

## Out-Migration from Tripura: An Exploration

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### Abstract

*The aspect of out-migration in India varies enormously across the different regions and has several dimensions. In the North-Eastern region, out-migration has been rising in recent years owing to limited economic opportunities, widespread social and political stress, and the changing aspirations of the people, particularly youth. Census data provides a substantial glimpse over the causes of migration, but there is not much to learn about the consequences. In this context, the present paper examines the causes, linkages, and factors behind the incidence of out-migration from Tripura using primary data in the backdrop of the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM).*

*The paper observes that the most prominent cause of out-migration is employment and work, followed by education; as a result, the incidences of remittances are also noted. A probit regression model indicated that factors like location, religious background, income, and education are significant determinants of the incidence of out-migration.*

### Introduction

Migration in India is a significant occurrence, as in certain parts of the country, for every four households, at-least three migrants are found, and the dynamics of migration on the individuals, households, and regions has a strong and significant impact on the national economy and society (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003). Moreover, the implications and facets of migration in a vast country like India are immense; many times, migration and migrants have a profound opinionated lineage that no government can ignore. Thus, migration issues remain extremely politically sensitive in India.

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Migration in the case of North-East India, both legal and illegal, has been a contentious issue for a long and is considered as one of the factors responsible for the state of affairs in the region as it is now. The altered demographical profile of the region in the post-independence period is undoubtedly an outcome of India's tragic partition and the associated migration. According to Census 2011, these seven states are home to 3.73% of the country's population and account for 3.28% of the total migrants in the country. Interestingly, the population of migrants includes international and domestic (inter-region and intra-region) movements but ignores several short-term and seasonal travels for livelihood, a common feature in agrarian and less developed regions like North East India.

The aspect of outmigration in India varies enormously across the different regions and has several dimensions. It may be noted that though North East India is experiencing both inflows and outflows of people, some pieces of the literature suggest rising out-migration from the region in recent years, mainly owing to- a] people seeking refuge from conflict, b] limited livelihood opportunities & c] changing aspirations and attitude of the growing middle class (McDuié-Ra, 2013; Remeingam, 2016; Muktiar, 2017; NES&H, 2011). Many persons from the NER, including Tripura, reside across the country, though the crux is concentrated primarily in the metros like- New Delhi, Bangalore, Kolkata, Mumbai & Chennai. The causes for migration vary; some have moved out for education and settled down later for work, facilitating migration perpetuation. The out-migrants are a heterogeneous mix with varying skill levels and join diverse activities ranging from the hospitality sector to security services, from agricultural labourers to professional services. It may be noted that Census data provides a substantial glimpse over the causes of migration, but there is not much to learn about the consequences.

### **Theoretical Underpinnings**

Theoretical expositions on migration generally focus on two orientations- the origin of the process and the system's perpetuation. Numerous studies have led to various theories, mostly built upon the basic tenets of microeconomics- rationality and self-interest. Smith (1776) and Ravenstein (1889) believed people moved following differentials until the economic equilibrium was attained, while the convergence of wages in the source and destination was the basis of the analysis of Heckscher (1949) and Ohlin (1933); Todaro (1969), Harris-Todaro (1970), and Todaro (1980) explained rural-urban migration on the assumption that people moved not because of recent earnings but on the expected earnings of the future.

Personal factors were the determining issue for migration, according to many theorists. The human capital theory of Sjaastad (1962) considers migration as an investment decision; Lee (1966) analysed migration decisions based on positive and negative factors in the destination and origin countries in his early decision-making theory. The Dual Labour market is also a contributory factor to migration (Piore, 1979), while Borjas (1987)

believes migration as an outcome of self-selection. The commonality of these cited studies are the focus on the individual, which is the primary trait of neo-classical economics.

On the other hand, the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) depart from the neo-classical framework as the family and the community come into the decision-making process. The family migration theory (Kubursi, 2006) suggests that the practice of risk-sharing among family members in case of migration not being positive. The relative deprivation theory (Epstein, 1967) indicates that poor people have a greater incentive to migrate, while the motivation decisions theory (Sell and Dejong, 1978) considers the possibility, motive, expectation, and incentive to influence migration. The rational expectation theory suggests migration to a place where the return is highest (Haug, 2008), while the consumption theory (Wallace, 1997) proposes utility maximisation.

However, the continuity in research on migration issues has brought in several new considerations into the analytical expositions. The migration process appears to be more complex than the scope of the traditional model (Bonasia and Napolitano, 2012); thus, newer studies consider a host of variables influencing migration decision-making. The subjective well-being and aspirations for the future (Czaika and Vothknecht 2014), along with factors like the general economic and unemployment prospects, foreign employment, and networks (Czaika, 2015), are emerging as factors influencing migration decisions.

Pure economic variables like- Real wage; real GDP per capita (Jennissen, 2004; Cattaneo, 2008; Kurunova, 2013)); Unemployment; the number of new jobs created (Tupa and Strunz, 2013) are found to be factors affecting migration as are social sector issues like- educational level; learning and practising language skills; new knowledge; fertility rates; ageing of the labour force, material and cultural linkages between countries (Jennissen, 2004; van der Gaag and van Wissen, 2008); Bonasia and Napolitano, 2012; Tupa and Strunz, 2013). Polgreen and Simpson (2011) used happiness as a variable in explaining migration, while environmental factors like carbon dioxide emission are also considered (Bonasia and Napolitano, 2012).

