

Working paper

Labour migration from (and in) Bihar

Continuities and
change

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Introduction: study motivation and purpose

The Indian State of Bihar is in the throes of political, social and economic change. Long derided as a basket case, the State has registered high rates of economic growth over the last decade. In this context, the present paper investigates the continuities and changes in the pattern of labour migration from and within rural Bihar.

The project's theoretical framework is informed by debates on the theme of 'transition'. The question of 'transition' from rural to urban, agriculture to industry, traditional to modernity and feudal to capitalist have concerned economists, sociologists, political scientists and historians of different intellectual persuasions. Along these lines, the Harriss-Toderò model predicted that urbanization would become a permanent and 'mainstreamed' feature of social life, due to migrants' anticipation of jobs and good quality of life in the cities. In the Indian context, there is agreement among scholars (who otherwise draw on very different intellectual traditions) about the incomplete, lopsided and tortuous nature of India's 'transition' (Bardhan, 2009; Chatterjee, 2008; Government of India, 2009; cf. Gupta, 2005). The presence of an estimated 100 million internal itinerant labour migrants across the country appears to corroborate the notions of incomplete and tortuous 'transition' (Deshingkar and Akter, 2009: 28). Straddling the spatial domains of rural and urban, and the occupational domains of agriculture and industry, they appear to personify the fractured nature of the 'transition'.

Bihar is one of India's most impoverished States (over 40% of its population lives below the national poverty line). People in the State usually find employment as agricultural labourers, although some among them might own tiny parcels of agricultural land. A number of studies have suggested that people from the rural areas of the State migrate to rural areas of prosperous States in Punjab and Haryana. Migration from the State has typically followed a 'rural-rural' trajectory, challenging the prediction that India will inexorably 'urbanise'.

Nevertheless, over the last two decades, scholars and activists have suggested that this trajectory, of a predominantly 'rural-rural' conduit, may be shifting to a combination of 'rural-rural' and 'rural-urban' pathways. In their destinations across northern India, many labour migrants now work in the \$ 157 billion construction industry (figures according to PwC). They find employment either as workers employed during the construction of infrastructure and buildings in Delhi or as workers in the millions of brick kilns that feed into the industry. Others work as street vendors, rickshaw pullers, head-loaders, domestic helps or manual scavengers. Yet others make their way to hire their labour to farmers in north-western India, the States of Punjab and Haryana, as agricultural labourers. Contracts- oral or written- are rare. They spend between two and three months in each of their destination locations, before returning to their villages where they spend between three-to-four months with their families. Typically, then, in any given year, the labour migrants from Bihar work

in- iterate between- at least three different locations in the country. It is not uncommon for them to traverse up to 4,000 k.m. each year. An overwhelming majority of them are men, whose wives and children stay back in the villages, attend to their homes (or farms if they have any), go to school, and sometimes hire their labour out to local employers or on state-funded public works programs if these are operational. A huge majority of these itinerant labour migrants are members of communities that have been historically oppressed and stigmatised as 'untouchable' and 'low caste'. Hindus as well as Muslims from among these communities make up the migrants. Members of privileged communities also migrate, but are less likely to circulate as labour migrants. Migration patterns in neither of the two pathways- 'rural-rural' and 'rural-urban'- is permanent, only complicating the assumption that urbanisation is inevitable.

However, in the last decade, Bihar's economic growth has been stupendous. In the light of these changes, observers may be tempted to infer that the State's impoverished rural populations will respond to the growing economic stimulus within the State and reduce their migration to other States. This paper argues that, while people continue to migrate outside their villages, a number of changes have accompanied their migratory patterns.

The key takeaways are as follows:

1. The overwhelming proportion of migrants from rural Bihar are labour migrants.
2. Labour migrants report that they obtain employment opportunities within the State more than they did before. However, small towns in the vicinity of their villages are a bigger attraction than the State capital.
3. Labour migrants are less interested in agricultural activities, either within the State or outside it. They have shifted from agricultural operations in rural Punjab and Haryana to construction activities in Delhi and urban Bihar as well as factories in small-town Punjab.
4. Labour migrants are inhibited in their mobility by a restrictive social protection regime which hinges on sedentary, rather than potable, entitlements.

Methods

This paper adopts a sociological approach to the question of migration. The project design was multi-sited, reflecting the multi-locational reality experienced by itinerant labour migrants. Two surveys were implemented under this project, to capture the multiple facets of migration within and outside the State. The surveys gathered primary data from multiple 'source' and 'destination' locations. These were supplemented by community-level group discussions.

