level characteristics, as well as qualitative information about the study areas, has been captured through KIIs. They were also administered using a questionnaire that included both structured and open-ended components. The key informants selected for the interviews were individuals with rich knowledge about the locality. They included the *Upazila* Chair, *Upazila* Secretary, *Upazila* Members, school teachers, journalists and others. The issues covered were the socio-demographic features of the village, in and out-migration from the village, land prices, wage rates, the main avenues of income for the villagers, social institutions, marketplaces in the vicinity and the contribution of migrants to community development. A similar discussion was held to get their views on the type of changes (if any) that have taken place during the period from 2014 to 2017 will be captured.

Case Study Interview: This is a qualitative set of open-ended questions relating to the migration experience of migrants or their family members. The Case Study Interview is designed to provide qualitative information about cases of particular interest.

Validation and Dissemination Workshop: To inform policymakers and to secure their input a validation workshop has been designed. Once the report is finalized a dissemination workshop is also designed. Representatives from different ministries, members of the Planning Commission, civil society activists and academics are the target audience of the final workshop.

1.7 Data Source

The empirical basis of the study is a detailed household survey carried out in 20 administrative districts of Bangladesh. These districts represent seven administrative divisions – Chittagong, Rajshahi, Khulna, Dhaka, Barisal, Rangpur and Sylhet. The selection of districts was based on a combination of randomization and purposive methods. They were selected to satisfy the following criteria: (i) having high, medium and low intensities of international migration, and (ii) representation of a female international migration pocket. BMET has district-wise data on short-term contract migrants. 17 districts were selected during the Wave 1 of the survey. Three new districts have been added in Wave 2.

The 64 districts of Bangladesh have been divided into three sub-groups based on BMET data. Group 1 constituted the high international migration districts, group 2 the medium ones and group 3 the low and were selected at random. The finally selected high migration districts are Brahmanbaria, Chittagong, Comilla, Tangail, Munshiganj, Mymensingh, Manikganj, Lakshmipur, Dhaka, Gazipur and Narayanganj. The medium migration areas are Sunamganj, Barisal, Faridpur, Shariatpur and Kushtia. Finally, the low migration districts are Satkhira, Rangpur, Chapainawabganj and Khagrachhari. The survey covered short-term international migrants, internal migrants and non-migrant households. The latter two groups served as control groups: the experience of international short-term migrant households is compared with that of internal migrant and non-migrant households.

Following the district selection, *Upazilas*, Union and Villages were selected, based again on the BMET data. Migration data for the selected districts are then organized according to the high to low migration producing *upazilas*. The top three migrant producing *upazilas* from each district has been

chosen, from which one is selected at random. The *upazilas* are Miressorai, Muradnagar, Nabinagar, Kalihati, Raipur, Sreenagar, Bhaluka, Singair, Dohar, Chatok, Gournadi, Naria, Kumarkhali, Gumostapur, Shyamnagar, Pirgacha, Charvadrashon, Sreepur, Rupganj and Panchori.

Within each selected *upazilas*, one Union has been selected again from the top four unions listed in the BMET data. Within each selected Union, 6 adjacent villages were chosen for survey, resulting in a total of 120 villages surveyed.

The survey interviewed a total of 6,143 households; 2,976 of which are international migrant households; 1,431 internal migrant households and 1,736 non-migrants households. By design, each district contains approximately 300 sample households. In some areas, there are more international migrants and, in a few areas, there are more internal ones. For example, Manikganj and Dhaka were chosen as pocket areas for female migrants. In these areas, it has been hard to secure internal migrants. The number of international migrant households is double that of internal and non-migrant households. This is done purposively. Table 1.7.1 shows the distribution of the sample households across individual districts. It further highlights the *upazilas* from which the households have been drawn.

1.8 Sampling Technique

To identify the required number of migrant and non-migrant households in the rapid screening survey the study team applied stratified and systematic random sampling techniques. It divided the households into international, internal, and non-migrant households. It also stratified the migrant households by gender. Then, the interviewee households were selected randomly from these two strata.

1.9 Data Analysis

The data, both the rapid screening and the household survey, have been processed using the SPSS programme. The data were then entered, cleaned, cross-checked, edited, and pre-tested for any inconsistencies. The statistical tools used to analyse the data included frequencies, cross-tabulation and reports. Much of the analysis here has used a type of cross-tabulation that can be is suited to panel data, namely the transition matrix.

Table 1.7.1 Geographic distribution of HHs in Wave 2 survey

Type	District	Upazila	Union	Intrnational	Internal	Non-migrant	Total number of households
High	Comilla	Muradnagar	Dhamgor	180	63	70	313
	Brahmanbaria	Nabinagar	Natghar	207	43	59	309
	Tangail	Kalihati	Nagbari	222	20	63	305
	Lakshmipur	Raipur	Char Ababil	182	49	71	302
	Munshiganj	Sreenagar	Shymsiddi	204	38	62	304
	Mymensingh	Bhaluka	Rajoy	154	61	88	303
	Manikganj	Singair	Dholla	235	0	64	299
	Dhaka	Dohar	Raipara	217	24	62	303
	Narayanganj	Rupganj	Murapara	149	19	132	300
	Gazipur	Sreepur	Rajabari	200	30	73	303
	Chittagong	Miressorai	15 no Wahedpur	118	54	131	303
Medium	Sunamganj	Chatok	Noarai	193	30	82	305
	Barisal	Gournadi	Chadshi	108	114	93	315
	Kushtia	Kumarkhali	Koya	123	107	84	314
	Faridpur	Charvadrashon	Gazirtek	195	36	74	305
	Shariatpur	Naria	Kedarpur	207	42	61	310
Low	Chapai Nawabganj	Gumostapur	Banggabari	17	215	89	321
	Satkhira	Shymnagar	Gabura	12	186	109	307
	Khagrachhari	Panchori	Lotiban	4	126	171	301
	Rangpur	Pirgacha	Parul	49	174	98	321
Total				2976	1431	1736	6143

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017

Table 1.7.2 Geographic location of HHs covered by the RSS

Type	District	Upazila	Union	Number of internal & intl migrant HHs	Number of non-migrant households	Total number of households
High	Comilla	Muradnagar	Dhamgor	459	134	593
	Brahmanbaria	Nabinagar	Natghar	473	164	637
	Tangail	Kalihati	Nagbari	483	164	647
	Lakshmipur	Raipur	Char Ababil	454	147	601
	Munshiganj	Sreenagar	Shymsiddi	465	145	610
	Mymensingh	Bhaluka	Rajoy	458	173	631
	Manikganj	Singair	Dholla	453	148	601
	Dhaka	Dohar	Raipara	457	147	604
	Narayanganj	Rupganj	Murapara	196	568	764
	Gazipur	Sreepur	Rajabari	328	361	689
	Chittagong	Miressorai	15 no Wahedpur	550	468	718
Medium	Sunamganj	Chatak	Noarai	386	144	530
	Barisal	Gournadi	Chadshi	392	122	514
	Kushtia	Kumarkhali	Koya	421	146	567
	Faridpur	Charvadrashon	Gazirtek	476	230	706
	Shariatpur	Naria	Kedarpur	417	152	569
Low	Chapai Nawabganj	Gumostapur	Banggabari	419	155	574
	Satkhira	Shymnagar	Gabura	432	148	580
	Khagrachhari	Panchori	Lotiban	137	530	667
	Rangpur	Pirgacha	Parul	401	131	532
Total				**8257**	**4377**	**12334**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

Figure 1.7.1 Location of the sample districts of SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey

Transition matrices are a tool that allows us to visually represent changes in household characteristics between two different time periods, in a simple, coherent framework. This study has used transition matrices to understand the dynamics of household migration experience and the dynamics of poverty. The data analysis was preceded by the preparation of a detailed set of tables covering all of the issues of interest for the survey. Comparison across group averages (for example across gender), used T-tests to test for significant differences. Regression analysis was used to examine results within a multivariate framework to establish correlations across variables. Details of Ordinary Least Squares specifications are presented when they are utilized.

Through out the book, comparisons are made on three groups of respondents - international, internal and non-migrant households. These are again organised into three subheadings. These are, original households interviewed during Wave 1, the same households interviewed in Wave 2, and the newly included districts surveyed in Wave 2. A section of households of Wave 1 could not be traced during the Wave 2 survey, so new households from the same area have replaced them. The replaced households, however, are not included in the analysis. In the first and the second tables, only those households are represented who have been interviewed in both the survey Waves. This has allowed the comparison of changes that took place with respect to all aspects of the sampled households between Wave 1 and 2 of the surveys, as well as understanding the dynamics of newly included households.

1.10 Organisation of the Book

The book is divided into eleven chapters. Chapter I lays down the objectives of the research, explains its purpose, reviews the primary literature on migration, poverty, gender and growth and articulates the major research questions. It also presents the analytical framework, research instruments, data sources, and sampling techniques pursued in the research. Chapter II highlights the general trends in international migration from Bangladesh. Chapter III presents the socio-demographic profile and living standards of international, internal and non-migrant households. Chapter IV presents the migration experience of the households and Chapter V identifies the drivers of migration. Chapter VI analyses income in household income during

Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys. It analysed the income based on the transition status of different households from current migrant to return migrant, return migrant to current and also from non-migrant to current migrant status. Chapter VII discusses the expenditure growth between Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys. Chapter VIII analyses the relationship between migration and poverty over the period of Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys, utilising dyanamic notions of poverty. Chapter IX looks at the changes in investment pattern if any. Chapter X makes a gendered analysis of migration outcomes again between the two Waves of the survey. The final chapter summarises the major findings of the study and explores their implications for future research and policymaking.

CHAPTER II

TRENDS IN SHORT-TERM INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FROM BANGLADESH

Before entering into a discussion on the relationship between migration, poverty and growth, it is essential to look at the overall migration scenario of Bangladesh. The Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training (BMET) which manages international labour migration from Bangladesh maintains a record of flows, extent, sex, skills, etc. of males and females who go abroad for work. Bangladesh Bank keeps data on remittance flows. Based on data provided by BMET and Bangladesh Bank this chapter provides an overview of international labour migration from Bangladesh. It gives an idea of the annual flows of migrants, both male and female. It traces the significant areas of both origin and destination of male and female migrants as well as their skill composition. It also captures the flow of remittances and the source countries.

2.1 History

Labour migration from Bangladesh is not a new phenomenon. Centuries ago, the ancestors of the Sinhala population of Sri Lanka are believed to have migrated from the area that is now Bangladesh. Migration linked to trade, and the spread of religion has been a common experience of those residing in the territory that now constitutes Bangladesh. In the 18th century, when the British developed the tea industry in the northeast of Bengal, they brought indentured labourers from different parts of India. Again due to colonial policies when the jute and cotton industries of Bengal and the market for muslin was destroyed, a large-scale migration of people took place from the area that now constitutes Bangladesh to Assam which is now part of India.

Migration to industrialized countries, particularly those in the West, was again connected to this area's colonial past. During the 18th and 19th centuries, sailors originating from the Southeast Bengal (Chittagong,

Sandwip and Noakhali) found jobs in the British merchant navy that carried goods from the Kolkata port to the rest of the world. Another section of people mainly from the Haor areas of Sylhet migrated to Kolkata to work in Kolkata port. A section of them joined British ships as cooks and helpers. These people had no prior experience at sea. They became sea-sick and some of them abandoned the ships as those docked in various countries. Over the years, these people permanently stayed back in countries such as Brunei, Singapore, Malaysia, UK, USA and so on. Burma was another destination for people from what were then East and West Bengal. They migrated for business and work.

The current form of international contract labour migration from Bangladesh began in the mid-1970s when the oil price hike in the Gulf and other Arab countries created major demand for professionals, skilled and unskilled workers. Economic growth in Southeast Asian countries also created scope for the migration of Bangladeshi workers. For quite a long time mostly men participated as the principal migrant. Since the 1990s women are also taking part mostly in low skilled jobs. Ratha (2008) rightly pointed out that migration has been conventionally thought of as a South-North phenomena, but in reality South-South migration is quite strong. In the context of Bangladesh, migration flows are predominantly South-South.

2.2 Annual Flows

BMET is the line agency of the Ministry of Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment. It is the repository of information on those who migrate on overseas employment. BMET data inform that from 1976 to 2017, about 11.9 million[1]Bangladeshis had migrated overseas for employment. Graph 1 presents year-wise labour flow from Bangladesh. Since 1976 there has been a steady increase in the flow of migration every year until 2008, except small declines in the years 1994, 2000, 2001 and 2005. A large spike in labour flow was experienced in 2007 and 2008 (875,055). The records of 2008 could only be surpassed as of 2017. In 2017 a total of 1,008,525 Bangladeshi workers migrated to the Gulf, South East Asia and other destination countries. In 2016, a total of 757,731 workers migrated overseas from Bangladesh. In 2015 and 2014 the figures were 555,881 and

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1   BMET website (www.bmet.gov.bd)

425,684 respectively. In 2017, migration flow has increased by 33.1 percent compared to the previous year.

There is no mechanism of keeping record of returnee migrants. It is not possible to ascertain the total number of returnee migrants. Recently RMMRU has conducted a household survey (2018) in Tangail district on labour recruitment[2]. This survey found that among the migrant households, 44 percent are returnee migrants, 52 percent are current migrants and 4 percent had both returnee and current migrants.Tangail is, of course, a high migration intensity area of Bangladesh. Migration has been taking place from Tangail for quite some time. Therefore the number of returnee migrants is also high. Wave 2 of the SDC and RMMRU panel survey, however, covers all three types of locations - high, medium and low migration intensity areas of Bangladesh. The survey finds that 21.4 percent of the households interviewed are returnee migrant households. In both studies mentioned above, only those are considered as a returnee, who returned within the last ten years and stayed in Bangladesh for more than six months.

Figure 2.2.1: Labour migration from Bangladesh from 1976 to 2017
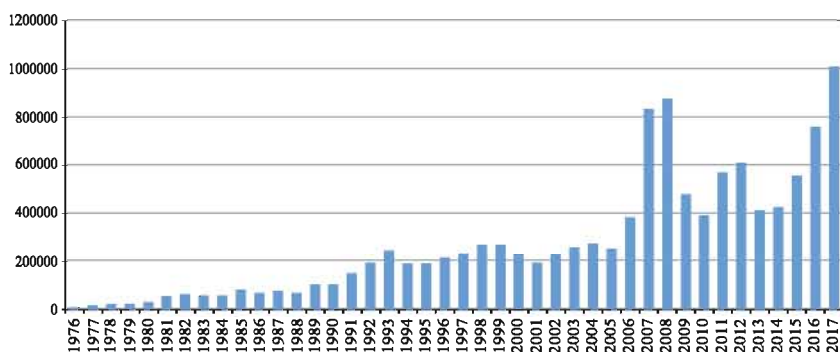
Source: Prepared from BMET data

2.3 Female Migration

Up to 2003, there have been restrictions or bans on migration of unskilled and semi-skilled women from Bangladesh. These restrictions led low-skilled female workers to migrate through irregular channels. In 2003,

2   With the financial assistance of PROKAS under the UKaid

the Government lifted some restrictions and allowed low-skilled women to migrate. Up to the year 2000, fewer than 1 percent of short-term international migrants were women. Since 2003, female migration from Bangladesh has increased significantly, particularly over the last few years. In 2016, 19 percent of those who went overseas for work were women. In 2017, a total of 121,925 female workers went abroad for employment constituting 12.08 percent of the total flow. The number is 3.24 percent higher than the previous year. In 2016, the figure stood at 118,088 female workers. As the number of male migration has increased substantially in 2017, the percentage share of female migrant in the total flow has decreased comparatively. Protection of female migrants, particularly those who work as domestic workers is a major area of concern.

2.4 Countries of Destination

It is generally claimed that Bangladeshis are working all over the world. In reality, however there is considerable concentration in the destinations where Bangladeshi migrants can be found. Ninety five percent of Bangladeshi migrants go to 13 countries: Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, Lebanon, Jordan, Libya, Malaysia, Singapore, Iraq and South Korea. In 2017, almost 81 percent of the total number of workers who migrated from Bangladesh went to the Gulf and other Arab countries. 15 percent went to different South-East Asian countries and the remaining 4 percent went all over the world including USA, UK, Japan, Italy and Mauritius. This clearly demonstrates that migration from Bangladesh is almost entirely to the global South.

Breaking down destinations by country reveals that Saudi Arabia has been the major labour market of Bangladesh since the 1970s. However, for a 7 year period up to 2016, the Saudi Government restricted the number of male migrants from Bangladesh to that country. During this time, the country only received female migrants from Bangladesh. Towards the end of 2015, the restriction was relaxed, and subsequently removed. In 2017, the highest number of Bangladeshi workers migrated to Saudi Arabia. The figure stood at 551,308, which is about 56 percent of the total number of international migrants from Bangladesh in 2017. In 2016 Oman was the recipient of the highest number of workers from Bangladesh in its history. By receiving 89,074 workers (9%) it became the third largest migrant-receiving country

of Bangladesh. In 2017, Malaysia was the second largest migrant-receiving country with 99,787 (10%) Bangladeshis migrating there. Eight percent (82,012) of the workers went to Qatar in 2017. Although only 1,522 and 145 workers went to South Korea and Japan respectively in 2017, it is important because they constitute a skilled and professional workforce[3].

From 2005 to 2012, the UAE has been one of the top labour receiving countries of Bangladesh. However, from 2012, the country stopped accepting male Bangladeshi workers and only took female migrants. In 2015 it received 25,271 female migrants and in 2016 it only received 8,331 female workers. The flow further decreased in 2017. In that year, only 3 percent of the females who migrated overseas for work went to UAE.

Figure 2.4.1: Destination countries of Bangladeshi migrant workers in 2017
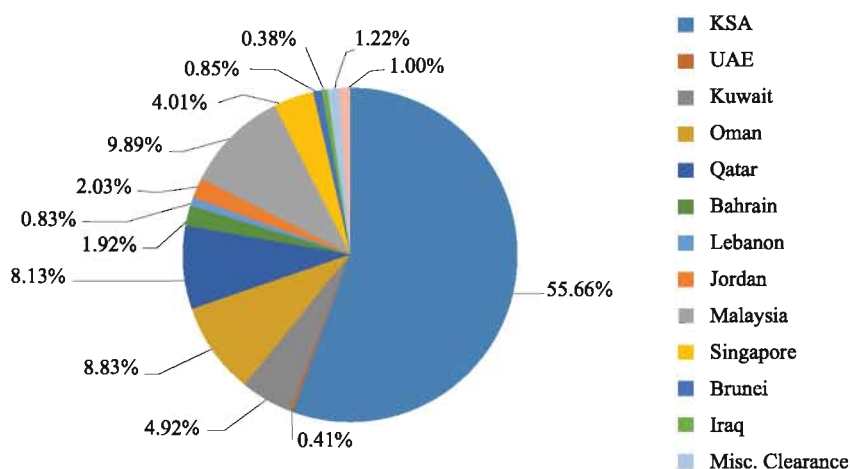
Source: Prepared from BMET data

In addition to being the main destination of male workers, in 2017 Saudi Arabia was also the largest single recipient of female workers from Bangladesh. A total of 83,354 female workers went to this country, which is almost 69 percent of the total flow of female migrants. 19,872 female workers have gone to Jordan and 9,199 have gone to Oman.

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3   This is according to BMET classification of Bangladeshi who go abroad for work.

Figure 2.4.2: Destination countries of female Bangladeshi migrant workers in 2017
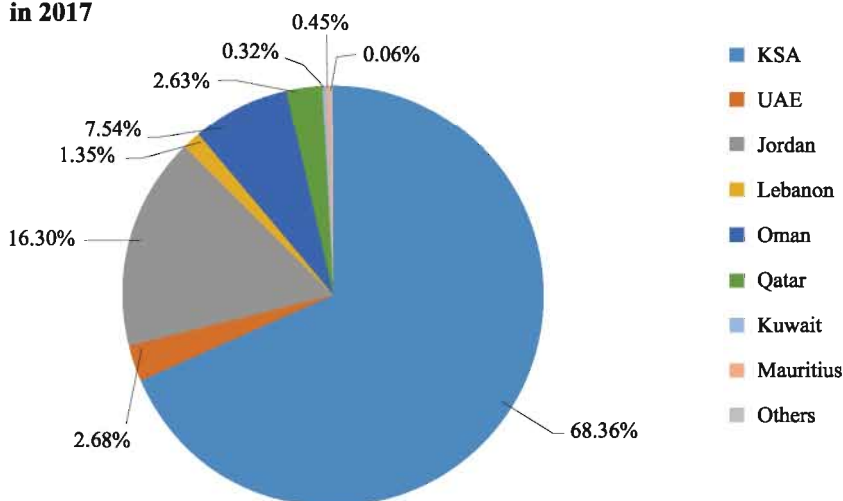
Source: Prepared from BMET data

A significant challenge for the Bangladeshi labour market is that each year labour migration destinations are concentrated among one or two countries. Often, after a few years of strong growth in the number of migrants, Bangladeshi workers face a ban or restriction on accessing a particular labour market. Top destinations of Bangladeshi migrants circulate among the above mentioned 13 countries. Even if Bangladesh sends a large number of workers to a country in one year, there is no guarantee that it will be able to send workers to that country in the following year. Based on an overall assessment of the migration trends for both the male and female migration, it appears that the Bangladeshi labour market has always been dominated by one or two countries. Since 1996 Saudi Arabia has received more than half of all Bangladeshi labour migrants. It stopped receiving Bangladeshi male migrants from 2007. During the period from 1997 to 2001, Malaysia became one of the top two labour receiving countries. Then Malaysia imposed restrictions on the migration on Bangladeshi workers and again lifted those in 2005. From 2008 to 2012 the UAE was one of the major destinations, however in September 2012, Bangladeshi migrants experienced restrictions from the UAE Government. The problem with the monopoly of one or two countries is that if the country goes through a period of political, social or economic unrest, then it is the migrant labour force that is disproportionately adversely affected.

2.5 Skill Composition

BMET has classified short-term migrants into four categories: professional, skilled, semi-skilled and low-skilled. Doctors, engineers, teachers and nurses are considered as professionals. Manufacturing or garments workers, skilled construction workers, electricians, drivers and domestic workers are regarded as skilled. Tailors, masons are considered as semi-skilled. Agro labourer, waiters, cleaners, gardeners, security guards are considered as low-skilled workers[4]. Skilled migration has increased by just 1 percent from 42.07 percent in 2016 to 43.07 percent in 2017. Around 39.84 percent of the workers fall under the less skilled category, and 15.43 percent under the semi-skilled category. These percentages have not changed in a significant way from the previous years. Around 0.45 percent of the workers are in the professional group.

Figure 2.5.1: Skill composition of Bangladeshi migrant workers in 2017
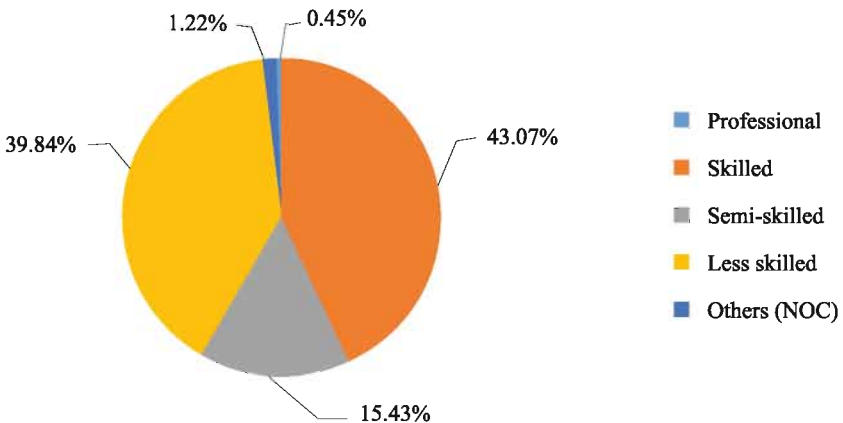
Source: Prepared from BMET data

2.6 Source Areas

Bangladesh is divided into 64 administrative districts. It is interesting to note that the majority of the migrants originate from handful of districts. These are Comilla, Chittagong, Dhaka, Tangail, Brahmanbaria, Chandpur

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4   The classification of BMET is not based on any international standard. Currently, it is going through a process of standardizing the classification by using International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO).

and Noakhali. In 2017, 10.58 percent of workers migrated from Comilla. Around 6 percent went from Brahmanbaria and another 6 percent from Chittagong. Five percent migrated from the greater Dhaka area, and 4 percent went from Chandpur, Noakhali, and Tangail each. An insignificant number of workers migrate from the northern part of the country. Migration from Hill tracts is also low. In 2017, migration from Bandarban was only 0.06 percent of the total flow, Khagrachhari (0.10%) and from Rangamati (0.05%). Those who migrate from this region are mostly from the majority Bengali community. There is hardly any representation of the indigenous communities in the international labour force. Recently international migration is also taking place from the regions affected by climate change. RMMRU in collaboration with DECCMA has completed a household survey in 50 climate hotspots across Bangladesh. That study finds that around 13 percent of the surveyed households have a migrant member overseas.

Figure 2.6.1: Source areas of Bangladeshi migrant workers in 2017
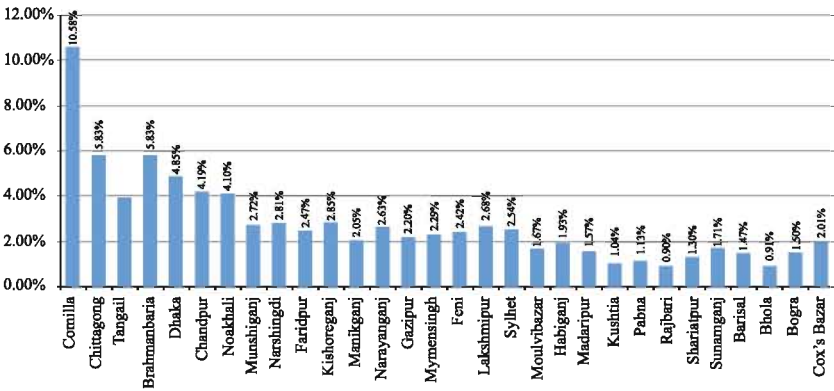
Source: Prepared from BMET data

2.7 The Flow of Remittances

Remittances are defined as the portion of migrant workers' earnings that is sent back from the country of employment to that of origin. Among the developing countries, Bangladesh is one of the primary recipients of remittance. In 2017 it was the ninth largest remittance receiving country

in the world (World Bank and KNOMAD, 2018). In 2012, Bangladesh alone secured 44 percent of the remittances received by the world's least developed countries.

Bangladesh Bank documents the flow of remittance to Bangladesh from all over the world. This means it covers remittances of both diaspora and short-term contract migrants. It is well known that a sizable amount of remittance still goes through unofficial channels. In 1976, the total remittance flow to Bangladesh was US$23.71 million. In 2017, it has grown into US$13.53 billion. In comparison to the last six years, remittance flow is the lowest in 2017. The figure is 0.53 percent lower than that of 2016 when migrant workers remitted $13.6 billion. In 2015, it was US$15.27 billion, and in 2014, the figure stood at US$14.94 billion.

Saudi Arabia is the largest single source country for remittances to Bangladesh (17.19%). It is followed by the UAE (16.21%) and the USA (13.60%) and Malaysia (7.52%) and the United Kingdom (7.29%).

Figure 2.7.1: Source countries of major remittance Flow in 2017
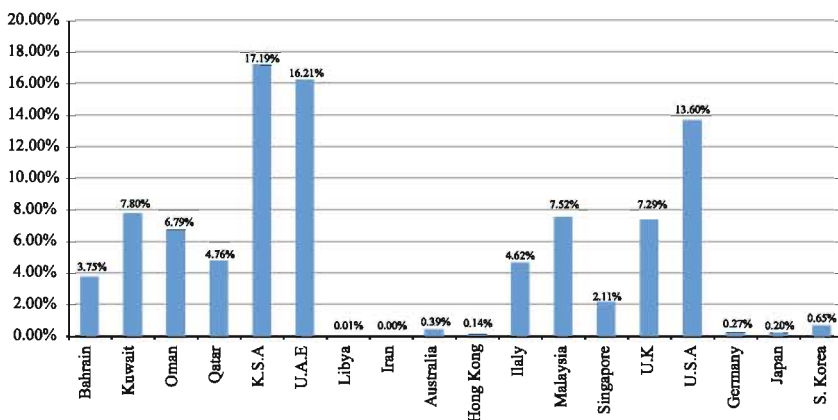
Source: Prepared from BMET data

Government and private banks have played a significant role in harnessing foreign remittances. According to Bangladesh Bank, Islami Bank has collected over 19.3 percent (US $2.388 billion) of the total remittances in 2017. However, before a major change to the management of the bank, it used to collect around 30 percent of the total remittance. Islami Bank is followed by Agrani Bank (9.79%), Sonali Bank (7.82%), Janata Bank (6.44 %) and Dutch-Bangla Bank (5.35%).

Figure 2.7.2: Remittance flow from 2001-2017
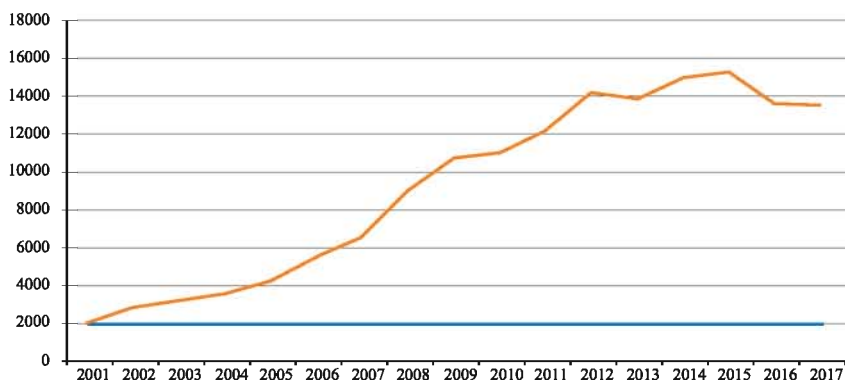
Source: Prepared from BMET data

Chapter Conclusion

This section gives an idea about the extent of international labour migration from Bangladesh, their countries of destination, source areas from where migrants originate, the skill level of the workers and the magnitude of the flow of remittances. It shows that from 1976 labour migration from Bangladesh has been increasing. Since 2009, the total annual flow of migrants from Bangladesh had decreased, but it again picked up in 2017. In 2017, the highest number of migrant workers has migrated from Bangladesh. There exists no information on the number of migrants who have returned after finishing their overseas employment. The panel survey of SDC and RMMRU shows that 21 percent of the households are returnee migrant households. This book also highlights that the percentage of female migrants has increased significantly since the Government withdrew the restriction on the migration of low-skilled female workers. In 2017, 121,925 females have taken on overseas employment. As per Government classification, 0.45 percent of female migrants are professional, 43 percent are skilled, 15 percent semi-skilled and 40 percent low-skilled. Of course, there are some problems with the definition of skills. In this classification, women domestic workers are counted in the skilled category, that is why the proportion of skilled workers appears relatively high.

An analysis of the areas of origin of migrants in Bangladesh reveals that there are some pockets from where migration takes place. Comilla, Chittagong, Brahmanbaria, Chandpur, Tangail and Noakhali are important source districts of male migrants. Women mostly migrate from Manikganj, Narayanganj, Gazipur, Mymensingh and Faridpur. Migrant workers of Bangladesh send a large percentage of their income as remittances. Bangladesh receives the highest amount of net foreign exchange from the remittances sent by migrants followed by the garments manufacturing sector[5]. Remittances had steadily grown up to 2012. However, since then, Bangladesh has experienced significant negative growth in the flow of remittances. In the following chapters, we will present the major findings of the panel survey with respect to the drivers of migration and its impact on income and consumption growth, poverty, and gender. The next chapter (Chapter III) will introduce the study area and sketch the profiles of international, internal and non-migrant households.

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5 Net foreign exchange earnings is higher than garments as 70 to 75 percent of the foreign exchange earned through garments is spent in importing raw material. Therefore, the value addition from garment is around 25 to 30 percent.

CHAPTER III

PROFILE OF THE MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

This chapter presents the socio-demographic and living standard profiles of international migrant, internal migrant and non-migrant households. The socio-demographic profile includes family size, the age of the household members, their level of education, employment, occupation and religion. The living standard profile provides nature, size and ownership status of the homestead, access to water supply, sanitation, sources of power, and cooking fuel. The information presented under three subheadings. First, the results for the original households interviewed during Wave 1 are presented, then the results for the same households, from the interview in Wave 2 are presented and finally, the results of the newly included districts surveyed in Wave 2 are presented. This has allowed the study to compare the changes that took place among the households between Wave 1 and 2 surveys, as well as to understand the characteristics of newly included households.

3.1 Male-female Distribution

Table 3.1.1 shows the male-female distribution among international, internal, non-migrant households in Waves 1 and 2. During the first Wave, 54 percent of the total members of international migrant households were male and 46 percent were female. The results are identical for the households of internal migrants. With respect to non-migrant households, 51 percent were male and 49 percent were female. The Wave 2 survey indicates that the gap between male and female members has reduced in case of international and internal migrant households. The main reason behind this is marriage. During Wave 1, 48 percent of the male members of international migrant households were married and 47 percent of the male members of internal migrant households were married. In Wave 2, the percentage of married males in both type of migrant households increased by 2 percentage points. This means that over the last three years new female

members joined the household, and so the gap between the number of male and female members in the household decreased.

We know that the majority of the migrants in the panel are male. This informs that those households who have more male members have a higher chance of participating in the international or internal migrant labour markets. This is in comparison to the non-migrant households where male and female members are equally distributed. This suggests that sex of the household member plays a role in determining the probability with which a given household migrates.

Table 3.1.1: Percentage of male and female members by migration type and gender

Wave 2					
International (%)		Internal (%)		Non-migrant (%)	
M	F	M	F	M	F
51.8	48.2	51.7	48.3	50.0	50.0
Wave 1					
M	F	M	F	M	F
53.7	46.3	53.7	46.3	51.4	48.6
Wave 2 new districts					
M	F	M	F	M	F
49.5	50.5	54.2	45.8	49.5	50.5

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017. Note: M = Male, F=Female

In the case of the newly added districts, the percentage of the female members is higher among international migrants of newly added districts. This is because the three districts were purposively chosen from where international female migration takes place. However, internal migrants are mostly men; in these households, the number of female members is 8 percent lower compared to the number of male members.

3.2 Household Size

Table 3.2.1 makes a comparison of the household size of the international, internal and non-migrant households between the two panels. A household is defined here as members who eat from the same kitchen. This may include nuclear families or extended families. Domestic workers are also included as family members if she/he has been residing and eating from the same kitchen. In the balanced panel, on average international migrant

households have six members. Family sizes of the internal and non-migrant households are smaller compared to that of the international migrants. On average, they have five members. There could be many reasons for the higher number of household members in international migrant households. One of the reasons for a larger household can be that when the male adult of a married household member migrates, for the purpose of security they keep their families in their parental or in-law's house. Therefore the household size appears larger. It may also be the case that households that can participate in international labour migration are on average, those which have larger family size. In other words, households that have one or a few members without whom the day to day functioning of the household can be maintained, are perhaps better situated to participate in migration.