The use of social, demographic, financial, and environmental variables along with standard economic variables in recent years indicates the widening dimension of the migration system. Five types of migrants have been listed: physiological needs, safety needs, social needs, esteem needs, and self-actualisation needs. The new pieces of literature indicate that social, psychological, and biological could be potential areas affecting migration decisions in the future. In this background, the argument about analysing migration dynamics and migrant behaviour from the perspective of behavioural economics is being voiced (Zickute & Kumpikaite-Valiuniene, 2015).

The theoretical exploration of migration is thus extremely vast and has several facets. However, the multitude of variables affecting migration is an indicator of the system's

complexity and is often beyond the scope of any single study. For the present study, the analytical framework of NELM shall have been considered, particularly because of the disagreement about the causes and consequences of migration and the alleged reverse direction of remittances to facilitate the education and job search of the migrants. NELM is based on the view that migration is a family decision often made by household members together for the greater well-being of the family. The rationale behind the migration decision is to maximise income and status on the one hand and minimise risk on the other (Taylor, 1991). NELM is an attempt to link the migration decision to the outcome and impact of migration, and in most cases, the remittances act as the link between these two episodes occurring at two different points of time, which are highly dynamic in nature. However, one cannot deny the fact that migration and remittances from it have both positive and negative effects on the welfare of participating households and communities, depending on the type of household/community.

In this context, the present paper examines the causes, linkages, and factors behind the incidence of out-migration from Tripura using primary data in the backdrop of the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM).

### **Objectives**

1. To analyse the causes of out-migration from Tripura
2. To examine the form of linkages of the migrant to the home base
3. To determine the factors behind the incidence of out-migration

The present paper is structured into four parts, including the present one comprising an introduction, theoretical underpinnings, and objectives. The Methodology for the study comprises the second section, followed by the results and Data Analysis in the third section. The fourth section surmises the earlier sections and provides the concluding remarks.

## **Section: II**

### **Methodology**

#### **2.1 Data**

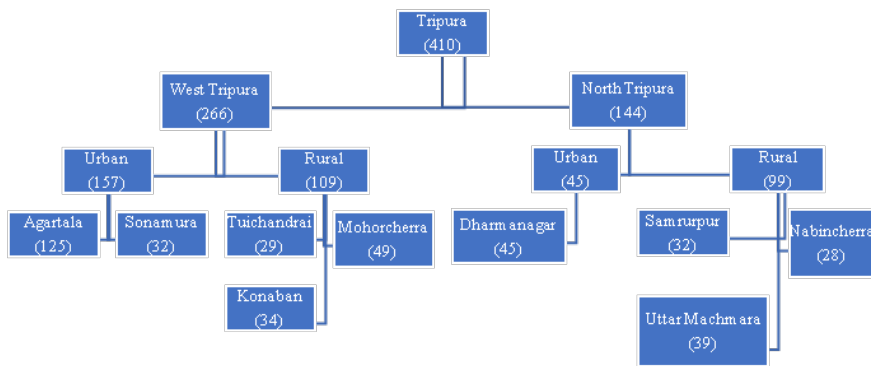
The study is based on primary data. It is obtained through a field survey of 410 households (a minimum sample size of 384 is needed when the population size is large and undefined<sup>5</sup>) across the state of Tripura spread over two districts, three urban areas, and six villages. Information was collected through a structured schedule explicitly developed for the purpose. The representative sample selected for the study has 202 respondent households from urban areas and 208 respondent households from rural areas, which satisfies the minimum size requirement.

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<sup>5</sup> Cochran, W.G. (1963) Sampling Technique. 2nd Edition, John Wiley and Sons Inc., New York.

**2.2 Sample Distribution:**

A multi-Stage (3 stages) random sampling procedure has been adopted for the selected samples for the study. In the first stage, two districts, West Tripura, and North Tripura have been selected. Further, districts are further segregated into urban and rural areas in the next stage. Among the rural area, we have selected six villages/GPs, and among the urban areas, we have three cities/towns as representatives.



Agartala is the capital of Tripura state, positioned near the Bangladesh border astride the Haora River and the state’s commercial centre. Sonamura is a Nagar Panchayat city in quarter of West Tripura, Tripura. Konaban is located in the Bishalgarh Block the of West Tripura quarter. Tuichandrai is in Teliamura Tehsil of the West Tripura district in Tripura. It is positioned 4 km down from sub-district head-quarters Teliamura and 40 km from headquarters Agartala. Moharcherra is in Teliamura Block of West Tripura District.

Dharmanagar is a city in the North Tripura district of Tripura. It is the alternate-largest civic body within Tripura, after Agartala, and an important commercial centre in the state due to its strategic position connectivity and numerous business & fiscal institutions. Uttar Machmara and Nabincherra are in the Pecharthal Block of North Tripura District. Uttar Machmara has located 29 KM towards the South of the District headquarters Kailasahar and 105 KM from the capital Agartala. Nabincherra is located 23 KM towards the East of the District headquarters Kailasahar and 112 KM from the capital Agartala. Samrurpar is in Gournagar Block in the North Tripura District of Tripura State, India. It is located 4 KM towards the west of the district headquarters of Kailasahar and 104 KM from the State capital Agartala.