The first set of surveys was a census survey based out of origin localities located in north Bihar. The census survey was an important tool to understand the extent to which households in the select Panchayats migrate. The questions in this survey

elicited responses on the changing livelihood and migration patterns of the respondents, the changes in the destination of the migrants, the ways in which they remit cash and the specific employment with which they are engaged. This survey was based in Gram Panchayats in Araria district, an extremely impoverished district, with a high proportion of the population engaged in agricultural labour. A total of 5355 households were covered under the survey.

The second set of surveys comprised random sample survey in two towns, or 'destination localities'. The surveys were implemented at select locations within towns, such as construction sites, brick kilns and *majdoor hats* (street corners where labourers gather in order to 'advertise' their availability). This survey was designed to elicit information about the 'source' locations of the migrants, their changing livelihood and migration patterns, the skills they have acquired and other destinations where were employed in the past. This survey were based in Patna, the State capital and Purnea, an important town in North Bihar. Ten locations were selected in Patna, and five in Purnea. In Patna, the survey was implemented with 100 respondents in each location (total: 1000 respondents) while in Purnea, the survey was implemented with 10 respondents in each location (total: 50 respondents). Both surveys were implemented by Koshish Charitable Trust, a Patna-based advocacy and research organisation.

Based on the findings of the census survey, five 'destination' localities were selected on the basis of a stratified sample. At these 'destination' localities, a contracted research organisation conducted group discussions, developed resource maps, a chart of power relations and maintained notes from participant observation around the questions of available services, skills and ideas acquired, and vulnerabilities and opportunities.

Likewise, based on the findings of the sample survey, ten 'source' localities (five from the Patna survey and five from the survey in Purnea) were selected on the basis of a stratified sample. At these 'source' localities, a contracted research organisation conducted group discussions, develop resource maps, a power relations chart and maintain notes from participant observations. Their discussions focused on questions of existing livelihoods, the skills and ideas that respondents perceive migrants to have remitted, the destinations to which other villagers migrate and the changing patterns therein. They also interviewed the Mukhya and Ward Members to elicit information about any 'Migration Registers' they might maintain.

All group discussions were implemented by Praxis- Institute of Participatory Approaches, a Delhi-based action research organisation with office in Patna. The list of locations where the group discussions were conducted are presented in Annex 2.

Social profiles of migrants

An analysis of data from the census survey, which was focussed on two adjacent villages in north Bihar, reveals that at least one member in nearly a fifth of all households migrated away from the village to work.

Table 1: Incidence of migration: surveys in origin localities

Variable	Yes	No	N
Migrate for work during January-December 2014	1243	4112	5353
Migrate for work during January-December 2013	1057	4298	5353

Caste profile

Migrants tended to be drawn overwhelmingly from among historically oppressed communities stigmatised as untouchable and low caste. An analysis of the census survey conducted in the localities of origin reveals that members of historically oppressed castes, the OBCs, EBCs and Mahadalits, dominated the ranks of labour migrants. The caste-disaggregated data of the labour migrant population, as contrasted with the caste composition of the survey population, is as follows:

Table 2.1: Caste profile of migrant workers: origin localities

Caste	% in surveyed population	% in labour migrants
Savarna	8.41	6.34
SC only (Dusadh)	3.8	2.45
Muslim (general)	6.55	6.67
MBC/EBC	38.47	41.94
OBC	21.48	21.8
Mahadalit	20.27	20.02
TOTAL	4414	899

However, a statistical analysis reveals that caste did not significantly determine labour migration, $\chi^2(1, N= 4414) = 14.83, p= 0.022$. The caste composition of labour migrants was comparable to the caste composition of the locality, with the exception that the share of EBCs to the labour migrants exceeded their share of the population.

Likewise, an analysis of the data generated from the sample survey reveals that members of historically oppressed communities predominate the ranks of the migrant households. Table 2.2 presents information on respondents' caste profile.

Table 2.2: Caste profile of migrant workers: destination localities

Caste	Freq.	Percent
Savarna	110	8.52

SC only (Dusadh)	116	8.99
Muslim (general)	76	5.89
ST	18	1.39
MBC/EBC	219	16.96
OBC	549	42.53
Others	1	0.08
Mahadalit	130	10.07
Muslim OBC	71	5.5

Educational profile

Migrants tended to be drawn overwhelmingly from among less educated households. An analysis of the census survey conducted in the localities of origin reveals that members of less educated households were more likely to migrate than others. The caste-disaggregated data of the labour migrant population, as contrasted with the caste composition of the survey population, is as follows:

Table 3.1: Educational profile of migrant workers: origin localities

Education profile	% in surveyed population	% in labour migrants
illiterate	18.07	18.93
primary	27.11	29.18
VI to X	37.22	39.31
XI to graduate	16.94	12.03
post graduate	0.66	0.56
TOTAL	4414	898

A statistical analysis confirms this description, $\chi^2(1, N=4414) = 19, p=0.0001$.