Table 3.2.1: Family size by migration type

Family size	Wave 2		
	International (%)	Internal (%)	Non-migrant (%)
1-3	11.00	13.50	27.10
4-5	45.40	49.40	48.40
6-7	26.60	25.00	19.70
8-10	13.00	9.40	5
11+	4.00	2.70	0.30
Mean	6	5	5
Total no. of cases	**1922**	**996**	**997**
	Wave 1		
1-3	14.40	16.50	22.50
4-5	48.50	49.00	52.50
6-7	24.20	24.40	20.20
8-10	9.70	7.70	4
11+	3.10	2.40	0.70
Mean	5	5	5
Total no. of cases	**1922**	**1048**	**937**
	Wave 2 new districts		
1-3	9.30	8.80	17.60
4-5	41.30	43.90	56.00
6-7	26.90	30.80	19.00
8-10	15.30	11.20	6
11+	7.20	5.30	1.40
Mean	5	5	4
Total no. of cases	**3489**	**1346**	**2516**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

When a comparison is made between the household size of the second Wave of the survey with that of the first Wave, it appears that the average household size of international migrants have increased from 5 to 6. It remains more or less similar for the other two groups. The tables also show that almost half the households in both the Waves are constituted of 4 to 5 members. In the case of newly included districts, the household size of non-migrants is a little lower (4) compared to the internal (5) and international (5) migrant households.

3.3 Marital Status

Table 3.3.1 gives an account of changes in marital status between the two Waves of the survey. During the first Wave, 51 percent of both international and internal migrant household members were married. In case of non-migrant households, 46 percent were married. From Wave 1 to Wave 2 the number of married persons increased by 2 percent in all three types of households. Again, compared to male members, the number of female members who are married are higher in all three types of households. Around 57 percent of the female international migrant household members are married. Findings from both Waves show that only a small number of migrant household members are unmarried. In both the Waves the number of unmarried persons is higher among male members.

The percentage of household members who are single is quite low. During Wave 1, 10 percent of international migrants were unmarried. During Wave 2 this reduced to 8 percent. In the case of non-migrant households, only 5 percent of the members were unmarried. In the case of internal migrants the percentage of unmarried members remained the same during both Waves. The marital status as 'single' is defined when a person is more than 18 years of age and not married. More than 30 percent of the household members in each category of households are below the age of 18. In their case, the status is recorded as not applicable. Of course, anyone less than 18, if married or divorced, has been counted in those categories of marital status. Given the socio-cultural dynamics of Bangladesh, the percentage of men who are currently widowed is almost non-existent. However, more than 7 percent of women members in all types of households are widows. This may indicate that male members, if widowed change their status very quickly through remarriage. For female members, transitioning from widow to remarried is more difficult.

Table 3.3.1: Marital status by migration type and gender

Marital status of HH members	Wave 2								
	International (%)			Internal (%)			Non-migrant (%)		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Single	12.6	3.8	8.4	13.0	4.5	9.0	7.0	3.9	5.5
Married	50.2	56.5	53.2	49.2	56.8	52.8	46.9	50.2	48.5
Separated	.1	.5	.3	0.0	.5	.2	.2	.6	.4
Divorced	.3	.7	.5	.1	.9	.5	.3	.7	.5
Widow/Widower	.9	7.5	4.0	.6	7.0	3.6	1.1	9.1	5.0
Not Applicable (if female < 18; males < 21)	35.9	31.0	33.6	37.0	30.3	33.9	44.5	35.5	40.1
Total no. of cases	5796	5203	10999	2818	2523	5341	2331	2256	4587
	Wave 1								
Single	15.1	4.5	10.2	11.5	5.8	8.8	6.8	3.8	5.3
Married	47.7	55.3	51.2	47.3	54.7	50.7	44.8	47.6	46.2
Separated	.0	.5	.2	.2	1.1	.6	.1	.6	.3
Divorced	.1	.7	.3	.1	1.0	.5	.2	.7	.5
Widow/Widower	.9	6.8	3.6	.3	6.4	3.1	1.0	6.3	3.6
Not Applicable (if female < 18; males < 21)	36.2	32.2	34.4	40.6	31.0	36.1	47.0	40.9	44.1
Total no. of cases	5556	4792	10348	2902	2502	5404	2250	2127	4377
	Wave 2 new districts								
Single	14.9	4.4	10.0	11.1	5.5	8.5	6.90	3.90	5.50
Married	47.8	55.1	51.2	47.4	53.8	50.4	44.80	47.30	46.00
Separated	.0	.5	.2	.2	1.1	.6	0.10	0.70	0.40
Divorced	.0	.7	.3	.2	1.0	.6	0.20	0.70	0.40
Widow/Widower	.8	6.9	3.6	.3	6.7	3.3	1.00	6.30	3.60
Not Applicable (if female < 18; males < 21)	36.4	32.5	34.6	40.8	31.9	36.7	47.00	41.10	44.10
Total no. of cases	1726	1763	3489	730	616	1346	1246	1270	2516

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017,   Note: M=Male, F=Female, T=Total

3.4 Age Group

Table 3.4.1 describes the age distribution of household members. In Wave 1, around 32 percent of both international and internal migrants are 17 years of age or less. In the case of non-migrant household around 41 percent of the members belonged to this age group. During Wave 2, the number of household members whose age was up to 17 years decreased in all 3 types of households. This is in part due to household members aging through the panel.

Interestingly compared to migrant households, the percentage of members who are up to 17 years of age is much higher in the case of non-migrant households. In the case of non-migrant households, 41 percent of their members were less than 17 years of age in the Wave 1 survey. In terms of older members of the household, in Wave 2, less than 8 percent of the members across all three types of households were more than 60 years of age. During Wave 1, this figure was slightly lower (less than 6%).

Table 3.4.1: Age group by migration type and gender

Age group	Wave 2								
	International (%)			Internal (%)			Non-migrant (%)		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
<=17	31.50	32.00	31.70	31.40	32	31.70	37.60	37.00	37.30
18-25	14.90	22.20	18.40	20.70	23.40	22.00	14.40	17.30	15.80
26-30	11.70	10.00	10.90	10.50	7.10	8.90	7.40	9.00	8.20
31-40	16.70	11.80	14.40	12.20	12.90	12.50	13.40	14.90	14.10
41-50	9.70	9.60	9.70	9.40	11.70	10.50	11.90	10.00	10.90
51-60	6.70	7.90	7.30	7.60	7.00	7.30	7.40	6.10	6.80
61+	8.80	6.50	7.70	8.20	5.80	7.10	7.90	5.80	6.80
Total no. of cases	6078	5650	11728	2997	2798	5795	2666	2671	5337
	Wave 1								
<=17	31.20	33.10	32.10	32.50	32.40	32.40	41.20	41.60	41.40
18-25	16.90	20.80	18.70	22.20	21.90	22.10	14.40	15.20	14.80
26-30	13.10	11.00	12.10	10.10	8.70	9.50	7.10	10.10	8.50
31-40	15.60	11.80	13.80	11.20	14.10	12.60	14.40	16.10	15.20
41-50	9.80	11.60	10.60	9.40	12.90	11.00	12.00	8.80	10.50
51-60	6.60	7.70	7.10	7.80	6.40	7.10	6.40	5.20	5.80
61+	6.80	4.00	5.50	6.80	3.70	5.30	4.60	3.00	3.80
Total no. of cases	5556	4792	10348	2902	2502	5404	2250	2127	4377
	Wave 2 new districts								
<=17	32.20	28.70	30.40	27.30	26	26.70	35.30	35.50	35.40
18-25	17.40	20.70	19.10	22.20	20.00	21.20	14.60	17.20	15.90
26-30	11.80	11.50	11.60	11.20	9.40	10.40	8.80	10.50	9.70
31-40	14.50	15.60	15.00	12.30	15.40	13.70	16.00	16.00	16.00
41-50	10.50	11	10.70	9.00	12.20	10.50	12.60	10.20	11.40
51-60	7.00	7.30	7.20	8.20	8.90	8.50	7.60	5.00	6.30
61+	6.60	5.40	6.00	9.80	8.10	9.00	5.10	5.60	5.30
Total no. of cases	1726	1763	3489	730	616	1346	1246	1270	2516

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017,   Note: M=Male, F=Female, T=Total

3.5 Level of Education

Table 3.5.1 (page 42) shows the educational status of the respondents. Wave 2 data inform, 21 percent of international migrants, 25 percent of internal migrants and 28 percent of non-migrant household members do not have any schooling. The situation was more or less similar to that of Wave 1. The number of individuals with no education among the international and non-migrant households remained the same in both the Waves. Compared to Wave 1, in Wave 2, the percentage of people with no education reduced by 2 percent in the case of internal migrants. The majority of the members of all three types of households have studied up to class 10. In Wave 2, 27 percent of both international and internal, and 30 percent of non-migrant household members, have studied up to class 5. This has reduced from the situation in Wave 1. In Wave 1, 32 percent of international and internal household members and 34 percent of the non-migrant household members belong to this category. The number of household members who have studied up to the masters' level are almost non-existent among the migrant as well as non-migrant households. Around 8 percent of the members of these households are less than 5 years of age. Therefore, the level of education is not applicable to them.

3.6 Employment and Occupation

Table 3.6.1 (page 43) presents the principal occupations[6] in surveyed households. There are some differences among male and female household members with respect to occupation. In Wave 2, 15 percent of the male members of international migrant households, 19 percent of internal migrant households and 23 percent of non-migrant households are employed in agriculture. These include landowners, sharecroppers and agricultural labour. Less than 1 percent of the female members of international migrant households and 2 percent each of internal and non-migrant households have

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6 Here, agriculture includes agricultural farmer/fish farmer/ poultry farmer, day labourer/Agri-labour, farmer, fisherman, and shepherd. Business includes catering, vending, and tailor. Service includes carpenter, chef, driver, electrician, gardener, potter, ironsmith, handloom worker, boatman, laundry, messenger, night guard, oil-pump attendant, receptionist, salesman, security guard, storekeeper and waiter. Construction worker includes mason, painter, plumber, steel-aluminum fitting, and tiles fitting. Manufacturing includes factory worker, garment workers, machine operator, and packaging. Domestic worker includes cleaner, house-keeper and sweeper. Managerial includes foreman and supervisor. Professionals include government official, nurse, doctor, and teacher. Not applicable includes underaged, elderly and students. Housewife, retired, unemployed, and other occupations are kept as it is.

identified agriculture as their profession. This does not mean that women do not work in agriculture. In fact, 56 percent of the female members of international migrant households and 55 percent of internal and 49 percent of non-migrant household members identified themselves as housewives.

Table 3.5.1: Education level by migration type and gender

Level of Education	Wave 2								
	International (%)			Internal (%)			Non-migrant (%)		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
No education	18.0	25.2	21.4	22.3	28.7	25.3	25.8	31.3	28.4
1 to class 5	28.7	25.1	27.0	29.0	25.6	27.4	31.5	28.3	30.0
6 to class 10	29.3	28.0	28.6	25.8	28.3	27.0	21.4	25.6	23.4
SSC/equivalent	8.6	7.6	8.2	6.9	5.3	6.2	5.4	4.6	5.0
HSC/equivalent	5.0	4.1	4.6	5.4	3.0	4.2	4.6	2.3	3.5
Undergrad./equivalent	1.4	.9	1.2	1.8	.6	1.2	1.6	.6	1.1
Masters/equivalent	.6	.3	.4	.9	.4	.7	.7	.1	.4
Diploma	.1	.1	.1	.1	.0	.1	.2	.0	.1
Others	.4	.2	.3	.2	0.0	.1	.5	.3	.4
N/A	7.9	8.5	8.2	7.6	8.0	7.8	8.2	6.9	7.6
Total no. of cases	**5788**	**5162**	**10950**	**2814**	**2486**	**5300**	**2287**	**2195**	**4482**
Wave 1									
No education	17.7	25.4	21.3	23.6	31.5	27.2	27.0	29.9	28.4
1 to class 5	32.5	31.0	31.8	32.7	30.7	31.8	34.7	33.3	34.0
6 to class 10	24.7	22.8	23.8	19.2	21.3	20.2	18.7	19.2	19.0
SSC/equivalent	9.1	6.8	8.0	6.7	4.9	5.8	5.0	4.7	4.8
HSC/equivalent	4.3	3.1	3.8	5.7	2.8	4.3	3.3	2.3	2.8
Undergrad./equivalent	2.1	1.0	1.6	2.7	1.2	2.0	1.8	.6	1.2
Masters/equivalent	.6	.2	.4	1.2	.2	.8	.3	.1	.2
Others	.3	.1	.2	.3	.1	.2	.2	.3	.3
N/A	8.7	9.6	9.1	8.0	7.2	7.6	9.1	9.6	9.3
Total no. of cases	**5556**	**4792**	**10348**	**2902**	**2502**	**5404**	**2250**	**2127**	**4377**
Wave 2 new districts									
No education	22.1	30.0	26.1	15.2	27.6	20.9	22.0	27.2	24.6
1 to class 5	29.0	25.4	27.2	22.1	21.4	21.8	28.7	25.7	27.2
6 to class 10	27.9	29.4	28.6	29.9	25.6	27.9	24.8	29.2	27.0
SSC/Equivalent	6.2	5.0	5.6	11.8	9.9	10.9	6.3	5.7	6.0
HSC/Equivalent	4.6	2.9	3.8	8.8	6.3	7.7	5.7	3.2	4.5
Undergrad./Equivalent	1.6	.6	1.1	4.4	1.9	3.3	1.8	1.3	1.6
Masters/Equivalent	.3	.2	.3	1.2	.2	.7	.9	.2	.6
Diploma	.1	.1	.1	.4	.3	.4	.5	.2	.4
Others	.6	.2	.4	.4	.2	.3	.3	0.0	.2
N/A	7.5	6.2	6.9	5.9	6.5	6.2	9.0	7.2	8.1
Total no. of cases	**1726**	**1763**	**3489**	**730**	**616**	**1346**	**1246**	**1270**	**2516**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017. Note: M=Male, F=Female, T=Total

Table 3.6.1: Main occupations by migrant type and gender

Level of Education	Wave 2								
	International (%)			Internal (%)			Non-migrant (%)		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Agriculture	14.5	.4	7.9	19.2	1.5	10.9	22.7	2.0	12.6
Business	8.3	.3	4.5	8.6	.7	4.9	9.6	.7	5.3
Service	11.4	.6	6.3	10.1	.3	5.5	8.5	.6	4.6
Construction worker	8.5	.1	4.6	7.8	.1	4.2	3.0	.0	1.5
Manufacturing	3.4	.0	1.8	3.4	.1	1.9	1.0	.0	.5
Domestic workers	1.6	1.5	1.5	.1	.4	.3	.0	.3	.2
Professionals	1.6	.5	1.1	3.2	.6	2.0	1.9	.7	1.3
Retired	4.9	5.0	5.0	3.4	3.6	3.5	4.2	5.0	4.6
Unemployed	7.3	2.5	5.1	6.3	4.8	5.6	4.8	3.5	4.2
Housewife	.4	55.5	26.4	.4	54.6	25.8	.1	48.9	24.0
Others	5.0	.2	2.7	5.3	.6	3.1	3.5	.4	2.0
Not applicable/ students	33.1	33.2	33.1	32.1	32.6	32.3	40.7	37.8	39.3
Total no. of cases	**5778**	**5155**	**10933**	**2812**	**2476**	**5288**	**2286**	**2190**	**4426**
Wave 1									
Agriculture	16.3	1.4	9.4	22.7	2.2	13.2	27.7	1.3	14.9
Business	6.5	.1	3.5	5.9	.4	3.4	8.9	.4	4.8
Service	9.3	.4	5.2	5.0	.6	2.9	3.0	.1	1.6
Construction worker	5.2	.1	2.8	6.5	.1	3.5	1.0	0.0	.5
Manufacturing	3.7	.2	2.0	6.0	3.7	4.9	1.2	.1	.7
Domestic workers	1.2	3.5	2.3	.5	1.6	1.0	.5	2.0	1.2
Professionals	3.0	.4	1.8	6.8	.7	4.0	2.4	.7	1.6
Retired	4.6	1.8	3.3	2.9	.9	2.0	1.9	1.6	1.8
Unemployed	4.5	1.5	3.1	3.1	1.7	2.4	3.8	2.0	2.9
Housewife	.1	54.8	25.4	.1	51.7	24.0	.1	49.0	23.9
Skilled workers	10.7	.3	5.9	7.0	.8	4.1	6.2	.3	3.4
Others	1.7	.7	1.2	2.1	1.1	1.7	1.9	.5	1.2
Not Applicable/ Students	33.4	35.0	34.1	31.4	34.6	32.8	41.4	41.9	41.6
Total no. of cases	**5556**	**4792**	**10348**	**2902**	**2502**	**5404**	**2250**	**2127**	**4377**
Wave 2 new districts									
Agriculture	59.8	48.6	54.7	78.5	61.6	69.6	73.8	56.7	67.2
Business	2.3	10.8	6.2	3.1	6.8	5.1	7.9	11.2	9.2
Service	4.6	1.4	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	.5	1.5	.9
Construction worker	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Manufacturing	1.1	2.7	1.9	1.5	1.4	1.4	0.0	1.5	.6
Domestic workers	0.0	1.4	.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professionals	1.1	0.0	.6	1.5	6.8	4.3	0.0	.7	.3
Retired	1.1	1.4	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	1.1	0.0	.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Housewife	1.1	8.1	4.3	0.0	9.6	5.1	0.0	14.2	5.5
Others	25.2	24.3	24.8	15.4	11.0	13.0	17.3	11.9	15.2
N/A	2.3	1.4	1.9	0.0	2.7	1.4	.5	2.2	1.1
Total no. of cases	**1726**	**1763**	**3489**	**730**	**616**	**1346**	**1246**	**1270**	**2516**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017,   Note: M=Male, F=Female, T=Total

Many of them are involved in different stages of agricultural work. But because they do not work outside in the field, they do not consider agriculture as their profession. Eight to ten percent of the male members of all three types of households are involved in a business. This figure for female members was less than 1 percent among all three types of households. Again 11 percent of male members of international migrant households and 10 percent of internal migrant households and 9 percent of non-migrant households are involved in the services sector. In comparison less than 1 percent of female members are involved in the services sector. Eight to nine percent of male members of international and internal migrant households work in the construction sector. Only 3 percent of the members of the non-migrant households are involved in construction. Again female members hardly participate in this occupation.

In Wave 2, close to 5 percent of both male and female members of all types of households are retired from the job. Around 5 percent of the members of all three types of household are unemployed. Thirty-three percent of the international migrant households, 32 percent of the internal migrant households and 39 percent of the non-migrant households are either students or have not reached the age to be employed.

With respect to occupation, there is not much of a difference between Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the data. The male members' participation in agriculture has reduced in the case of all three groups while their participation in business has increased. This reaffirms the trend in Bangladesh that the rural economy is moving away from agriculture towards business and enterprise. The rate of unemployment slightly increased during Wave 2 in all three categories. In the secondary occupation as well, agriculture dominates all three groups—international, internal and non-migrant households.

3.7 Religious Faith of Households

During the first round of the survey, 96 percent of both international and internal migrants and 95 percent of non-migrant households were Muslims, and the rest were Hindus. In the second round of the survey, the religious breakdown of the panel households remains the same. In the newly surveyed districts, the percentage of Buddhist and Hindu respondents is higher than the previous panel districts. The newly surveyed districts are

Faridpur, Gazipur, Narayanganj, Chittagong and Khagrachhari. Khagrachhari has been selected randomly from the low migration cohort and has a large Buddhist population. Faridpur, Gazipur and Narayanganj have pockets with concentrations of Hindu population. The sites have been purposively selected from BMET data. It may happen that the study sites matched with those pockets. In these districts 94 percent of the international migrant households are still Muslims, 5 percent are Hindus and less than 1 percent are Buddhist and Christians. This indicates that people of Bangladesh of other religious faith have less access to international migration than their Muslim-majority peers. Forty- six percent of the internal migrants are Muslims, 13 percent are Hindus and 41 percent are Buddhists. In the case of non-migrants, 61 percent are Muslims, 23 percent are Buddhists.

Table 3.7.1: Religious faith of HHs by migration type and gender

Religion of HHs	Wave 1 and 2 balanced panel districts		
	International (%)	Internal (%)	Non-migrant (%)
Muslim	96.3	96.4	95.2
Hindu	3.7	3.6	4.8
Buddhist	0.0	0.0	0.0
Christian	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	1932	1049	940
Wave 2 new districts			
Muslim	94.1	46.4	60.8
Hindu	5.1	12.6	22.8
Buddhist	.5	40.9	16.2
Christian	.3	0.0	.2
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	651	260	581

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

3.8 Housing and Living Standard

Owner of Dwelling: Table 3.8.1 shows that the majority of the respondents of all three categories are owners of their homestead. Over the last three years, the percentage of people who owned their homestead increased marginally. Among the three groups, the homestead ownership is higher for international migrants. Ninety-seven percent of international migrants own homestead relative to 93 percent for internal and non-migrant households. However, the growth in the ownership of homestead land over the last three years was higher among the latter two groups.

Since it is a survey of migrant household in the rural area, it is natural that the number of households living in rented premises will be nominal. Nonetheless, the percentage of female migrant households is higher among those who live in a rented premises. Six percent of both of internal and non-migrant household reside in another person's house, but without paying rent. Two percent of the international migrant households are also in this situation. In the newly included districts the number of households who do not own their homestead is as high as 12 percent for international migrants, 6 percent of internal migrants and 10 percent of the non-migrants.

Table 3.8.1: Owner of dwellings by migration type and gender

Nature of ownership	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Owner of the Homestead	97.2	95.8	97.1	93.7	90.1	93.4	92.7
Rented	.6	2.1	.7	.8	2.2	.9	.9
Not owner but without rent	2.2	2.1	2.2	5.4	7.7	5.6	6.3
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1	0.0	.1	.1
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**904**	**91**	**995**	**997**
Wave 1							
Owner of the Homestead	96.5	96.2	96.5	91.9	86.9	91.2	90.5
Rented	.4	1.3	.5	1.0	.7	1.0	1.1
Not owner but without rent	3.1	2.5	3.1	6.8	9.5	7.1	8.0
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	.3	2.9	.7	.4
Total no. of cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Wave 2 new districts							
Owner of the Homestead	94.3	71.9	82.8	89.5	92.5	90.0	88.6
Rented	.9	9.6	5.4	4.1	2.5	3.8	1.7
Not owner but without rent	4.7	18.5	11.8	6.4	5.0	6.2	9.6
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	**318**	**335**	**653**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**581**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017,   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household

If we add the number of international migrants who live in rented premises then the number of households, who do not possess homestead land increases further to 17 percent. This brings in the gender gap to the surface. Among the international migrants who are not owners of their homesteads, the majority are female. As much as 28 percent of the international female

migrant households do not own their homestead. The figure is only six percent for international male migrants. This suggests that among all groups, international female migrant households are at the bottom with respect to living standard indicators.

Quality of Housing: Four types of housing among the respondents were identified. These are concrete, semi-concrete, tin and mud/thatched/ bamboo. In both rounds, the number of households living in mud/thatched/ bamboo houses was much lower in the case of international migrant households. In Wave 1, 10 percent of them were living in such houses. In Wave 2 this figure reduced to 8 percent. A comparison of Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys also shows that the percentage of people who were living in mud/ thatched/bamboo houses have reduced in the case of the other two types of respondents as well. Although the percentage of people is still much higher in case of internal and non-migrant households, the gap reduced more in these cases.

Table 3.8.2: Type of homestead by migration type and gender

Nature of Construction	Wave 2						
	International (%)			Internal (%)			Non-Migrant (%)
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Mud/Thatched/Bamboo	7.7	15.5	8.3	27.2	30.8	27.5	22.1
Tin/Semi katcha	46.8	54.9	47.4	51.1	58.2	51.8	60.9
Semi-paka	24.1	17.6	23.6	15.3	7.7	14.6	12.1
Paka	21.3	12.0	20.6	6.4	3.3	6.1	4.9
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of Cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**904**	**91**	**995**	**997**
Wave 1							
Mud/Thatched/Bamboo	9.7	15.1	10.1	31.0	46.0	33.0	24.4
Tin	45.2	54.1	45.9	55.4	48.9	54.5	61.7
Semi-Paka	27.1	18.2	26.3	10.0	4.4	9.2	10.9
Paka	18.0	12.6	17.6	3.5	.7	3.1	3.1
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1	0.0	.1	0.0
Total no. of Cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Wave 2 New Districts							
Mud/Thatched/Bamboo	21.7	20.6	21.1	37.7	35.0	37.3	38.6
Tin/Semi katcha	34.6	56.4	45.8	36.8	50.0	38.8	42.0
Semi-paka	21.4	14.0	17.6	18.6	15.0	18.1	12.0
Paka	22.3	9.0	15.5	6.8	0.0	5.8	7.4
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of Cases	**318**	**335**	**653**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**581**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017,   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household

The highest percentage of concrete houses, in both Waves of the survey is owned by international migrant households. In Wave 2, 21 percent of international migrant households are living in concrete houses. Compared to them only 6 percent of internal migrant and 5 percent of the non-migrant households own concrete houses. The majority of the households for all three types of respondents live in houses made of corrugated iron sheets. Forty-seven percent of international, 52 percent of the internal and 61 percent of the non-migrant households owned houses made of such iron sheets.

Gendered differences are deeply pronounced in case of the quality of housing. For example, a look at the second Wave of data on quality of housing shows that 21 percent of the international male migrant households possessed concrete houses whereas only 12 percent of female international migrant households did so. Only 3 percent of internal female migrant households possess concrete houses whereas 6 percent of their male counterpart possesses so. The same story is repeated in case of mud/thatched/bamboo houses. Mud/thatched/bamboo houses are considered a sign of poorer living standards. Not surprisingly, 16 percent of the female international migrant households still possess such homes whereas only 8 percent of male international migrant households possess such houses.

Size of Homestead: The higher standard of living of international migrants has been underlined further by the size of their homestead. A greater percentage of international migrant households not only enjoy a better quality of housing, but the size of their houses is also bigger compared to the other two groups. Over the last three years, the percentage of international migrant households who live in homesteads of more than 1000 square feet (sq. ft.) has increased from 17 to 24 percent. More importantly, growth in the percentage of those who live in larger houses is also higher in the case of international migrants. Three years ago, 8 percent of internal migrant household size was greater than 1000 sq. ft. For non-migrant households, this figure was 6 percent in Wave 1 and increased to 11 percent in Wave 2 of the survey. The most important aspiration of both migrants and non-migrants is to build their own home. Perhaps, for this reason, the most significant investment they make is in housing.

In 2017 a large number of respondents of all three types of households

reside in houses that are less than 500 sq. ft. The figure stands at 42 percent for international migrant households, 57 percent for internal migrant households and 65 percent for the non-migrant households. In the case of the newly added districts the percentage of household who live in less than 500 sq. ft. houses are quite similar. In fact, it is the highest in case of international migrant households. The sample in Khagrachhari perhaps drives this. Homestead size is smaller in the hill district.

Table 3.8.3: Size of homestead by migration type and gender

Size of homestead	Wave 2						
	International (%)			Internal (%)			Non-migrant (%)
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
<=500 sq. feet	41.90	37.30	41.60	56.10	68.10	57.20	64.60
501-750 sq. feet	15.20	12.00	15.00	16.70	11.00	16.20	12.00
751-1000 sq. feet	19.50	18.30	19.40	15.60	12.10	15.30	12.20
1001+ sq. feet	23.30	32.40	24.00	11.60	8.80	11.40	11.10
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**904**	**91**	**995**	**997**
Wave 1							
<=500 sq. feet	40.90	47.80	41.50	56.80	57.70	56.90	66.20
501-750 sq. feet	22.80	18.90	22.50	22.60	23.40	22.70	17.00
751-1000 sq. feet	19.20	25.20	19.70	13.00	10.90	12.80	11.20
1001+ sq. feet	17.10	8.20	16.40	7.60	8.00	7.60	5.60
Total no. of cases	1773	**159**	1932	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Wave 2 new districts							
<=500 sq. feet	44.00	65.40	55.00	46.80	50.00	47.30	53.90
501-750 sq. feet	17.00	14.90	15.90	14.50	15.00	14.60	17.40
751-1000 sq. feet	13.50	11.00	12.30	19.50	15.00	18.80	19.10
1001+ sq. feet	25.50	8.70	16.80	19.10	20.00	19.20	9.60
Total no. of cases	**318**	**335**	**653**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**581**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household

A gendered look at the data indicates that compared to male international migrants it is the female international migrants who invested more in

concrete housing. There could be many reasons for this. Women may have stronger preferences for a better house compared to men. Men have a relatively diverse range of opportunities to invest that women lack. Therefore, to achieve something tangible out of migration compared to men more women opt for investing in housing.

Water Supply and Sanitation: Table 3.8.4 shows that the primary sources of drinking water for all types of households are tube wells. Other sources are piped water, surface water and rainwater. Nonetheless, the percentage share of international migrants who use cleaner water sources such as a tube well is at least 10 percentage points higher than non-migrant households and 15 percentage points higher than internal migrant households. Four percent of international migrant households have access to piped water.

Table 3.8.4: Sources of drinking water by migration type and gender

Sources	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Pipe or Wasa waterline	3.8	1.4	3.6	2.5	0.0	2.3	2.5
Tube well/Deep tube well	95.4	97.9	95.6	82.1	87.9	82.6	88.9
Pond/River/Lake	.5	0.0	.5	8.7	6.6	8.5	4.5
Rain water/Fountain water	.3	.7	.3	6.6	5.5	6.5	4.0
Others	.1	0.0	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**904**	**91**	**995**	**997**
	Wave 1						
Pipe or Wasa waterline	1.9	2.5	2.0	1.4	0.0	1.2	1.3
Tube well/deep tube well	97.1	96.9	97.0	82.1	74.5	81.1	90.7
Pond/River/Lake	.9	.6	.9	14.0	20.4	14.9	6.9
Rain water/Fountain water	.1	0.0	.1	2.1	3.6	2.3	.4
Others	.1	0.0	.1	.3	1.5	.5	.6
Total no. of cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
	Wave 2 new districts						
Pipe or Wasa waterline	25.5	19.4	22.4	11.4	5.0	10.4	22.7
Tube well/deep tube well	68.2	73.7	71.1	83.6	90.0	84.6	63.2
Pond/River/Lake	0.0	0.0	0.0	.5	0.0	.4	.2
Rain water/Fountain water	0.0	0.0	0.0	.9	0.0	.8	.5
Others	6.3	6.9	6.6	3.6	5.0	3.8	13.4
Total no. of cases	**318**	**335**	**653**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**581**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017,   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household

In the case of internal migrant households the figure is 2 percent and for non-migrant households, it is 3 percent. Less than 1 percent of international migrant households use pond/river/lake water. Surprisingly, 5 percent of the non-migrants and 9 percent of the internal migrants still rely on such sources. Use of such water is predominantly present in climate change affected areas such as Satkhira. In these areas, NGOs provide purifying tablets to the poorer households who use pond/river water. NGOs have also introduced rainwater harvesting projects in some of the study sites. This is the reason why rainwater surfaced as a source of drinking water in this study.

Significant development has taken place in Bangladesh with respect to using hygienic toilets. Open area defecation is almost non-existent among all types of households covered. In the case of access to hygienic toilets as well, international migrant households are in a better state. Table 3.8.5 shows, nearly half of them use water sealed sanitary latrines and 23 percent of internal and non-migrant households each enjoy such toilet. A majority (63 % each) of the internal and non-migrant household use a sanitary toilet without a seal.

Women migrant households lag much behind their male counterparts with respect to the use of hygienic toilets. If a comparison is made among water sealed sanitary toilet users, it appears that as much as 54 percent of the male migrant household use such toilets. In contrast, only 36 percent of female international migrants' household do so. A similar scenario prevails among internal male and female migrant households as well. Twenty-five percent of male internal migrant households have access to a sealed sanitary latrine toilet. Only 10 percent of female migrant households enjoy access to such toilets. Kutcha toilets (not-sanitary) latrine users are also higher among female international and internal migrant households compared to their male counterpart households.Wave 1 of the survey also highlights the same situation. Compared to the households of female migrants, more male migrant household have access to hygienic toilets.

Household Amenities: Two more household amenities underscore the quality of housing. These are access to sources of power/light and sources of cooking fuel. During the first Wave, a significant portion of all three types of household had access to electricity as a source of power. In Wave 2 the access has further increased. During the first Wave, 76 percent of the

Table 3.8.5: Types of toilets by migration type and gender

Type of toilets	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Sanitary (with water seal)	54.0	35.9	52.7	24.9	9.9	23.5	22.5
Sanitary (slab/ring toilet)	43.9	54.2	44.7	62.7	71.4	63.5	63.7
Not Sanitary (*katcha* toilet)	2.0	7.7	2.4	11.4	16.5	11.9	12.7
Open area/No toilet	.1	2.1	.3	1.0	2.2	1.1	1.2
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**904**	**91**	**995**	**996**
	Wave 1						
Sanitary(with water seal)	51.3	21.4	48.8	18.3	5.1	16.6	18.3
Sanitary (without water seal)	43.8	67.9	45.8	48.8	45.3	48.3	56.6
Not Sanitary (*katcha* toilet)	4.9	10.7	5.3	31.4	47.4	33.5	24.4
Common latrine	.1	0.0	.1	1.1	1.5	1.1	.5
Open area/no toilet	0.0	0.0	0.0	.2	0.0	.2	0.0
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	.2	.7	.3	.2
Total no. of cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
	Wave 2 new districts						
Sanitary (with water seal)	47.2	28.7	37.7	25.9	7.5	23.1	20.1
Sanitary (slab/ring toilet)	50.6	61.8	56.4	63.6	75.0	65.4	63.5
Not Sanitary (*katcha* toilet)	2.2	9.3	5.8	9.1	17.5	10.4	15.5
Open area/no toilet	0.0	.3	.2	1.4	0.0	1.2	.9
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	**318**	**335**	**653**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**581**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017,   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household

international migrant households enjoyed electricity as a source of power/ light. By the second Wave, 87 percent of international migrant households had come under the coverage of electricity. During the first Wave, 47 percent of internal migrant households had access to electricity, in the second Wave, this increased to 68 percent. For non-migrant households, electricity usage grew from 57 to 71 percent. Other sources of power are solar and kerosene. Kerosene as a source of energy has reduced significantly for all three groups. In 2014, 9 percent of international migrant households were using kerosene. In 2017 this came down to only 2 percentage points. In the case of internal migrants, kerosene usage reduced from 32 percent to 10 percent. For non-migrant households, kerosene usage also reduced from 27 percent to 11 percent. Solar panels as a source of power have decreased in

the case of international migrant households while marginally increasing for the other two groups. An interesting observation is that government policies attempt to popularize solar energy in rural areas. In the first Wave, the number of households using solar energy was higher compared to that in the second Wave. It appears that the expansion of electricity in rural areas is crowding out the government policy of increasing the use of solar power.