### 2.3 Tools and Techniques

The study has used standard tools for addressing the objectives. Moreover, a regression model has been used to identify the determinant factors-

$Y = \alpha + \beta_i X_i + \epsilon_i$ , where the dependent variable Y is migration behaviour, X is behavioural variables &  $i=1 \dots N$

The dependent variable used was the incidence of out-migration in the household, and the explanatory variables include- age, gender, and educational level of the head of the household, household family income, religion, caste category, economic status, and family size. Since the dependent variable is categorical, having a binary outcome of 0 and 1, and the independent variables contain both numerical variables as well as categorical variables; we have used the Probit model for estimation, and the functional form of the relationship is-

Migration = f (*Age of HH, Family Size, Education of HH, Household Income, Gender of HH, Location of the HH, Caste/ Community, Religion, Type of Ration Card*)

### Section III

### Results & Data Analysis

#### 3.1 The Extent of Out-Migration

Table 1: Incidence of outmigration

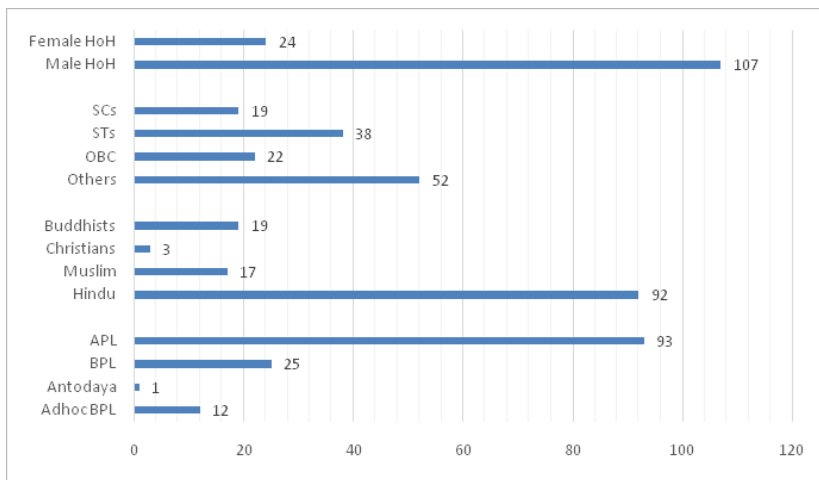
Place		HHs with out-migrants (nos.)	Share in Area Sample (%)	Out-migrants from sample HHs(nos.)
1	Konabon (Kn)	2	5.9	2
2	Moharchara (Mo)	12	24.5	12
3	Uttar Machmara (Um)	18	46.2	19
4	Tuichandrai (Te)	10	34.5	10
5	Samrurpar (Sp)	9	31.0	14
6	Nabinchhara (Nc)	14	50.0	15
A	Rural (RT)	65	31.3	72
1	Dharmanagar (Dn)	12	26.7	12
2	Sonamura (Sm)	13	40.6	15
3	Agartala (Ag)	41	32.8	46
B	Urban (UT)	66	32.7	73
C	Tripura (TR)	131	32.0	145

Source: Computed from field survey, 2019

Table 1 shows that 32% of the respondent households have family members residing beyond the household currently in a different place. The incidence of out-migration is marginally higher for the urban areas, 32.7%, while it is 31.3% among the rural respondents. Within the rural areas, the incidence is highest in Uttar Machmara, while it is least in Konabon. On the other hand, among the urban areas, the incidence is highest in Sonamura, while it is less in Dharmanagar. However, the interesting part is that 131 households account for 145 out-migrants with Samrurpar, Uttar Machmara, and Nabincherra, all belonging to the rural region of the erstwhile North Tripura district, suggesting a few households with more than one out-migrant. Similarly, Sonamura and Agartala, from the West Tripura district, indicate a few such households among the urban areas.

From Fig. 1, we see that among the households with family members as out-migrants, almost 107 are male-headed (82%), while 92 (70%) of them are Hindus and belong to the APL category ration cardholders. The religion-specific division indicates that Buddhist and Muslim households account for around 19 (15%) and 17 (13%) of the out-migrant households, whereas only 3(2%) are Christian. Also noted is that 25 (19%) out-migrants belong to BPL households, while 12(9%) are from the ad-hoc BPL category. The community-wise breakup shows that others or unreserved category lead among the out-migrants household with almost 52(40%) share followed by ST households which account for 38(29%); the SCs and OBCs share the rest.

**Fig 1: Socio-economic features of Households with Out-migrants (Nos.)**



Source: Computed from field survey, 2019

### 3.2 The Out-migrants

Table 2 shows that the average age of the out-migrant from the respondent household is 29.08 years. The out-migrant from a rural areas is 28 years old, while those from urban areas were 29.49 years. The average age of out-migrants from Samrurpar village

is the highest among the sample areas, 39.44 years, while those from Konabon and Nabincharra are the youngest. The average age of out-migrants from urban areas is lowest in Dharmanagar and highest in Sonamura.