Likewise, an analysis of the data generated from the sample survey reveals that members of less educated households predominate the ranks of the migrant households. Table 3.2 presents information on respondents' educational profile.

Table 3.2: Educational profile of migrant workers: destination localities

Education profile	% in labour migrants
illiterate	40.82
primary	14.02
VI to X	34.55

XI to graduate	8.75
post graduate	1.78

Asset profile

Labour migrants tended to be drawn overwhelmingly from among historically oppressed communities stigmatised as untouchable and low caste. An analysis of the census survey conducted in the localities of origin reveals that members of historically oppressed communities were more likely to migrate than others. The caste-disaggregated data of the labour migrant population, as contrasted with the caste composition of the survey population, is as follows:

Table 4.1: Asset profiles profile of migrant workers: origin localities

Variable (Asset profile)	Total population		Migrant population	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Owens land	0.312	0.463	0.229	0.42
Irrigated land	0.298	0.457	0.217	0.412
Is house Indira Aw~a	0.144	0.351	0.127	0.333
Has house to live in	0.999	0.034	1	0
Indebtedness	0.588	0.492	0.664	0.473
Owens electric fan	0.029	0.169	0.017	0.128
Owens color TV	0.024	0.152	0.016	0.124
Owens cooking utens~s	0.984	0.127	0.984	0.124
Owens radio	0.11	0.313	0.111	0.315
Owens fridge	0.004	0.06	0.006	0.074
Owens automobile	0.009	0.095	0.006	0.074
Owens bicycle	0.493	0.5	0.382	0.486
Owens mobile phone	0.744	0.437	0.818	0.386
Owens landline phone	0.003	0.057	0.003	0.058
Owens motorised equ~t	0.019	0.135	0.013	0.115

Likewise, an analysis of the data generated from the sample survey reveals that members of historically oppressed communities predominate the ranks of the labour migrants. Table 4.2 presents information on respondents' caste profile.

Table 4.2: Asset profiles of migrant workers: destination localities

Variable (Asset profile)	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.
Owens land	1297	0.22	0.443
Area in dismal (if yes)	376	34.734	61.152
Owens irrigated land	1200	0.203	0.402
Area in dismal (if yes)	369	36.192	65.002
Indebtedness	1291	1.218	0.775

Occupational profile

An analysis of the occupations which attracted migrants reveals that they are overwhelmingly employed in labouring occupations. As labourers, they find work in a variety of sectors and not only absorbed in industrial occupations, as revealed in Table 5. Indeed, as many as one-third of all labour migrants were employed in agricultural operations. Agriculture remains an important source of occupation for labour migrants, although their proportion appears to be declining in comparison with previous years.

Table 5: Common occupations of labour migrants away from study locations during the study

Occupation	Frequency	%
agricultural work	262	31.87
Brick kiln	12	1.46
Construction	132	16.06
Rickshaw	44	5.35
Security	4	0.49
Mason	50	6.08
Plumber	5	0.61
Garments manufacturing	4	0.49
Shop assistant	27	3.28
Hawking wares	1	0.12
Domestic help	10	1.22
Factory worker informal	93	11.31

Factory worker formal	163	19.83
TOTAL	767	

Table 5.1. Caste-disaggregated occupational profiles, %

Occupation	TOTAL	High-caste	SC	Muslim	MBC	OBC	Mahadalit
agricultural work	31.87	10.53	13.64	16.67	31.9	29.17	52.81
Brick kiln	1.46	0	0	3.33	2.41	1.04	0.56
Construction	16.06	3.51	27.27	15	19.84	15.62	8.43
Rickshaw	5.35	0	0	11.67	7.24	5.73	2.81
Security	0.49	3.51	0	0	0	0.52	0.56
Mason	6.08	0	31.82	6.67	6.43	5.21	6.74
Plumber	0.61	0	13.64	0	0.27	0.52	0
Garments manufacturing	0.49	0	0	3.33	0.8	0	0
Shop assistant	3.28	7.02	0	0	1.88	3.65	6.18
Hawking wares	0.12	0	0	0	0	1.04	0.56
Domestic help	1.22	0	0	0	0.54	2.08	1.69
Factory worker informal	11.31	45.61	4.55	6.67	8.31	9.38	8.43
Factory worker formal	19.83	29.82	9.09	36.67	20.38	26.04	11.24
TOTAL	889	57	22	60	373	192	178