A comparison of male and female international and internal migrant households in accessing electricity again highlights the lower access to amenities of women migrant households. In both the Waves, the percentage of female migrant households, which use electricity as a source of power is lower than that of male migrant households. In the case of international migrant households, it is 20 percentage points lower, and in the case of internal migrant households, it is 6 percentage points lower.

Table 3.8.6: Use of electricity as sources of power by migration type and gender

Sources	Wave 2						
	International (%)			Internal (%)			Non-migrant (%)
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Electricity	88.8	69.0	87.4	68.8	62.6	68.2	70.9
Solar panels	9.8	21.8	10.7	21.8	20.9	21.7	18.3
Kerosene	1.3	9.2	1.9	8.7	15.4	9.4	10.5
Others	.1	0.0	.1	.7	1.1	.7	.3
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**903**	**91**	**994**	**997**
Wave 1							
Electricity	77.4	58.5	75.8	51.0	20.4	47.0	56.8
Solar panels	14.1	25.8	15.1	20.3	24.1	20.8	15.7
Kerosene	8.3	15.7	8.9	28.1	54.7	31.6	27.0
Others	.2	0.0	.2	.7	.7	.7	.4
Total no. of cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Wave 2 new districts							
Electricity	95.9	86.3	91.0	79.1	67.5	77.3	73.5
Solar panels	2.2	6.6	4.4	11.4	12.5	11.5	11.7
Kerosene	1.9	6.9	4.4	9.5	20.0	11.2	13.9
Others	0.0	.3	.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	.9
Total no. of cases	**318**	**335**	**653**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**581**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017,   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household

Sources of Cooking Fuel: Some significant differences are visible between the Wave 1 and Wave 2 data on the sources of cooking fuel. In Wave 1, firewood, cow dung, leaves/straw constituted significant sources of cooking fuel. At that time, only 4 percent of international migrant households,

Table 3.8.7: Sources of cooking fuel by migration type and gender

Sources	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Firewood	64.1	67.6	64.4	51.7	39.6	50.6	55.1
Cow dung/leaf/straw	20.1	23.2	20.3	41.8	57.1	43.2	39.7
Gas/LP gas	15.3	9.2	14.9	6.3	3.3	6.0	4.9
Bio-gas	.4	0.0	.4	.1	0.0	.1	.2
Kerosene	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1	0.0	.1	0.0
Others	.1	0.0	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1
Total no. of cases	1781	142	1923	904	91	995	996
Wave 1							
Firewood	80.9	84.9	81.2	77.3	73.0	76.7	78.5
Cow dung/leaf/straw	13.8	11.3	13.6	20.2	26.3	21.0	18.4
Gas/lp gas	3.9	3.8	3.9	1.5	0.0	1.3	1.2
Bio-gas	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1	0.0	.1	.1
Kerosene	.1	0.0	.1	.2	0.0	.2	.2
Others	1.3	0.0	1.2	.7	.7	.7	1.6
Total no. of cases	1773	159	1932	912	137	1049	940
Wave 2 new districts							
Firewood	50.9	50.4	50.7	60.5	80.0	63.5	52.3
Cow dung/leaf/straw	19.8	24.5	22.2	25.5	20.0	24.6	24.1
Gas/lp gas	29.2	24.5	26.8	14.1	0.0	11.9	23.4
Bio-gas	0.0	.6	.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	.2
Kerosene	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	318	335	653	220	40	260	581

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household

2 percent of internal migrant household and 1 percent of non-migrant household used Gas/LP gas. After three years, in Wave 2 of the survey, 15 percent of international migrant households, 6 percent of the internal migrant household and 5 percent of non-migrant households were using Gas/LP gas as the primary source of cooking fuel. In most instances, cylinder LP gas is used. The use of biogas as a fuel source is not widespread

in either period. The same is true of kerosene. There may be many reasons for this shift in the energy consumption patterns for cooking purposes. Firstly, the government may have increased the coverage of its gas distribution networks. Secondly, it is also possible that increases in income allow some households to procure cylinder LP gas. The argument for additional income holds some legitimacy as it is evident that at least 10 percent of female international migrant households are accessing these. Female internal migrant household have much less access compared to both male internal and international migrant households.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter shows that the gap between the number of male and female members of the household has reduced in all three types of households. The number of male members is higher in families that have sent male members overseas and the number of female members is either higher or almost equal in those families from which women have migrated. This means the sex of household members plays a role in determining which households would be able to participate in migration.

It is natural that the number of married people has increased between the two waves. A significant finding of this chapter is that irrespective of gender, the majority of those who have migrated are married. There is hardly any male widower in any of the different subsamples. However, a sizable number of women members of in all migration classifications are widows. This may indicate that chances of remarriage for a widowed men are much higher than for widowed women.

The religious status of surveyed households in both rounds is similar to that of national level. In the newly included districts, however, fewer than one-third of the respondent households are either Hindu or Buddhist. This is due to the selection bias arising from our need to sample from indigenous and women migration pockets. In the second wave, more than 30 percent of the members are less than 18 years of age. With respect to occupation, it appears that, more and more household members are moving into businesses and other professions from agriculture. Between 4 and 5 percent are unemployed while another 4 to 5 percent are retired. 7 to 9 percent are students and around 25 percent of the total members are housewives.

The living standards of the respondents has been analysed on the basis of ownership, size and quality of the homestead land, access to safe drinking water, sanitation, and sources of power for light and cooking. Over the last three years, the situation of all three groups of respondents has experienced positive change in these respects. However, international migrant households are situated in a better position compared to the other two groups. A quarter of the international migrant households live in houses which are more than 1,000 square feet whereas a little more than one-tenth of the other two groups live in such houses. Access to safe drinking water has increased over the last three years in all three groups. Tubewells are the primary source of water for more than 88 percent of households. Again, access to tubewells is the highest in the case of international migrants. Compared to the old districts surveyed in both Wave 1 and Wave 2, respondents of newly included districts have much higher access to piped water. Perhaps, the locations from where females migrate are peri-urban areas where such facilities are available. The best form of toilet in rural areas is water-sealed. Among all three groups, international, internal and non-migrant, the use of water-sealed toilets has increased. Open area defecation is almost non-existent among the respondents. Compared to Wave 1, access to electricity has increased among all groups. It is again the international migrants whose access to electricity is the highest. During Wave 2, 87 percent of the international migrants, 68 percent of internal migrants and 71 percent of non-migrant households used electricity as their source of power.

CHAPTER IV

HOUSEHOLD EXPERIENCE OF MIGRATION

This chapter examines the migration experience of international and internal migrant households. It looks into migration status, the socio-demographic profiles of the migrants themselves, the duration of migration, the cost of financing migration, the destinations of migrants, and the nature of employment at the destination. This chapter is mainly based on the data generated in all twenty districts in Wave 2 of the survey. Wherever required, comparison is also made between Wave 1 and Wave 2 based on the balanced panel of the survey.

4.1 Migration Status

As stated earlier migrants in this book have been defined to include both those persons who are currently abroad, as well as those who have returned after finishing their migration experience, even when the latter have been staying in their areas of origin for more than six months and do not have any intention to re-migrate in the near future. Table 4.1.1 shows that around 79 percent of the households of international migrants have one or more members who are currently working abroad. Hereafter, such households are referred to as current international migrants. The remaining 21 percent has completed their migration and returned. Henceforth, we will refer to them as returnee international migrants. The proportion of current migrants is a little higher in the case of internal migrant households. Eighteen percent of them are returnees and an overwhelming 82 percent are current internal migrants. A comparison of male and female migrants shows that for both internal and international migrants, the percentage of returnees is higher among the female migrants than among male migrants. Comparing women who migrated internally to those who migrated internationally, the percentage of women who returned is higher among international female migrants. One-fourth of female international migrants are returnees, whereas this is true of only one-fifth of female internal migrants. This may indicate that

the propensity to re-migrate is higher among male international migrants than female international migrants. The propensity to re-migrate is lower in the case of female international migrants than for female internal migrants. Female international migrants usually migrate with specific aims in mind. Once those aims are fulfilled their desire to re-migrate appears to be less. For example, some may migrate to construct or renovate houses; others may migrate to accumulate money for their daughters' marriage. Social reasons are important. The desire to stay with their children also deters some women from re-migrating. The fear that husbands may remarry in their absence, dissuade another section of women to re-migrate.

Table 4.1.1: Status of migration by type and gender (Wave 2, 20 districts)

Migration Status	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
Current Migrants	79.40	74.60	78.60	82.10	79.50	81.80
Returnee Migrants	20.60	25.40	21.40	17.90	20.50	18.20
Total no. of cases	3217	629	3846	1616	244	1860

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

4.2 Age

Table 4.2.1 presents the average age of migrants by different categories. The average age of international migrants in Wave 1 was 34 and in Wave 2, it rose to 35. The average age of migrants' of newly included districts is 33. The average age of internal migrants is less than international migrants. In Wave 1, their average age was 29 and in Wave 2, it is 31. In both the Waves, women international migrants are much younger than the male migrants. In case of international migrants, they are at least 5 years younger and in case of internal migrants they are 2 years younger.

Table 4.2.1 shows child migration is generally low among the households under the study. Less than 1 percent of the international migrants are up to 15 years of age. In case of internal migrants the rate of child migration is low, but it is a little higher than in the case of international migrants. In the balanced panel, in of both the Waves, 3 to 4 percent of the internal migrants are 15 years of age or below. Seventy three percent of international migrants and 77 percent of the internal migrants are between the ages of 16 to 40 years. This means migrants spend the most productive years of their lives

Table 4.2.1: Age group by migration type and gender

Wave 2						
Age	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
Average	35	30	35	31	28	31
0-15	0.31	4.57	0.62	3.20	8.47	3.65
16-25	15.92	33.71	17.20	35.81	40.68	36.23
26-30	21.48	21.71	21.49	17.91	19.49	18.04
31-40	35.17	25.71	34.49	23.42	23.73	23.45
41-50	19.43	10.86	18.81	12.55	4.24	11.83
51-60	6.27	3.43	6.06	5.28	1.69	4.97
61+	1.42	0.00	1.32	1.84	1.69	1.83
Total no. of cases	2249	175	2424	1251	118	1369
Wave 1						
Average	34	30	34	30	28	29
0-15	0.14	1.61	0.26	3.08	2.34	2.99
16-25	20.08	36.02	21.37	41.90	53.22	43.27
26-30	25.90	25.81	25.89	19.29	21.05	19.50
31-40	33.95	22.58	33.03	21.07	14.62	20.28
41-50	15.96	11.29	15.58	9.56	4.09	8.90
51-60	3.27	2.69	3.22	4.05	2.92	3.91
61+	0.71	0.00	0.65	1.05	1.75	1.14
Total no. of cases	2112	186	2298	1234	171	1405
Wave 2 new districts						
Average	36	31	33	29	27	29
0-15	0.22	1.56	0.84	1.92	1.96	1.93
16-25	17.92	29.61	23.30	40.71	49.02	41.87
26-30	24.78	25.19	24.97	23.72	23.53	23.69
31-40	30.75	31.95	31.30	21.15	21.57	21.21
41-50	18.58	10.39	14.81	9.29	1.96	8.26
51-60	6.64	1.04	4.06	2.88	0.00	2.48
61+	1.11	0.26	0.72	0.32	1.96	0.55
Total no. of cases	452	385	837	312	51	363

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

during their migration. Around 1 to 2 percent of those who migrated are more than 60 years of age. This is in consonance with earlier studies (IOM, 2009) which find that access to migration is also determined by age and that older people have less access to migration.

4.3 Level of Education

Educational level of both types of migrant is quite low. Table 4.3.1 (page 61) shows that 17 percent of international migrants and 19 percent of internal migrants had no formal education during the Wave 1 survey. The percentage of women with no formal education was almost double than that of international male migrants. In the case of internal migrants, the difference between male and female migrants is not that high. Educational background of both internal and international migrants remained more or less similar in Wave 2. By Wave 2 some internal migrants became international migrants and a section of both internal and international migrant households experienced migration of additional members. Due to their inclusion as a migrant some minor changes are visible in the level of education between the two Waves. This explains why the number of migrants with no education is higher by 1 percent in Wave 2 compared to Wave 1. The majority of both internal and international migrants had 1 to 10 years of schooling.

The educational status of migrants in newly included areas is similar in the case of international migrants. Around 23 percent of them do not have any educational background. However, during the second round, the percentage of internal migrants with no education remains the same (around 20%).

Only 9 percent of the internal migrants interviewed in the new areas do not have any education, whereas among international migrants 22 percent do not possess any education. The percentage of people with graduation and equivalent degrees is comparatively high among internal migrants (9%). Among those who were interviewed earlier, it was 5 percent. Nonetheless, both in the first Wave and in the newly added districts of the second Wave, the number of people having an undergraduate degree and above is higher in the case of internal migrants compared with international ones. This may mean that persons with graduation and higher degrees are less inclined to participate in international labour migration.

4.4 Marital Status

Earlier studies show that around 50 percent of the international migrants was married (IOM 2009). It seems that in recent times, the proportion of married migrants has increased significantly, particularly among male migrants who were surveyed in both waves. During Wave 1, 72 percent

of the male international migrants were married. In the balanced panel in 2017, 79 percent of them were married. During Wave 1, 60 percent of the internal male migrants were married (Table 4.4.1, page 62)

Table 4.3.1: Level of education by migration type and gender

Level of education	Wave 2					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
No education	16.8	38.9	18.4	19.3	28.8	20.1
Class 1 to 5	25.9	37.1	26.8	27.9	33.1	28.4
Class 6 to 10	38.3	17.7	36.8	32.6	26.3	32.0
SSC/Equivalent	11.3	3.4	10.7	8.7	4.2	8.3
HSC/Equivalent	5.7	1.1	5.4	6.4	6.8	6.4
Undergrad/Equivalent	1.4	1.1	1.4	3.0	.8	2.9
Masters/Equivalent	.4	.6	.4	1.7	0.0	1.5
Diploma	.1	0.0	.1	.2	0.0	.2
Others	.1	0.0	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
N/A	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1	0.0	.1
Total no. of cases	**2247**	**175**	**2422**	**1249**	**118**	**1367**
Wave 1						
No education	15.4	37.1	17.1	18.4	28.7	19.6
Class 1 to 5	30.5	40.9	31.4	33.0	35.1	33.2
Class 6 to 10	33.2	17.2	31.9	25.0	23.4	24.8
SSC/Equivalent	12.8	3.8	12.1	8.3	5.3	7.9
HSC/Equivalent	5.0	0.0	4.6	8.3	5.8	8.0
Undergrad/Equivalent	2.4	.5	2.2	4.3	1.8	4.0
Masters/Equivalent	.5	0.0	.5	2.5	0.0	2.2
Others	.2	0.0	.2	.2	0.0	.1
N/A	0.0	.5	.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	**2112**	**186**	**2298**	**1234**	**171**	**1405**
Wave 2 new districts						
No education	13.5	34.0	22.9	9.0	9.8	9.1
Class 1 to 5	25.7	34.5	29.7	17.3	11.8	16.5
Class 6 to 10	41.8	28.8	35.8	31.1	33.3	31.4
SSC/Equivalent	10.2	1.6	6.2	15.7	19.6	16.3
HSC/Equivalent	7.5	.5	4.3	13.1	11.8	12.9
Undergrad/Equivalent	1.1	0.0	.6	8.7	11.8	9.1
Masters/Equivalent	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.0	3.3
Diploma	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	.8
Others	.2	0.0	.1	.6	0.0	.6
N/A	0.0	.5	.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	**452**	**385**	**837**	**312**	**51**	**363**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

Table 4.4.1: Marital status by migration type and gender

| Marital Status | Wave 2 | | | | | |
| | International (%) | | | Internal (%) | | |
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
Single	17.2	16.6	17.1	21.9	20.3	21.7
Married	78.9	52.0	76.9	66.4	52.5	65.2
Separated	.1	8.6	.7	.1	5.9	.6
Divorced	.7	8.0	1.2	.2	4.2	.6
Widow/Widower	.2	8.0	.7	0.0	5.1	.4
Not Applicable (if female < 18; males < 21)	3.0	6.9	3.3	11.4	11.9	11.5
Total no. of cases	**2246**	**175**	**2421**	**1249**	**118**	**1367**
Wave 1						
Single	24.6	16.1	23.9	20.8	25.1	21.4
Married	72.2	54.3	70.7	59.5	43.9	57.6
Separated	0.0	7.5	.6	.2	7.0	1.1
Divorced	.0	12.4	1.0	.2	7.6	1.1
Widow/Widower	.0	6.5	.6	.2	9.9	1.4
Not Applicable (if female < 18; males < 21)	3.1	3.2	3.1	19.1	6.4	17.6
Total no. of cases	**2112**	**186**	**2298**	**1234**	**171**	**1405**
Wave 2 new districts						
Single	21.5	10.6	16.5	31.7	47.1	33.9
Married	75.9	56.4	66.9	52.2	33.3	49.6
Separated	0.0	9.1	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Divorced	.9	12.7	6.3	1.0	9.8	2.2
Widow/Widower	0.0	8.1	3.7	0.0	3.9	.6
Not Applicable (if female < 18; males < 21)	1.8	3.1	2.4	15.1	5.9	13.8
Total no. of cases	**452**	**385**	**837**	**312**	**51**	**363**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

In 2017, another six percent of the male internal migrants in the balanced panel changed their status and became married.

Marital status of female international migrants remained similar to earlier research findings. In 2014, 54 percent of them were married. Interestingly, the percentage of married female migrant has reduced by 2 percentage points. The percentage of separated and widowed females has increased. This perhaps indicates that the marital status of female international migrants can be affected by migration. The percentage of married internal female migrants has increased by 11 percent in 2017.

In the case of newly added districts in Wave 2, 76 percent of male international migrants are married and 52 percent of male internal migrants are married. For both international and internal migrants, the percentage of married females is at least 20 percentage points lower than the male migrants.

4.5 Number of Migration Experiences

In this section, the migration experiences of current and returnee migrants of all 20 districts surveyed in Wave 2 will be presented. The measure of international migration experience subtracts time spent in the area of origin during holidays. That is, if a person employed overseas returns home on a holiday and goes back again, then it is not considered as a separate migration experience. Rather when a person returns after finishing his or her contract and then at a later stage migrates under a new contract to the same or another country, we consider that as a different migration experience. Internal migrants on the other hand, are continuously on the move between the communities of origin and destination. Such travel between origin and destination is not counted as a separate migration experience. Rather they are treated as part of a single migration. If a migrant returns to his or her home with the intention to stay back in the village more or less permanently, and spends at least a year in the village, but subsequent to that re-migrates, only then the re-migration is treated as a separate migration. The vast majority of international and internal current and return migrants have experienced only a single stint of migration.

Table 4.5.1 provides a summary of the migration count of individual migrants. Eighty-four percent of international migrants and 80 percent of internal migrants have migrated once. However, it is understood that once a person migrates he or she continues for a few cycles at least. But this table shows that 84 percent of the migrants have migrated once. However the next table will show that they have stayed on average for over 7 years. This has happened due to the definition used in determining number of migration. In this research if a migrant goes to the same employer over and over again but does not require the help of any recruiting agency to process that as a separate work permit, then the study treats that as single migration. In this case before a migrant returns, his or her employer organises his or her visa. In such cases although the migrant is travelling more than once,

the experience is counted as a single migration. Besides, 22 percent went to Saudi Arabia. Those who go to Saudi Arabia do not need to return after three years. He/she can continue to stay as long as the employer renews the migrant's work permit.

Thirteen percent of international and 11 percent of the internal migrants have migrated twice. Two percent of the international migrants and 3 percent of internal migrants have migrated three times. Around 1 percent of international migrants and 6 percent of the internal migrants have migrated more than three times.

Table 4.5.1: Number of migration experience by type and gender

No. of migration experience (current and return)	Wave 2 all 20 districts					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
1	85.91	73.54	83.83	77.93	92.73	79.78
2	11.08	21.82	12.88	11.59	3.64	10.59
3	1.90	3.78	2.22	3.58	1.36	3.30
4	0.28	0.69	0.35	2.21	1.36	2.11
5	0.35	0.00	0.29	1.50	0.00	1.31
5+	0.48	0.17	0.43	3.19	0.91	2.90
Total no. of cases	**2888**	**582**	**3470**	**1536**	**220**	**1756**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

4.6 Duration of Migration

Table 4.6.1 presents the length of migration of current migrants, both international and internal. This table is prepared on the basis of all 20 districts in the second Wave of the survey. The average length of stay at the place of destination for international migrants is 7.63 years, and for internal migrants 7.37 years. However, if the duration of migration experience of the balanced panel during the second Wave is taken into account, then duration for both internal and international migrants is more than eight years. Nonetheless, the average length of stay for both international and internal female migrants has been lower than that of male migrants. The average length of stay for both female international and internal migrants is 4.79 years. In the case of both international and internal migration, the duration of stay of female migrants is at least three years less than that of their male counterparts. There are some obvious reasons for the shorter duration of stay of female migrants. We have seen that 50 percent of them are married

and so their reproductive obligations do not allow them to reside longer at the area of destination. Leaving children behind for longer periods of time may also be unfeasible. The migration experience of internal migrants is similar. Twenty-seven percent have experienced migration durations of between 6 to 10 years.

Table 4.6.1: Duration of migration by type and gender

Duration of Migration (in year)	Wave 2 all 20 districts					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
Average	8.18	4.79	7.63	7.72	4.8	7.37
1-2	16.79	35.63	19.96	25.59	37.50	25.45
3-5	20.58	31.15	22.36	26.38	29.63	26.20
6-10	35.19	23.06	33.15	27.34	21.30	27.29
11-15	15.54	6.20	13.97	10.60	8.80	11.37
16-25	10.64	3.61	9.46	7.50	2.78	7.33
25+	1.25	0.34	1.10	2.59	0.00	2.37
Total no. of cases	2876	581	3457	1774	216	1733

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017, Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

Thirty three percent of international migrants and 31 percent of internal migrants have 6 to 10 years of migration experience. In case of both international and internal migrants, around 1 percent have more than 25 years of migration experience. It is important to note that the duration of migration includes multiple migration experiences for each migrant. It may very well be that 1 percent has migrated more than three times and the duration presented above is the aggregate years of all three migration experiences. It was seen earlier that the duration of migration in general is lower in the case of female migrants. The table shows that 36 percent of the female international migrants have relatively short migration experiences. They experienced migration for 1 to 2 years. Around 38 percent of female internal migrants have migrated for 1 to 2 years.

4.7 Cost and Financing of Migration

This section, on the cost of financing migration, is based on the data generated during the second Wave of the survey from those migrants who have migrated over the three years prior to interview. This includes migrants from the newly surveyed areas, migrants who re-migrated from old migration areas and additional migrants of old migrant and non-

migrant households who have migrated after the first Wave of the survey. It also includes those new migrants who have been interviewed in old migration areas to replace the households that were subject to attrition from the sample between the two waves. Table 4.7.1 shows the average cost of international and internal migration from 2014 to 2017. The cost of international migration is much higher compared to internal migration. Again, the cost of the average male migrating overseas is more than three times higher than that of the average female. A male international migrant spends Taka 342,254 to migrate. In contrast, a female international migrant spends Taka 90,000. The highest average male migration cost is recorded in Tangail (Taka 497,969), followed by Munshiganj (Taka 493,602), and Kushtia (Taka 478,333). The lowest average migration cost is recorded in Satkhira (Taka 60,000), followed by Sunamganj (Taka 179,847), and Nawabganj (Taka 200,000). Although female migrants spend much less compared to men, some women still pay high migration costs. For example, a woman migrant from Chittagong pays Taka 350,000. A woman migrant from Tangail pays Taka 320,000 and a women migrant from Laxmipur pays Taka 231,666. The lowest migration cost for women is recorded in Mymensingh (Taka 55,833) followed by Dhaka (Taka 66,533) and Faridpur (Taka 70,827).

Table 4.7.1: Cost of migration by migration type and gender

Cost of migration	Wave 2 all districts					
	International			Internal		
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
Mean	342,253.62	89,877.36	275,848.24	1,170.38	774.27	1,102.82
Maximum	1800000.00	600000.00	1800000.00	2000.00	3000.00	3000.00
Minimum	500.00	1000.00	500.00	20.00	100.00	20.00
Total no. of cases	1039	371	1410	637	131	768

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

A comparison of the cost of migration during Wave 2 with that of Wave 1 (2013 and 2014) shows that the migration cost has reduced by 10 percent. This is a significant finding as the government has been trying to reduce the cost of migration for quite some time. It may well be that government policies and actions are producing some results. However, it may also be due to market forces. A few recruiting agencies have reported that the cost

of migration to Qatar had reduced significantly once the Malaysian market re-opened. The cost of female migration has also reduced. In 2013 and 2014 it was around Taka 96,000. Compared to this the cost has reduced by 6 percent. Nonetheless, recruiting agencies' claim of sending female migrants at a zero cost is not supported by the data.

The average cost of internal migration is Taka 1,825 for the male migrants and Taka 786 for female migrants. The highest migration cost of an internal male migrant is recorded in Satkhira and Sunamganj (Taka 20,000) and lowest in Kushtia, Munshiganj and Tangail (Taka 200). The higher costs not only include transportation, but also money given for ensuring specific job.

4.8 Sources of Migration Cost

Those who have migrated over the last three years financed their migrations from different sources. These sources include personal savings; family savings; loans from family, moneylenders, and banks; sale and mortgage of agricultural land, homestead land, and other assets; and payment through work. Interestingly, international migrants mobilised finances from diverse sources, but internal migrants mostly depended on personal and family sources. 2,200 migrants have provided 2,747 responses (Table 4.8.1). In other words, some individuals have used more than one source. Twenty-six percent of the respondents have used their personal savings and another 28 percent have used savings from family (immediate and extended). Sixty-four percent of international migrants have taken loans from different sources. These include loans from extended family, moneylenders, and banks through mortgaging land. The most common among these are loans from extended family. Earlier research, including the Wave 1 survey, found that moneylenders were an important source of loans for potential migrants. The Wave 2 data, however reveals that the role of moneylender as source of loans has reduced whereas the share of bank loans has increased. The same table also reveals that 8 percent of international migrants have sold agricultural or homestead land and another 3 percent have sold other assets to finance their migration. If the sources of migration finance across male and female international migrants is compared, it appears that women have more restricted access to personal and family savings and support from extended family. They are more dependent on moneylenders relative to

their male peers. According to a returnee female migrant, families are more willing to invest family savings in the migration of male members than female members. Deferred payment through work at the destination is more common in the case of female international migrants. For example, Farida of Tangail migrated to Saudi Arabia with the help of a local *dalal*. As per the *dalal*, the cost of her migration was Taka 96,000. Before she left for Saudi Arabia, she only paid Taka 20,000 in cash and agreed to have the rest of the money deducted from her salary.

Table 4.8.1: Different sources of finance by migration type and gender

Source of migration finance	Wave 2 all 20 districts					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
Own Savings	27.2	22.9	26.1	53.3	29.1	48.6
Family Savings	23.3	12.2	20.6	41.6	62.7	45.7
Savings from extended family	8.4	5.6	7.7	0.5	1.5	0.7
Loan from extended family	37.0	30.3	35.4	2.2	4.5	2.6
Loan from moneylender	17.9	21.3	18.7	1.1	1.5	1.2
Loan from Bank	7.7	5.6	7.2	0.2	0.7	0.3
Will be deducted from salary	1.4	6.1	2.6	0.9	0.0	0.7
Sale of agri land / homestead land	8.7	3.7	7.5	0.2	0.0	0.1
Mortgage of land	2.6	2.7	2.6	0.2	0.0	0.1
Sale of other assets	2.6	3.5	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Loan from foreign bank	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't have to pay	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	3.2	6.4	4.0	1.4	0.7	1.3
Total no. of cases	**1137**	**376**	**1513**	**553**	**134**	**687**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant; Each cell represents percentage of total number of responses

Internal migrants overwhelmingly depend on family and personal savings for financing the cost of migration. Borrowing from banks and other formal sources are almost non-existent among the internal migrants. As the costs of internal migration are generally affordable, there is no need for selling or mortgaging out land and other assets.

A comparison of the sources of migration financing with Wave 1 shows that personal and family sources remain essential. However, dependency on moneylenders has reduced whereas extended family remains an essential source for loans. Furthermore, the percentage of people who sold land to finance migration has also reduced.

4.9 Destination

This section presents destinations of both international and internal migrants. First, the destination of international migrants will be discussed. Those who have migrated over the last three years went to more than 25 countries. However, Table 4.8.1 shows that 95 percent of them have migrated to 13 countries. These countries are Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, Lebanon, Italy, Jordan, Libya, Malaysia and Singapore. The other countries where Bangladeshis have migrated include South Korea, Egypt, Brunei, Mauritius, Iraq, Maldives, India, Sudan, Cyprus, USA, Spain, UK, Japan and so on. The most popular international destination is Saudi Arabia (22%) followed by UAE (14%), Oman (13%) and Malaysia (9%). There are some differences between the preferred destinations of male and female migrants. A large number of female migrants go to Jordan (22%) and Lebanon (16%) whereas male hardly migrates to these countries. Like the male migrants, the primary destination of female migrants is also Saudi Arabia (26%) followed by Jordan (22%) and UAE (18%).

Table 4.9.1: Country of destination for international migrants by gender in last 3 years

Wave 2 all 20 districts			
Country	**MM (%)**	**FM (%)**	**TM (%)**
KSA	20.0	26.2	21.6
UAE	12.5	17.7	13.9
Kuwait	4.8	2.9	4.3
Oman	14.9	6.3	12.6
Qatar	7.3	3.4	6.3
Bahrain	7.5	.8	5.7
Lebanon	3.1	16.2	6.6
Italy	8.2	.3	6.1
South Africa	.9	.3	.7
Jordan	.1	22.0	5.9
Libya	.2	0.0	.1
Malaysia	12.2	1.3	9.3
Singapore	3.4	0.0	2.5
Sub-total	94.9	97.4	95.6
Others	5.1	2.6	4.4
Total no. of cases	**1041**	**378**	**1419**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

Some differences are observed when the destinations of repeat migrants, new migrants in previously surveyed locations, and migrants in new locations are compared with the destinations of Wave 1. Jordan has emerged as an important destination and the percentage share of Oman, Qatar, and Lebanon has increased whereas the Singapore, Saudi Arabia and UAE have seen a reduction in their shares. This means that the migration market of Bangladesh is not static, rather it changes over the years.

Table 4.9.2: City of destination for internal migrants by gender

Wave 2 all 20 districts			
District	MM (%)	FM (%)	TM (%)
Dhaka	58.7	61.6	59.2
Chittagong	19.6	22.5	20.1
Gazipur	2.0	7.2	2.9
Khulna	1.1	.7	1.0
Mymensingh	.6	.7	.6
Narayanganj	.8	0.0	.6
Satkhira	.5	0.0	.4
Sylhet	1.8	2.2	1.9
Sub-total	85.1	94.9	86.8
Others	14.90	5.10	13.20
Total no. of cases	**649**	**138**	**787**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

Internal migrants report 39 districts of destination altogether. However, approximately 85 percent migrants have gone to 8 districts. These are Dhaka, Chittagong, Gazipur, Khulna, Mymensingh, Narayanganj, Satkhira and Sylhet. The single most frequently reported destination is Dhaka, which is the hub of all types of economic activity in Bangladesh. It alone accounted for 59 percent of the internal migrants. The second most important is Chittagong, the port city. Twenty percent of the internal migrants go to Chittagong. While Dhaka and Chittagong are equally attractive to male and female migrants, Gazipur attracted more female migrants. It hosts one of the largest export processing zones of Bangladesh. The majority of the workers employed by the garments and other manufacturing industries located there are women.

A comparison with the Wave 1 of the survey shows that the percentage of migrants coming to Dhaka has increased marginally. In the case of

Chittagong, it has increased by 4 percent. The percentage share of most other areas has remained similar, whereas a few areas have experienced a reduction.

4.10 Occupation

Current migrant: Table 4.10.1 (page 72) shows the occupation of current and returnee migrants of all districts during Wave 2 of the survey. The occupations of male and female migrants are different. Thirty-two percent of male current international migrants are involved in the service sector. Another 24 percent are involved in construction work. Around ten percent each are involved in manufacturing and agricultural work. Eighty-seven percent of the female migrants work as domestic workers and 8 percent work in the manufacturing sector.

Occupations of internal migrants are more diverse and it also varies on the basis of gender. Nineteen percent of male internal migrants work in manufacturing, 17 percent work in construction, 17 percent in the service sector, 12 percent work in agriculture as seasonal migrants and 12 percent are involved in businesses. Female internal migrants are largely involved in manufacturing. Seventy-three percent of internal female migrants work in manufacturing, 6 percent are involved in services and 5 percent work in agriculture as seasonal migrants. Surprisingly, only another 5 percent is involved in domestic work. In Key Informant Interview the reason for lower participation in domestic work was explored. It was noted that, garments and manufacturing are treated as respectable jobs compared to domestic work. A good number of households would not be comfortable by revealing that their migrant female members are involved in domestic work. Therefore, they prefer to mention manufacturing as the profession of those female members.

Returnee migrant: The survey also studied the employment prospects of migrants upon return. The same table shows that, 37 percent of the international migrants and 36 percent of the internal migrants work in farm and off-farm agriculture. Twenty-three percent of male international migrants and 16 percent of male internal migrants are involved in business. Twelve percent of the returnee international male migrants and 22 percent of the male returnee internal migrants are absorbed in the service sector.

Table 4.10.1: Main occupations of current and returnee migrants by gender

Current migrant's main occupation	Wave 2 all districts					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
Agriculture/fisheries/ poultry farm	10.5	0.0	8.8	12.2	5.2	11.3
Business	9.1	0.0	7.6	11.8	1.0	10.5
Service	32.0	0.0	26.8	17.0	5.7	15.7
Construction work	23.7	1.3	20.0	16.8	0.0	14.8
Manufacturing	10.3	8.3	10.0	19.0	73.2	25.4
Domestic work/	0.0	87.4	14.2	0.1	5.2	0.7
Managerial	1.5	0.2	1.3	1.1	0.0	1.0
Professional	1.8	1.5	1.7	9.4	2.6	8.6
Housewife	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.4
Others	8.4	1.3	7.3	10.5	2.6	9.5
Retired	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Student	0.3	0.0	0.2	1.4	1.5	1.4
Unemployed	1.3	0.0	1.1	0.9	0.0	0.8
Don't know	1.1	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	**2372**	**459**	**2831**	**1454**	**194**	**1648**
Returnee migrant's main occupation						
Agriculture/fisheries/ poultry farm	37.0	1.8	30.2	35.9	8.2	31.7
Business	23.3	1.8	19.1	15.8	4.1	14.0
Service	11.9	.6	9.7	21.6	0.0	18.3
Construction work	4.7	.6	3.9	8.4	0.0	7.1
Manufacturing	2.4	1.2	2.1	2.2	0.0	1.9
Domestic work	0.0	0.0	0.0	.4	2.0	.6
Managerial	0.0	0.0	0.0	.4	2.0	.6
Professional	1.2	1.2	1.2	2.6	6.1	3.1
Housewife	.7	76.1	15.4	0.0	46.9	7.1
Others	3.1	.6	2.6	.7	0.0	.6
Retired	1.8	2.5	1.9	1.8	2.0	1.9
Student	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	6.1	2.5
Unemployed	13.8	10.4	13.1	8.4	18.4	9.9
Don't know	0.1	3.1	0.7	0.0	4.1	0.6
Total no. of cases	**675**	**163**	**838**	**273**	**49**	**322**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant

Five percent of the internal and 8 percent of the internal returnee male migrants continue to work in the construction sector. Job opportunities for female migrants once they return are quite skewed. Table 4.10.1 shows

that, 76 percent of female international migrants and 47 percent of female internal migrants move out of the workforce and become housewives. Around 10 percent of returnee international female migrants and 18 percent of the returnee internal female migrants are looking for jobs but are still unemployed.