The gender distribution of out-migrants indicates male dominance. Out of the 145 out-migrants from the sample respondent households, only 40 were female. In rural areas, 76.4% are males, while 68.5% are males in urban areas. The incidence of female out-migrants is highest among the respondent households of Agartala city and least in Mohorchara village, ignoring the exception of Konabon, whereof the two out-migrants, one is female thereby making a ratio of 50:50.

One person from Samrurpar village is illiterate among the out-migrants, accounting for 0.7% of the total out-migrant. In aggregate, we find that 22.1% of the out-migrants are graduates while 20% of them are secondary school pass-outs. Almost 7.6% of the out-migrants are technically qualified, while another 12.3% are post-graduates. Considering the rural out-migrants, it is observed from Table 2, that almost one-fourth of them are higher secondary pass, and 23.6% are secondary school pass-outs. Expectedly, the urban out-migrants are higher degree holders, with 26% being graduates and 17.8% being post-graduates. Interestingly, 41.3% of the out-migrants from Dharmanagar are graduates, the highest for any area.

**Table 2: Profile of out-migrants (in %)**

	Kn	Mo	Um	Tc	Sp	Nc	RT	Ag	Dn	Sm	UT	GT
N	2	12	19	10	14	15	72	46	12	15	73	145
Av Age (Yrs)	23.0	28.5	28.6	24.9	39.4	23.7	28.0	27.6	26.6	34.3	29.5	29.1
<b>Sex*</b>												
Male	50.0	91.7	78.9	70.0	85.7	60.0	76.4	60.9	75.0	86.7	68.5	72.4
Female	50.0	8.3	21.1	30.0	14.3	40.0	23.6	39.1	25.0	13.3	31.5	27.6
<b>Education Level*</b>												
Illiterate					7.1		1.4					0.7
Pri		8.3			21.4		5.6	2.2		6.7	2.7	4.1
Elem #		33.3	10.5	10.0	28.6	6.7	16.7	13.0	8.3	40.0	17.8	17.2
Sec	100.0	8.3	26.3	10.0	35.7	20.0	23.6	13.0	8.3	33.3	16.4	20.0
HS(+2)		16.7	26.3	30.0	0.0	53.3	25.0	8.7	8.3		6.8	15.9
Grad		33.3	26.3	10.0	7.1	13.3	18.1	28.3	41.7	6.7	26.0	22.1
PG.			10.5	20.0		6.7	6.9	17.4	25.0	13.3	17.8	12.4
Dip (T)				20.0			2.8	13.0	8.3		9.6	6.2
Deg (T)								4.3			2.7	1.4

Source: Computed from field survey, 2019

Notes: \*- Components in percentage and sums up to 100; #- Elementary Education; ^- Secondary Education GT- Grand Total; UT- Urban; RT- Rural; Ag- Agartala; Dn- Dharmanagar; Sm- Sonamura; Kn- Konabon; Sp- Samrurpar; Mo- Mohorcherra; Um- Uttar Machmara; Tc- Tuichandrai; Nc- Nabincherra



### 3.3 Causes of Out-migration

Table 3 shows that the most prominent cause of out-migration are employment and work. Almost 47% of the out-migration has occurred for this reason across the state, with the incidence being higher in rural areas. Work and employment issues as the major cause are found in all the three urban sites and among four of the six rural sites. The second most prominent cause of out-migration is Studies and education (33.1%), which is the most prominent reason in the two ST dominant rural areas, Nabincherra and Tuichindrai. Education-related migration stands in the second position in all three urban areas. Marriage as a cause of migration is found in Agartala mainly and occurs among females only. Out-migration for business is found among 7% of the samples and is more prominent in rural areas than urban areas. Social and political factors have also been the cause of out-migration in some rural areas. Further, there have been instances of out-migration of dependent family members, which as per census terminology is called as moved with the household; and such cases though negligible, are found in both urban and rural areas.

**Table 3: Causes\* of out-migration (in %)**

	Kn	Mo	Um	Tc	Sp	Nc	RT	Ag	Dn	Sm	UT	GT
<b>N</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>145</b>
Emp/Work	50.0	58.3	64.3	20.0	57.9	40.0	<b>50.0</b>	34.8	50.0	66.7	<b>43.8</b>	<b>46.9</b>
Business			14.3	20.0	5.3	13.3	<b>9.7</b>	6.5	0.0	0.0	<b>4.1</b>	<b>6.9</b>
Education		16.7	7.1	60.0	36.8	46.7	<b>31.9</b>	32.6	41.7	33.3	<b>34.2</b>	<b>33.1</b>
Soc/Pol		16.7	7.1				<b>4.2</b>					<b>2.1</b>
Marriage	50.0		7.1				<b>2.8</b>	26.1			<b>16.4</b>	<b>9.7</b>
MovHH		8.3					<b>1.4</b>		8.3		<b>1.4</b>	<b>1.4</b>

Source: Computed from field survey, 2019

Notes: \*- Components in percentage and sums up to 100; GT- Grand Total; UT- Urban; RT- Rural; Ag- Agartala; Dn- Dharmanagar; Sm- Sonamura; Kn- Konabon; Sp- Samrurpar; Mo- Mohorcherra; Um- Uttar Machmara; Tc- Tuichandrai; Nc- Nabincherra