Table 5.2. Education-disaggregated occupational profile, %

Occupation	TOTAL	Non-literate	Primary	VI to X	XI to XII	Postgrad
agricultural work	32.55	47.34	37.45	27.43	15.24	0
Brick kiln	1.58	1.18	0.77	2.29	1.9	0
Construction	15.32	15.38	17.37	15.43	10.48	0
Rickshaw	5.63	6.51	6.56	5.43	2.86	0
Security	0.45	0	0	0.57	1.9	0
Mason	6.42	1.78	5.79	9.14	6.67	0

Plumber	0.56	0.59	0.39	0.86	0	0
Garments manufacturing	0.56	0	1.16	0.29	0.95	0
Shop assistant	3.38	1.78	2.7	4.86	2.86	0
Hawking wares	0.34	0	0.77	0.29	0	0
Domestic help	1.01	1.18	1.16	0.86	0.95	0
Factory worker informal	11.15	7.1	6.18	12.29	25.71	20
Factory worker formal	21.06	17.16	19.69	20.29	30.48	80
TOTAL	888	169	259	350	105	5

Table 5.3. Asset disaggregated occupational profile, %

Occupation	Owns land		Owns bicycle	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
agricultural work	0.159	0.366	0.325	0.469
Brick kiln	0.286	0.469	0.571	0.514
Construction	0.244	0.431	0.348	0.478
Rickshaw	0.102	0.306	0.531	0.504
Security	0.25	0.5	0	0
Mason	0.281	0.453	0.474	0.504
Plumber	0	0	0.4	0.548
Garments manufacturing	0	0	0.6	0.548
Shop assistant	0.2	0.407	0.3	0.466
Hawking wares	0.3	0.577	0.677	0.577
Domestic help	0.222	0.441	0.44	0.527
Factory worker informal	0.42	0.496	0.41	0.494
Factory worker formal	0.242	0.429	0.409	0.493

Data from Group Discussions conducted in different locations of the State confirms that migrant populations are engaged in a variety of labouring occupations, including agriculture. Not only do they travel to Delhi and Mumbai to seek work in its burgeoning construction sectors, but continue to work in agricultural operations in Punjab and Haryana.

Slight changes are discernible in the occupational preferences of labour migrants, with less people seeking employment in agriculture. More people are gravitating towards the construction sector, including as masons and employment in factories.

Table 6.1: Changes in the occupations towards which migrants gravitate, origin localities

Occupation	Between date of survey and previous one year	Between last year and five years ago
agricultural work	32.51	44.19
Brick kiln	1.57	1.75
Construction	15.3	10.2
Rickshaw	5.62	3.56
Security	0.45	2.25
Mason	6.41	3.89
Plumber	0.56	0.38
Garments manufacturing	0.56	0.16
Shop assistant	3.37	2.47
Hawking wares	0.34	0.27
Domestic help	1.01	0.49
Factory worker informal	11.25	7.07
Factory worker formal	21.03	11.9

Table 6.2: Changes in the occupations towards which migrants gravitate, destination localities %

Occupation	Between date of survey and previous one year	Between last year and five years ago
agricultural work	0.39	3.43
Brick kiln	0.7	0.86
Construction	43.04	38.95
Rickshaw	16	16.08

Security	0.31	0.16
Mason	9.81	9.06
Plumber	0.15	0.08
Garments manufacturing		0.08
Shop assistant	1.47	1.17
Hawking wares	0.46	0.55
Domestic help	0.15	1.25
Factory worker informal	0.15	0.39
Factory worker formal	27.05	27.63

Data from the group discussions confirms this observation. Preference for traditional occupations seems to be on the decline across the entire sample, particularly among younger workers. This was evident at a number of sites, e.g. in Shahpur Patori (Samastipur), where a section of Muslim Darzis have started working as garage mechanics at places like Surat and Mumbai; or at Sitamarhi where younger members of Dhobi and Ravidas community have moved away from caste-based occupations. Younger people do not seem interested in agriculture in several places. Workers met at Delhi (Amar Colony) and Patna (Anisabad) recalled how jobs in 'Grihastha' households in Punjab are no longer available as much as earlier, so now people prefer to come to Delhi and Patna. This was confirmed also by SC workers in Chhohar (Purnea), who reported decline in availability of work in Punjab and now migrate to Delhi. The construction sector (including allied works, such as white-washing, wall painting, headloading etc.) seems the primary hub of migrant workers in cities now.