4.11 Remittances Sent by the Migrants

Remittances are defined in this book as the portion of international and internal migrants' earnings, either in cash or in kind, that are sent from the country or area of employment to the country or area of origin. Remittances are channelled through formal and informal institutions and are also hand carried.

Remittance in Cash: Table 4.11.1 shows the amount of remittances received by households. The table is prepared from the balanced panel of households who were interviewed in both Waves of the survey. The amount represents the flow of remittances in the last one year. It shows that the remittances of male international migrants have reduced by 11 percent. In 2017, international male migrants remitted Taka 193,885 whereas the same migrants remitted Taka 218,812 during 2014. This is also aligned to national statistics that show remittances have decreased over the last couple of years. In 2016, remittances dropped 11 percent from the previous year and in 2017 they reduced 0.63 percent from that of 2016 (RMMRU 2016, RMMRU 2017). During the years 2016 and 2017 Bangladesh experienced negative growth in remittances. However, this downward trend of remittance did not affect the female international migrants. Female migrants remitted Taka 111,271 in 2017. In 2014, they remitted Taka 109,652. This is 1.5 percent higher than 2014. Nonetheless, the wage of female migrants is lower compared to male migrants and therefore, the amount they remit is lower than their male counterparts. Remittances sent by the male migrants are 74 percent higher than those sent by female international migrants.

Remittances sent over the year preceding the Wave 2 by the internal migrants are also quite significant. Notably, the remittances of internal migrants are on the increase. In 2014 the average internal male migrant remitted Taka 54,524, whereas in 2017 this increased to Taka 65,283, or by 20 percent.

Table 4.11.1: Average remittance by migration type and gender

Wave 2		
Migration type and gender	**Average remittance**	**Number of migrant**
International		
Male	193885.34	1650
Female	111271.84	103
Total	**189031.27**	**1753**
Internal		
Male	65283.23	984
Female	30644.44	63
Total	**63198.95**	**1047**
Wave 1		
International		
Male	218812.19	1682
Female	109652.54	118
Total	**211656.17**	**1800**
Internal		
Male	54524.45	1100
Female	27712.23	139
Total	**51516.46**	**1239**
Wave 2 new districts		
International		
Male	153153.16	316
Female	126624.17	264
Total	**141077.90**	**580**
Internal		
Male	64603.08	227
Female	32424.24	33
Total	**60518.85**	**260**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

In 2014 internal female migrants remitted Taka 27,712 and in 2017 they remitted Taka 30,644. Thus in Wave 2 the remittances of women internal migrants increased by 11 percent from the time of Wave 1. However, in none of the cases, the information has been inflation adjusted. Once the inflation is adjusted the decline of international migrant remittance will be much higher and the growth of internal remittance will be lower. The increase in flow of internal remittance indicates that the disposable income of internal migrants has increased.

Like in Wave 1, in Wave 2 as well along with remittances in cash, both international and internal migrants have sent remittances in kind. Transfers that take place in kind are quite challenging to measure. This is particularly

so, given the fact that the migrant worker who brings various gadgets and items is not present at the time of the interview. However, transfer in kind constitutes a significant portion of migrants' remittances. That is why, as early as in 1986, Rivera Batiz calculated the value of remittances that came in kind. She found that in Pakistan the share of remittances in kind in total remittances was between 9 and 17 percent and in Yemen, it was between 8 to 10 percent. Following Batiz's methodology, Siddiqui and Abrar (2003) found that in 2003, 9 percent of the remittances in Bangladesh came in kind.

Remittance in Kind: This study also calculated the flow of remittance in kind. It finds that in 2017, the cash value of the goods received by households of male international migrants was Taka 42,035. In 2014, it was Taka 36,054. For female international migrants, the amount stood at Taka 23,571 in 2017 and Taka 23,681 in 2014. Internal migrants also send remittance in kind. The value of male internal migrants' remittances in kind in 2017 is Taka 4,237 and for the same cohort of females is Taka 3,104. For male migrants, the amount was almost double during Wave 1 (Taka 7,900), compared to Wave 2 (Taka 4,237) whereas for females it remains practically the same in both the Waves.

If we combine the remittances sent in cash and kind, the total average remittance of male international migrant is Taka 235,920 and Taka 134,842 for females. This means that 18 percent of the total remittances of male international migrants and 17 percent of the female international migrants are sent in kind.

Type of Goods: A wide variety of goods are received by migrant households. The items most commonly received by the international migrant households are mobile phones, clothing, food items, jewellery, toiletries, cosmetics, other electronic products and warm blankets. Among internal migrant households the most common form of non-cash remittances in order of the number of households reporting receipt of these items are clothing and food. Compared to Wave 1, the percentage of international migrant households receiving jewellery has reduced. Mobile phones

Table 4.11.2: Remittances received in the form of goods by migration type and gender

| Type of goods and services | Wave 2 | | | | | |
| | International (%) | | | Internal (%) | | |
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
Food	24.0	28.6	24.0	75.8	62.5	74.8
Clothing (jainamaz, tasbih, tupi, shoes)	29.8	57.1	30.2	59.3	91.7	61.7
Burka	3.5	0.0	3.4	1.0	0.0	0.9
Jewellery	9.3	14.3	9.4	0.7	0.0	0.6
Cosmetics	23.7	28.6	23.8	2.3	12.5	3.1
Soap/ shampoo	33.3	28.6	33.2	2.0	0.0	1.8
Female hygiene products	2.8	0.0	2.7	1.3	0.0	1.2
Medicines for use	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.3
School items and toys	2.1	0.0	2.1	0.3	0.0	0.3
Computers, accessories	0.9	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other electronic appliances	16.7	0.0	16.5	0.7	0.0	0.6
Items for other business	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bicycles and motorcycle	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3
Mobile Phone	34.0	0.0	33.4	3.0	0.0	2.8
Others	15.1	28.6	15.3	1.3	0.0	1.2
Total no. of cases	**430**	**7**	**437**	**302**	**24**	**326**
Wave 1						
Food	12.0	17.6	12.3	49.7	51.9	49.8
Clothing (jainamaz, tasbih, tupi, shoes)	46.4	47.1	46.4	75.5	81.5	76.0
Burka	9.6	14.7	9.8	7.3	0.0	6.7
Jewellery	21.1	20.6	21.0	3.5	0.0	3.2
Cosmetics	48.1	50.0	48.1	23.8	18.5	23.3
Soap/ shampoo	18.0	14.7	17.9	7.3	11.1	7.7
Female hygiene products	3.7	5.9	3.8	6.3	3.7	6.1
Medicines for use	0.4	0.0	0.4	5.6	0.0	5.1
Medicines for sale	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3
School items and toys	3.2	5.9	3.3	6.6	0.0	6.1
Computers, accessories	2.5	5.9	2.6	0.3	0.0	0.3
Other electronic appliances	18.7	11.8	18.4	2.4	0.0	2.2
Agricultural inputs & equipments	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Items for other business	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bicycles and motorcycle	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mobile Phone	31.7	38.2	32.0	8.7	7.4	8.6
Others	14.1	20.6	14.4	3.1	7.4	3.5
Total no. of cases	**722**	**34**	**756**	**286**	**27**	**313**

Table 4.11.2 - continued

Type of goods and services	Wave 2 new districts					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MM	FM	TM	MM	FM	TM
Food	20.7	10.8	17.2	75.8	52.9	72.4
Clothing (jainamaz, tasbih, tupi, shoes)	52.1	36.9	46.8	71.7	94.1	75.0
Burka	2.5	6.2	3.8	0.0	5.9	.9
Jewellery	9.9	20.0	13.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cosmetics	32.2	12.3	25.3	9.1	17.6	10.3
Soap/ shampoo	20.7	26.2	22.6	5.1	0.0	4.3
Female hygiene products	.8	4.6	2.2	2.0	0.0	1.7
Medicines for use	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	1.7
School items and toys	7.4	9.2	8.1	6.1	0.0	5.2
Other electronic appliances	29.8	24.6	28.0	2.0	5.9	2.6
Mobile Phone	13.2	15.4	14.0	4.0	5.9	4.3
Others	19.8	36.9	25.8	4.0	5.9	4.3
Total no. of cases	**121**	**65**	**186**	**99**	**17**	**116**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MM=Male Migrant, FM=Female Migrant, TM=Total Migrant; Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

remained one of the most important transfers in kind. The percentage of households receiving burkas has reduced in Wave 2. In Wave 1, 9 percent have mentioned this item and in Wave 2, only 3 percent have mentioned this. Other items include prayer mats, prayer beads, etc.

Chapter Conclusion

Data on return migration is sparse not only in the context of Bangladesh; it is also not available in the case of other South Asian countries and even in the case of the Philippines. Till now there was no mechanism to systematically collect information on the extent of return migration. This study has gathered important insights on this issue. It shows that more than one-fifth of international migrants have returned to Bangladesh after finishing their contracts. A little less than one-fifth of internal migrants also belonged to this category.

Another significant finding of the chapter is that the average cost of migration has reduced by one-tenth over the last three years. The reopening of the Saudi and Malaysian markets is a very

important factor behind the reduction of the cost of migration. The cost of internal migration is usually low. However, the cost of a section of internal migration has been quite high as it involved 'speed money' for ensuring a formal sector job.

Some interesting stories are also emerging in the area of the sources of migration finance. The percentage of people selling land for financing migration has reduced in Wave 2 of the survey. Less than one-tenth of the migrant households have sold land for migration. Bank loans are emerging as an important source of migration finance. There are some crucial differences between men and women with respect to migration finance. Money lenders are still an essential source for women. For men, they have become relatively less important. Own savings and support from immediate and extended family remain essential sources for men whereas women do not enjoy such privileges. Deferred payment of migration costs through work is more important for women than man.

Comparison of Wave 1 and 2 findings concerning the destinations of international migrants shows that migration destinations are not static. The relative importance of different destinations change over time. In other words, migration from Bangladesh is determined by the labour needs of destination countries. There are some differences between male and female destinations. Jordan and Lebanon are two significant destinations for female migrants whereas men hardly migrate to these countries. Saudi Arabia, however, has again emerged as a significant market for both men and women. Internal migration is heavily concentrated in two destinations. The destination of four-fifths of internal migrants are either Dhaka or Chittagong. This is equally true for men and women migrants. Gazipur is another important destination for women, but not for men. In the following chapter, an attempt will be made to understand the drivers of migration.

CHAPTER V

DRIVERS OF MIGRATION

L iterature review on drivers of migration (Chapter 1) demonstrates that migration decisions depend on individual, household and community characteristics, which interplay with social, economic, demographic, political and environmental factors. Due to complex interactions among these drivers, it is rarely possible to identify the proportion of influence of any single factor on migration decisions. This section attempts to understand the interplay of various factors shaping migration decisions of the surveyed households. It is based on the Wave 2 survey of all 20 districts.

The Wave 1 survey did not explore into the drivers of migration in detail. The respondents were asked to identify the two most important reasons for migration. Naturally the overwhelming number of the respondents identified economic factors such as the desire to improve their economic condition, to seek better work opportunities, to overcome poverty, etc. as the most important reasons. They also talked about the lack of employment at the local level, looking for better employment opportunities outside their villages of origin as reasons for migration. In other words 97 percent of the international migrants and 91 percent of the internal migrants only thought of access to income and employment as the major drivers. They hardly reflected on the influence of social, environmental or demographic factors on their migration decisions. This time the module on drivers of migration has been changed. Responses are gathered from both migrant and non-migrant households. To migrant households the inquiry was geared towards understanding why one or more members of the family migrated and in the case of non-migrant households the query was why any of their family members have not migrated.

Twenty-five options have been provided under six broad headings and tested for associations with their family members' migration decisions. The six broad headings are social, economic, political, demographic and environmental factors and the role of social networks. A conscious attempt has been made not to look for just one or two important factors rather to have a holistic analysis in light of the five influencing factors and access to networks. this exercise yielded some interesting insights.

5.1 Drivers of Migration

Table 5.1.1 shows the response of international, internal, male and female migrants on factors that shaped their migration decision. Table 5.1.2 shows the reasons that led non-migrants to decide not to migrate. Each factor – social, environmental, economic, political, demographic and access to a social network – represents the response of all households. Table 5.1.1 shows that 5 percent of the international migrant households and 10 percent of the internal migrant households identified environmental factors as having played a role in their migration decision. Around 5 percent of both international and internal migrant households identified demographic factors. Sixty-five percent of the international migrant households and 59 percent of the internal migrant households identified various social factors that influenced their migration decisions. A small number of households belonging to both international and internal migrants identified political factors as shaping their migration decision. Ninety-four percent of both international and internal migrants identified economic factors having an influence over their migration decision. Thirty-five percent of international and 32 percent of internal migrants perceive access to social network as having a significant bearing on their migration decision.

Table 5.1.2 shows the role that the above factors play in case of non-migrant households in their decision to stay back in the origin area. There is a perception that majority of people do not want to migrate due to attachment to their places of origin. This study also finds that a section of people does not want to leave their areas of origin. However, contrary to popular notion, a substantial section of non-migrant households would like to migrate. But

Table 5.1.1 Influencing factors of migration decision by migration type and gender

| Factors | Wave 2 all 20 districts | | | | | |
| | International (%) | | | Internal (%) | | |
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH
Environmental	3.98	7.31	4.60	10.79	4.69	9.96
Demographic	4.48	5.67	4.70	4.54	3.65	4.42
Social	66.21	65.27	66.04	58.80	61.46	59.16
Political	0.70	0.73	0.71	1.46	0.52	1.33
Economic	94.57	93.42	94.36	93.84	94.79	93.96
Access to social network	33.71	39.12	34.71	32.20	30.73	32.00
Total no. of cases	2412	547	2959	1233	192	1425

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

they cannot do so due to various social, economic and demographic barriers as well as a lack of access to social networks. Five percent stated that their homestead or income opportunities had not been affected by climate change or environmental degradation. Therefore, there is no reason for them to send a family member outside the village for work. Fourteen percent identified some demographic factors that hindered the opportunity to migrate. Fifty percent identified some social factors that influenced the decision of non-migrant families in favour of not migrating. Seventy-three percent either did not have any economic compulsion to migrate or the means required to process migration. Lack of access to social networks has been identified by 16 percent of the non-migrant households for not being able to participate in migration. Political factors are not at all significant in case of non-migrants. In the following sections a detailed analysis is made of different factors. It is divided into two parts: the perceptions of migrant households and the perceptions of non-migrant households.

Table 5.1.2 Influencing factors of non-migrant households for not taking part in migration

Factors	Non-migrant (%)
Environmental	4.84
Demographic	14.07
Social	49.54
Economic	72.72
Social network	15.63
Total no. of cases	1734

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

5.2 Migrant Households - Influencing factors

Social: Table 5.2.1 (page 83) presents various social factors identified by the male and female, international and internal migrant households. Each cell of the table represents the percentage of the total number of responses. Eighty-nine percent of international migrants who identified social reasons, wanted to ensure a better future for their households. Better future includes quality housing and sanitation, and improved marriage prospects of household members. Fourteen percent of the international migrant households also thought that migration would increase their social status. Ten percent of the international migrant households felt creating good educational opportunities for children was one of the reasons behind migration. Seven percent emphasized their desire to experience life in a new country or to live in urban areas.

Internal migrant households also identified social factors. An overwhelming 84 percent of them thought that migration would contribute to the development of a better future for the whole family. Better education for children or siblings (12%) and increased social status (11%) were again important factors that influenced the migration decision.

There is an important difference between male and female international as well as internal migrants with respect to social reasons. Marriage was not an issue in the case of male internal migrants, whereas it was quite important for female migrants. Only 1 percent of the male international and 2 percent of male internal migrants' households linked migration decisions with marriage whereas 21 percent of the internal female migrant households and 11 percent of female international migrant households stated that their members migrated for marriage. Either they accompanied their husbands into their paternal homes or to their places of work. A section of unmarried girls decided to migrate to earn money to pay for their dowry or the dowry of their sisters. Another section of women decided to migrate after their husbands deserted or divorced them.

Economic: Table 5.2.2 (page 84) shows the type of economic reasons that have been identified by migrant households. Fifty-eight percent of the international migrant households opined that a member of their family has migrated to get a better job and to ensure more income. Forty-one percent of the

Table 5.2.1: Social factors influencing migration decision by type of migration and gender

Social	Wave 2 all districts					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH
Due to marriage or break down of marriage	1.1	10.6	1.9	1.3	20.7	7.1
Better education for children	9.7	8.5	9.6	10.6	15.0	11.9
Enhance social status	13.6	18.4	14.0	11.1	10.5	10.9
Better future for family	89.9	83.0	89.3	87.4	77.2	84.3
Attraction of city life	7.1	2.8	6.8	6.2	4.5	5.7
Others	0.8	2.1	1.0	1.9	3.0	2.3
Total no. of cases	1532	141	1673	777	333	1110

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

international migrant households aim to overcome poverty through migration. Twenty-seven percent of them think that lack of work in local areas has contributed to the migration decision. Seventeen percent of the international migrant households pursued migration with specific objectives such as construction of new home or purchase of land. Interestingly, 5 percent of international migrant households identified the accumulation of capital for business as one of the factors that influenced the migration decision. This may indicate that the majority of the migrant households look at migration from the perspective of sources of current income for household maintenance. At the same, they also perceive migration as an avenue of fulfilling longer term economic goals.

In this respect, there are important differences among male and female international migrant workers. Compared to men, more women have identified the need for poverty alleviation. Fifty-five percent of female migrant aimed to reduce household poverty through migration. The figure for international male migrants is around 40 percent. The number of women is again higher who felt that a lack of availability of work in local areas has pushed them to migrate. A section of men who already had jobs reported wanting to secure a better job with a higher pay than the current one. This indicates that compared to men, more women migrant households take migration decisions from relatively desperate situations. This argument is further backed up by the fact that compared to men, fewer women migrate to look for better jobs or to earn more.

Fifty-five percent of the total internal migrant households identify the alleviation of poverty as a major economic reason behind migration. Fifty-three percent want to ensure better jobs and higher income, followed by a lack of work in the locality (38%). On the basis of gender the responses of internal migrants also vary. For 85 percent of the households of female internal migrants, the alleviation of poverty is important, whereas for male internal migrant households the percentage share is much lower (49%).

Table 5.2.2: Economic factors influencing migration decision by type of migration and gender

| Economic | Wave 2 all districts | | | | | |
| | International (%) | | | Internal (%) | | |
	MMH	**FMH**	**TMH**	**MMH**	**FMH**	**TMH**
Lack of work in local area	26.7	32.7	27.3	39.8	32.1	37.7
Ensure better job with increased income	59.2	48.7	58.2	55.7	46.8	53.2
Construct house and purchase land	17.8	14.2	17.4	9.5	13.5	10.6
Overcome poverty	39.4	54.9	40.8	48.6	84.8	54.8
Formation of business capital	4.9	1.8	4.6	5.9	3.2	5.2
Others	0.7	0.4	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.1
Total no. of cases	**2185**	**226**	**2411**	**1247**	**468**	**1715**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

Political: Not very many international and internal migrant households perceive the political situation as playing a role in the migration decision. Issues which have been probed under political reasons are local political violence, local conflict, police harassment, etc. Only 0.71 percent of the international migrant households and 1.33 percent of the internal migrant households identify politics as one of the factors behind the migration decision. Half of the international migrant households, who responded to this, identified local political problems as one of the reasons. Less than half of the internal migrant households who sent their family members outside the village for work did so to avoid involvement of their children in undesirable political activities.

Table 5.2.3: Political Factors influencing migration decision by type of migration and gender

| Political | Wave 2 all 20 districts | | | | | |
| | International (%) | | | Internal (%) | | |
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH
Local political problem	46.7	100.0	52.9	31.6	66.7	36.4
Local conflict	26.7	0.0	23.5	26.3	0.0	22.7
Avoid involvement in undesirable political activities	20.0	0.0	17.6	42.1	33.3	40.9
Police harassment	6.7	0.0	5.9	10.5	0.0	9.1
Others	20.0	0.0	17.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	**15**	**2**	**17**	**19**	**3**	**22**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017, Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

Environmental: In most of the earlier studies only a handful of people linked migration decision with environmental or climatic factors (Siddiqui et al. forthcoming). This study also notes that only 5 percent of the international and 10 percent of the internal migrant households identified the influence of the environment. Among the 20 districts covered in this research, surveyed *upazilas* within Satkhira, Chapai Nawabganj, Munshiganj, Faridpur and Shariatpur are affected by environmental hazards. *Upazilas* of other districts under the research are not among the climate hotspots. Due to this reason, households of the affected areas have identified the influence of environmental factors on their migration decision. All responses received in this respect are from Satkhira, Shariatpur, Sunamganj, Chapai Nawabganj and Faridpur. Although Munshiganj has been experiencing riverbank erosion in a major way, for some unexplained reason no response on this issue has been received from this *upazila*. Table 5.2.4 shows that those who have responded, 44 percent of the male international migrant household identified a decrease in income due to natural disasters as one of the reasons for migration. Other reasons mentioned by international migrant households are: problems in pursuing agriculture due flood, river bank erosion and other climate hazards (41%), decreases in income due to natural disasters, loss of homestead due to natural disasters (22%) and the loss of agricultural land due to natural disaster (24 %). Interestingly, only 1 of the female international migrant households identified a reason that is linked with environment. Compared to international migrants more internal

migrant households have identified environmental factors. Altogether, 187 internal migrant households cited this response. The table shows that both men and women responded to this.

Table 5.2.4: Environmental factors influencing migration decision by type of migration and gender

Environmental	Wave 2 all 20 districts					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MMH	**FMH**	**TMH**	**MMH**	**FMH**	**TMH**
Problem in pursuing agriculture due to flood, river bank erosion and other climate hazards	41.4	0.0	40.9	31.9	4.1	24.6
Decrease in income due to natural disasters	43.7	0.0	43.2	58.7	20.4	48.7
Loss of homestead due to natural disaster	20.69	100.0	21.6	26.1	77.6	39.6
Loss of agricultural land due to natural disaster	24.14	0.0	23.9	8.0	12.2	9.1
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total no. of cases	**87**	**1**	**88**	**138**	**49**	**187**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017.   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

Demographic: Table 5.2.5 shows that altogether 5 percent of both international and internal migrant households identified this as a driver of migration. They mostly highlighted an increase in the number of family members and expansion of the family through marriage. It is the female migrant households who talked about marriage migration. These answers are not very informative about the role of demographic factors. Rather, a comparison of the demographic composition of migrant and non-migrant households is informative. Demographic factors may allow some families to migrate and discourage others from doing so. The demographic profile of international, internal and non-migrant households indicates that the composition of the household to a great extent influences the migration decision. Earlier in table 3.2.1 of Chapter III it was seen that the number of members in households of international and internal migrants is larger compared to non-migrant households. This means that migrant households have more members to spare who can take part in migration. A comparison of the age composition of international, internal and non-migrant households shows that more members of the first two types of households are of working age and so are able to participate in migration. Most of the survey areas

are pockets of male migration. Table 3.1.1 shows in migrant households, the number of male members is higher than female members, whereas in non-migrant households the number of male and female members are distributed fairly equally. In the areas from where female migration takes place, the number of female members is higher in those households who participate in migration.

Table 5.2.5: Demographic factors influencing migration decision by type of migration and gender

Demographic	Wave 2 all 20 districts					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH
Increase in number of family members	97.9	85.7	97.1	94.0	86.7	91.8
Marriage	2.1	0.0	2.0	1.5	13.3	5.2
Others	2.1	14.3	2.9	6.0	10.0	7.2
Total no. of cases	**95**	**7**	**102**	**67**	**30**	**97**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017.   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

Social Network: Various social connections play a major role in facilitating both internal and international migration. In this book, social network include networks with relatives, friends, fee charging recruiting agents and their dalals, government institutions and access to migration information. In Table 5.2.6 it is seen that almost one third of the internal and international migrant households had some form of access to social networks. Forty-nine percent of international migrant households and 42 percent of internal migrant households selected this response had close relatives in the country of destination prior to migration. It is these relatives who help migrants in access jobs or provide them with a place to stay. Neighbours, relatives, recruiting agents, dalals, electronic print and more recently social media have become important sources of information for potential migrants. Forty eight percent of international migrant households and 50 percent of internal migrant households had prior information about migration opportunities in certain destinations. Four percent of international and 11 percent of internal migrant households became interested to migrate once their close friends migrated.

Table 5.2.6: Access to social network influencing migration decision by type of migration and gender

Access to social network	Wave 2 all districts					
	International (%)			Internal (%)		
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH
Presence of close relatives in destination	49.6	47.4	49.4	49.4	26.9	42.3
Was informed about economic opportunities of the destination area	47.9	47.4	47.9	49.8	51.9	50.4
Encouragement of the Dalals/ Recruiting agencies	32.5	22.8	31.8	12.0	45.8	22.5
Followed friends	4.1	3.5	4.1	14.1	3.2	10.7
Others	2.3	1.8	2.3	0.8	1.9	1.2
Total no. of cases	730	57	787	476	216	692

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: MMH=Male Migrant Household, FMH=Female Migrant Household, TMH=Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

In case of international migration, formal and informal recruitment agencies and individuals play a catalytic role in facilitating migration. They include licensed recruiting agencies, dalals, medical centers and sometimes travel agents. Those who migrate through regular processes receive their government clearance through licensed recruiting agencies. In reality though, the migrants hardly know the recruiting agencies. It is the local *dalal*s who accompany them at every stage of migration process. As early as the beginning of this millennium, Siddiqui (2001) found that in the rural areas a process of induction has been in force where the *dalal*s are engaged in rigorous motivational work to encourage the people to migrate. This study finds that 32 percent of international migrant households were encouraged by local *dalal*s to migrate. A recent study on the operation of *dalal*s (Siddiqui and Abrar: 2018) further informs that the situation has changed. Now the *dalal*s no longer have to motivate the members of potential migrant households, rather they are now well known in the locality and aspirant migrants contact them and express their desire to migrate.

There has not been much of a difference among the type of social network avenues used by male and female international migrants. Similar percentages of male and female migrants had relatives or acquaintances abroad. The percentages of those who have access to information are also similar. In case

of international migration however, earlier studies find that *dalals* played a major role in encouraging household decision makers to send their daughters or sisters abroad.

Social networks also play an important role in facilitating the migration of internal migrants. Fifty percent of those who responded had prior information about job opportunities in specific destinations. Forty-two percent already had relatives at the destination prior to undertaking migration to that same destination. Twenty-three percent of migrants have been encouraged by the labour contractor and supplier to migrate. Eleven percent wanted to migrate as their close friends had already migrated.

There are significant differences in the type of social network used by the male and female internal migrant households. Prior presence of relatives at the destination was much less for female migrants compared to male migrants. Fifty percent of the male internal migrants knew someone in destination areas whereas 27 percent of female internal migrants had such a contact. Dependence on *dalals* is more than double in the case of female internal migrants. Forty-six percent of internal female migrants have been encouraged by *dalals*, whereas, only 12 percent of male migrants have stated this. The demonstration effect of friends' migration on male migrants is much higher compared to that of females. Only 3 percent of the female migrants followed their friends who migrated earlier. This figure is 14 percent for males.

5.3 Non-Migrant Households- Reasons for Not-Migrating

This section looks closely at why non-migrant households have so far decided not to send any member outside the village/country for work. The issues are social, economic, political, demographic, environmental influences and access to social networks. As seen earlier altogether 50 percent of the non-migrant households had multiple social reasons for not migrating.

Social Reasons: Twenty seven percent of the responses indicate that these families did not take part in migration out of their own choice. They do not like the urban way of life. In other words, they prefer staying in the rural areas. However, 66 percent of the non-migrant households did not

participate in migration as they did not have 'disposable' male and female members in the family. For them if the adult member migrates, there would be no other family member to attend to day to day needs of the household.

Eleven percent felt that in the absence of the adult member/household head children's education may suffer. Ten percent mentioned that young women and adolescent girls of the family would suffer from personal insecurity. It is important to note that some of these responses do not indicate that these families are not interested in sending family members outside the village/ country for work. Rather, it suggests that these families cannot migrate because of their inability to manage certain functions of households in the absence of the person who could have migrated.

Table 5.3.1: Social reasons for not migrating

Social	Non-migrant (%)
Do not like urban life	26.5
No other adult to look after the family in the absence of aspirant migrant	66.0
Children's education can suffer in the absence of the aspirant migrant	10.7
Children and adult female members could be insecure in the absence of aspirant migrant	10.1
Others	4.4
Total no. of cases	**859**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: Each cell represents percentage of total number of response.

Economic Reasons: In the previous section on why people decide to migrate, economic gain secured the highest response. The same is the case for those who decided not to migrate. Two-thirds (1,261) of the total responses are related to economic factors. The non-migrants felt that international migration would require a large amount of money which they did not have. This means that they would have liked to send a family member abroad, but could not do so because of resource constraints. Forty- one percent of the responses indicate that income-earning household members are gainfully employed in the local area. Fourteen percent stated that they have landed property, decent homestead and access to employment in their area. Fourteen percent have their own business. Therefore, these people do not need to go abroad for work or income.

Table 5.3.2: Economic reasons for not migrating

Economic	Non-migrant (%)
Have land, homestead and work so no need to migrate	14.2
Have business so no need to migrate	13.7
Gainfully employed locally, so no need to migrate	40.9
Would like to migrate but cannot afford the migration cost	50.0
Others	1.1
Total no. of cases	**1261**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: Each cell represents percentage of total number of response.

Political Reason: No one mentioned any political reason for not migrating.

Environmental Reasons: Only 84 non-migrant households chose this response. Sixty- three percent of them perceive that environmental degradation did not affect their income in the village. Seventeen percent stated that there has been no reason to move as their own homestead was not affected by environmental hazards. For 13 percent the environment did not play any role in driving migration as these households did not lose any agricultural land or productivity of their land due to environmental degradation and hazards.

Table 5.3.3: Environmental reasons for not migrating

Environment	Non-migrant (%)
Agriculture not affected by climate change	9.5
Did not face reduction in income in the village	63.1
Natural disaster did not affect agricultural land	13.1
Homestead is not affected due to natural disaster	16.7
Others	3.6
Total no. of cases	**84**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: Each cell represents percentage of total number of response

Demographic Reasons: In the section on migrant household's perspective on reasons for migration, it was seen that demography plays a role in the migration decision. Only those families who have working age male or female members (depending on the gender of the migrant) could send family members abroad. This is also evident in case of non-migrant household's reasons for not sending a family member abroad. 244 non-migrant households selected this response.Twenty-one percent of those who responded stated that they do not have any adult working age male member who could migrate. They further informed that the migration network

operational in their area only facilitates migration of males. Therefore, there is no participation of those households in international migration. In some other areas the migration network facilitates female migration. Three percent of the non-migrant households stated that they do not have any adult working age female member in their households and thus, even if they wanted, they could not participate in migration.

Table 5.3.4: Demographic reasons for not migrating

Demographic	Non-migrant (%)
Do not have disposable adult male member who can migrate	84.8
Do not have disposable adult female member who can migrate	20.5
Others	14.8
Total no. of cases	**244**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: Each cell represents percentage of total number of responses

Social Network: If access to social networks has helped some of the households to migrate then it is natural that some households who do not have such access will have difficulty in migrating. Half of the non-migrants responded to this question. Fifty-five percent of those who responded stated that they do not have the necessary information on processing international migration. Fifty-one percent stated that they do not have any known person in the destination areas or countries.

Table 5.3.5: Access to social network

Access to social network	Non-migrant (%)
Do not have access to migration information	54.6
Do not know anyone in destination areas	50.6
No recruiting agency is working in this area	4.1
No *dalals* are operating in this area	.7
Others	2.6
Total no. of cases	**271**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017,   Note: Each cell represents percentage of total number of responses

Four percent stated that they do not know if any recruiting agency is operational in their areas, neither did they have access to *dalals*. The majority of these responses are from Khagrachhari, Kushtia, Satkhira and etc.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has identified the factors that contribute to the migration decisions of households. There are some macro, meso and micro-level factors that influence the migration decision. For some, macro level social, economic, political, demographic, and environmental factors facilitate migration. For others, the same factors work as barriers to sending their family members outside the village for work. Important among social factors are marriage, scope of better life, quality education for children etc. Separation, divorce and oppressive social institutions such as dowry, also push some to migrate. A section of non-migrant males could not migrate because of fear of insecurity of girl children and adult women in the household of origin. The perception that the education of children may suffer in the absence of adult members deterred some as well.

Of economic factors, both internal and international migrant households assigned overcoming poverty as one of the reasons behind the migration decision. Better jobs and higher incomes are important factors contributing to the migration decisions of those who already have a livelihood in their areas of origin but aspire to do better. Interestingly, compared to male migrant households, female migrant households were more likely to report trying to overcoming poverty. Some of those who wished to migrate but could not do so, assigned financial barriers as the deterring factor. Access to finance to pay for migration costs is the core element in this respect. Only a few international migrants have identified political factors as motivating their migration. This factor was not relevant for non-migrants.

Given similar macro level socio-economic realities the members of some households have not been able to migrate due to demographic constraints. In Bangladesh, predominantly male migration takes place from some districts and female migration takes place from other districts. Households which do not have male adults cannot participate in migration from the male migration pockets. Similarly, households who do not have 'dispensable' female adults are not able to take part in migration from the female pockets.

Access to social networks again enabled some people to migrate and not others. Half of the households who have participated in migration had a close or a distant relative staying in the destination country from

before. One fifth of the non-migrant households do not know anyone in the destination who could have helped them to migrate. The presence of dalals, recruiting agencies, or other intermediaries plays a significant role in processing migration. A section of non-migrant households expressed that they do not have access to government offices recruiting agencies or dalals.

CHAPTER VI

TRANSITIONS IN MIGRATION
STATUS AND INCOME

It is natural that transitions in migration occur. In the context of migration households often change in status. A large number of the current migrants today will return at some point to their area of origin. This book refers to the latter as returned migrants. Similarly, an internal migrant today can become an international migrant tomorrow or a non-migrant today can become a migrant in the future. The SDC and RMMRU panel survey is designed to capture changes in migration status. This is done by developing a migration transition matrix, a matrix which outlines changes in status across the two waves of the panel survey. It is understood that migration status will have a strong influence over the income of a household. Therefore, this chapter attempts to capture changes in household income based on transitions in migration status.