### 3.4 Occupation and engagement of Out-migrants

**Table 4: Occupational\* Profile of out-migrants (in %)**

	Kn	Mo	Um	Tc	Sp	Nc	RT	Ag	Dn	Sm	UT	GT
<b>N</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>145</b>
Defence		33.3	14.3	10.0	5.3		11.1	4.3		6.7	4.1	7.6
Govt. Serv			14.3		10.5	6.7	6.9	4.3		6.7	4.1	5.5
Professionals								6.5	16.7	6.7	8.2	4.1
Skilled Work		25.0	21.4	10.0	5.3	13.3	13.9	2.2		40.0	9.6	11.7
Unskilled work	50.0	8.3	7.1		5.3		5.6	8.7			5.5	5.5
Teacher		8.3			15.8		5.6	10.9			6.8	6.2
Busi/ Tradi			14.3		5.3		4.2	4.3		6.7	4.1	4.1
Private Service			14.3		5.3	20.0	8.3	8.7	33.3	13.3	13.7	11.0
Homemaker		8.3	7.1				2.8	10.9			6.8	4.8
Student	50.0	16.7		80.0	36.8	60.0	37.5	37.0	50.0	20.0	35.6	36.6
Unemployed			7.1		10.5		4.2	2.2			1.4	2.8

Source: Computed from field survey, 2019

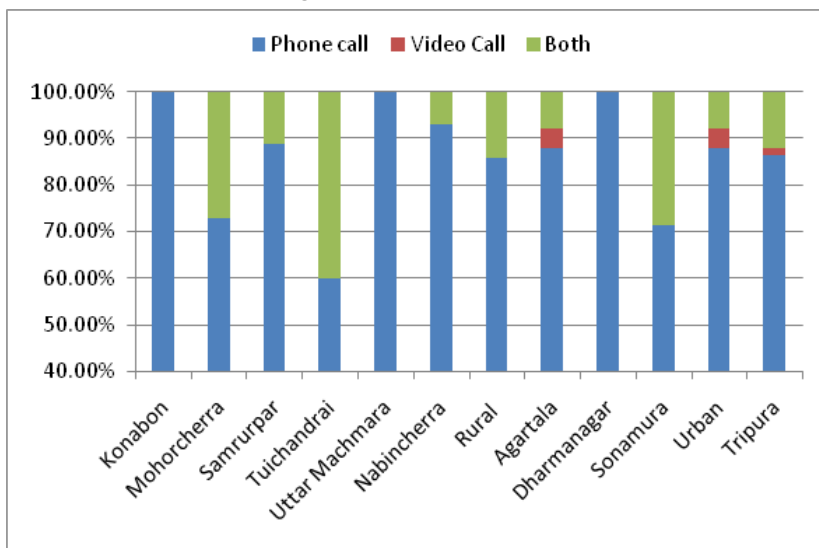
Notes: \*- Components in percentage and sums up to 100; #- Formal Education; GT- Grand Total; UT- Urban; RT- Rural; Ag- Agartala; Dn- Dharmanagar; Sm- Sonamura; Kn- Konabon; Sp- Samrupar; Mo- Mohorcherra; Um- Uttar Machmara; Tc- Tuichandrai; Nc- Nabincherra

Table 4 shows that the respondent households' largest chunks of the out-migrants are students, 36.6%. Interestingly, some out-migrants have moved away for a different cause but are currently pursuing education. Few female out-migrants moved away due to marriage but are presently pursuing some educational courses. Among those moving away for work, a heterogeneous mix is observed. Almost 12% are skilled workers at a place different from their permanent residence. 11% of the out-migrants work in the private sector, whereas only 5.5% of the out-migrants had to move away as an outcome of government employment. Work in the defence services and paramilitary forces accounts for 7.6% of outmigration among the respondents. Interesting to note here is that the incidence of occupations like- defence & paramilitary forces, skilled workers, and government services are much more in rural areas than in urban areas. Also, interesting to note here is that the rural sector leads in terms of the incidence of studies/education as a current vocation. The role of the homemaker is higher in urban areas when compared to that of rural areas. Among other occupational engagements included are that of a teacher, businessperson, traders, and alike. In other words, we may say that economic activity-based engagement accounts for 56% of the employment, while non-economic activity-based occupational classifications include

homemakers, students, and employment aspirants, and the unemployed account for 44% of the sample group. It may be further noted that students account for 80% and 60% of the out-migrants in Tuichandrai and Nabincherra, the two ST majority rural areas of the sample.

### 3.5 The tying knots- Links with the homeland

Fig- 2: Modes of Connection



Source: Computed from field survey, 2019

Fig 2 indicates that phone calls are the most prominent form of connectivity between the out-migrant and his family back at the permanent residence. With the advent of mobile telephone, when connecting to home, it was no longer a hard task. Apart from voice calls, video calls are also in practice, particularly because of the greater access to Internet facilities. Konabon and Dharmanagar are the only exceptions where visual medium is not practised. The incidence of video calls is highest in Tuichandrai, 40% of the respondents use both voice and video calls. In Agartala, two households, accounting for above 4% of the city’s respondents, reported exclusive video calls as a mode of contact among themselves.