Destinations

An analysis of the destinations to which labour migrants gravitated revealed that towns across north India were their preferred locations, although many migrants also revealed an interest in working for employers in rural north India, especially Punjab and Haryana.

Table 7: Common destinations of labour migrants away from study locations during the study

Destination	Frequency	%
Elsewhere in Bihar	128	13.07

Rural north India	309	30.49
Delhi	192	20.4
Other urban north India	325	31.82
Elsewhere in India	38	3.76
Outside India	3	0.11
Total	895	

Table 7.1. Caste-disaggregated destination profiles, %

Destination	TOTAL	High-caste	SC	Muslim	MBC	OBC	Mahadalit
Elsewhere in Bihar	13.07	17.24	0	0	5.88	8.33	34.64
Rural north India	30.49	6.9	18.18	18.03	34.17	37.5	30.24
Delhi	20.4	46.55	59.09	55.74	17.09	15.62	9.27
Other urban north India	31.82	17.24	22.73	21.31	40.9	36.46	20.49
Elsewhere in India	3.76	12.07	0	3.28	1.96	1.56	4.4
Outside India	0.42	0	0	0	0	0.52	0
TOTAL	889	57	22	60	373	192	178

Table 7.2. Education-disaggregated destination profile, %

Destination	TOTAL	Non-literate	Primary	VI to X	Graduate	Postgrad
Elsewhere in Bihar	13.07	18.44	12.68	10.1	13.59	40
Rural north India	30.49	39.66	35.45	27.09	14.56	0
Delhi	20.4	12.85	16.04	23.05	36.89	0
Other urban north India	31.82	23.46	34.33	36.89	24.27	0
Elsewhere in India	3.76	3.92	1.49	2.89	9.71	60
Outside India	0.11	0	0	0	0.97	0

Table 7.3. Asset disaggregated destination profile, %

Destination	Owns land		Owns bicycle	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Rural north India	0.185	0.389	0.324	0.469
Delhi	0.253	0.436	0.44	0.498
Other urban north India	0.241	0.429	0.399	0.490

Data from the group discussions

The survey data also revealed a definite increase in the interest among labour migrants to seek employment within the State of Bihar.

Table 8.1 Changes in the destinations towards which migrants gravitate, origin localities, %

Destination	Between date of survey and previous one year	Between last year and five years ago
Elsewhere in Bihar	13.07	0.34
Rural north India	30.49	49.91
Delhi	20.4	13.74
Other urban north India	31.82	21.92
Elsewhere in India	3.76	1.08
Outside India	0.11	0

Table 8.2. Previous work, destination sites, %

	Before this job	Before the previous job
Back in my village	13.28	22.57
Elsewhere in [same city]	74.46	63.74
Other district in Bihar	0.93	1.71
Rural area in northern India	0.78	0.86
Delhi	5.51	5.06
Other urban area in northern India	3.03	3.04
Mumbai	0.47	1.71
Elsewhere in India or outside	1.48	1.32

Data from the group discussion reveals that a preference among respondents towards urban sites in Bihar over places like Delhi seems true for sites located very close to places like Patna and Purnea. Workers in other districts do not seem to conform to such a trend. The team came across first generation migrants at a few places, e.g. at Jamui (triggered by closure of local tobacco factories; those affected from Muslim community now go to Delhi and pursue painting/POP work, while the affected from OBC community now go to Kolkata and work in small businesses), or woman migrant workers at Sitamarhi (who no longer merely accompany their husbands but actively work as cook, domestic help etc.). In places like Khanwa (Purnea), most adivasi households are no longer migrating any more, now that they have managed to lease in some land out of their savings. They acknowledged learning new skills while they were away working in farms in Haryana, about maximizing value from agriculture.

SC workers met in Purnea town, originally agricultural laborers, are not migrating to Delhi any more for the last 2-3 years, but now they prefer going to Purnea city, where they work in construction sites or work in gardens. Similar changes in preference were observed in sites close to Patna (e.g. Phulwari).