The analysis presented in this chapter is at the individual-level, specifically focused on income-earning individuals. A household level analysis cannot be done as a household may have two income earning members with different migration status. The chapter uses the balanced panel, i.e. that subset of households who were surveyed in both Wave 1 and Wave 2. To be more precise, it concentrates on those individuals who reported having an income in either Wave 1 or Wave 2 of this study. This chapter is organised as follows. Section 6.1 provides average income across migration status. Section 6.2 provides descriptive statistics on the changes in migration status across the two Waves of the survey. Sections 6.3 to 6.7 provide detailed analysis of the effects of transitions on income.

6.1 Income across Migration Status

This section highlights how income-earning individuals have transitioned (or not) between Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the panel survey. In the Wave

1, 6,507 individuals reported having an income. Their average income was Taka 15,381 per month. In Wave 2, the number of respondents who reported having an income increased to 7,094. The average income of these individuals reduced a little in comparison to that of Wave 1. After adjusting inflation, average individual income in Wave 2 was Taka 14,933. The decrease in income between the two waves is not statistically significant.

Table 6.1.1: Average income across migration status (Wave 1 and Wave 2 pooled)

Migration Status	Avg. Monthly Income (in Taka)	N
Current internal migrants	10590	2374
Current international migrants	32815	3568
Returned internal migrants	8755	280
Returned international migrants	11127	797
Left behind members of international and internal migrant households	7369	3899
Members of non-migrant households	8047	2656

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

In both Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the survey, the migration status of the individual is important in predicting income. The status of individuals was divided into six categories. These are, current international migrants, returned international migrants, current internal migrants, returned internal migrants, left behind members of international and internal migrant households, members of non-migrant households. Table 6.1.1 presents the average income of individuals in each of the 6 migration categories. It is observed that the average income of international migrants is the highest at Taka 32,815 and it is lowest for the members of left behind households of international and internal migrant at Taka 7,369. Information from this table suggests, (i) migrants earn more money than non-migrants and (ii) there is a clear drop in income when migrants return. The average income of returnee international migrants is 66 percent lower than that of current international migrants and the average income of a return internal migrant is 17 percent lower than that of current internal migrant. Finally, the income of left behind members of international and internal migrant households is slightly lower than that of members of non-migrant households, which is probably due to the lack of necessity to earn higher income in the former due to having more income (in the form of remittances) from migrant members of the household. It may also be that the migrant is the sole earner

in that household. However, these are raw averages that do not take into account selection issues, i.e. the level of income prior to migration. This is important because it is plausible that international migrants have a higher income because they are more qualified or motivated.

6.2 Transition Matrix

In order to provide a better sense of how transitions in migration status affect income, this chapter constructs a transition matrix. The construction of this matrix involved the identification of the migration status of individuals in both Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the survey and documenting whether there was any change in the migration status across the two waves of the survey. Around 4,991 (73%) individuals surveyed reported not having changed their migration status between Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the survey. The remaining 1,819 (27%) individuals reported changing their migration status between the waves.

Table 6.2.1 provides transitions based on initial migration status. From this table we can observe that the transition rate was the highest amongst internal migrants. Forty- two percent of internal migrants in the Wave 1 transitioned to another migrant status in Wave 2 of the survey. International migrants transitioned with 27 percent probability. Internal returnees had the lowest transition rate, at 17 percent. Finally, members of migrant families are 5 percentage points more likely to migrate relative to members of non-migrant families. Based on this information it is safe to conclude that internal migrants are almost 2 times more likely to change migration status over time relative to other categories in our sample.

Table 6.2.1: Transition based on migration status at Wave 1

Migration Status at Wave 1	Transitioned between two waves		
	Yes	No	% Yes
Current Internal migrants	492	685	42
Current International migrants	459	1260	27
Returned internal migrants	14	70	17
Returned international migrants	79	271	23
Left behind members of international and internal migrant households	406	1216	25
Members of non-migrant households	253	990	20

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

6.3 Outcome of Transition of Migration Status

This section investigates the outcomes of these transitions in terms of migration status in Wave 2 in table 6.3.1 (page 99). From this table, it can be observed that 58 percent of those who were current internal migrants during Wave 1 of the survey maintained the same status in Wave 2. Of the current internal migrant's in Wave 1 who changed their migration status in Wave 2, an overwhelming majority became returnee internal migrants. A small fraction migrated overseas. Amongst international migrants from Wave 1, 73 percent did not change their status in Wave 2. Furthermore, 26 percent completed their migration and returned to Bangladesh as returned international migrants. For respondents identifying as returned internal migrants in Wave 1, 17 percent re-migrated as internal migrants in Wave 2. The rest (83%) remained as returned internal migrants in Wave 2. Similarly, for returned international migrants, 77 percent of them were still returned international migrant in Wave 2 and 19 percent again became current international migrants in Wave 2. Four percent of those who were returned international migrants in Wave 1 became current internal migrants in Wave 2. Finally, respondents who were not migrants in Wave 1 i.e. left behind members of international and internal migrant households as well as members of non-migrant households, exhibit inertia in terms of migration status as the modal outcome: close to 90 percent of these individuals have not become migrants in Wave 2. However, around 5 percent of the left behind members of migrant families or non-migrant families became current internal or current international migrants in Wave 2.

Tables 6.4.1 to 6.7.1 present data on income levels of survey respondents prior to and after migration status transitions between the two rounds of the survey. It is important to note that the income levels are presented in 2014 Taka for both the Wave 1 and Wave 2 across all these tables. To achieve this reported income Wave 2 was deflated by a factor of 1.2 to account for inflation.

6.4 Internal Migrants at Wave 1

This section focuses on current internal migrants in Wave 1 and analyses whether there are systematic differences in income between those who chose different transition paths in Wave 2 (Table 6.4.1). The average income of current internal migrants in Wave 1 who did not change status in Wave 2

was Taka 9,418. This was lower than the reported income (Taka 10,468) of current internal migrants who transitioned to international migrant status in Wave 2. However, this difference was not statistically significant (p-value = 0.38, T-test). These results suggest that the current internal migrants during Wave 1, who choose to remain current internal migrant in Wave 2 or transition to current international migrant in Wave 2 have similar income levels at Wave 1, i.e. there is no clear selection in terms of initial income levels. Similarly, current internal migrants who choose to become returned internal migrants in Wave 2 report incomes that are not significantly lower than that of current internal migrants who choose to remain current internal migrants or became current international migrants in Wave 2.

Table 6.3.1: Transition based on migration status at Wave 1

Migration Status at Wave 1	Transitioned to in Wave 2					
	Current Internal migrant (%)	Current international migrant (%)	Returned internal migrant (%)	Returned international migrant (%)	Left behind members of international and internal migrant household (%)	MNMHH (%)
Current internal migrant	58	4	37	1	0	0
Current international migrant	1	73	0	26	0	0
Returned internal migrant	17	0	83	0	0	0
Returned international migrant	4	19	0	77	0	0
Left behind members of international and internal migrant household	4	5	2	2	75	12
Members of non-migrant household	4	4	0	0	12	80

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

The section now analyses the real impact on income of the various transitions in Wave 2 made by those who were current internal migrants in Wave 1. From Table 6.4.1, during Wave 2 of the survey, the income level of individuals who did not change status between waves, increased by 14 percent relative to Wave 1 (p-value = 0.06, T-test). Current internal migrants in Wave 1, who transitioned to current international migrant status in Wave 2, saw their real incomes increase by 62 percent (p-value < 0.01, T-test). For current internal migrants in Wave 1 who became returned

internal migrants in Wave 2 saw their income drop by 62 percent (p-value <0.01, T-test). However, this drop is driven by individuals who reported not earning any income in Wave 2 following a transition returned internal migrant status. Excluding these individuals from the calculation (row 3 in the table), causes the drop in income to be relatively low, at 15 percent (p-value < 0.05, T-test). Based on these results, between Wave 1 and Wave 2 current internal migrants who became returnees saw significant decreases in income. This is in stark contrast to individuals who chose to remain as either internal or international migrants in Wave 2, who saw significant increases in income between the two surveys.

Table 6.4.1: Change in income of Wave 1 current internal migrants due to transition in migration status

Was internal migrants during Wave 1	Monthly Income (2014 Taka)		
	Wave 1	Wave 2	% Change
Remained current internal migrant in Wave 2	9418	10775	14
Became current international migrant in Wave 2	10468	16910	62
Became returned internal migrant in Wave 2	8755	7481	-15
Became returned internal migrant in Wave 2 (full sample – this includes individuals who reported having no income in Wave 2)	8755	3321	-62

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

6.5 Current International Migrants at Wave 1

In table 6.5.1 reports income levels of current international migrants in Wave 1 who transitioned to different migration statuses in Wave 2. It first focuses on incomes in Wave 1 of current international migrants across the different transitions they made in Wave 2. Current international migrants who transitioned to current internal (n = 10) reported an income of Taka 20,500 in Wave 2. This was around Taka 14,000 lower than that of those who remained current international migrants throughout the survey (p-value =0.28, T-test). Finally, current international migrants in Wave 1, who chose to return to Bangladesh in Wave 2 reported Wave 1 incomes of Taka 33,000, which is not statistically different from that of current international migrants who remained current international migrants across the two Waves of the survey (p-value = 0.50, T-test). Just like in the case of internal migrants, there is no evidence of selection with respect to income.

Table 6.5.1 finds that current international migrants in Wave 1 saw a decrease in their incomes irrespective of their migration status in Wave 2. However, the drop in income is highest (84%) when current international migrants transition to returned international migrants across the Waves. Even discarding returned international migrants who reported no income in Wave 2 from the analysis (row 3 of the table), the drop in income is 66 percent. These decreases across both sub-samples are statistically significant (p –value < 0.01, T-test). The current international migrants who did not change their migration status across both Waves of the survey also reported a 22 percent decrease in income (p-value < 0.01, T-test). The incomes for Wave 2 have been adjusted for inflation in Bangladesh, i.e. these drops are in real income and not nominal income.

Table 6.5.1: Change in income of Wave 1 current international migrants due to transition in migration status

Was current international migrant at Wave 1	Monthly Income (2014 Taka)		
	Wave 1	Wave 2	% Change
Became current internal migrant in Wave 2	20500	14129	-31
Remained current international migrant in Wave 2	34497	27066	-22
Became returned international migrant in Wave 2	33000	11274	-66
Became returned international migrant in Wave 2 (full sample – this includes individuals who reported having no income in Wave 2)	33000	5463	-83

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

In order to interrogate this issue further, changes in income of current international migrant, who remained current international migrant across both Waves of the survey are compared against their migration destinations. This is presented in Table 6.5.2. It is evident that the change in income of migrants varied based on migration destination.

In terms of nominal income, migrants to the major current international migrant markets of Bangladesh (Gulf, other Arab and south-east Asian countries) saw only marginal growth. Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait, Oman, Lebanon and Malaysia saw an increase in nominal average income. Qatar, Bahrain, Jordan, Libya and Singapore sawa decrease in average income. It must be noted that GDP per capita of most of these aforementioned countries since 2014 has declined, which can perhaps explain the lack of wage growth of current international migrants.

More importantly, the main decrease in income was due to decreases in incomes of current international migrants that resided in South Africa and Italy. They accounted for about 9 percent of total international migrants and reported over a 50 percent drop in their nominal incomes, which affected the overall income levels of current international migrants.

Table 6.5.2: Income change of current international migrants based on migration destination

Destination	Wave 1		Wave 2 (2014 Taka)		Wave 2 (2017 Taka)	
	Income	% of total current IM	Income	% Change	Income	% Change
KSA	32205	27.8	27330	-15	32795	2
UAE	22952	18.9	20710	-10	24852	8
Kuwait	29518	3.9	26712	-10	32055	9
Oman	19324	7.9	20544	6	24653	28
Qatar	29214	4.6	23394	-20	28073	-4
Bahrain	28612	5.2	21383	-25	25660	-10
Lebanon	16680	3.1	18663	12	22396	34
South Africa	52500	1.1	19936	-62	23923	-54
Jordan	21200	1.2	14167	-33	17000	-20
Libya	60818	0.7	17130	-72	20556	-66
Malaysia	24141	8.5	22561	-7	27073	12
Singapore	45690	5.2	35822	-22	42986	-6
S. Korea	80000	0.3	61458	-23	73750	-8
UK	38000	0.2	44444	17	53333	40
Italy	100670	7.4	57196	-43	68635	-32
Egypt	23333	0.3	25833	11	31000	33
Brunei	30000	0.3	16667	-44	20000	-33
Mauritius	27500	0.6	22917	-17	27500	0
Iraq	33400	0.5	27000	-19	32400	-3
Maldives	14222	0.8	18981	33	22778	60
Others	46538	1.4	23809	-49	28571	-39

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

6.6 Returnee Migrants at Wave 1

This section first focuses on returned internal migrants in Wave 1 of the survey. Table 6.6.1 presents the results reported in this section. Returned internal migrants who did not change migration status across the two Waves of the survey had reported an income of Taka 6,761 per month in

Wave 1. This was Taka 900 more (although not statistically significant) than returned internal migrants at Wave 1 who transitioned back to being current internal migrants in Wave 2 (p-value = 0.35, T-Test). This again suggests no clear selection on income with regard to transition choices.

Incomes in Wave 2 increased for individuals who identified as returned internal migrants in the Wave 1 irrespective of whether or not they remained returned internal migrants in Wave 2. There was a 36 percent increase the incomes of returned internal migrants who transitioned to current internal migrant (p-value =0.07, T-test) and a 40 percent increase in income of returned internal migrants who remained returned internal migrants (p-value = 0.14, T-test). These test statistics need to be interpreted with caution due to the small sample sizes in this particular case.

Table 6.6.1: Change in income of Wave 1 returned migrants due to transition in migration status

Returnee Migrants at Wave 1	Monthly Income (2014 Taka)		
	Wave 1	Wave 2	% Change
Was returned internal migrant in Wave 1			
Became current internal migrant in Wave 2	5857	7989	36
Became returned internal migrant in Wave 2	6761	9481	40
Was returned international migrant in Wave 1			
Became current internal migrant in Wave 2	7571	11571	53
Became current international migrant in Wave 2	10215	21846	114
Remained returned international migrant in Wave 2	10485	10022	-4

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

For returned international migrants in Wave 1, who transitioned to current international migrant or returned international migrant status in Wave 2, the mean monthly income in Wave 1 was Taka 10,215 and Taka 10,485 respectively. This was at least Taka 2,700 higher than returned international migrant individuals who transitioned to current internal migrant in Wave 2, though the difference is not statistically significant (p-value > 0.28, T-test). However, in terms of income in Wave 2, individuals who chose to migrate either internally or internationally saw an increase in their incomes. Individuals who transitioned to current internal migrants in Wave 2 saw a 53 percent increase (p-value = 0.07, T-test) in income where individuals who transitioned to current international migrants saw a 115 percent increase (p-value < 0.01, T-test) in income in Wave 2. This is in stark contrast to

returned international migrants in Wave 2 who saw their incomes remain largely unchanged (p-value > 0.1, T-test).

6.7 Non-Migrants at Wave 1

This last section of the chapter focuses on the income earning capacity of individuals who were non-migrants in Wave 1. The analysis starts with non-migrants who had at least one member of their family who was a migrant in Wave 1. Table 6.7.1 observes that household members of either internal and international migrants had higher income in Wave 1 (by at least Taka 1600 per month) than individuals who did not have a migrant household member. This difference was statistically significant (p-value < 0.07 for both comparisons, T-test), i.e. there is some evidence selection on income with transition choices. In terms of income across Waves, the members of migrant families saw an overall increase in real income between the two Waves of the survey irrespective of the transition status. However, growth in income was highest for those who transitioned to current international migrant, recording 107 percent increase in real income (p-value < 0, T-test). The lowest income growth was for individuals who transitioned to current internal migrant, who reported a 17 percent increase in income, though this was not statistically significant.

Turning to individuals who did have migrants in their family in the Wave 1, the data present a different pattern of selection into transition status. Firstly, individuals with relatively low income (p-value = 0.04, T-test) choose to transition into current internal migrant. In contrast, individuals who choose to become current international migrants have higher income than those who choose to remain a non-migrant (p –value < 0.02, T-test). In terms of income increases, individuals transitioning to either current internal migrants or current international migrant between the survey Waves reported at least a 42 percent increases in incomes (p-value < 0.01, T-test). Non-migrants who remained non-migrants also saw increases in income but of a smaller magnitude. Additionally, non-migrants who had a member of their household migrate between the two Waves of the survey saw their incomes grow at a faster rate than non-migrants who did not have a migrating household member. Finally, it is important to point out that having a migrant member of household (either internationally or internally) has implications on the choice of being an international migrant. The data

shows that the choice to migrate internationally in the presence of an international migrant in the household requires the potential migrant to have a relatively low income compared to the case when such an international migrant is not present. This could be because (i) having a member of the household as a migrant (both internal or international) significantly reduces the economic resources required to undertake international migration or (ii) the reservation income (income required to make a person choose to migrate internationally) is higher for individuals who have an existing migrating member of the family. This is something future research can address.

Table 6.7.1: Change in income of Wave 1 non-migrants due to transition in migration status

Migration Type and Transition	Income (2014 Taka)		
	Wave 1	Wave2	Change%
Left behind members of international and internal migrant household in Wave 1			
Current internal migrant in Wave 2	6833	7977	17
Current international migrant in Wave 2	6606	23489	256
Left behind members of international and internal migrant household in Wave 2	5072	5965	18
Member of non-migrant household in Wave 2	5321	6568	23
Member of non-migrant household in Wave 2			
Current internal migrant in Wave 2	5490	7773	42
Current international migrant in Wave 2	9690	20073	107
Left behind members of international and internal migrant household in Wave 2	7071	8945	27
Member of non-migrant in Wave 2	7156	7526	5

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

Chapter Conclusion

This section highlights the main findings of this chapter. Of the 5,800 individuals who reported having an income in Wave 1, 27 percent reported having changed migration status in Wave 2. The rate of change in migration status was highest amongst individuals who reported being an internal migrant in the Wave 1. Transitioning into returnee migrant from being either an internal migrant or an international migrant led to a big drop in income. However, based on the income profiles of returnee migrants in Wave 1, this drop in income seems to only be transitory. Over time

returnee migrants see an increase in their incomes; between the two Waves of the survey, changes in the incomes of current international migrants varied across migration destinations. Currently, in Bangladesh's major international migration destinations markets, the growth in income has been slow. This is not surprising given the poor economic performance of these destination countries since 2014. In contrast, income growth in Bangladesh has been more robust. Both internal migrants and non-migrants between 2014 and 2017 reported increases in their real incomes. Finally, the data suggest that having a member of the household as a migrant (either internal or international), (i) significantly reduces the resource requirement for international migration or (ii) significantly increases the reservation income (income required to make a person choose to migrate internationally) required for non-migrants to pursue international migration.

CHAPTER VII

EXPENDITURE GROWTH AND MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Few questions have commanded the attention of social scientists and policy makers as has the issue of economic growth. Indeed, when writing about the importance of differences in growth between countries Nobel Laureate Robert E. Lucas Jr. commented, "Once one starts to think about them, it is hard to think about anything else" (Lucas, 1988). The literature on cross country differences in growth rates is vast and mature (Durlaf, Johnson and Temple, 2005, present a thorough review). But less is known about the drivers of differential growth rates between households within a country or community, in part because of the considerable data demands imposed by such a research agenda. Dercon (2004) is a notable exception. Where these data demands can be met, considerable contributions to the literature can be made. Indeed, the investigation of the determinants of growth between households is in some ways more suitable for empirical scrutiny than that between countries: while the present maximum number of countries in each cross section is 195, the current chapter is based on a balanced panel of 3,913 households and so benefits from the statistical power and rich variation that accompanies such a sample size.

There are some important conceptual issues that arise when researching the determinants of changes in household welfare as opposed to national economic growth statistics. The cross-country growth literature has rightly focused on rates of change in national income, because this provides a measure of the productive capacity of an economy. At the economic unit of the household however, consumption is the better measure to track. While income is certainly linked to household welfare, Friedman (1957) observed that it is a poor measure of underlying household welfare because income

may be subject to temporary fluctuations which households can insure themselves against using a variety of means. If credit markets function well, households can borrow and lend to smooth out temporary fluctuations in income (Friedman, 1957, Ando and Modigliani, 1963). If income fluctuations affect individual households, but not entire communities then risk-averse households have an incentive to insure themselves by pooling risk with one another (Arrow and Debreu, 1954). Thus, the relevant measure of changes in household welfare over time therefore is consumption growth, which identifies household welfare net of these insurance strategies. Therefore, this chapter tracks consumption growth as does Dercon (2004). He also studies growth rates among households as opposed to growth in national income that is commonly studied in the cross-country literature.

This chapter is especially interested in heterogeneity in the levels of consumption growth experienced by Bangladeshi households in relation to the type of migration experience available to them. In this analysis, households are classified as one of: non-migrant households, households that have experience with internal migration, or households that have experience with international migration. Until now the rigorous analysis of questions of this nature has been frustrated by the lack of suitable data. The current chapter addresses this gap using the SDC and RMMRU panel which has been designed to permit precisely such a line of enquiry.

The remainder of the chapter is organised as follows: Section 7.1 presents the descriptive statistics on overall consumption growth and disaggregates by various expenditure sub-categories. Section 7.2 conducts the heterogeneity analysis of consumption growth for international migrant households, internal migrant households and non-migrant households. The chapter concludes by summarizing these preliminary results and speculating on their economic implications with a view to identifying future research possibilities.

7.1 Consumption Growth: Overall and by Sub-Component

The consumption aggregate at the centre of the analysis includes measures of expenditure on food, non-food non-durable consumption (such as clothes, rental expenses, telephone bills, etc.), health related expenditure, educational expenditure and expenditure on rituals (such as religious

festivals and marriages). Table 7.1.1 presents the mean and the standard deviation of each of these sub-components of household income and the resulting aggregates for the 3,913 households that comprise the balanced panel, i.e. households that were successfully interviewed in both 2014 and 2017. This focus on the balanced panel is a natural implication of the current research question: one cannot speak to issues of growth unless one observes households over at least two periods. All figures have been deflated to 2014 Taka using an inflation rate of 20 percent for the interval between the two Waves (based on Bangladesh Bank data) so as to comparison real expenditures.

The first row Table 7.1.1 presents the statistics for aggregate expenditure. Average real expenditure has grown from 12,772 Taka per month to 16,317 Taka per month at 2014 prices. The final column of the table presents the results of a difference-in-means test which rejects the null hypothesis that consumption between the two Waves is unchanged in favour of the alternative that consumption has grown at all conventional levels of statistical significance. The penultimate column presents growth in real consumption between the two Waves. Overall, consumption has grown by 28 percent on average.

If the permanent income hypothesis (Friedman 1957) holds, then changes in consumption levels reflect changes in the level of permanent income enjoyed by a household. It is then possible to define the income elasticities of different expenditure subcomponents as the percentage change in each subcomponent divided by this percentage change in empirical permanent income.

Table 7.1.1: Descriptive statistics for consumption aggregate and sub-categories

	Wave 1				Wave 2				Growth	t-statistic
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max		
Aggregate	12771.95	10078.56	1336	197230	16317.10	17141.12	138.89	427716.70	0.28	11.15
Food	7168.88	3426.08	715	36250	7844.17	4482.77	720.83	96758.33	0.09	7.49
Non-food	2378.06	2790.65	75	86250	4179.85	8234.82	55.56	159513.90	0.76	12.96
Health	955.59	5344.63	0	183333.30	1295.20	4694.88	0	173611.10	0.36	2.99
Education	335.55	573.08	0	7000	367.14	653.14	0	8333.33	0.09	2.27
Rituals	1913.24	4811.00	0	113166.70	2271.03	5981.82	0	119444.40	0.19	2.92

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

The remaining rows of Table 7.1.1 present analogous statistics for each of the sub-components of expenditure. Food expenditure represents the largest single consumption sub-category in both Waves, accounting for approximately half of total measured consumption. The t-statistic in the final column provides strong evidence that consumption growth has been positive between the two Waves. However, there is also evidence in support of Engle's (1821–1896) well known result, namely that food expenditures represent a declining share of total expenditure as living standards rise. In 2014 food expenditures constituted 56 percent of total expenditure, falling to 48 percent in 2017. Together these forces explain why estimated growth in food expenditure (9%) is positive, but less than growth in total expenditure (28%). This corresponds to an income elasticity of food demand of 0.32, in line with the standard literature on Engle curves.

The most robust growth has taken place in expenditure on non-food non-durables consumption (defined above). This subcomponent of expenditure has grown by 76 percent. Subsequent work will interrogate further the issue of the types of goods and services that are being consumed in this sub category-and will attempt to understand the implications for this large shift in expenditure patterns on the economic structure of the survey sites.

Health related expenditure constitutes a small share of total expenditure in both survey Waves, accounting for less than 8 percent of total expenditure. Growth in health expenditure is 36 on average and so outpaces overall expenditure growth. Thus, the income elasticity of health expenditure 1.3, implying that health expenditure is a luxury good.

Expenditure on education represents a vanishingly small share of consumption, on average accounting for 2 to 3 percent of total expenditure. Somewhat surprisingly education expenditures have only grown by 9 percent so that education represents a smaller share of the average household's consumption bundle in 2017 than in 2014 (recall that aggregate expenditure grew by 28 percent, on average over the same period). The estimated income elasticity of education demand is 0.32, implying that education not a luxury good in this sample.

Taken together the patterns of investment in health and education speak to an interesting finding from the perspective of the literature which views

investments in human capital as an engine of long-term economic growth (Becker, 1964, Becker et. al, 1994 and Ehrlich and Lui, 2007, among many others). It appears from these data that private investments in human capital are driven by investments in health, rather than investments in education. A number of competing hypotheses as to why this may be the case need to be interrogated. It may be that public investments have focused heavily on education, but less so on healthcare leading to compensating private investments in health but not in education. It may be that low morbidity is a necessary condition for investments in education to be remunerative, implying that it is optimal to first invest in health and then in education. Alternatively, households may be myopic and investments in health may yield more immediate returns than investments in education. These themes are beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is hoped that these preliminary results will provoke subsequent work interrogates each of these hypotheses, to the extent that it is possible to do so given the data. Otherwise, these questions may prove interesting research themes for subsequent rounds of the survey.

Much has been made of expenditure on rituals in developing countries. These are typically viewed as large, unproductive investments (as argued by, for example, Banerjee and Duflo, 2007). In the SDC and RMMRU Key Informant Interviews, however it is apparent that more subtle forces may be at work. Key informants reported that a large part of expenditure on rituals is accounted for by dowry, which is an extractive intuition and so should not be interpreted as conspicuous consumption. In the data, the average expenditure on rituals is approximately twice the level of expenditure on healthcare and over six times the level of expenditure on education. This expenditure sub-component has also experienced robust growth. The 19 percent increase in expenditure on rituals between the two Waves, however is less than the 28 percent increase observed on aggregate. This implies an income elasticity of 0.68, leading to the conclusion that on average, households treat expenditure on rituals as a normal good, as opposed to a luxury good.

7.2. Consumption Growth by Migration Type

Table 7.2.1 presents the breakdown of households in the balanced panel by the type of migration experience in 2014. The majority of the

households in the balanced panel are international migrants, while there are significant numbers of internal and non-migrant households too. It should be recalled here that this breakdown is not representative of these communities, but rather is part of the purposive sampling design that was adopted to overcome the underrepresentation of migrant households – especially international migrant households – in existing data, which has often been nationally representative. The sample was drawn so as to ensure representativeness within a migration category, that is the sample of international migrant households is representative of the universe of international migrant households within these communities; the sample of internal migrants is representative of the universe of internal migrants within these communities; and the sample of non-migrants is representative of the universe of non-migrants in these communities.

Table 7.2.1: Number of households and aggregate consumption by 2014

Migration type	Number of observations	Mean consumption
International	1906	15418.06
Internal	1054	10058.66
Non-migrant	953	10480.58
Total	3913	12771.95

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014

Table 7.2.1 presents the average levels of consumption in 2014 by the type of migration experience in 2014. Typically, the migration literature has observed that migrants are positively selected (an assertion going back at least as far as Lipton 1980). These figures, however, suggest that the in the sample, the dominant narrative is true for international migrants, but not internal ones. Households that produce an internal migrant enjoy consumption levels that are approximately 50 percent higher than households that do not. By contrast, internal migrants are very similar to non-migrants, and if anything, slightly negatively selected on measured initial consumption levels. These figures, however, only provide a static picture of the migration process and so are unable to disentangle dynamic effects such as selection into the migration process from the effect of the migration experience on subsequent income streams. It is in relation to this question that the panel dimension of the current dataset becomes crucial to the analysis. Specifically, the chapter now focuses on identifying the association between migration and subsequent consumption growth.

Consumption Growth among International Migrants' Households:
Table 7.2.2 returns to the task of calculating and decomposing consumption growth, but this time only for international migrant producing households. It was understood from Table 7.2.1 that these households were richer than those that did not produce international migrants in the Wave 1 of the survey, but did having an international migrant lead to greater subsequent consumption growth?

Table 7.2.2: Growth in consumption aggregate and sub-categories for international migrants

Expenditure component	Wave 1 Mean	Wave 2 Mean	Growth
Aggregate	15418.06	20080.87	0.30
Food	8083.86	8783.61	0.09
Non-food	2945.29	5296.84	0.80
Health	1265.02	1708.10	0.35
Education	427.54	462.10	0.08
Rituals	2696.35	3166.57	0.17

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

Unsurprisingly, growth in all components of consumption was positive for households that produced an international migrant in 2014. The overall pattern of consumption growth among households that produced international migrants is similar to sample average growth, as shown in the first row of Table 7.2.2 (this should be compared with the first row of Table 7.1.1, above). However, there are some notable differences. Growth in total consumption is 2 percentage points higher among international migrant producing households than the sample average (30% vs. 28%). This is largely driven by differences in non-food, non-durable consumption, where growth among international migrant producing households is 4 percentage points higher than the sample average. Growth in health expenditure is 1 percentage point less among international migrant producing households than the sample average. It would be an interesting empirical question to ascertain if this difference is due to weaker preferences for good health leading to less desire to spend on health, or due to better disease preventing environments among international migrant producing households leading to less need for expenditure. Interestingly, growth in educational expenditure is also 1 percentage point less than the sample average, while growth in expenditure on rituals is 2 percentage points less than the sample

average, perhaps dispelling some concerns about excessive conspicuous consumption among international migrant producing households.

These differentials in growth between migrant producing households may seem subtle, but when one accounts for the fact that the expenditure levels of these households are 50 percent higher than that of non-migrant households, any effect on the economic structure of these communities will be magnified. These figures have compared migrant producing households with the sample average, but of course this will mute some of these differentials as the migrant producing households themselves constitute half of the overall sample. As such, these figures should be replicated with respect to more clearly defined comparator groups such as internal migrant producing households and non-migrant producing households. The chapter now takes each of these in turn.

Consumption Growth among Internal Migrants' Households: Table 7.2.1 documented substantial differences between the levels of consumption enjoyed by internal migrant producing households and international migration producing households. The previous sub-section demonstrated that households which had an international migrant in 2014 experienced substantial consumption growth relative to the sample average. This section interrogates if these differences in subsequent growth exist between international migrant producing households and a more natural comparator group, namely internal migrant producing households. Table 7.2.3 presents the results.

Table 7.2.3: Growth in consumption aggregate and sub-categories of internal migrants

Expenditure Component	Wave 1 Mean	Wave 2 Mean	Growth
Aggregate	10058.66	12189.00	0.21
Food	6240.02	6658.73	0.07
Non-food	1825.18	2890.02	0.58
Health	719.01	829.54	0.15
Education	234.33	261.85	0.12
Rituals	1040.12	1476.93	0.42

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

Compared to international migrants, the level of overall consumption growth among internal migrant producing households is a full 9 percentage points lower among internal migrants. Put differently, on average, international

migrant producing households enjoyed approximately 43 percent more consumption growth than internal migrant producing households. This is a substantial growth premium for international migrant households over internal migrant households, especially when one bears in mind the point made earlier, that international migrant producing households were substantially richer to begin with.

Growth in many sub-components of consumption was lower for internal migrant producing households than for international ones, with two exceptions. Food consumption grew by 7 percent, which is 2 percentage points lower than for international migrants. This is not consistent with standard Engle curve arguments which would predict that a larger share of marginal consumption would be expended on food by these poorer households. Further research should aim to understand why this is the case.

Among internal migrant producing households, growth in non-food, non-durables consumption was 58 percent, compared with 80 percent for migrant producing households, resulting in a 22 percentage point differential. Growth in health expenditure was only 15 percent, a full 20 percentage points lower than that of international migrant households (35%).

The two components of consumption where the growth performance of internal migrant producing households outperformed that of international migrant producing households are educational expenditures and expenditure on rituals. The educational expenditures of internal migrant producing households grew by 12 percent, a full 50 percent more rapid than in the case of international migrant households (8%), over the 3 year sampling interval. It should be noted however that even despite this growth the average (real) expenditure on education among internal migrant households was only Taka 262 among internal migrant households, compared to 462 for international migrant households. Nonetheless this disproportionately large share of marginal consumption invested in human capital may provide cause for optimism with respect to the longer-term growth prospects of these households.

Expenditure on rituals by internal migrant producing households grew by 42 percent. This is a full 25 percentage points in excess of growth observed among international migrants. Thus, the increase in conspicuous

consumption appears to be heightened among this relatively poor sub-category. This raises potentially important distributional concerns regarding possibilities for future growth, perhaps muting some of the cause for optimism noted in the earlier section, if these expenditures turn out to be as unproductive as Banerjee and Duflo (2007) argue they are. This is also an important issue that can be interrogated in future work.

Consumption Growth among Non-Migrant Households: The previous two sub-sections presented the observed growth in overall consumption and consumption sub-components for international and internal migrant households. This section studies observed growth among non-migrant households. Table 7.2.4 presents the results.

An interesting pattern emerges from comparing the results reported in Table 7.2.4 to those reported in Tables 7.2.2 and 7.2.3. In terms of the levels of consumption and sub-components, non-migrant producing households are similar to the households of internal migrants. But in terms of the growth, non-migrant households look more like international migrant households. Growth in total consumption for non-migrant households is 0.27. This is 6 percentage points higher than that of internal migrant households, but only 3 percentage points lower than that of international migrants.

Table 7.2.4: Growth in consumption aggregate and sub-categories for non-migrants

Expenditure component	Wave 1 Mean	Wave 2 Mean	Growth
Aggregate	10480.58	13355.15	0.27
Food	6366.21	7277.35	0.14
Non-food	1855.05	3373.58	0.82
Health	598.38	984.40	0.65
Education	263.50	293.66	0.11
Rituals	1312.66	1358.20	0.03

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

In three expenditure sub-categories non-migrant households enjoy the highest growth rates: food, non-food non-durable, and health. The growth in food expenditure for non-migrant households is 14 percent, greater than that of both internal (7%) and international migrant producing households (9%). Growth in non-food non-durable consumption is also higher than for either of the migrant household groups: at 82 percent it is 2 percentage

points higher than for international migrant households and a full 34 percentage points higher than for internal migrant producing households. Growth in health expenditure for non-migrant households is by 65 percent over the 3-year period which is 50 percentage points higher than for internal migrant households and 30 percentage points higher than for international migrant households.