Table 5 suggests that daily phone calls are the prevalent norm among 56.83% of respondent households across the states. The feature is higher in rural areas (64.18%), with rates being more than 80% of the samples at Mohorcherra and Samrurpar. Among the urban areas, 60.0% of respondents from Sonamura report daily phone calls. Weekly phone calls are reported by 14.3% of respondents in aggregate with greater intensity in urban areas. Frequent phone calls are more common in rural areas, where no specific routine is followed, but the two extensions of the families

talk over the phone at least a few times a month. Monthly phone calls and contact have been reported by 13% of households, with higher reporting from Nabincherra and Dharmanagar. However, monthly frequency has declined over time with better and improved connectivity across the state.

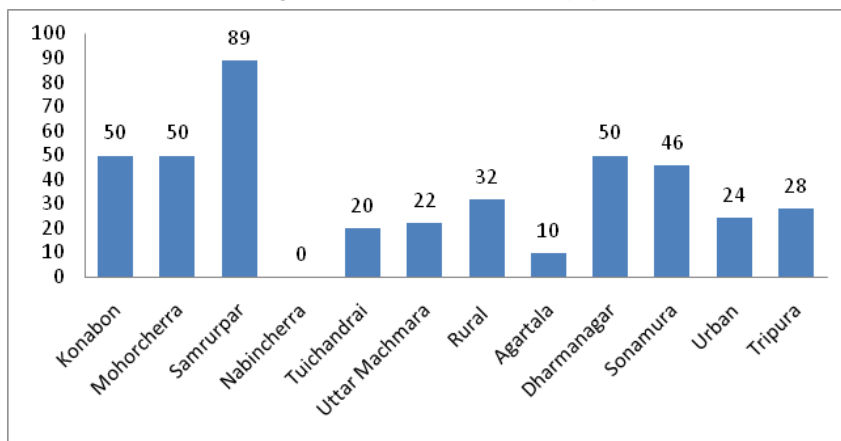
**Table 5: Frequency of Connection**

	Kn	Mo	Um	Tc	Sp	Nc	RT	Ag	Dn	Sm	UT	GT
N	2	12	19	10	14	15	72	46	12	15	73	145
Daily	50.0	83.3	57.9	60.0	88.9	46.6	64.2	45.6	50.0	60.0	49.3	56.4
Weekly	50.0		5.3	10.0	11.1		5.9	19.6	25.0	26.7	21.9	14.3
Frequently			31.9	20.0		26.7	17.9	19.6		13.3	15.1	16.4
Monthly		16.7	5.3	10.0		26.7	11.9	15.2	25.0		13.7	12.9

Notes: \*- in percentage; #- Formal Education; GT- Grand Total; UT- Urban; RT- Rural; Ag- Agartala; Dn- Dharmanagar; Sm- Sonamura; Kn- Konabon; Sp- Samrurpar; Mo- Mohorcherra; Um- Uttar Machmara; Tc- Tuichandrai; Nc- Nabincherra

### 3.6 Aspects of Remittances

**Fig 3: Incidence of remittances (%)**

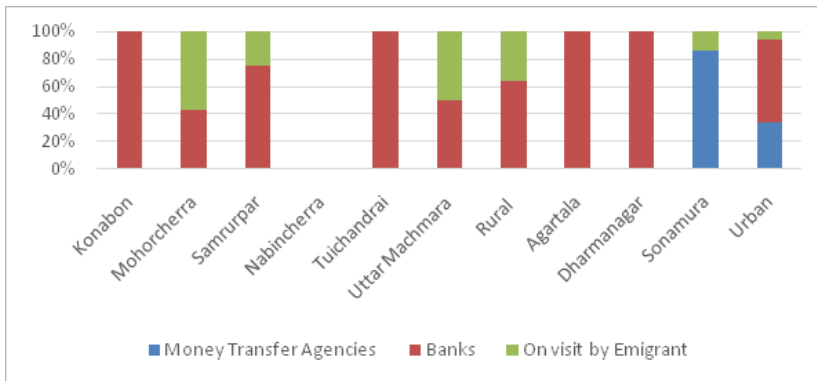


Source: Computed from field survey, 2019

Out-migration for work is associated with remittances, and the sample in our study is no exception. 28% of the out-migrants are found to be remitting to their families at the origin. The incidence of remittances is higher among the rural respondents, 32%, whereas for the urban respondents, the incidence is 24%. Samrurpar records the highest incidence while it is entirely non-existent in Nabincherra village. The incidence is least in Agartala among the urban areas, as seen in Fig 3. Places with a higher proportion of education-related out-migration indicate lower remittances. Funds are generally