Causes for migration

Data from the group discussions revealed that the factors which impelled people to migrate were manifold- ranging from lack of what was perceived to be dignified employment to the possibilities of enhancing income in destination cities. In almost all cases, actual and potential migrants indicated that they knew their migration was temporary, but that it helped them lead dignified lives. Seeking employment outside the village reduced their dependence on local employers and provided them an opportunity to dissolve caste relations in the village.

Social relations

Table 9: Sources of assistance, destination localities, %

Primary Source of assistance	
Labor contractor	29.18
Police	22.26
Labor Union	3.19
Elected representative	36.65
Other workers	0.47
Others	7

Living conditions and social protection

Table 10: Sources of treatment during health emergency, destination surveys, %

Sources of treatment	%
Go to private doctor yourself	35.29
Go to public doctor yourself	55.53
Contractor takes you to private doctor	0.31
Contractor takes you to public doctor	0.16
Go back home	3.53
Do something by myself	4.94

None of the migrants can carry with them their entitlements under India's Public Distribution System. They are therefore dependent on the open market to purchase their food supplies, implying a substantially higher cost to them than if these entitlements were potable. During group discussions migrants suggested that many more people would leave the village in search of work if the entitlements under the PDS were potable.

Political representation

The survey data revealed that as many as 10% of migrants couldn't vote in Vidhan Sabha elections and 6% could not vote in Lok Sabha elections. Inter-State migrants are not allowed to vote in their destinations, reducing their value to elected representatives there.

Takeaways for research and policy

The migration literature is awash with scholarship claiming to espouse either optimistic or pessimistic narratives of migration. This paper cautions us to be more 'realistic' about the migration scenario.

Migration is a reality, whether within national borders or across them. Many governments strive to keep people in their places, considering their mobility a threat to the polity and economy. In fact, governments should facilitate (though not coerce) people's movements.

Social policies are predicated upon the assumption that populations are and will remain sedentary. The labour migrants who have been the subjects of this research should compel analysts and policy-makers alike to conceptualise and implement potable social policy.

Research and policy on cities are fixated on the assumption of fixed cities. In fact, cities are flexible entities, with mobile populations. Policies relating to housing, service-provision and physical infrastructure in cities need to be sensitive to the needs of a mobile population.

The study questions the commonplace assumption that populations are migrating permanently from villages to towns. But populations are far from sedentary.

Temporary migrants are the engines of growth in emerging economies not only in India but also elsewhere. Research on the dynamics of economic growth needs to consider the vibrant dimensions of migration and respond to empirical conditions of mobility and flexibility rather than be confined to the assumptions of the Westphalian nation-state.

Annex 1: Survey locations

Origin localities, N= 5353 households

1. Bhargama Gram Panchayat
2. Paikpar Gram Panchayat

Destination localities, N= 1235 individuals

1. Anisabad, Patna
2. Munna Chowk, Patna
3. Railway Station, Patna
4. Night shelter Mandiri, Patna
5. Girija Chowk, Purnea
6. Rajni Chowk, Purnea

Annex 2: Locations of group discussions, N= 15-20 participants in each exercise

Origin localities

District	Village	Community	Gender
Samastipur	Shahpur	Paswan	Men
Samastipur	Shahpur	Paswan	Women
Patna	Bhushala	Musahar	Men
Patna	Bhushala	Musahar	Women
Patna	Hasanpura	Musahar	Men
Patna	Hasanpura	Musahar	Women
Nalanda	Akashpur	Ravidas	Men
Nalanda	Akashpur	Ravidas	Women
Sitamarhi	Kathol	Yadav	Men
Sitamarhi	Kathol	Yadav	Women
Katihar	Chhohar	Musahar	Men
Katihar	Chhohar	Musahar	Women
Madhepur	Murliganj	Sabzifarosh	Men
Madhepur	Murliganj	Sabzifarosh	Women
Purnea	Khanwa	Santhal	Men
Purnea	Khanwa	Santhal	Women
Bhojpur	Koilwar	Yadav	Men
Bhojpur	Koilwar	Yadav	Women
Jamui	Dhamana	Sabzifarosh	Men
Jamui	Dhamana	Sabzifarosh	Women

Destination localities

1. Anisabad, Patna
2. Munna Chowk, Patna
3. Railway Station, Patna
4. Night shelter Mandiri, Patna
5. Girija Chowk, Purnea
6. Rajni Chowk, Purnea
7. Construction site of MBL, Delhi Cantt
8. Amar Colony, Delhi
9. Shahpur Jat, Delhi
10. Sadar Bazaar, Delhi
11. Malaviya Nagar, Delhi

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