Growth in educational expenditure is roughly similar to the other two groups. At 11 percent, it is 1 percentage point less than for internal migrant households and 3 percentage points more than for international migrant households.

Non-migrant households have the least growth of any of the groups in expenditure on rituals at 3 percent.

These patterns of growth raise important considerations for the long term prospects of these households. There has been much speculation about the importance of internal migration in engendering consumption growth and leading to convergence between poor rural communities and affluent urban hubs in developing countries. The growth patterns reported here seem to tell a different story. It appears to be the case that internal migrant producing households in fact suffer from worse growth prospects, on average, than non-migrant producing households. What growth they do enjoy is disproportionately spent on rituals, including the extractive institution of dowry, which are arguably less likely to engender future growth than other investments such as health care, education or even food expenditure. However, it may also be the case that internal migration is a coping strategy for vulnerable households that have been affected by some adverse shock so that these households would have been even worse off if they had not been able to leverage an internal migration resource. Further research is needed to distinguish between these forces.

Engle's law holds for all groups of households, i.e. as overall consumption increases, the share of expenditure on food decreases. From a nutritional perspective, the ability of non-migrant households to close the gap on international migrant producing households is encouraging. But also, the fact that internal migrant producing households have fallen further behind their international migrant producing peers due to a combination of low

initial expenditure and slower subsequent growth, may be cause for some concern.

Another result that holds in every category of household by migration experience is the rapid growth in non-food non-durable expenditure. For every group, growth on this expenditure category outpaces overall consumption growth by a wide margin. What makes this even more interesting is the finding that initially, these goods constituted a fairly small share of overall expenditure. Over the 3 years between the Waves, these goods have grown from constituting 19 percent of the consumption bundle to 26 percent. This is a remarkably rapid change in expenditure patterns and is likely to have important consequences for the overall structure of economic activity in these communities which should be interrogated by future research.

These preliminary results have classified consumption growth by the type of migration experience of households in 2014. The SDC and RMMRU panel data however, allow us to go further. They will allow us to study changes in consumption by changes in migration status. The insights from the accompanying chapter on transitions in migration status can be combined with the insights generated here to study in greater depth how the same household fares when using different migration strategies. This also provides an exciting opportunity for future research.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has studied heterogeneity in consumption growth by the type of migration experiences among Bangladeshi households using the SDC and RMMRU panel data. There is considerable, statistically significant growth in real consumption both in aggregate, and by expenditure sub-category. Households that had experience with international migrants in 2014 enjoyed initial consumption levels that were on average 50 percent higher than those that did not. This group also enjoyed the highest level of aggregate consumption growth – 30 percent compared with 21 percent for households that had internal migrants and 27 percent for households that had no migration experience in 2014. Thus at least on aggregate, experience of international migration is re-enforcing existing inequalities.

The picture becomes somewhat more nuanced when one looks at expenditure

growth by sub-category. Here, there is some interesting heterogeneity. Non-migrant producing households are able to close the gap on their international migrant producing counterparts in some key expenditure subcomponents. At 14 percent, growth in food expenditure among non-migrant households is 5 percentage points higher than for international migrant households. For non-food non-durable expenditures, the rate of catch-up is more sluggish. Growth in this component of expenditure is only 2 percentage points greater over 3 years among non-migrant households than among international migrants, whereas the initial level of expenditure of international migrant households is 59 percent higher. There is more convincing evidence for catch-up between these two groups of households for health expenditures, where non-migrant households have closed the gap on their international migrant counterparts by 20 percentage points. However, the initial gap was large, at 116 percent.

The prospects of catch-up between internal migrant households and international migrant households are somewhat less promising. The consumption growth for internal migrants was found to exceed those of international migrants only for two sub-categories: education and rituals. In the case of education, the internal migrant category's expenditure grew at 12 percent, whereas that of international migrants grew at 8 percent, against an initial gap of 82 percent. For expenditure on rituals, the growth was 42 percent among internal migrant households, against 17 percent for international migrant households who started off with expenditure that was 159 percent higher.

CHAPTER VIII

POVERTY, POVERTY DYNAMICS AND MIGRATION

The analysis of poverty – its measurement, determinants and implications – has rightfully dominated much of the agenda in development economics. This chapter contributes to this research area by studying the interaction of poverty with the migration experience of households in Bangladesh. Earlier work on Wave 1 of this survey documented clear differences between poverty rates among non-migrant, internal migrant and international migrant households. However, because that analysis was conducted on only one Wave of data, it was not feasible to speak to the dynamics of overall poverty rates, or indeed the economic processes which move individual households into and out of poverty in Bangladesh. Much of the poverty literature has been similarly constrained by the lack of suitable panel data. This problem is compounded if one wishes to investigate the intersection of poverty and migration. The SDC and RMMRU panel data have been designed to overcome these constraints. By oversampling migrant households, this study is able to extract sufficient statistical power to speak to not only overall poverty dynamics, but also to study the poverty dynamics within and between the three categories of household by migration status.

The chapter begins by studying the dynamics of sample poverty rates between the two Waves of the survey. It documents a decline in poverty that is relatively modest compared to the impressive mean growth documented in the previous chapter. The usual narrative explaining the persistence of poverty in the face of high average growth assumes that growth must be concentrated among those who were initially well off. Contrary to this hypothesis this chapter finds that those who were initially poor experienced much higher subsequent growth than those who were non-poor. The vast majority of those who were initially poor transition out of poverty during the 3 years between survey Waves. Rather, this study finds that the reason

overall poverty persists is because a large number of households transition in the opposite direction, into poverty.

These findings speak to the nature and causes of poverty in Bangladesh. The majority of poverty in the data is transient in nature, rather than chronic, implying that a large proportion of consumption poverty in Bangladesh is related to uninsured risk, rather than a lack of growth. This insight has substantive policy implications. The fact that poor households already grow faster than the non-poor (albeit at least in part due to mean reversion) suggests that additional policies targeted at enhancing the growth prospects of the poor may be redundant. Rather, these findings speak to a profound lack of insurance possibilities for these households. As the poverty measure adopted here is based on consumption (as opposed to income) it is net of any insurance strategies available to these households. A high prevalence of transient poverty therefore speaks to a lack of insurance possibilities available to these households. Thus efforts to alleviate poverty should be targeted at mitigating the risks faced by households and providing effective insurance strategies against downside risks.

The remainder of the chapter is organised as follows. Section 8.1 discusses overall poverty dynamics in this sample against the backdrop of the high growth reported in the last chapter. Section 8.2 investigates growth heterogeneity among poor and non-poor households. Section 8.3 studies transitions into and out of poverty in the whole sample, while section 8.4 disaggregates these transitions by households' migration type.

8.1. Poverty Dynamics

Poverty can be defined by appealing to a wide array of indicators of household wellbeing such as income, consumption, wealth, or caloric intake, to name a few. The current analysis is interested in a relatively broad indicator of well-being and so does not appeal to very narrow definitions of poverty such as caloric intake. Rather it appeals to overall consumption levels as these provide a measure of the quantity of resources households utilise in a given time period, but are less noisy, than say, a corresponding measure of income. The next step to constructing a measure of poverty is to determine a threshold value below which a household will be considered poor. This chapter follows Siddiqui and Mahmood (2015)

who used the official Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics poverty line and update it for inflation, arriving at a figure of Taka 1,544 per-capita, per-month in 2014[7]. Bangladesh Bank figures put inflation in the intervening period at 20 percent. All expenditure in 2017 is deflated to 2014 Taka at this rate. The final issue that arises when undertaking poverty analysis is the choice of poverty measure. For simplicity, this chapter opts for the poverty headcount, which identifies a household as poor if its level of consumption is below the poverty line and non-poor if it is not.

Static notions of poverty have been explored using the earliest Wave of this dataset by Siddiqui and Mahmood (2015), so the focus of this chapter will be on dynamic notions. The study of these dynamic effects requires the chapter to focus on the balanced panel of 3,913 households that are interviewed in both Waves of the survey.

Elsewhere, this book has demonstrated that panel households have experienced rapid growth in consumption between the two survey Waves. Average household consumption grew by 28 percent between 2014 and 2017. This may lead the casual observer to expect gains of a similar magnitude in poverty reduction. However, high average growth is no guarantee of poverty eradication. Economic forces may be such that growth is concentrated strongly among those that are initially well-off so that very little, if any, poverty alleviation takes place. Alternatively, where large gains in poverty alleviation have been made, this is usually accompanied by substantial, broad based economic growth. It is then an empirical question as to whether or not economic growth is accompanied by poverty reduction. Table 8.1.1 begins to interrogate this question.

Table 8.1.1: Poverty rates by survey wave

Year	Wave 1	Wave 2
Poverty rate	19.70%	16.51%

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

Over the 3 years between survey waves the poverty rate in the balanced panel[8] fell from 19.7 percent to 16.51 percent. Thus the reduction in the

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7   Results do not directly replicate theirs because of use of the balanced panel, instead of the full sample from the 2014 survey.

8   These rates are below national poverty rates, such as those based on the Household Income and

poverty rate is around one percentage point per year. While any reduction in poverty is certainly a welcome development, when contrasted with the remarkable growth in average consumption documented earlier, these figures are somewhat less impressive.

8.2 Heterogeneous Growth and Poverty

One obvious possibility is that households who were initially poor were excluded from the impressive economic growth documented earlier. To test this hypothesis, Table 8.2.1 disaggregates consumption growth by poverty status in 2014.

Table 8.2.1: Initial poverty status and consumption growth

Status in Wave 1	Consumption in Wave 1	Consumption in Wave 2	Growth
Poor	7,239.17	12,868.21	0.78
Non-poor	14,129.61	17,163.40	0.21

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

The results do not support the hypothesis that the 771 households who were initially poor were excluded from growth opportunities. To the contrary, those who were initially poor experienced consumption growth of 78 percent, compared with 21 percent for their non-poor counterparts[9]. Thus the failure to eradicate poverty among these groups cannot be explained by 'sticky floors,' that is, the notion that the poor are excluded from growth.

A hypothesis that explains the prevalence of poverty and high rates of observed growth among the poor is that poverty is driven by the realization of uninsured adverse shocks to household well-being such as illness or drought or unsuccessful migration. In this view, a negative shock and a lack of insurance possibilities force a household to cut consumption to levels below the poverty line. Once the shock passes, observed household income reverts back to its mean level as does observed household consumption. Meanwhile, another set of households in the sample that is initially labelled as non-poor

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Expenditure Survey (2016) because the SDC and RMMRU survey oversamples migrant households by design. As international migrant households are richer than the population average, the sample poverty rate is lower

9   Some of this growth may be driven by mean reversion, say for example if a household was poor in 2014 because it experienced a transient adverse shock which has since passed.

may experience an adverse, uninsured economic shock which may cause its consumption to fall to levels below the poverty line in Wave 2, thereby explaining persistence in the overall incidence of poverty.

This hypothesis not only explains why poor households should on average have higher subsequent growth rates, but it also predicts that currently poor households are likely to be poor because they have experienced an adverse, uninsured shock. To investigate this possibility, Table 8.2.2 reports the levels of growth among households that were poor in the second Wave of the survey. The 646 households that were poor in 2017 experienced substantial, negative consumption growth between the two periods on the order of 38 percent of their 2014 income.

Table 8.2.2: Final poverty status and consumption growth

Status in Wave 1	Consumption in Wave 1	Consumption in Wave 2	Growth
Poor	11,094.64	6,851.20	-0.38
Non Poor	13,103.62	18,188.84	0.39

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

8.3 Poverty Transitions

Tables 8.2.1 and 8.2.2 evidence a great deal of heterogeneity in the growth experience of panel households. High levels of positive growth among households that were initially poor suggests that it may be feasible for households to transition out of poverty, whereas large negative growth among households who turned out to be poor in 2017 implies that they may have transitioned into poverty. To interrogate this issue formally, Table 8.3.1 presents a transition matrix, similar in structure to those studied in earlier chapters, but focused on the issue of transitions into and out of poverty.

Table 8.3.1: Poverty transition matrix

Status in 2014	Status in 2017	
	Poor	Non-poor
Poor	7.05% (276)	12.65% (495)
Non-poor	9.46% (370)	70.84% (2772)

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017   Note: Number of observations in each cell in parentheses

The rows of table 8.3.1 represent the poverty status of households in 2014, whereas the columns do so for 2017. The main statistic in the table is

the proportion of the sample households in each cell and the number of households in each cell is in parentheses. The cells on the diagonal of the matrix represent households whose poverty status has not changed between the two Waves. Seven percent of households are poor in both survey Waves, while 71 percent are observed above the poverty line in both survey Waves. The off-diagonal terms in the transition matrix represent households that have transitioned into and out of poverty. Nine percent of the sample households started off as non-poor in 2014 but subsequently became poor. Conversely, 13 percent of households were poor in 2014 but had escaped poverty by 2017.

In the spirit of Jalan and Ravallion[10] (2007) this chapter refers to those households that were poor in both periods as 'chronically poor', but those that transition into or out of poverty as being affected by 'transient poverty'. By this definition, only 276 households in our sample are chronically poor, whereas 865 are transient poor. To put it differently, in 2014 the proportion of the poor who suffered from transient poverty was 64.2 percent, and in 2017 this proportion was 57.3 percent.

8.4 Poverty Dynamics and Migration Type

Table 8.4.1 provides a sense of the dynamics of poverty rates by the initial migration experiences of households. The initial poverty rate is lowest among international migrants. It is somewhat higher among internal migrant households than among non-migrant households. This pattern is broadly consistent with the expenditure aggregates from the preceding chapter. The poverty rate declines among all three migration categories. The final column provides a sense of the relative magnitudes of each of the

Table 8.4.1: Poverty rates by migrant status in Wave 1

Status in Wave 1	Poverty Rate in 2014 (%)	Poverty Rate in 2017 (%)	Decline (%)
International Migrant	10.34	9.60	7.11
Internal Migrant	32.16	28.08	12.68
Non-migrant	24.66	17.52	28.94

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

10 Their definition of transient poverty is more general than the one we adopt here.

declines. The proportionate decline in the poverty rate was least for households with an international migrant, and most for non-migrant households. However, in light of the above, it is important to disaggregate these poverty rates into chronic and transient components.

International Migration and Poverty Dynamics: Table 8.4.2 presents the poverty transition matrix for households that had international migrants in 2014. It is unsurprising that the poverty rates in these households are very low. What is interesting, however, is the composition of what poverty does exist. In 2014 there are 197 poor households, of which only 22.34 percent remain poor in 2017. The other 77.66 percent are able to successfully transition out of poverty by that time. In 2017 there are 183 households that are poor, but 75.96 percent of them are households that have transitioned into poverty since 2014, whereas the remaining 24.04 percent are chronically poor by the definition above.

Table 8.4.2: Poverty transition matrix for international migrant households

Status in 2014	Status in 2017	
	Poor	Non-poor
Poor	2.31% (44)	8.03% (153)
Non-poor	7.29 % (139)	82.37% (1570)

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017
Note: Number of observations in each cell in parentheses

Thus, among international migrant producing households, though the overall level of poverty is low, the vast majority of what poverty exists is transient as opposed to chronic. In the context of the "New economics of labour migration" (Stark and Bloom, 1985) literature which posits that migration is a household decision that is at least in part undertaken to mitigate household exposure to risk, these findings suggest that such-risk sharing arrangements may be less effective in the current context of international labour migration from Bangladesh. This may be because of relatively recent changes in the nature of migration to the Gulf and other Arab and South-East Asian countries. Key informant interviews and case studies generated under this study indicate that a good number of international migrants are not able to get jobs upon arrival in the destination countries, some are subject to irregular payment and some return empty handed. Siddiqui and Abrar (forthcoming) study cheating and fraudulence in the international migration sector, and find that it has become an increasingly risky venture.

A migrant who is successful in their first migration can be unsuccessful their second or third. The Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys have not been designed to look into this aspect of international migration. However, these findings on transient poverty and international migration necessitate that the Wave 3 interrogates these issues rigorously.

Transient poverty may also be linked to migration status. Chapter VI showed that in the majority cases, income drops substantially when a migrant returns home. Even when migrants send regular remittances, households often use these to finance current expenditure. Key informant interviews confirm that neither the majority of the migrants nor their families consider remittances as a source of capital for generating future income. Under these circumstances, these households may fall into poverty once remittances stop flowing upon the migrants return.

Internal Migration and Poverty Dynamics: Table 8.4.3 presents the poverty transition matrix for internal migrant households. Among the three groups, these households have the highest rate of overall poverty. In absolute terms, a large share of that poverty continues to be transient. However, it is noteworthy in comparison to other groups, the share of transient poverty in total poverty is relatively small for the households of internal migrants. In 2014, only 56.34 percent of poverty is transient, and this falls to 50 percent in 2017. Thus it may be the case that internal migration, despite its relatively low growth premium, is better suited to performing an insurance function than international migration.

Table 8.4.3: Poverty transition matrix for internal migrant households

Status in 2014	Status in 2017	
	Poor	Non-poor
Poor	14.04% (148)	18.12% (191)
Non-poor	14.04 % (148)	53.80% (567)

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

The Poverty Dynamics of Non-Migrant Households: Non-migrant households provide an interesting comparator group for the two categories of migrant households. In 2014, the share of transient poverty in total poverty is 64.26 percent, roughly mid-way between the shares of the two migrant categories. By 2017, however, the share of transient poverty in total poverty drops to 49.70 percent, very close to that of internal migrant households.

If the intuition on uninsured risks being the key driver of transient poverty is correct, then non-migrant households have substantially more uninsured consumption risk than households that have internal migrants (recalling that these households have similar average incomes) in 2014, but by 2017 the insurance possibilities available to them more closely resemble the households of internal migrants.

Table 8.4.4: Poverty transition matrix for non-migrant households

Status in 2014	Status in 2017	
	Poor	Non-poor
Poor	8.81% (84)	15.84% (151)
Non-poor	8.71% (83)	66.63% (635)

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017

At this point, the results begin to portray a somewhat more nuanced sense of the economic realities these households face. The forces that prevent rapid overall growth from eradicating poverty in these communities are not of the sort that prevent the poor from participating in growth. Rather, those who are poor in one period appear to enjoy a disproportionately large share of subsequent growth, which allows the majority of them to transition out of poverty. The reason that poverty persists on aggregate is that a large number of households also transition in the opposite direction, to poverty having experienced large, negative growth. The pertinent issue therefore, is neither the magnitude nor incidence of growth, but rather its variance.

The prominence of risk in this economic setting may also explain the exceptionally high levels of growth observed after spells of poverty. Households are being pushed into poverty presumably by the realisation of uninsured, adverse shocks. If these shocks are transitory in nature, then reversion to the mean may follow spells of poverty. Such forces could explain the disproportionately high levels of consumption growth observed among households that were initially poor.

Chapter Conclusion

The overall poverty level of all three groups fell between the two waves. In 2014 10.34 percent of the international migrant households were living below poverty line. In 2017 this dropped to 9.60 percent. In 2014, 32.16 percent of the international migrant households were living below poverty

line, which dropped to 28.08 percent in 2017. In 2014, 24.66 percent of the non-migrant households were living below poverty line whereas in 2017 this fell to 17.52. Contrasted to the robust growth performance documented in the last chapter, these reductions in poverty are fairly modest. However, this chapter finds that it is not the case that all the benefits of growth were captured by those who were relatively rich to begin with or that those who were initially poor were left behind. Rather, it finds that most of the households who were initially poor were able to transition out of poverty whereas other households transitioned into poverty. Decomposing poverty into chronic and transient components sheds important insights on the economic forces that affect these households.

The economic setting in which sample households operate appears to be characterized by extremely high levels of uninsured risk. Changing economic circumstances cause a high incidence of transient poverty, even though the incidence of chronic poverty is fairly low, at 7 percent. The distinction between chronic poverty and transient poverty has important policy implications. Policies that are designed to tackle one will not necessarily be effective at tackling the other (Jalan and Ravallion, 2007). Issues of chronic poverty require either efforts to stimulate growth or redistribution. Tackling transient poverty, by contrast, requires a focus on mitigating and managing risks and correcting failures in insurance markets.

The chapter has also studied the effectiveness of internal and international migration in managing these risks. Despite low overall poverty among the households of international migrants, a large share of what poverty is experienced by these households is transient poverty. While it is not surprising that chronic poverty is low among these relatively rich households, what is surprising is that international migration is not always an effective insurance strategy against consumption poverty.

While the households of internal migrants suffered from substantial levels of chronic poverty, the share of transient poverty in total poverty was relatively small. This suggests that internal migration may serve an important insurance function, in the vein argued by Stark and Bloom (1985).

In absolute terms, poverty was also prevalent among non-migrant households. However, the share of transient poverty in total poverty

appeared to be declining over time more rapidly for these households than for the other groups. This suggests that effective risk management strategies, other than internal migration, may have become increasingly available to households in these communities.

CHAPTER IX

MIGRANT INVESTMENT

This chapter compares the investment patterns of migrant and non-migrant households during the first and second waves of the survey. It also discusses investment patterns in newly included districts. Five major investment areas are analysed. These are land ownership and land use, contributions to agricultural development, investments in agro-based industry, enterprises, and investment in financial instruments.

9.1 Land Ownership and Use

Internal, international and non-migrant households all own different types of land: homestead, commercial, situated within the village, situated in local *upazilas*, in districts or in metropolitan cities. They also possess agricultural land. In the following, a comparison of land holding patterns between Wave 1 and Wave 2 is presented.

Ownership of Homestead Land: More than 95 percent of the households of all three groups, internal, international and non-migrant possess homestead land in the village. Ninety-eight percent of the international migrant households, ninety-five percent internal and non-migrant households live in dwellings that are constructed on their own land. Ownership of homestead land in the village of all three groups did not change much between the Wave 1 and the Wave 2 surveys. In the case of international migrants, it did not change at all. In the case of internal migrants and non-migrant households, it has increased by 2 percent. Compared to Wave 1, homestead land in the *upazila* has more than doubled for all three groups (Table 9.1.1). This shows that people purchase land in urban locations if they can afford to. The neighbours of a few of the houses which were interviewed during the first round of the survey but could not be traced during the second Wave stated that left behind wives have moved to the *upazila* with their school going children for better education.

In the case of newly included districts, the number of households of international migrants who owned homestead land is the lowest. Eighty four percent of them own homestead land. Eighty eight percent of non-migrant and 91 percent of the internal migrants own their homestead land. Mostly women migrate from the three newly included districts. A substantial number of international women migrant households do not possess homestead land. Due to this fact, the percentage of households who do not possess land is higher compared to the balanced panel of Wave 1 and Wave 2.

The gender of the migrant has an important bearing on the ownership of homestead land with respect to international migrants. Ninety seven percent of male international migrants possess homestead land whereas only 83 percent of female international migrant do. Those who do not possess homestead land reside on land owned by others. In all but a small section of such cases, those residing on the land do not pay rent to those who own the land. Generally, it is only the very poor who do not own homestead land. This therefore may indicate that international female migrants come from very poor backgrounds. There is not much of a difference in the case of male and female internal migrants in this respect. They represent similar homestead ownership status. Ninety-three percent of internal female migrants and 94 percent of male internal migrants possess homestead land.

Average Size of Homestead Land: There is no significant change in the land size of the respondents. In Wave 2 the average homestead land size of the non-migrant household in the village is 13 decimals. In Wave 1 it was 12 decimals. Homestead land sizes of international migrants have reduced by 1.5 percent. During Wave 1 it was 16.75 decimals but in Wave 2 it was 15.25 decimal. For internal migrant average homestead land size reduced by 1.5 percent. In Wave 1 it was around 13.63 decimals and in Wave 2 this came down to around 12.05 decimals. There are many explanations for this reduction. Most importantly, some of the joint households have split into nuclear households. In some cases, the homestead land that was recorded under one household in Wave 1 was recorded under more than one household in Wave 2.

Table 9.1.1 Ownership of different type of land by type of migration and gender

Ownership	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Homestead land in village including adjacent ponds	97.8	96.5	97.7	95.0	91.2	94.7	95.0
Homestead land in local upazila/district	2.6	.7	2.5	1.8	1.1	1.7	1.2
Homestead land in metropolitan cities	1.6	0.0	1.5	.4	0.0	.4	.1
Land not owned but used by the family	2.5	3.5	2.5	4.4	8.8	4.8	5.0
Agricultural land	50.5	30.3	49.0	30.0	18.7	28.9	35.2
Commercial land in local market	1.6	0.0	1.5	.8	1.1	.8	1.5
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**905**	**91**	**996**	**995**
Wave 1							
Homestead land in village including adjacent ponds	98.1	97.5	98.1	94.5	83.2	93.0	93.2
Homestead land in local upazila/district	1.5	.6	1.4	.7	.7	.7	.5
Homestead land in metropolitan cities	1.6	0.0	1.5	.4	0.0	.4	.2
Land not owned but used by the family	2.1	4.4	2.3	4.5	9.5	5.1	6.0
Agricultural land	47.8	19.5	45.5	27.9	17.5	26.5	29.8
Commercial land in local market	1.9	.6	1.8	.7	.7	.7	1.2
Commercial land in local upazila/district	.6	.6	.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Commercial land in metropolitan cities	.3	0.0	.3	.2	.7	.3	0.0
Total no. of cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Wave 2 new districts							
Homestead land in village including adjacent ponds	95.0	75.2	84.8	90.5	97.5	91.5	88.30
Homestead land in local upazila/district	1.3	2.4	1.8	1.4	0.0	1.2	0.50
Land not owned but used by the family	5.0	25.7	15.6	9.5	5.0	8.8	11.90
Commercial land in local market	1.9	.3	1.1	.5	0.0	.4	1.90
Homestead land in metropolitan cities	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	.4	0.00
Agricultural land	39.3	12.0	25.3	50.0	65.0	52.3	33.60
Total no. of cases	**318**	**334**	**652**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**580**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of responses

It was seen that some of the migrants have bought homestead land in the *Upazila*. These groups may have disposed of their village land. Some others may have sold their land for other purposes. In a few areas, for example Shariatpur, a section have lost their land due to riverbank erosion. In the case of international migrants it may be the case that a portion of household land had to be sold due to failed migration. It was noted in the section on the costs of migration that some migrant households take loans to finance migration. If the migrant cannot find work and remit money back, then eventually the concerned families may have to sell some of their land holdings to pay off the loan. In the new districts added in Wave 2 of the survey the average homestead land size of an international migrant household is 13.83 decimals and that of internal and non-migrants it is 14.87 and 14.70 decimals, respectively.

Size of Homestead Land: Table 9.1.4 shows landlessness has decreased by 1 percent in the case of internal and non-migrant households during Wave 2 survey compared to Wave 1. For international migrant, it remained more or less same. In the second wave, 2 percent of the international migrant households and 5 percent of both internal and non-migrant households are landless. The number of households having land up to 5 decimal has increased in the cases of international and internal migrants and remained constant in the case of non-migrants between Wave 1 and Wave 2.

Table 9.1.3 Average size of homestead land by migration type and gender (in decimal)

Homestead land in village including adjacent ponds	Wave 2						
	International			Internal			Non-migrant
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Mean	15.6	10.71	15.25	12.08	11.75	12.05	12.78
Minimum	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum	360	150	360	266	83	266	280
	Wave 1						
Mean	17.07	16.43	16.77	14.04	13.16	13.63	12.2
Minimum	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum	200	200	200	200	200	200	300
	Wave 2 new districts						
Mean	16.77	10.28	13.83	19.36	13.99	14.87	14.7
Minimum	1	1	1	1	2	1	0.5
Maximum	1200	104	1200	200	120	200	200

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household

In the new districts, the number of landless people is much higher. Fifteen percent of international migrants, 8 percent of internal migrants and 12 percent of non-migrant households are landless. Landlessness is much higher in the case of female international migrants' households. Twenty-five percent of them are landless whereas only 2.5 percent of the female internal migrants are landless. Thirty-one percent of the international migrants, 34 percent of non-migrant and 22 percent of the internal migrant households only possess 1 to 5 decimal homestead land.

Table 9.1.4: Size of homestead land by migration type and gender (in decimal)

Wave 2							
Homestead land	**International (%)**			**Internal (%)**			**Non-migrant (%)**
	MMH	**FMH**	**TMH**	**MMH**	**FMH**	**TMH**	
Land less	2.19	3.52	2.29	4.97	8.79	5.32	5.03
1-5	29.08	42.96	30.11	35.10	37.36	35.34	38.19
6-10	26.95	25.35	26.83	27.15	21.98	26.71	26.13
11-20	23.64	18.31	23.24	21.08	19.78	20.98	16.68
21-40	12.58	7.75	12.22	8.17	8.79	8.23	9.85
41-100	4.38	1.41	4.16	2.87	3.30	2.91	3.12
100+	1.18	0.70	1.14	0.66	0.00	0.60	1.01
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**906**	**91**	**997**	**995**
Wave 1							
Land less	1.86	2.52	1.91	5.48	16.79	6.96	6.81
1-5	23.79	39.62	25.09	34.43	31.39	34.03	38.51
6-10	29.93	25.79	29.59	25.55	21.90	25.07	23.94
11-20	24.69	23.27	24.57	21.16	18.98	20.88	17.45
21-40	13.47	8.18	13.04	9.65	8.03	9.44	10.11
41-100	5.41	0.63	5.02	3.40	2.92	3.34	2.87
100+	0.85	0.00	0.78	0.33	0.00	0.29	0.32
Total no. of cases	**1774**	**159**	**1933**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Wave 2 new districts							
Land less	5.06	24.92	15.25	9.55	2.50	8.46	11.70
1-5	32.59	28.53	30.51	21.82	20.00	21.54	34.25
6-10	30.06	22.22	26.04	21.36	20.00	21.15	22.20
11-20	17.09	16.82	16.95	18.18	15.00	17.69	16.18
21-40	10.13	6.61	8.32	15.91	25.00	17.31	11.02
41-100	4.43	0.60	2.47	12.27	15.00	12.69	4.30
100+	0.63	0.30	0.46	0.91	2.50	1.15	0.34
Total no. of cases	**316**	**333**	**649**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**581**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household

Ownership of Agricultural Land: The percentage of households who possess agricultural land increased for all three categories of respondents. Forty six percent of international migrants owned agricultural land in Wave 1, whereas in Wave 2 this has risen to 49 percent. Twenty seven percent of internal migrants owned agricultural land in Wave 1, whereas in Wave 2, 29 percent own such land. Thirty percent of non-migrants used to own agricultural land. In Wave 2, this increased by 5 percent. In the newly included districts only 25 percent own agricultural land.

A comparison of agricultural land ownership patterns of male and female migrant households in 20 districts shows that only 17 percent of the households who have female migrants own agricultural land whereas 48 percent of the international male migrant households owned such land (Table 9.1.6). There is hardly any difference between male and female internal migrants with respect to ownership of agricultural land. This again indicates that international female migrants come from poorer backgrounds in terms of their land holdings.

Table 9.1.5: Ownership of agricultural land by migration type and gender

Ownership of agricultural land	Wave 2						
	International (%)			Internal (%)			Non-migrant (%)
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Yes	898	43	941	271	17	288	350
	50.5	30.3	49.0	30.0	18.7	28.9	35.2
No	879	99	978	633	74	707	643
	49.5	69.7	51.0	70.0	81.3	71.1	64.8
Total no. of cases	**1777**	**142**	**1919**	**904**	**91**	**995**	**993**
Wave 1							
Yes	848	31	879	254	24	278	280
	47.8	19.5	45.5	27.9	17.5	26.5	29.8
No	925	128	1053	658	113	771	660
	52.2	80.5	54.5	72.1	82.5	73.5	70.2
Total no. of cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Wave 2 new districts							
Yes	125	40	165	110	26	136	195
	39.3	12.0	25.3	50.0	65.0	52.3	33.6
No	193	294	487	110	14	124	385
	60.7	88.0	74.7	50.0	35.0	47.7	66.4
Total no. of cases	**318**	**334**	**652**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**580**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household

Table 9.1.6 Ownership of agricultural land (All 20 districts)

Agricultural land	International			Internal			Non-migrant
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Yes	1152	95	1247	407	64	471	590
	47.9%	17.4%	42.2%	33.1%	33.2%	33.1%	34.1%
No	1254	451	1705	823	129	952	1142
	52.1%	82.6%	57.8%	66.9%	66.8%	66.9%	65.9%
Total no. of cases	2406	546	2952	1230	193	1423	1732

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household

9.2 Possession of Agricultural Equipment

Table 9.2.1 (page 140) compares the investment patterns of internal, international and non-migrant households in agricultural equipment between Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the survey. It also reports on newly included districts. The table shows that investment in agricultural equipment has increased significantly during Wave 2. During Wave 1, 14 percent of the international migrants owned an irrigation pump. In Wave 2, the figure rose to 18 percent . The same true for both internal and non-migrants. In their case, in Wave 1 around 8 percent from each group had irrigation pumps and in Wave 2, approximately 13 percent of the internal and 12 percent of the non-migrant households owned irrigation pumps. Similar growth rates are visible in case of power tiller ownership as well. In the earlier Wave, 5 to 7 percent of all three types of households owned power tillers. In the latest data, 7 percent of the international, 5 percent of internal and 8 percent of non-migrants own power tillers.

9.3 Agro-based Farming

Agro-based farming includes animal husbandry, poultry and fisheries. The number of households that report being involved in these types of farm activities has increased manifold in Wave 2 of the survey compared to Wave 1. This is because of a change in definition.

Poultry: During the first Wave the study only counted poultry farms. This time the definition included all households who have poultry. They may own a poultry farm or they may rear free range poultry. Forty-eight percent of the international migrant households, 60 percent of internal migrants and 54 percent of the non-migrant households either have poultry farms or may

Table 9.2.1: Possession of agricultural equipment by migration type and gender

Agricultural Equipment	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Irrigation Pump	18.60	7.90	18	12.90	13.30	13	12.30
Power Tiller	7.80	0	7	4.70	5.60	5	8.10
Tractor / Mahinda	11.50	5.10	11	7.00	7.70	7	9.20
Dhan Marai Machine	13.30	2.90	13	7.30	8.00	7	9.20
Portable rice mill	4.70	1.30	4	4.10	1.30	4	3.60
Others	3.80	0.70	4	0.20	0.00	0	0.60
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**905**	**91**	**996**	**993**
Wave 1							
Irrigation Pump	14.9	6.9	14.3	8.1	9.5	8.3	8.4
Power Tiller	7.3	0.0	6.7	3.4	5.1	3.6	5.5
Tractor / Mahinda	11.9	4.4	11.3	5.5	8.8	5.9	6.4
Dhan Marai Machine	10.1	1.9	9.4	5.8	8.0	6.1	8.1
Portable rice mill	3.6	0.0	3.3	1.8	0.0	1.5	2.3
Others	3.6	0.0	3.3	1.1	0.0	1.0	1.1
Total no. of cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Wave 2 new districts							
Irrigation pump	23.3	9.3	16.1	34.5	57.5	38.1	31.30
Power tiller	13.8	3.9	8.7	28.2	45.0	30.8	24.60
Tractor / Mahinda	16.7	8.4	12.4	10.9	30.0	13.8	15.30
Dhan marai machine	9.7	6.3	8.0	20.5	27.5	21.5	18.80
Portable rice mill	3.5	2.7	3.1	7.3	7.5	7.3	10.50
Others	.3	0.0	.2	3.6	5.0	3.8	3.80
Total no. of cases	**318**	**335**	**653**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**581**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of responses

raise free range chicken and duck (Table 9.3.1). Compared to male international migrant households, a lower number of female international migrant households rear poultry. One of the reasons could be that it is usually the women of the household who raise poultry. In the absence of the female migrant, there may be no other member in the household willing to raise poultry. A large group of respondents from newly included districts also raised poultry. Forty nine percent of international migrant households, 52 percent of internal migrant households and 53 percent of non-migrant households raise poultry. In a comparison between male and female international migrant households, it appears that in both the balanced and the newly included districts the percentage of households who raise poultry is lower for female migrants.