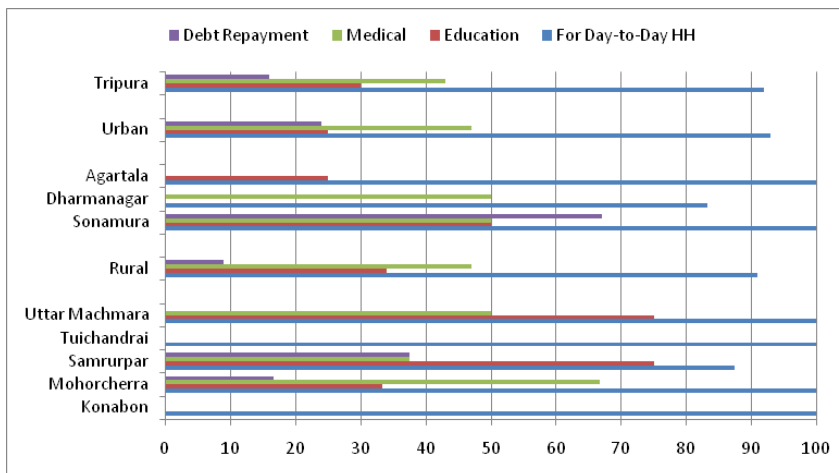
transferred through bank transactions in almost all areas, the sample areas, with 100% cases at Konabon and Tuichandrai villages and Agartala city. However, in Sonamura, transactions through specialised money transfer agencies are reported. Also observed is the incidence of cash remittances during the visits of the out-migrant to home.

**Fig 4: Modes of Remittances**



Source: Computed from field survey, 2019

**Fig 5: Use of remittances**



Source: Computed from field survey, 2019

Fig 5, shows that the remitted money is used for various purposes. Almost 92% of the households receiving remittances report using it to meet their transactions demand. All households from Agartala, Sonamura, Tuichandrai, Uttar Machmara, Moharcharra, and Konabon depend on remittances for their day-to-day consumption behaviour. Remitted money is also helpful for medical purposes, as reported by 43% of households. Remittances for medical usage are higher in rural areas and more

specifically in Samrurpar and Uttar Machmara. Remittances provide for educational support to household members, as reported by almost 30% of respondents across the state. Almost 75% of households in Uttar Machmara indicate using the available fund for the education of younger household members, while in Sonamura, such usage has been reported by 50% of households. Last but not least, remittances are useful for debt repayment, as indicated by 16% of households with incidences in Sonamura, Samrurpar, and Mohorcherra.

### 3.7 Factors contributing to Migration

Nonetheless, based on the above discussion, it is seen that there are wide variances in the nature, type, and character of the migrants and their households. As seen earlier, the incidence of migration has been more or less similar among the urban and rural regions. However, there are differences in terms of various social and economic characteristics.

The dependent variable, in our case, is the incidence of outmigration among family members. The explanatory variables include- age, gender, and educational level of the head of the household, household family income, religion, caste category, economic status, and family size. As the dependent variable is categorical in nature, there are two options- households with an incidence of out-migration and households without out-migration; the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression technique will not be applicable. Therefore, we resort to generalised linear modelling. In our case, the dependent variable is a binary outcome coded as 0 and 1. Households with an incidence of out-migration are assigned one, while those without out-migration are coded as 0. Among the explanatory variables, we have both the numerical variables as well as categorical variables. We use the Probit model for estimation, and the functional form of the relationship is-

**Migration = f (Age of HH, Family Size, Education of HH, Household Income, Gender of HH, Location of the HH, Caste/ Community, Religion, Type of Ration Card)**

Here, numerical variables include- Age of the head of the household, family size, years of schooling, and income. The natural log values of these four variables have been used in the regression model. Binary coding has been used for two variables, namely the Gender of the head of the household (male =0; female =1) and the location of the household (rural=0, urban= 1). We have used dummy variables regarding caste categories, religious affiliations, and types of ration card possession to indicate the household's economic status. The dummy structures for the three characters are as below-

For religion, considering Hindus as the reference group, Drel1 refers to Muslim=1, 0 otherwise, Drel2 refers to Christians=1, 0 otherwise; and Drel3 refers to Buddhist=1, 0 otherwise; similarly for ration card possession, considering APL as the reference group, we have – Drc1 refers to BPL=1, 0 otherwise, Drc2 refers to Antodaya=1, 0

otherwise; Drc3 refers to Adhoc- BPL=1, 0 otherwise & Drc4 refers to Annapurna=1, 0 otherwise. Finally, for caste and community status, considering SCs as the reference group, Dcc1 refers to STs=1, 0 otherwise, Dcc2 refers to OBCs=1, 0 otherwise; and Dcc3 refers to General/ unreserved=1, 0 otherwise.

**Table: 5 Regression Results of the Probit model**

Number of Observations	408			
LR chi2(15)	67.21			
Prob > chi2	0.00			
Log Likelihood	-222.4905			
Pseudo R2	0.1312			
	<b>Coefficients</b>	<b>Standard Error</b>	<b>z</b>	<b>P&gt;  z </b>
Location	-0.3227	0.1684	-1.9200	0.0550
Gender	0.1488	0.1868	0.8000	0.4260
drel1	0.5381	0.2509	2.1500	0.0320
drel2	0.5353	0.5510	0.9700	0.3310
drel3	0.5847	0.2749	2.1300	0.0330
drc1	-0.1210	0.1908	-0.6300	0.5260
drc2	-0.5866	0.5826	-1.0100	0.3140
drc3	-0.0479	0.2333	-0.2100	0.8370
drc4	0.0000	(omitted)		
dcc1	-0.1590	0.2446	-0.6500	0.5160
dcc2	0.1531	0.2358	0.6500	0.5160
dcc3	0.1434	0.2172	0.6600	0.5090
lnY	0.4833	0.1032	4.6800	0.0000
Lnfs	0.1179	0.2185	0.5400	0.5890
Lnage	0.1802	0.2898	0.6200	0.5340
Lnedu	0.2340	0.1254	1.8700	0.0620
Cons	-6.5854	1.3643	-4.8300	0.0000