Animal Husbandry: Table 9.3.2 (page 142) provides an idea of the extent of involvement of migrant and non-migrant households in animal husbandry. Twenty-nine percent of the international migrant households, 40 percent of the internal migrant households and 39 percent of the non-migrant households report being involved in animal husbandry in Wave 2 of the survey. Compared to Wave 1, this is a major increase. However, the number of animals reared is quite small. In more than 90 percent of the cases, the number of animals raised hover between 1 and 5. This is for both Waves of the survey. The same scenario exists in the case of newly included districts.

Table 9.3.1: Ownership of poultry by migration type and gender

Ownership of poultry	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Yes	49.1	34.8	48.0	60.0	59.3	59.9	54.8
No	50.9	65.2	52.0	40.0	40.7	40.1	45.2
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**141**	**1922**	**905**	**91**	**996**	**996**
Wave 1							
Yes	12.2	4.4	11.6	18.6	13.1	17.9	9.6
No	87.8	95.6	88.4	81.4	86.9	82.1	90.4
Total no. of cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Wave 2 new districts							
Yes	54.3	45.7	49.8	53.2	52.5	53.1	53.2
No	45.7	54.3	50.2	46.8	47.5	46.9	46.8
Total no. of cases	**317**	**335**	**652**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**581**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household

Fish Culture: Involvement in fish culture has increased for all three groups of participants. Only 3 percent of international migrant households were involved in fisheries during Wave 1 of the survey. In Wave 2, this fraction increased to 11 percent. For internal migrants it has increased from 9 percent to 15 percent, and in the case of non-migrant households it has increased from 5 percent to 13 percent (Table 9.3.3, page 143).

Table 9.3.2: Ownership of domestic animals by types of migration

Ownership of animals	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Yes	28.4	38.3	29.1	39.8	48.4	40.6	38.5
No	71.6	61.7	70.9	60.2	51.6	59.4	61.5
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Number of animals							
1-5	93.28	90.91	93.05	91.09	95.45	91.56	91.91
6-10	5.34	9.09	5.70	8.08	4.55	7.69	7.57
11-20	0.99	0.00	0.89	0.28	0.00	0.25	0.52
21+	0.40	0.00	0.36	0.56	0.00	0.50	0.00
Total no. of cases	**506**	**55**	**561**	**359**	**44**	**403**	**383**
Wave 1							
Yes	11.7	16.4	12.1	15.4	32.1	17.5	11.4
No	88.3	83.6	87.9	84.6	67.9	82.5	88.6
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Number of animals							
1-5	91.53	83.33	90.61	95.19	100.00	95.69	93.75
6-10	7.41	16.67	8.45	4.81	0.00	4.31	5.00
11-20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
21+	1.06	0.00	0.94	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.25
Total no. of cases	**189**	**24**	**213**	**104**	**12**	**116**	**80**
Wave 2 new districts							
Yes	30.6	32.2	31.4	40.9	37.5	40.4	36.3
No	69.4	67.8	68.6	59.1	62.5	59.6	63.7
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Number of animals							
1-5	92.78	92.59	92.68	85.56	80.00	84.76	89.10
6-10	6.19	6.48	6.34	12.22	13.33	12.38	10.43
11-20	1.03	0.93	0.98	2.22	6.67	2.86	0.47
21+	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total no. of cases	**97**	**108**	**205**	**90**	**15**	**105**	**211**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household

9.4 Enterprise Development

Investment in mills and factories: The number of enterprises owned by all types of households is very low. The type of enterprises listed in the questionnaire are cold storage, hand loom textile, fish/poultry feed producing factory, ice factory, recycling enterprise, oil grinding mill, large rice mill, flour mill, saw mill, paper mill, restaurant, road-side food outlet/

Table 9.3.3: Investment in fish culture by types of migration and gender

Fish culture	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Yes	11.2	3.5	10.6	15.6	12.1	15.3	13.0
No	88.8	96.5	89.4	84.4	87.9	84.7	87.0
Total no. of cases	1781	141	1922	905	91	996	996
Wave 1							
Yes	2.7	1.9	2.6	9.3	8.0	9.2	5.1
No	97.3	98.1	97.4	90.7	92.0	90.8	94.9
Total no. of cases	1773	159	1932	912	137	1049	940
Wave 2 new districts							
Yes	12.0	3.0	7.4	10.0	2.5	8.8	6.6
No	88.0	97.0	92.6	90.0	97.5	91.2	93.4
Total no. of cases	317	335	652	220	40	260	580

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household

hotel, etc. Compared to Wave 1, the number of enterprises has increased, albeit marginally. Growth in enterprise ownership mainly took place among male international migrant households. Out of the 16, 15 are owned by male migrant households and only one is owned by a female migrant household. A fish feed farm that is no longer operational, was owned by a female migrant household. Earlier, the internal migrant households did not own any enterprises. Now, this group mentioned ownership of 5 enterprises; among them 4 are owned by the households of male migrants and 1 by the households of female migrants. In 2014 only 3 enterprises were owned by the non-migrant households, whereas in 2017 this number increased to 13. The row 'others' include 4 auto repair/ mechanic shops, 2 brickfields, 2 decorators' shops, 1 generator retialer, 1 ice-cream factory, 1 pillar factory and 1 warehouse. The number of enterprises is also very low in the newly included districts. Among 1513 international, internal and non-migrant households only 50 households own any enterprise.

9.5 Investment in Transportation

Migrant and non-migrant households alike invested more in vehicles than they did in mills and factories. Wave 2 of the survey recorded 257 incidents of investment in various types of vehicles. In Wave 1, the corresponding figure was 194. Thus between the waves, the number of investments in vehicles has grown by 32 percent. The vehicles include rickshaws, vans,

Table 9.4.1: Investment in mills and factories by migration type and gender

Enterprise	Wave 2						Non-migrant
	International			Internal			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Handloom/ textile factory	2	0	2	1	1	2	3
Fish/poultry feed factory	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Ice factory	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Plastic recycling factory	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Large rice mill	2	0	2	0	0	0	1
Saw mill	2	0	2	1	0	1	2
Restaurant	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Roadside food hotel/open food outlet	15	1	16	4	1	5	13
Others	1	0	1	1	0	1	10
Total no. of cases	24 (1.35%)	1 (0.7%)	25 (1.30%)	9 (0.99%)	2 (2.2%)	11 (1.10%)	20 (2%)
Wave 1							
Handloom/ textile factory	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Fish/poultry feed factory	2	1	3	0	0	0	1
Ice factory	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Oil grinding mill	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Large rice mill	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
Roadside food hotel/food outlet	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Others	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total no. of cases	9 (0.51%)	1 (0.63%)	10 (0.51%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (0.32%)
Wave 2 new districts							
Handloom/ textile factory	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Large rice mill	0	0	0	0	2	2	4
Roadside food hotel	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Others	8	3	11	1	1	2	10
Total no. of cases	9 (2.83%)	4 (1.19%)	13 (1.99%)	1 (0.45%)	3 (7.5%)	4 (1.54%)	16 (2.75%)

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household

Nosimons/Korimons, tempous, CNG/Baby Taxis, ezbikes (battery run), boats, microbuses/cars, and buses/trucks. For international migrants the highest incidence of investment was in microbuses and cars. In both

the Waves, rickshaws/vans constitute the bulk of the investments in transportation for internal migrant households and non-migrant households. Boats are the second most important avenue for investment for all three groups of respondents in Wave 2 of the survey. During the second Wave, investment in Nosimon/Korimon reduced compared to the first Wave.

Table 9.5.1: Investment in type of transport by migration type and gender

Type of transport	Wave 2						Non-migrant (%)
	International (%)			Internal (%)			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Rickshaw/Van	7.07	42.9	9	31.6	57.1	33.7	38.2
Nosimon/Korimon	2.02	0.0	2	2.6	0.0	2.4	1.5
Tempu	3.03	0.0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
CNG/Baby Taxi	9.03	0.0	8	5.3	0.0	4.8	2.9
EZbike (Battery run)	11.11	42.9	13	21.1	0.0	19.3	17.6
Boat	17.17	0.0	16	31.6	14.3	30.1	22.1
Microbus/Car	45.45	7.1	43	2.6	14.3	3.6	1.5
Bus/Truck	1.01	0.0	1	1.3	0.0	1.2	2.9
Others	4.04	7.1	4	3.9	14.3	4.8	11.8
Total no. of cases	**99**	**7**	**106**	**76**	**7**	**83**	**68**
Wave 1							
Rickshaw/Van	11.0	8.3	10.6	47.2	88.5	60.8	40.00
Nosimon/Korimon	6.8	16.7	8.2	1.9	7.7	3.8	16.67
Tempu	.0	41.7	5.9	0.0	3.8	1.3	6.67
CNG/Baby Taxi	5.5	.0	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.00
EZbike (Battery run)	1.4	8.3	2.4	1.9	0.0	1.3	6.67
Boat	4.1	.0	3.5	9.4	0.0	6.3	10.00
Microbus/Car	67.1	16.7	60.0	37.7	0.0	25.3	3.33
Bus/Truck	2.7	8.3	3.5	1.9	0.0	1.3	0.00
Others	1.4	.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.67
Total no. of cases	**73**	**12**	**85**	**53**	**26**	**79**	**30**
Wave 2 new districts							
Rickshaw/Van	50.00	41.03	42.6	0.0	25.0	7.7	47.2
Nosimon/Korimon	0.00	5.13	4.3	0.0	0.0	.0	0.0
Tempu	0.00	2.56	2.1	0.0	0.0	.0	0.0
CNG/Baby Taxi	12.50	12.82	12.8	22.2	25.0	23.1	13.9
Ezbike (Battery run)	12.50	25.64	23.4	55.6	25.0	46.2	13.9
Boat	0.00	5.13	4.3	11.1	25.0	15.4	0.0
Microbus/Car	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.0	0.0	.0	0.0
Bus/Truck	25.00	2.56	6.4	0.0	0.0	.0	2.8
Others	0.00	5.13	4.3	11.1	0.0	7.7	22.2
Total no. of cases	**8**	**39**	**47**	**9**	**4**	**13**	**36**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household

Investment in transport is very much gendered. The households of women migrant, both international and internal, invested the most in rickshaws/vans. Only 7 percent of the male international migrants invested in this mode of transport whereas 43 percent of the households of female international migrants invested is in this area. Thirty two percent of internal male migrants invested in rickshaws/vans whereas 57 percent of female internal migrants households invested in this area. A higher percentage of international women migrant households invested in ezbikes compared to males, in both Waves of survey. It is the male international migrants who have invested in microbuses/cars. The involvement of female international migrant households is comparatively low in this area. The same is true in the case of investments in CNG/Baby taxis as well. Investment in transportation among the newly included households is also quite low. Only 47 international migrant households, 13 internal migrant households, and 36 non-migrant households have any investment in transportation from the newly included areas.

9.6 Investment in Shops

Table 9.6.1 (page 148) shows the percentage of households who have invested in shops. Shops have been an important area of investment for these households. The incidence of investments in shops has doubled in all three categories of interviewees. In Wave 1, 7 percent of international migrants owned shops. In Wave 2, this rose to 11 percent. The percentage of shop owners increased from 5 percent to 12 percent in the case of non-migrants and 3 percent to 7 percent in case of internal migrants.

Around 60 percent of those shops owned by the international and non-migrant households are in local market places. Around 20 to 30 percent of the shops of all three categories of respondents are situated close to their own homestead or on a road side. These are usually grocery stores. Only a handful of them own stores further afield in the district or in metropolitan cities.

There is a strong difference in shop ownership with respect to gender. Out of 202 cases of international migrant households, only 9 owners were households of female migrants while the rest are all owned by male migrants. This general pattern was also true of internal migrants. Out of 69

shop owning households, only 8 were owned by female migrants. This is broadly unchanged from Wave 1 of the survey.

9.7 Financial instruments

Holding a bank account: Financial literacy is considered an important means of economic and social development. Even a decade ago, only a small percentage of people could access bank and non-bank financial institutions. Credit from NGOs was the major source of formal loans to the rural poor. Migration created an opportunity for bringing an otherwise unlinked population into contact with formal financial institutions. The need for transferring remittances brought the migrants and their left behind families into contact with banks, exchange houses, etc. Even after migrants return, most of them continued to maintain their accounts. A comparison of Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the survey (Table 9.7.1) shows that compared to internal and non-migrant households, more members of international migrant households have bank accounts. However, the percentage of international migrant households who have bank accounts has reduced.

For the other two types of respondents it has increased. It is still highest among the households of international migrants. In Wave 1 of the balanced panel, 31 percent of the international migrant households had bank accounts. During the second Wave, this percentage decreased to 29 percent. For internal migrants, the share increased from 10 percent to 14 percent and for non-migrant households, it increased from 9 percent to 12 percent. Seventy-two percent of international migrant households do not receive remittances through formal channels. The introduction of money transfer by using personal identification numbers has reduced the necessity of having a bank account.

A comparison of male and female migrant households indicates that the rate of holding a bank account is marginally lower in the case of female migrant households than their male counterparts among internal, international and non-migrant cohorts. This is the case in both Waves of survey. In Wave 2, 29 percent of the households of male migrants possessed bank accounts; in the case of female migrants this was 20 percent. Twelve percent of male internal migrants household members have bank accounts. The corresponding figure for female internal migrant households is 10 percent.

Table 9.6.1: Ownership and location of shop by migration type

Ownership and location	Wave 2						
	International (%)			Internal (%)			Non-migrant (%)
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Own shop	10.84	6.34	10.50	6.74	8.79	6.93	11.75
Do not own shop	89.16	93.66	89.50	93.26	91.21	93.07	88.25
Total no. of cases	**1781**	**142**	**1923**	**905**	**91**	**996**	**996**
Shop location							
Shop near the house	29.02	44.44	29.70	32.79	37.50	33.33	30.77
Shop in local market	64.77	55.56	64.36	60.66	62.50	60.87	64.96
Shop in metropolitan cities	3.11	0.00	2.97	6.56	0.00	5.80	0.85
Others	3.11	0.00	2.97	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.42
Total no. of cases	**193**	**9**	**202**	**61**	**8**	**69**	**117**
Wave 1							
Own shop	5.92	2.52	5.64	2.85	0.73	2.57	5.21
Do not own shop	94.08	97.48	94.36	97.15	99.27	97.43	94.79
Total no. of cases	**1773**	**159**	**1932**	**912**	**137**	**1049**	**940**
Shop location							
Shop near the house	22.86	0.00	22.02	38.46	0.00	37.04	24.49
Shop in local market	65.72	100.00	66.98	53.84	100.00	55.56	69.38
Shop in metropolitan cities	8.57	0.00	8.25	3.85	0.00	3.70	4.10
Others	2.85	0.00	2.75	3.85	0.00	3.70	2.03
Total no. of cases	**105**	**4**	**109**	**26**	**1**	**27**	**49**
Wave 2 new districts							
Own shop	16.03	7.21	11.52	7.73	2.50	6.92	12.93
Do not own shop	83.97	92.79	88.48	92.27	97.50	93.08	87.07
Total no. of cases	**318**	**333**	**651**	**220**	**40**	**260**	**580**
Shop location							
Shop near the house	39.22	41.67	40.00	52.90	100.00	55.56	24.00
Shop in local market	58.82	54.17	57.33	47.10	0.00	44.44	69.33
Shop in metropolitan cities	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Others	1.96	4.16	2.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.67
Total no. of cases	**51**	**24**	**75**	**17**	**1**	**18**	**75**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of responses

Monthly DPS and fixed deposit: Some banks offer a Deposit Pension Scheme (DPS), through which small amounts can be saved on a monthly basis for a certain number of years. During the first Wave, around 20 percent of the international migrant households invested in a DPS. By the second survey Wave, this had reduced significantly to 9 percent. In the case of internal migrants, it has increased from 8 percent to 10 percent and for non-migrant, it increased from 6 percent to 7 percent.

Table 9.7.1: Type of savings by migration type and gender

Type of savings	Wave 2						Non-migrant %
	International %			Internal %			
	MMH	FMH	TMH	MMH	FMH	TMH	
Insurance	14.9	8.5	14.5	12.6	8.8	12.3	9.8
Account in bank	28.5	20.4	27.9	15.2	9.9	14.7	12.8
Monthly DPS	9.0	2.8	8.6	10.6	6.6	10.3	7.3
Fixed Deposit	1.2	1.4	1.2	.2	1.1	.3	.5
NGO savings	12.7	12.0	12.7	35.1	40.7	35.6	28.2
Friends, relatives and neighbours	.6	2.1	.7	3.2	2.2	3.1	0.8
Savings at home	6.4	4.9	6.3	4.2	5.5	4.3	7.2
Others	.2	0.0	.2	.7	0.0	.6	.3
Total no. of cases	**1312**	**74**	**1386**	**739**	**68**	**807**	**667**
Wave 1							
Savings certificate	.7	0.0	.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.40
Insurance	9.1	11.9	9.3	8.1	8.8	8.2	4.60
Account in bank	31.9	21.4	31.0	10.6	8.8	10.4	8.80
Monthly DPS	20.2	13.2	19.7	8.4	2.9	7.7	5.90
Fixed deposit	4.9	3.8	4.8	2.0	0.0	1.7	0.60
Government Cooperative	.2	0.0	.2	.4	0.0	.4	0.30
NGO savings	2.4	5.0	2.6	8.8	9.5	8.9	6.30
Friends, relatives and neighbours	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	0.0	1.0	2.20
Savings at home	11.1	27.0	12.4	5.2	5.1	5.1	6.90
Others	5.0	1.9	4.7	1.3	3.6	1.6	4.80
Total no. of cases	**1539**	**136**	**1675**	**420**	**53**	**473**	**384**
Wave 2 new districts							
Insurance	17.9	16.4	17.2	9.1	5.0	8.5	10.3
Account in bank	34.6	28.4	31.4	17.3	12.5	16.5	14.3
Monthly DPS	14.8	8.4	11.5	14.5	5.0	13.1	10.2
Fixed Deposit	.9	.6	.8	3.2	2.5	3.1	.9
NGO savings	23.0	21.2	22.1	26.4	27.5	26.5	25.3
Friends, relatives and neighbours	1.3	2.1	1.7	3.6	2.5	3.5	2.8
Savings at home	3.5	4.2	3.8	1.4	0.0	1.2	2.4
Others	0.0	1.2	.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	.5
Total no. of cases	**305**	**276**	**581**	**166**	**22**	**188**	**387**

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2014 and 2017, Note: MMH = Male Migrant Household, FMH = Female Migrant Household, TMH = Total Migrant Household; Each cell represents percentage of total number of responses

Fixed Deposits have also reduced for all three groups. 5 percent of international migrants reported having fixed deposits in 2014. This fell to 1 percent in 2017. In the case of internal migrants, it reduced from 2 percent to 0.3 percent. There could be many reasons for such decrease in DPSs and Fixed Deposits. It has been reported earlier that the average flow of remittances of international migrants has reduced. The interest rate on fixed deposits also reduced significantly from 2014 to 2017.

Savings with NGOs: Officially NGOs are allowed only to provide credit, not to generate savings. However, every week NGO members provide a lump-sum as group savings. All those who are members of NGOs count their share of the group savings as a part of their personal savings. Very few people mentioned these savings in Wave 1. Only 3 percent of the international migrant households, 9 percent of the internal migrant households and 6 percent of non-migrant households mentioned such savings with NGOs. In 2017, as many as 13 percent of the international migrant households, 36 percent of the internal migrant households and 28 percent of the non-migrant households had group savings with NGOs.

Savings with friends/relatives/home: Savings with friends/relatives/neighbours is not common among any category of respondents. Earlier, only 2 percent of all households were participating in such savings schemes. This was similar in Wave 2. Twelve percent international, 5 percent internal and 7 percent of non-migrant households had some savings at home. The percentage of people who report having some savings at home has also reduced in the second Wave compared to the first.

Insurance: A significant percentage of households considered investment in life insurance schemes as savings. During the first round of the survey, 9 percent of international, 8 percent of internal and 4 percent of non-migrant households had bought a life insurance policy. Participation in life insurance scheme had increased substantially by 2017. In the second Wave of the survey, 15 percent of international, 12 percent of internal and 10 percent of non-migrant households reported having insurance policies.

Saving behaviour in newly included districts is similar to households in the second Wave of the survey in the balanced panel of households. Bank account ownership is concentrated among international migrant households.

Thirty-one percent of international migrant households have bank accounts whereas in case of internal migrants it is only half this number. Non-migrant households have the lowest rate of access to bank accounts (14 %). As for savings with various NGOs, 22 percent of international, 26 percent of internal and 25 percent of non-migrant households have savings with NGOs. Twelve percent of international, 13 percent of internal and 10 percent of non-migrant households subscribe to monthly DPSs. Like the households in the balanced panel, participation of newly included districts in the fixed deposit scheme is rather low. Participation in savings schemes with friends, relatives and neighbours has become less popular in 2017 than it used to be in 2014. Around 4 percent of internal migrants' households and 3 percent of non-migrants' households have formed such savings groups. In the case of international migrants, participation in this type of saving is even lower, at only 2 percent of households. This may indicate that access to credit through NGOs and other financial institutions including banks are increasing. Therefore, such community initiatives as forming savings clubs are reducing. On the other hand, 4 percent of international migrants' households have some savings at home. Two percent of the internal and non-migrant households also have such savings.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter helps understand the nature of the investments of migrant and non-migrant households. It also documents the different types of changes that have taken place in the area of investment over the three years between the survey waves. Both migrants and non-migrant households invested in different types of enterprises ranging from poultry, animal husbandry, fisheries, shops, transportation, mills/factories, etc. Although investment at the level of individual enterprises appears small, in aggregate they are quite significant. In both the Waves, more than 95 percent of the respondents own homestead land. The percentage of households owning homestead land in the village marginally decreased in case of international migrants. However, the decrease in ownership took place as a section of the migrants bought homestead land at the *Upazila* level. Riverbank erosion and flooding have taken away homestead land of a section of the respondents. The percentage of households who own agricultural land increased marginally in the case of international and internal migrants and decreased marginally in the case of non-migrant households. Compared

to Wave 1, the percentage of households owning agricultural equipment, poultry, fisheries and farm animals increased in Wave 2. Involvement in mills and factories has remained very low throughout the survey period. A major form of investment for all types of respondents has been shops. More than half of these shops are located in market places. A quarter of them are located on the road side or other areas near to the homestead of the respondents. The incidence of investment in vehicles has grown by 32 percent. International migrants invested more on cars, microbuses, ezbikes and boats. Internal migrants invested more on rickshaws, vans, CNGs and boats.

Bank account ownership has decreased marginally in the case of international migrants but increased among the other two groups. In general, participation in fixed deposit schemes has been very low for all three groups. Savings with NGOs, on the other hand, have increased significantly. Community savings and savings at home have also decreased. This may indicate that increased access to formal financial institutions have reduced the need for informal savings. Participation in insurance schemes has increased significantly. Such participation is also concentrated among international migrants' households.

CHAPTER X

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN MIGRATION

Over the last few years, the Government of Bangladesh has prioritized female short-term international migration in its strategic planning (Neelim & Siddiqui, 2015). As a result, female migration has increased exponentially. In 2017, 12 percent of total short-term international migrants were female (RMMRU, 2017). Given the growing importance of female migration, this chapter undertakes an analysis of female migration, both international and internal. The 2014 data did not have a sufficient number of female international migrants to conduct rigorous statistical analysis. In the 2017 survey 1,653 internal migrants and 2,839 international migrant households have been identified. Of them, 12 percent and 16 percent were females in the respective sub-samples.

This chapter begins by analysing differences in the socio-economic (section 10.1) characteristics of between male and female migrants. It goes on to conduct an analysis of gendered differences in migration costs, occupation and destination choices (sections 10.2 & 10.3). Finally, the chapter analyses the gender wage differentials between migrants and the overall returns from migration across genders (section 10.4).

10.1 Socio-economic Breakdown of Male and Female Migrants

Table 10.1.1 informs that the average age of male international migrants is 33.8 years, whereas the average age of female international migrants is 30.5 years. When the sample is restricted to individuals who have migrated between 2014 and 2017, the difference in average age disappears. The average age of male and female international migrants in this subsample is 28.7 and 28.5 respectively. Male international migrants were more likely to be married (73.4%) relative to female international migrants (54.6%). Approximately 22 percent of male international migrants were single,

whereas only 13.5 percent of females were single. Additionally, a third of the female international migrants were either separated, divorced or widowed. This is in stark contrast to male migrants, who separated in only 1 percent of the cases. Amongst more recent international migrants, the differences with regards to married and single status are less pronounced. However, even within new female migrants, 26 percent report being separated. The average age of separated female migrant is 30, which is similar to the average age of female migrants who are not separated. In the entire survey population (which included non-migrants), 13 percent of female respondents reported being separated. These statistics suggest that women who choose to migrate internationally are disproportionately more likely to be separated relative to the overall sample.

Table 10.1.1: Socio-economic characteristics of international migrants across gender

Characteristics	Sample of Migrants			Migrants between 15-17			Full Sample	
	M	F	p-value	M	F	p-value	M	F
Age	34	30	< 0.01	29	29	0.76	29	28
Married (%)	73	55	< 0.01	53	59	0.13	74	78
Single (%)	22	14	< 0.01	34	11	< 0.01	17	6
Widow (%)	1	29	< 0.01	1	26	< 0.01	2	15
No School (%)	13	33	< 0.01	11	31	< 0.01	28	38
Primary (%)	26	35	< 0.01	27	33	0.11	23	20
Secondary (%)	53	31	< 0.01	53	35	< 0.01	37	35
Higher (%)	19	4	< 0.01	19	3	< 0.01	11	7

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017.

Gender differences are also observed with respect to education. Male migrants are more likely to have an education relative to female migrants (87% vs 67%). Male migrants are also more likely to have secondary (52.6% vs. 30.8%) and HSC and higher (18.7% vs. 3.7%) education relative to their female counterparts. These results suggest that male migrants, in general, are more likely to be educated, and on average have more years of schooling than female migrants. This pattern remains the same in the case of individuals who migrated between 2015 and 2017. To ascertain whether male and female migrants who chose to migrate were from different parts of the education distribution, Table 9.1.1 provides the breakdown of the education status of adults in the total survey population. Males who choose to migrate come from the upper end of the education distribution, i.e., male

migrants are on average more educated than the overall male sample. In contrast, females, who choose to migrate come from the lower end of the education distribution, i.e., female migrants are on average less educated than the overall female sample in our survey.

With regards to internal migrants, similar patterns are observed. Table 10.1.2 informs that internal male migrants are older (30% vs. 27%), more likely to be married (61% vs. 41%), and less likely to be separated (0.3% vs. 20%). In terms of education, the gender differences observed amongst international migrants are not noted in the case of internal migrants. On average male and female internal migrants have similar profiles. Furthermore, the average internal migrant is more likely to be educated relative to non-migrants. More recent internal migrants were more likely to be younger and unmarried relative to their older counterparts.

Table 10.1.2: Socio-economic characteristics of internal migrants across gender

Characteristics	Sample of Migrants			Migrants between 15-17			Full Sample	
	M	F	p-value	M	F	p-value	M	F
Age	30	27	< 0.01	26	24	0.19	29	28
Married (%)	61	41	< 0.01	39	35	0.53	74	78
Single (%)	25	30	0.13	59	48	0.47	17	6
Widow (%)	0	20	< 0.01	1	18	< 0.01	2	15
No School (%)	16	19	0.19	10	23	< 0.01	28	38
Primary (%)	27	29	0.55	29	23	0.27	23	20
Secondary (%)	42	40	0.53	45	37	0.16	37	35
Higher (%)	25	20	0.21	28	25	0.67	11	7

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017

10.2 Destination and Occupation Choice

In this section, the destination and occupation choice of male and female migrants have been documented. Table 10.2.1 notes that job choice for female migrants is more homogenous than for men. The top three occupations of female international migrants are housekeeping (39.8%), domestic work (33.9%) and cleaning (6.3%). Together these three occupations (which are very similar) account for 80 percent of the total female migrant work. On the other hand, the top three occupations for males are construction work (13.1%), day labour (7.8%) and factory work (7.2%). These occupations

account for around 28 percent of the total migrant jobs.

Saudi Arabia is the most common choice of destination amongst both male (26.4%) and female international migrants (24.3%). For males, the next five choices of destination are UAE, Malaysia, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain. Together these top 5 destination countries account for 75 percent of migrants. For females, Jordan, UAE, Lebanon and Oman are the most prevalent destination after Saudi Arabia. Together these countries account for almost 90 percent of the total female migrants. These responses suggest that the labour market for females is narrower in terms of occupation and destination relative to men.

Regarding internal migration, there are no differences in terms of the destination of choice. Most internal migrants go to urban cities and towns irrespective of gender. In terms of occupations, the top three choices for males are construction work, day labour and in garments factories. Together these occupations account for 33 percent of the total occupations of internal migrant workers. For females, the top three choices are garments work, factory work and day labour. While together these account for 75 percent of the total occupations, garments work alone accounts for 63 percent of the total occupations. This again suggests that the range of work female migrants do is more limited than men for both internal and international migrants.

Table 10.2.1: Destination and occupation choice of international migrants across gender

Top 3 Jobs			
Male	**% of Total**	**Females**	**% of Total**
Construction worker	13.1	House Keeper	39.8
Day Labour	7.8	Domestic Worker	33.9
Factory Worker	7.2	Cleaner	6.3
Combined	28.1	Combined	80.0
Top 5 destinations			
Saudi Arabia	26.4	Saudi Arabia	24.3
UAE	17.4	Jordan	20.6
Malaysia	10.0	UAE	18.5
Oman	9.8	Lebanon	17.5
Qatar/Bahrain	5.4	Oman	7.3
Combined	74.3	Combined	88.2

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017

10.3 Cost and Financing of International Migration

The average cost of an international migration among males between 2015 and 2017 was Taka 340,213. This was almost four times higher than that of female international migrants, who on average reported incurring a cost of Taka 90,066 for their migration. However, in order to get a better estimate of cost differentials across genders, there is a need to control the destination market. This is because there is variation in cost, based on the destination market. Table 10.3.1 presents the costs across genders for eight markets where a substantial number of both male and females have migrated to. As can be seen, there is variation in the cost differential across different labour markets. In Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar and Lebanon males pay over four times more than females to undertake migration. On the other hand, in Kuwait and Malaysia the cost differential is relatively low. The lower cost differential among male and female migrants in these two countries do not indicate that male migrants are paying lower migration costs. Rather it is due to the fact that in these countries female migrants pay higher migration costs.

Table 10.3.1: Gender difference in costs (in taka) across destinations between 2015 and 2017

Destination	Male	Female	Ratio of Cost, M:F
Saudi Arabia	383227	86320	4.4
UAE	288612	95215	3.0
Malaysia	275024	178000	1.5
Oman	281399	64042	4.4
Qatar	417360	88462	4.7
Lebanon	390000	85783	4.5
Kuwait	307580	140000	2.2
Average	340213	90066	3.8

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017

In terms of financing the costs, a majority of respondents (irrespective of gender) use more than one source to finance their migration (Table 10.3.2). Broadly, 30 percent of male and female migrants used their own savings or savings from other family members to finance their migration. However, female migrants were more likely ($p < 0.01$, T-test) to use their own savings relative to their male counterparts, who in contrast were more likely to utilize the savings of other family members ($p < 0.05$, T-test).

In terms of loans, around 50 percent of migrants, irrespective of gender, utilized loans to finance migration costs. These loans came from extended family (55%), moneylenders (31%) and banks (15%). Male migrants were 1.5 times more likely to finance their migration by the sale of assets than their female counterparts. This could be a reflection of the overall higher costs associated with male migration, or merely a decision on the part of the household to prioritize male migration over female migration. The data does not allow us to distinguish between these two possibilities.

Table 10.3.2: Sources (in percent) of financing the cost of migration across gender

Source	Male	Female	p-value
Personal savings	11	17	< 0.01
Family savings	11	9	0.31
Savings from extended family	6	4	0.04
Loan from extended family	29	27	0.38
Loan from a money lender	16	18	0.35
Loan from Bank	8	5	0.08
Advance from employer	1	6	< 0.01
Sale/mortgage of assets	15	9	< 0.01
Others	3	7	< 0.01

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017

10.4 Returns to Migration

In this last section, the monetary rewards to international and internal migration across gender will be discussed. The average monthly income of male international migrants is Taka 30,386. This is substantially higher than the average monthly income of a female migrant, which stands at Taka 17,518. To put it into context, the average income of a non-migrant male in the sample is Taka 9,450 and a non-migrant female is Taka 6,790. This implies that migrating internationally led to a 3.2 fold increase in income for males and 2.6 fold increase in incomes for females. However, it is essential to note that only 17 percent of eligible females, i.e., adults over the age of 18 partake in income-generating activities. This number was much larger for males (67%).

One of the reasons males earn higher incomes than females could be that male migrants have engaged in the international labour market for longer. This allows them to gather valuable experience leading to higher wages.

In order to test this, the income level of male and female migrants and its variation across time was analysed. Table 10.4.1 notes that there is a positive return to being in the international labour market for both male and female migrants, i.e., experience leads to growth in wages. In order to estimate the return on each year of international experience, an OLS regression was conducted in which wages were the dependent variable and years of migration were the independent variable. Based on these regressions, on average male wages increase by 1.7 percent due to an additional year of experience, whereas female wages increase by only 0.8 percent. The disparity in wage growth could be due to the differences in the types of work male and female migrants engage in or gender discrimination in the labour market. This finding is consistent with other studies (Shah 2004) that have found that in domestic work the scope for upward mobility is low compared to other jobs. For example, in construction a person may start as a helper but over the years that person can acquire on the job skills and progress to becoming a mason.

Figure 10.4.1: Wage growth due to years of experience across gender
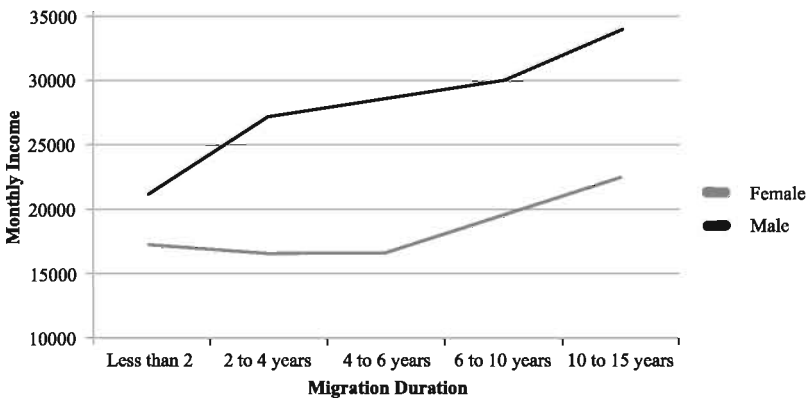
Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017

The next issue explored in this chapter is remittances. Male migrants on average remit Taka 176,051 annually. This is equivalent to around 48 percent of their overall annual income. On the other hand, female migrants remitted Taka 112,475 annually, which accounted for 53.5 percent of their annual income. When the sample is restricted to individuals who migrated between the years 2015 and 2017, the difference in remittance is less stark.

Male migrants remitted Taka 123,791, whereas female migrants remitted Taka 102,296. Given the differential in the costs of migration across gender, it takes an average female migrant in this sub-sample 9 months to recoup their cost of migration, whereas it requires male migrants more than 39 months to do the same.

Table 10.4.1: Migration costs, income, and remittance for female migrants across destination

Destination	n	Migration Cost	Monthly Income	Remittance	Remittance/ Income	Cost Recovery (in months)
Saudi Arabia	104	86320	17360	96449	46%	10.7
Jordan	88	73579	17223	116085	56%	7.6
UAE	79	95215	19970	135678	57%	8.4
Lebanon	75	85783	15667	99969	53%	10.3
Oman	31	64042	15387	116000	63%	6.6
Kuwait	13	140000	21000	143077	57%	11.7
Qatar	13	88462	22462	136539	51%	7.8
Malaysia	6	178000	22500	152500	56%	14.0

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017

Table 10.4.2: Migration costs, income, and remittance for male migrants across destination

Destination	n	Migration Cost	Monthly Income	Remittance	Remittance/ Income	Cost Recovery (in months)
Saudi Arabia	583	383227	30545	191899	52%	24.0
UAE	383	288612	24594	164042	56%	21.1
Malaysia	221	275024	26318	155594	49%	21.2
Oman	215	281399	21979	122316	46%	27.6
Qatar	118	417360	24398	170376	58%	29.4
Bahrain	118	331130	21449	116575	45%	34.1
Kuwait	106	307580	31080	222462	60%	16.6
Singapore	102	405000	40137	228363	47%	21.3
Lebanon	43	390000	23611	130454	46%	35.9

Source: SDC and RMMRU Panel Survey 2017

The relative frequency with which male migrants remit is larger than that of female migrants. On average, male migrants remit 8.7 times a year, whereas female migrants remit 6.8 times ($p < 0.01$, t-Test).

Finally, the costs, income, remittance and the cost recovery across different destinations are investigated. This information is presented in Table 10.4.2 and Table 10.4.3 for females and male migrants respectively for the entire international migrant sample. Most of the observations made in this section are validated with patterns across different countries. In most countries, relative to females, (i) it costs males more to migrate, (ii) males earn more (iii) males remit less and (iv) males require more time to recoup the costs of their migration.

Regarding internal migration, the mean income for male migrants, Taka 11,610, is significantly higher than for females, which was Taka 8,143. Male migrants on average remit Taka 59,498 annually, which is roughly 43 percent of their total income. On the other hand, female migrants remit Taka 26,370, which translates to only 27 percent of their total income. This pattern is in contrast to that of international migration, where male migrants remit less of their overall income relative to females.

Chapter Conclusion

The socio-economic characteristics of male and female international migrants are different. Male migrants are more likely to be older, married and educated compared to non-migrant men. Female migrants, on the other hand, are more likely to be separated/divorced/widowed and to be from the lower end of the education distribution compared to non-migrant women. Amongst internal migrants, there are no gender differences in selection in terms of education, i.e., both men and women come from a similar educationcal background. The international labour market for female migrants is narrower in terms of destination and occupation choice. The top 3 occupation choices and top 5 destination choices account for 80 percent and 88 percent of female migrants respectively. On the other hand, the top 3 occupations for male migrants account for only 28 percent of total male migrants and the top 6 destinations account for 75 percent of total male migrants. Regarding internal migration, while there is no discrepancy with regards to destination choice, though the type of work done by women continues to be less diverse than the types of occupations taken by men.

The average costs of international migration for men are around four times that of females for most Gulf and middle-eastern countries. The difference between male and female migration costs is the lowest in Malaysia. This is because female workers migrate to Malaysia for manufacturing work, not for domestic work and as a result pay higher migration costs. Migrant households gathered resource to finance migration from multiple sources. Immediate and extended family was the primary source of finance for both male and female international migrants. Thirty percent generated some portion from own and family savings. Fourteen percent mobilised the money from sale of assets. Eighteen percent women borrowed from money lenders. Men are less dependent on money lenders compared to women. In contrast to 2014 the dependence on money lenders has reduced in 2017. Vis-a-vis men, women have lesser access to formal credit sources such as bank. Again, compared to women, men are more likely to sell assets to finance their migration.

The average income of male international migrants is significantly higher than that of females, with the gap increasing with experience. An extra year as a migrant increases the income of male migrants by 1.7 percent and that of female migrants by 0.8 percent. Not surprisingly, male international migrants send higher annual remittances and send remittances more frequently than female international migrants. However, as a percentage of total income, female migrants remit more. Finally, it takes less than a year for a new female migrant to recoup their cost of migration, whereas it takes over 39 months for new male migrants to achieve this.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

11.1 Summary and Conclusions

This book examines the impact of migration on income, expenditure and poverty for internal and international migrants relative to non-migrant households. It builds on earlier studies which have concluded that migration reduces poverty, increases income and expands the range of goods and services consumed by a large section of those households who participate in international migration. The impact of internal migration on poverty may not be as pronounced as it is in case of international migration, yet it creates opportunities for additional income without which the economic and social well-being would have further deteriorated. The contribution of this book is that it goes beyond a static analysis of the state of poverty and growth in income and expenditure in response to the migration choices in the Bangladeshi context. The book studies the dynamics in such trends through basing the analysis on the SDC and RMMRU panel survey 2014 and 2017. The panel survey gathered data on the same households at a three year interval. It allows estimation of the trends of in poverty and income and consumption growth patterns in a dynamic setting. An additional contribution of the book is to dissect the findings through a gendered lens. In the Bangladeshi context, the participation of women as principal migrants has increased manifold over the last few years. This book systematically analyses heterogeneity in migration outcomes across the sexes.

Conceptual and Methodological Framework

In analysing the drivers of migration the study used the Foresight framework (2011) which highlights the multi-causal nature of migration. No single theory is adequate for analysing migration decisions. The book combined various theories, ranging from neo-classical theories of wage differentials and push-pull theories of migration, structural functionalism, the new

economics of labour migration, to social network theory to understand the drivers of migration. In this volume, the data from Wave 1 of the survey were treated as a benchmark which was compared with the data from Wave 2. It examines if income and expenditure grew relative to the first wave. It used a migration transition matrix to understand growth in income and expenditure as well as the state of poverty. By comparing respondents who did and did not change their migration status between the two rounds of the survey, the study provides a more robust estimate of the effects of changing migration status on income, expenditure and poverty. Another focus of the book was to examine gender differences in across a range of migration issues: selection into migration, the migration process and returns from migration.

The research used a number of instruments including literature review, rapid screening survey, household survey, and community-level key informant interviews. The same sampling methodology was used for the newly included districts in Wave 2. One of the setbacks of the Wave 1 survey was the inability to sample a sizeable number of female migrants. In Wave 2, three new districts were added following a purposive selection method to increase the number of female migrants in the dataset so as to enable the rigorous analysis of different gendered aspects of migration.

Based on BMET data, the 64 districts were divided into 3 subgroups: high, medium and low international migrant intensity districts. 11 high, 5 medium and 4 low-intensity districts were selected from the above three groups. The top 4 international migrant producing *upazilas* in each district were identified from the same dataset and one *upazila* form these was selected randomly. From those *upazilas*, the top 4 highest international migrant producing unions were identified, and one was selected at random. Within each selected union, six villages were chosen for this survey, resulting in 120 survey villages in total. Within these villages, a rapid screening survey was conducted involving 12,334 households. From that, 6,143 households were selected for the survey. Among this sample 2,976 were international migrant households, 1,431 were internal migrant households and 1,736 were non-migrant households. International migrant households were purposively oversampled compared to internal and the non-migrant households who were used in this research as a control group. Due to the nature of the research question, the analysis on poverty, income

and expenditure growth has been conducted on households who have been interviewed in both the Waves of the survey. In contrast, the drivers of migration and the gender analysis only utilised Wave 2 of the survey so as to benefit from the increased geographical coverage. The following section summarises the main research findings.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Household Members: Like Wave 1, the size of the international migrant households is the largest. In Wave 1 international migrant households had 5.4 members on average and in Wave 2 this increased to 6. In the balanced panel, 94 percent of the households of all three categories, international, internal and non-migrant were Muslims. The distribution of various religious groups changed in the newly included districts in Wave 2 as it included an *upazila* mostly dominated by Buddhists.

Living Standard of the Households: The living standards of the respondents have been analyzed on the basis of ownership, size and quality of the homestead, access to safe drinking water, sanitation, and sources of power for light and cooking. Over the last three years, all three groups of respondents had experienced positive change in these indicators. However, international migrant households have experienced larger improvements relative to the other two groups. A quarter of international migrant households lived in houses which were more than 1000 square feet in area whereas a little more than one-tenth of the other two groups lived in such houses. Access to safe drinking water increased between the waves among all three groups. Tubewells were the primary source of water for more than 88 percent of the households. Again, access to tubewells is highest for international migrants. The use of water-sealed toilets increased marginally among all three groups – international, internal, non-migrant. Nonetheless, the use of open area defecation is almost non-existent among the respondents. Compared to Wave 1, access to electricity has also increased among all three groups. It is again international migrants whose access to electricity is the highest. During Wave 2, 87 percent of international migrants, 68 percent of internal migrants and 71 percent of non-migrant households use electricity as their main source of power.

Cost of Migration and Sources of Finance: A significant finding of Wave 2 of the survey is that the cost of migration has reduced by one-tenth over the

three year sample interval. In 2014 the average cost for male migration was Taka 382,031. In 2017 it dropped to Taka 342,254. In 2014 female migrants on an average paid Taka 96,000 and in 2017 they paid Taka 90,000. For quite a few years, Bangladesh was unable to access important markets such as Saudi Arabia and Malaysia. The desire to migrate overseas persisted resulting in relatively high cost of migration. The opening up of these two markets has increased the supply of work visas and contributed to lowering the costs of migration.

The study has observed some interesting changes in the area of the sources of finance for migration. The most significant in this respect is that the percentage of people who have disposed of land for financing migration has fallen over time. Access to formal credit has increased and the importance of moneylenders as a source of migration loan has decreased. Almost a tenth of those who have migrated during the period from 2014 to 2017 have secured a portion of their migration costs from banks and micro-finance institutions. Some differences are observed between males and females in this respect. For men, the most important source of migration finance is immediate and extended family. Very few women are able to secure the assistance of their families to pursue migration. Female migrants are more likely than male migrants to have arranged deferred payment of migration costs through deductions from their salaries at the destination.

Changes in Destination: A comparison of Wave 1 and 2 findings of destinations of migrants show that 95 percent of the international migrants go to 12 destinations. These are Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, Lebanon, Italy, Jordan, Libya, Malaysia and Singapore.

Drivers of Migration: The Wave 2 survey used a different methodology to understand the drivers of migration. In Wave 1 respondents were requested to furnish the two most important reasons behind their migration decisions. In Wave 2 they were asked to identify all the factors that they thought played a role in their migration decision. During the Wave 1 more than 90 percent of the migrants only identified economic reasons for migration, but during Wave 2 many other factors came into play. Another important difference in methodology between the two waves is the inclusion of non-migrants in understanding the drivers of migration. Discussions on the drivers of migration with migrant and non-migrant households was around

six broad headings; these are social factors, economic factors, political factors, demographic factors, environmental factors, and factors relating to social networks.

Sixty-five percent of the migrant households identified various social reasons such as the prospect of a better future for their family, better housing, better education opportunities, better marriage prospects, etc. For women, marriage is an important driver of migration. Fifty-eight percent of non-migrant households did not have any surplus adult members who could easily leave the household. That is, if one of the adult members of the household were to migrate outside the village for work, this would disrupt the essential day to day work of the household. For example, there may be no one to supervise children's education or even the physical security of the left behind members may be compromised. Therefore, these households decide not to produce any migrants.

Ninety-five percent of both internal and international migrant households reported that various economic factors (such as well-paid jobs, more income, overcoming poverty and a lack of employment in the rural areas) have played a role in making their migration decision. Compared to men, more women identified poverty alleviation as the most crucial economic motivation. Thirty-four percent of non-migrant households did not want to send a member outside the village as they were gainfully employed locally, 12 percent has landed property and another 12 percent had their own businesses. Therefore, these groups of people chose not to migrate. However, around 42 percent of the non-migrant households would have liked to participate in migration, but could not because of a lack of access to financial resources. What is interesting here is that not migrating does not necessarily mean that the households concerned do not want to migrate.

Not all of the areas covered by this study face climate hazards or environmental degradation. People from six districts – Satkhira, Chapainawabganj, Laxmipur, Shariatpur, Munshiganj and Faridpur are subject to specific climatic risks. Respondents from all of these districts (with the sole exception of Munshiganj) mentioned environmental and climatic reasons for sending a member of the household outside the village for work. No respondents from outside the disaster affected areas identified environmental factors. No respondent attributed their migration decision to

political factors. The demographic profiles of internal, international and non-migrant households illustrate the importance of household characteristics in influencing migration decisions. Migrant families are larger in size than non-migrant families. This may be because migration is only feasible in the presence of a surplus number of adult members of the household.

Thirty-five percent of international migrants and 32 percent of internal migrants had access to social networks, ranging from relatives living at the destination, dalals, recruiting agencies and travel agents etc. Eighteen percent of the non-migrant households identified a lack of social networks as a hindrance to their participating in migration. Some also reported that a lack of information, the absence of known people in the destination and a lack of access to recruiting agencies or dalals also worked as barriers for some.

Flow of Remittances in Cash and Kind: The remittances of male international migrants have reduced by 11 percent. In 2017, international male migrants remitted Taka 193,885 whereas the same migrants remitted Taka 218,812 during 2014. However, this downward trend of remittance did not affect the female international migrants. Female migrants remitted Taka 111,271 in 2017. In 2014, they remitted Taka 109,652. This study also calculated the flow of remittance in kind. It finds that in 2017, the cash value of the goods received by households of male international migrants was Taka 42,035. In 2014, it was Taka 36,054. For female international migrants, the amount stood at Taka 23,571 in 2017 and Taka 23,681 in 2014.

Transitions in Migration Status and its Impact on Income: One of the motivations for collecting panel data was to study the evolution of migration strategies within households over time. Towards this end, this study catalogued changes in migration status using a transition matrix. The matrix shows changes in the status of household members across the two waves of the panel survey. Between the two waves, 27 percent (1,819 out of 6,810) of the income earning members of the households changed their migration status. The highest rate of transition (42 percent) has taken place among those who were current internal migrant households in Wave 1. The lowest rate (17 percent) was among members who were classified as returned internal migrants in Wave 1.

It terms of the transitions of migrant members (both internal and international), the most common was from being a current migrant to a returned migrant. For respondents classified as internal migrants in Wave 1, 37 percent changed their status to returned internal migrant, 58 percent remained internal migrants, 4 percent became international migrant and 1 percent became returned international migrant. Similarly, 26 percent of those who were current international migrants in Wave 1 became returned international migrants in Wave 2. Seventy-three percent remained current international migrants and the remaining 1 percent became internal migrants. Amongst respondents classified as returned internal migrants in Wave 1, 17 percent re-migrated internally, while the rest remained returned internal migrants. For those who were returned international migrants in Wave 1, 19 percent re-migrated internationally, 4 percent re-migrated internally and the remaining 77 percent remained international migrants as of Wave 2 of the survey.

It is well understood that changes in migration status have a strong influence on household income. The study finds that transitioning to returnee migrant from either internal migrant or international migrant leads to a significant drop in income. However, the study also finds that this decrease in income is temporary. Over time, returnee migrants see an increase in their incomes. The income status can change even when the migration status does not. Changes in income status among those who remained current migrants in both waves of the survey depended on the destinations. Slow income growth was observed in the case of current international migrant workers. In contrast, the income growth in Bangladesh has been more robust. Both internal migrants and non-migrants between 2014 and 2017 reported increases in their real incomes.

Growth in Expenditure by Migration Experience: This book has interrogated the link between consumption growth and household migration status. It finds that there are considerable differences between households in terms of their initial levels of consumption depending on migration status. On average, international migrant producing households started off consuming approximately 50 percent more than internal migrant producing households and non-migrant producing households. However, the average level of consumption of internal migrants was initially slightly lower than non-migrants.

The research also uncovered some heterogeneity in expenditure growth by migration type. The total expenditure of international migrant producing households on average grew by 30 percent. In contrast, average total expenditure growth among internal migrants was only 21 percent whereas that of non-migrants was 27 percent. Thus, internal migrant producing households not started with lower levels of consumption than households from the other two groups, but they are also falling further behind the other groups over time due to lower rates of growth. Though further research is necessary, these results suggest that narratives prescribing internal migration as a cure-all for differences in living standards within countries should be treated with caution. However, it may also be the case that internal migration is a coping strategy for households that have been affected by some adverse shock so that these households would have been even worse-off if they had not been able to migrate internally.

For all groups, the standard Engle Curve result holds in that the income elasticity of food consumption was considerably less than unity. Between the two waves of the survey, expenditure on food increased by 9 percent for international migrant households, by 7 percent for internal migrant households and by 14 percent for non-migrant households. The implications of internal migrant producing households falling further behind other groups in terms of food consumption need to be fully interrogated in future work and may have substantial policy implications.

The most robust growth was observed in non-food, non-durable consumption, such as clothes, fast-moving consumer goods, and the like. Growth in this expenditure component was 76 percent overall, 80 percent among international migrants, 58 percent among internal migrants and 82 percent among non-migrants. As a result of this remarkable growth, the share of total household consumption that is accounted for by expenditure on these goods increased from 19 percent to 26 percent. This is a significant shift in the consumption bundle of the average sample household over such a brief duration. This shift is likely to engender changes in the very structure of village and peri-urban economies from an economy that is subsistence-based, where food is the main commodity to a more modern structure that is based on the trade of non-primary goods and services. This shift must be studied further in future research.

The study observed very rapid increases in health expenditure for international migrant producing households (35 percent) and non-migrant households (65 percent). However, for internal migrant producing households health expenditure only increased by 15 percent. By 2016, international migrant producing households were spending on average Taka 1,708 annually on health, whereas internal migrant producing households were spending less than half this amount with an average expenditure of Taka 829. Non migrant households were spending Taka 984.

In both survey waves, international migrant producing households spent considerably more on education than internal migrant producing households and non-migrant households. In 2017, annual educational expenditures for international migrant producing households were Taka 462.10, whereas those for internal migrant producing households were Taka 261.85 and those for non-migrant producing households were Taka 293.66. Growth in education expenditures was found to be fairly homogenous across groups. Growth in educational expenditure for international migrants was 8 percent, while that for internal migrants was 12 percent and that of non-migrants was 11 percent.

As health and education are both components of human capital, these observations point to an interesting finding. It appears from the data that private investments in human capital are driven by investments in health, rather than investments in education. This may be because public investments have focused heavily on education, but less so on healthcare leading to compensating private investments in health but not in education. It may be that low morbidity is a necessary condition for investments in education to be remunerative implying that it is optimal to first invest in health and then in education. Alternatively, households may be myopic and investments in health may yield more immediate returns than investments in education. These are important themes to be pursued in subsequent research.

Both international and internal migrant producing households' expenditure on rituals grew disproportionately than for non-migrant households. Growth in this component was 17 percent for international migrants, 42 percent among internal migrant households, but only 3 percent among non-migrants. Thus there is some evidence to support the hypothesis that

migrant households are obliged to spend more on rituals than non-migrants. Key informant interviews suggest that a major component of ritual expenses are related to dowry and the presence of a migrant member increases the demands placed on a household for dowry.

Poverty Dynamics and Migration: Against this backdrop of strong overall expenditure growth, one may expect comparable reductions in expenditure poverty. However, an interrogation of the dynamics of the headcount measure of expenditure poverty revealed that while consumption was growing at approximately 9 percent per year, the poverty rate was only declining by around 1 percentage point per year.

A natural hypothesis that arises from these facts is that growth was concentrated among those who were already relatively rich, so that very little of the benefits accrued to the poor, who remained in poverty despite strong overall growth. The data were not consistent with this hypothesis. Rather, the data show that expenditure growth among those who were initially poor was actually higher than the sample average, at 78 percent, whereas growth among those who were initially non-poor was a relatively modest 21 percent.

How then can poverty persist if the poor enjoy such rapid levels of economic growth? An analysis of the growth rates among those who were poor in the Wave 2 of the survey revealed that on average their expenditure exhibited substantial, negative growth between the two surveys. That is, their levels of consumption fell by 38 percent between 2014 and 2017. It is therefore likely that a new set of households who may have been non-poor in the initial period become poor in the second Wave.

A poverty transition matrix interrogates this possibility and finds that it is indeed the case that the 64 percent of households who were poor in the first period transitioned out of poverty by the second period while 57 percent of households who are poor in the second period were initially non-poor and so transitioned into poverty between the two Waves.

The book adopted a simplified definition of transient poverty; households that were poor in both of the periods that we observed them were defined as chronically poor, whereas those that were poor in one period, but non-

poor in another were defined as suffering from transient poverty. The vast majority of the poverty observed in the panel is transient, as opposed to permanent. Of the 1,141 households who experience consumption poverty at some point during the panel, only 271 are poor in both periods.

The study has also explored the effectiveness of international migration and internal migration in managing the risk of transient poverty relative to the risk of chronic poverty. Despite low overall poverty among the households of international migrants, a large share of what poverty exists was transient in nature (among poor international migrants, 78 percent were transient poor in 2014 while 76 percent were transient poor in 2017). While it is not surprising that chronic poverty is low among these relatively rich households, what is surprising is that international migration at this moment is not an effective insurance strategy against transient consumption poverty. This may be due to a variety of factors. A recent study (Siddiqui and Abrar, forthcoming) show that international migration from Bangladesh to the Gulf, other Arab, and South East Asian countries is becoming an extremely risky livelihood strategy. After paying large, upfront costs to migrate, 32 percent of those who migrated were either not unemployed, or not receiving regular payment. A number of them were forced to return early as they had been victims of fraudulence. Furthermore, between January and September 2018, around 4,000 women migrants have returned to Bangladesh without finishing their contracts, claiming physical torture and sexual harassments. Such occurrences may have reduced the effectiveness of migration as a risk minimizing strategy. These are important research questions that require rigorous analysis and so will be interrogated thoroughly in the next wave of the panel survey.

While the households of internal migrants suffered from substantial levels of chronic poverty, the share of transient poverty in total poverty was small (56% in 2014 and 50% in 2017), relative to the rate among international migrants. This is consistent with the hypothesis that internal migration serves an important insurance function in the vein argued by Stark and Bloom (1985).

Poverty was also prevalent among non-migrant households. However, the share of transient poverty in total poverty appears to be declining over time more rapidly for these households than for other groups. This suggests that

effective risk management strategies, other than internal migration, may have become increasingly available to households in these communities. Future work should study the nature of these risk management strategies and identify measures which can enhance them.

Thus, the economic setting in which sample households operate appears to be characterised by extremely high levels of uninsured risk. Changing economic circumstances cause a high incidence of transient poverty, even though the incidence of chronic poverty is reasonably low, at 7 percent. The distinction between chronic poverty and transient poverty has important policy implications. Policies that are designed to tackle one will not necessarily be effective at tackling the other (Jalan and Ravallion, 2007). Issues of chronic poverty require either efforts to stimulate growth and/or redistribution. Tackling transient poverty, by contrast, requires a focus on mitigating and managing risks and correcting failures in insurance markets.

Investment: Both migrant and non-migrant households invested in different types of enterprises. These include poultry, animal husbandry, fisheries, shops, transportation, mills/factories, etc. Investments in land were also negligible across the sample. In the case of international migrants, the percentage of household who owned homestead land in the village marginally decreased. However, a small number of them did purchase homestead land in nearby *upazilas* or districts. Riverbank erosion and flooding reduced the land holdings of a section of the respondents. The percentage of households who own agricultural land increased marginally in the case of international and internal migrants and decreased in the case of non-migrant households. Compared to Wave 1, the percentage of ownership of agricultural equipment, poultry, fishery and animal husbandry increased marginally during Wave 2. As in Wave 1, involvement in mills and factories remained very low. Investment in shops doubled in across the sample. More than half of these shops are located in marketplaces. A quarter of them were located roadside on roadsides or areas near the homesteads of the respondents. Investment in transportation businesses also increased between Wave 1 and Wave 2.

Bank Account: During the last three years, ownership of bank accounts among international migrants decreased by 2 percent while ownership among internal and non-migrants increased. The increased geographical

range over which other non-bank financial institutions are able to transfer remittances through formal channels may have contributed to a decrease in the demand for bank accounts among the households of international migrant. Despite this decrease, it continues to be the case that the percentage of those who have a bank account is the highest among the households of international migrant as opposed to those of internal migrant and non-migrant. In general, participation in fixed deposit schemes has been very low for all three groups. Saving with NGOs have increased significantly. Community savings and savings at home have decreased. Participation in insurance schemes has increased substantially, and international migrants are more likely to invest in these products than other groups.

Gendered Outcome of Migration: The socioeconomic characteristics of male and female international migrants are different. Male migrants are more likely to be older, married and likely to be from the upper end of the education distribution compared to the sample average male. Females, on the other hand, are more likely to be separated/widowed and likely to be from the lower end of the education distribution compared to the sample average woman. Amongst internal migrants, there is less evidence of gendered differences in selection. For example, in terms of education, both men and women come from the upper end of the education distribution.

Female international migrants choose a narrower set of destinations and occupations. The top 3 occupation choices for female migrants account for 80 percent of total female migrant workers and the top 5 destinations account for 88 percent of total female migrant destinations. On the other hand, the top 3 occupations for male migrants account for only 28 percent of total male migrants and the top 6 destinations account for 75 percent of total male migrant destination. There is no gendered discrepancy with regard to destination choice, among internal migrants, though the type of work done by women is again much less varied than for men.

The average costs of international migration for men are around 4 times higher than for women for most Gulf and other Arab countries. The average income of male international migrants is significantly higher than that of females, with the gap increasing with experience. An extra year as a migrant increases the incomes of male migrants by 1.7 percent and of female migrants by 0.8 percent. Not surprisingly, male international

migrants send a greater volume of remittances, more frequently than their female counterparts. However, as a percentage of total income, female migrants remit more. Finally, it takes less than a year for a new female migrant to recoup their cost of migration, whereas it takes over 39 months for new male migrants.

11.2 Recommendations

The recommendations derived from the research findings are divided into two groups. The first group of recommendations is related to the need for further analysis of the research findings as well as data. The second group of recommendations is targeted at policy reforms.

Future Research Directions

- This work has studied the growth trajectory of households against the backdrop of their migration experiences. The most pressing issue for further research is the question of why internal migrants enjoy relatively modest expenditure growth, compared even to non-migrant households. This may be because of constraints – such as limitations on human and physical capital available to internal migrant households – or it may be due to selection, i.e., it was households who had relatively poor growth prospects, to begin with, who engaged in internal migration. The current data can be used to understand these and other important questions.

- There has been a marked shift in the bundle of goods and services consumed by households between the two Waves of the survey. Food continues to comprise a large but decreasing share of the consumption bundle, but the share of non-food, non-durables consumption has increased considerably over the three years between the survey Waves. This constitutes a structural shift in expenditure patterns from a primary commodity based economy to one with an increasing share of secondary and tertiary goods and services. As the consumption bundle includes an increasing share of non-farm products, demand for skilled labour to produce, trade, distribute and invent these products will increase. This will have important implications for the macroeconomic structure of Bangladesh and will affect employment patterns, the relative payoffs to different skills in the labour market and incentives to invest in human and physical capital. These structural shifts in expenditure patterns provide

fertile grounds for important paths of economic inquiry.

- A more rigorous analysis is necessary to understand the sources of risk that push households into poverty. The literature has shown that adverse weather shocks are especially detrimental to the welfare of poor, primarily agrarian societies. However, other sources of risk such as food price shocks, and health shocks may also be important drivers of households transitioning into poverty. Where migration is a key livelihood strategy, the prevalence of fraudulence, and non-payment, abuse, etc. may also constitute important unpredictable events which push some households into poverty. Future research is needed to identify the relative importance of these and other forces formally.

- It is well known that the drivers of transient poverty and the drivers of chronic poverty are very different. However, little research has been done on determining the factors that contribute to the prevalence of transient poverty in Bangladesh. This will be an important path of inquiry for future research.

- The next round of study should also try to identify the problems faced by the migrants in the countries of destination. What worker's rights and social protection do they enjoy? What recourse do they have if they are cheated? What forces are causing the observed reduction in their incomes and why do a sizable number of migrants have to return prematurely?

- One of the findings of this study is that the return on investment for female migrants is significantly higher than that for males. Yet, extended family networks are reluctant to finance females' pursuit of migration. In the future, there is a case to explore the role of social norms in such decisions making.

- Differences in the effects of migration on left-behind household members belonging to different ages, sexes and classes has so far been a neglected area of migration research in Bangladesh. Until now the two Waves of the panel survey concentrated on the impact of migration using the household as the primary unit of analysis. Wave 3 will look more closely at individual outcomes.

- Earlier studies conducted in high migration intensity locations found

that a sizable number of households whose members have migrated for longer periods, invested a portion of their remittances in ventures which would generate future income. This survey, however has demonstrated that migrant household mostly use remittances to finance the day to day expenses of the household. A major research question therefore is why these families are not investing in different enterprises to make the gains from their migration experiences more sustainable?

Policy Measures

A unique finding of this research is that a household that does not produce a migrant is not necessarily a household that does not want to do so. Rather, a variety of constraints to migration may operate on these households. These barriers include access to information, credit, skills, etc. To reduce these barriers, the 2016 policy on international labour migration needs to be implemented. With this goal in mind, a target based plan of action must be developed and supported through the establishment of an effective monitoring and evaluation system. The existing inter-ministerial committee should be made more effective and target oriented.

This book has shown that poverty in Bangladesh is mainly an issue of uninsured risk, rather than a lack of growth opportunities. Thus, the most important recommendation to emerge from this study is that policies should target the level of uninsured risks faced by households. Traditional insurance products, such as rainfall-indexed insurance are certainly important, but these are not the only relevant policy tools. Any factors that may unexpectedly inhibit the ability of households to generate income may require effective insurance. For example, the illness of a prime earning member of the household requires the provision of effective and accessible healthcare services. Similarly, access to formal financial markets and institutions can provide relatively low-cost credit that may be used to borrow against future income which may thereby insure consumption against shortfalls to income. With regard to migration, stronger oversight of intermediaries and better governance may yield substantial benefits in terms of reducing fraud and the incidence of failed migrations.

One of the findings of the study is that the level of poverty increases when a migrant returns. Till now the government, NGOs or civil society

organisations have not developed a meaningful programme for the economic and social reintegration of the returnee migrants. This study highlights the importance of the development of a database of returnee migrants. Using this database the skills acquired at the destination can be channelled to match local demand. In order to help returnees utilize the human capital they bring with them, the government, the private sector and NGOs need to develop a customized package which will include access to business advisory services, loans and partnerships. This will help minimize the incidence of poverty upon return.

An analysis of food consumption shows that internal migrant households have fallen further behind non-migrant and international migrant households in terms of the level of food expenditure. Indeed, in almost all aspects internal migrants lag behind international and non-migrant households. Internal migrants, as a group have the lowest average level of initial consumption and this gap increases over time. Thus these households represent the poorest, most vulnerable group among the surveyed communities. Internal migrants are therefore likely to enter negotiations with employers from a relatively weak bargaining position. The resulting set of employment rights, work safety and wage negotiations are likely to be set at levels below what is socially optimal. It is well known that in the presence of market failures of this type (typically called monopsony power) interventions designed to strengthen the wages, rights and protections enjoyed by internal migrants will be both equity and efficiency enhancing. Given the widening gaps in food and health expenditure between the households of internal migrants and others, the positive effects of policies designed to benefit internal migrants are likely to extend well beyond the migrants themselves. Examples of such policies include the extension of minimum wage legislation to incorporate a broader set of occupations and services; more and better enforced health and safety standards for job categories where internal migrants are employed (such as construction and the RMG sector); and the establishment and advertising of legal aid service providers specifically for internal migrant workers in major destination areas.

Since 2014 the volume of money remitted by migrants has reduced by 10 percent. In real terms, i.e. adjusting for inflation, they should fall further. This finding is very much in line with official statistics of remittance flows

to Bangladesh. Bangladesh Bank has been taking various institutional measures. However, issues such as work conditions in receiving countries, contract substitution with lower salaries, non-payment and irregular payment of salaries, need to be highlighted in global forums as some of the factors that have contributed to the reduction in remittance flow. Institutional measures taken by Bangladesh Bank as well as public and private banks will have limited effect unless the rights of the migrants are protected in the countries of destination.

International female labour migrants generally come from the poorest backgrounds. These households are even poorer than those of internal female migrants. The percentage of widowed, divorced and deserted women is also the highest among this group. They are mostly excluded from many of the opportunities available to other groups of migrants. For example, the dependency of male migrants on money lenders for financing migration has reduced over the years, while female international migrants are continue to rely heavily on money lenders. The government established a Migrant Welfare Bank in 2011. Some other private banks are also providing loans to finance migration. These migration loan programmes should develop targeted products specifically for female international migrants.

A recent study of migrant recruitment at the grassroots and the involvement of informal agencies reveals that 19 percent of migrants cannot go abroad even after paying large amounts of money (Taka 194,000) (Siddiqui and Abrar, forthcoming). Sixteen percent have to return prematurely as the employers and the agents do not provide them with the jobs they were led to expect. On different pretexts, within a few months, they are sent back to Bangladesh. The inability of this cohort of workers to earn an income is also affecting the flow of remittance. A qualitative change in migration governance needs to be initiated. The government officially does not recognize the role of *dalals* in migration. However, it is well known that recruiting agents depend on *dalals* at the grassroots level. The function of *dalals* needs to be formalized to establish accountability in the recruitment system. They have to be brought under the legal purview through registration or similar mechanisms.

For quite a long time Bangladesh has been participating in the low-skilled international labour market. In 2011 the National Skills Policy was framed

to treat international labour migration with great importance. However, over six years on, its implementation remains very weak. Experiences of cheating, not getting the agreed work, irregular or non-payment of salaries are mostly experienced by the low-skilled labour force. It is essential that the government puts a strong emphasis on skills development and vocational training.

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