*Source: Computed*

The regression results in Table 5 indicate that the probit model is satisfactorily applicable in explaining a few factors behind out-migration in Tripura. The location of the household, religious background, household income, and the level of education of the head of the household are significant factors contributing to out-migration among the sample respondent household. The regression results show that outmigration is

significantly higher among rural than urban households. The coefficient of other explanatory variables like income and education level of the head of the household also increases the probability of incidence of outmigration significantly. Further significant coefficients are found among Buddhist and Muslim households. In other words, we find that household income is significant at 99% levels, while the religious identities are significant at a 95% confidence level. The location of the household and the years of schooling of the head of the household are found to be significant at a 90% level of confidence.

**Table: 6 Marginal Effects after Probit Regression**

Variables	dy/dx	Standard Error	Z	P> z
Location	-0.1116	0.0584	-1.91	0.056
gender	0.0515	0.0646	0.80	0.426
drel1	0.1862	0.0867	2.15	0.032
drel2	0.1852	0.1906	0.97	0.331
drel3	0.2023	0.0950	2.13	0.033
drc1	-0.0419	0.0660	-0.63	0.526
drc2	-0.2030	0.2013	-1.01	0.313
drc3	-0.1657	0.0807	-0.21	0.837
drc4	0.0000	(omitted)		
dcc1	-0.0550	0.0846	-0.65	0.516
dcc2	0.0530	0.0816	0.65	0.516
dcc3	0.0496	0.0751	0.66	0.509
lnY	0.1672	0.0356	4.69	0.000
Lnfs	0.0408	0.0755	0.54	0.589
lnage	0.0623	0.1002	0.62	0.534
lnedu	0.0809	0.0432	1.87	0.061

*Source: Computed*

Table 6 shows the marginal effect of the probit regression variables. It is seen that one-unit increase in household income increases the probability of outmigration by a family by 0.1672. Similarly, the probability of incidence of outmigration in the family increases by 0.0809 if the years of schooling of the household head increase by one year. Interestingly, it is observed that if the household belongs to the urban, the probability of incidence of out-migration decreases by (-) 0.1116; also noted here is that if a household belongs to the Muslim community, the probability of incidence of out-migration increases by 0.1862, while for a Buddhist household, the probability of incidence of out-migration would be even higher owing to an increase of 0.2023. It



is to be noted here that among the significant factors, the marginal effects are highest for religious communities even though their significance level is lower than income.

## **Section IV**

### **Conclusion**

Based on the preceding discussion, we may sum up that the incidence of out-migration among the sample households in Tripura has been around 32%, which is lesser than the 35.47% incidence of the census 2011. In Tripura, migration is a feature found among all communities, including the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, and unreserved. The migrants are mostly young, and their average age is less than 30 years. Two-thirds of the migrants are male, 22% are graduates, and more than 12% are post-graduates. There is a negligible share of illiterates among migrants; work and employment are the primary cause of moving out. Education and higher studies are also important factors in moving out. The migrants are found to be working in the defence and paramilitary forces, working as skilled workers, and even a few are government servants. Some of the urban migrants are professionals.

The migrants are regularly in touch with their families, and phones are the most common medium, and there are instances of video calls also, and the interactions are held almost daily. Remittances from working migrants are common and such incidences are more in rural areas. Generally, bank transactions are the norm for transfers though a few also use specialised money transfer agencies. The remitted money is used for meeting transaction demands as well as precautionary demands. Further remittances help in the education of the young family members and, last but not least, are used for building assets and loan repayment.

The Probit model suggests that the probability of migration from a household increases with the level of income and level of education of the head of the household. In other words, migration is likely to occur more if the household income is more and the head of the household is better educated. Such a scenario can be contextualised in the light of NELM, where migration is considered to be a family decision. The higher income levels at the origin ensure an environment of support to the migrant in the early days of struggle to find steady work/employment. The support of the family during the study or skill-building period may be considered as an investment against future returns in the form of a better quality of life in the afteryears. The higher levels of education of the household head may be considered as higher knowledge and better empowerment in decision-making regarding issues including migration. Higher learning of the household head also stimulates the importance of skills and facilitates migration for education and higher studies. The positive impetus from the religious characteristics can be understood in the background that a large number of ST youths, practising Buddhism, from Nabincherra are migrants for studies to other parts; while several of the Muslim migrants from Samrurpar village and Sonamura town have moved out

in a manner which literature terms as network theory whereby the original migrants attempt to help his/her relatives, friends and juniors from the place of origin. It may be noted here that the stream of migration among the sample households are generally urban to urban and rural to urban. A movement to rural areas is negligible; as a result, the negative yet significant coefficient for urban areas indicates the greater urge among rural households to use migration as a step to improve their quality of life.

Nonetheless, to conclude, we may say that out-migration in Tripura is more of an economic consideration. The decision for migration is mostly oriented toward a better quality of life, which can be ascertained by education and better employment and earnings. In most cases, the decision for migration is not an individual decision; instead, the family decides jointly for a better future.

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