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# Emigration, remittances and emerging family structure: findings from a household survey in eight selected villages in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, India

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## Abstract

Migration from India to the Gulf Countries has increased dramatically in recent years. Does it actually have an impact on the joint family structure? India has been known for prevailing type of joint/extended families. This paper aims to throw new evidences for introducing the concept of "federated family". Using primary survey data collected from 328 rural emigrant households in eight villages from the district of Kushinagar in eastern Uttar Pradesh in India, this paper contributes to the debate of socio-economic development and impact of international remittances at migrants' places of origin. It is the first study which addresses the concept of federated family in India. Federated family seems to be a joint family, where all its members stay under the same roof but use separate kitchens.

**Keywords:** Emigration; international remittances; federated family; Uttar Pradesh.

**JEL Classification:** D10, F24, H31

## Introduction

Is there a sociological effect of international migration and remittances on the intra-household family structure in terms of their socio-economic condition, intra-income inequality, and social and family values? In the absence of any reliable data and studies, exploration of this sociological issue is of tremendous challenge. It is especially because almost all the studies focus on economic aspects of emigration, remittances and development, none of these provide

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detailed information about the impact of the remittances received on family structure. According to the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM), migration is a part of household's strategy that aims at mitigating risks and facing market failure in developing countries. Remittances sent home by emigrants help household to diversify and improve their production system and thus to minimize risks. Accordingly, emigrants play a role of an insurer to the family. Besides pure monetary gains, remittances are associated with greater human development outcomes across a number of areas such as health, education and gender equality. Remittances increase household income and therefore, a powerful anti-poverty force. Evidence from around the globe shows that households that receive remittances are financially better on multiple dimensions relative to similar households that do not receive remittances. The argument of this paper is, despite the improvement in the household well-being and reduction in poverty, migration in today's modern scenario is widening the gap of income among different members of the same households and as a result increases social differences and conspicuous expenditure in the society. In a nutshell, remittances based migration enhances the socio-economic status and reduces poverty of emigrant's households (Ali & Bhagat, 2016) and at the same time, international remittances have also created intra and inter-household income inequality (Akkoyunlu, 2010). The subject matter of this paper is the phenomenon reshaping of the intra-household family structure and redesigning of caste system in terms of the assigned set of activities happening in Eastern Uttar Pradesh since decades.

### **Nature of gulf migration and remittances in India : Some Empirical Studies**

According to Human Development Report, it is estimated that around 214 million people were international migrants in 2009 (UNDP, 2009), which increased to 243 million as per latest estimate in 2015 (United Nations, 2015). The total number of emigrants constitutes about 3 percent of the world population, and India contributes about 15.5 million emigrants i.e., about 6 per cent of world's emigrants. The majority of the Indian emigrants -i.e., 7.0 million are concentrated in 6 Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries with the largest number in United Arab Emirates (UAE) (2.6 million), followed by Saudi Arabia (2.4 million), and Kuwait (0.7 million) (GLMM, 2016). There was also a steady flow of emigration to the Gulf in the 1970s in the wake of the oil boom. However, the nature of emigration to Gulf countries is different from the emigration to other developed countries as the majority of the emigrants to Gulf countries are either unskilled or semi-skilled and go as contract workers (Bhagat et al, 2016; Kumar & Irudaya Rajan, 2014). There has been also an increase in unskilled and



semi-skilled labour emigration from the states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (Kumar & Irudaya Rajan, 2014)

Remittances play a significant role in the socio-economic condition of migrant's households in India. Household members emigrate for better living standard and improve their household status and India is no exception to it (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Ali & Bhagat, 2016). Especially in developing countries like India, remittances are very important for many households where 56 per cent of remittances are spent to meet day to day expenditure and they are also utilized during expensive social rituals and traditional transactions such as dowry (NSS, 2007-08). As Per NSS data, the percentage of remittances receiving households has increased 4 percent from 1993 to 15 percent in 2007-08. At the other reference period, IHDS data shows an increase from 8 percent in 2004-05 to 23 percent in 2011-12 during last one years. Overall, In Uttar Pradesh, an increase in the percentage of remittances receiving households has occurred from 4 percent to 23 percent between 1993 and 2011-12. It is noteworthy as an increase in remittances receiving households have a strong effect on day to day life expenditure and expenditure on 'other' (households durables, improving housing condition, financial condition, saving and investment) items and weak effect on human capital formation such as higher education and health in India (NSS, 2007-08; Ali & Bhagat, 2016).

According to National Sample Survey data, in the year 1993, the overall emigration rate of eastern Uttar Pradesh was 0.8 per 1000 population which got almost tripled (3.1 per 1000 population) in the year 2007-08. Whereas, at national level, it was 1.4 per 1000 population, which increased to 2.3 in the respective time period. According to 64<sup>th</sup> round of National Sample Survey, it has been found that maximum remittance is being received in the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh. The existing literature also shows that remittances reduce poverty at the household level in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. These optimistic views are supported by Ali and Bhagat (2016), using a propensity score matching model. They find that remittances play a significant role in reducing poverty at the household level. Similarly, Dey (2015) uses a nearest neighborhood matching approach to find that remittances play a vital role in alleviating poverty at the household and local economy levels, improving the livelihood of millions of people in rural states of India. The current study is an attempt to explore the same in more detail with more focused to the family structure.

### **Family Structure in India**

The institution of family has always been considered to be an important area of sociological concern. Extensive literature is

available on the relationship between family structure, caste and landholding size. Sociologists and social anthropologists explained Indian family structure in two phases. First phase is based on Indological-cum-legal view and other is direct field investigation. Indological-cum-legal view is based on historical and legal material explaining family as a monotype, large, multifunctional consisting upto three or more generations. According to this view, Maine (1861) explained, Indian family as the patriarchal family. Similarly, O'Malley (1941) follows the same line. In his essay 'Family and Religion', modern India is concerned more with the nature and cause of the disintegration of the joint family. On this account of disintegration, he introduces the concept of the structural difference between the higher caste (where separation is rare during the head of the household's lifetime,) and the lower castes, (where separation takes place even during the head of the household's lifetime). O'Malley believes that disintegration of the joint family is due to the change of economic conditions and other factors i.e. conflicts interests of members, arguments among women, different member with a different temperament, frequent clashes among members etc. They are united as a joint family in common property, worship and celebration of ceremonies. These optimistic views are supported by Nimkoff (1959) who found that India in the joint family system is traditionally most common among higher caste and elite group. Similarly, Caldwell et al (1984) using the quasi-anthropologic approach from the rural South India found that joint family are more common among those households which own agriculture land.

The second phase in the sociological study of the Indian family is based on the direct field investigation. In his empirical study, he used the family and household as synonyms but the concrete referant of the family is the household. The referant of joint family is likewise joint household. According to Chakravorty and Singh, 1991; Niranjana et.al, 1998 are a classified family structure in a single member, broken nuclear, nuclear, supplemented nuclear, and joint family. Most of the researcher shows that the household structure in India is complex and dynamic (Gore, 1968; Kolenda; 1968; Roy, 1974; Khatri, 1975; Niranjana et al, 2005). In the same approach, the study based on emigrants household's relations with the village and family member in Radhvanaj village in central Gujarat (Shah, 1973). The study explained different pictures of family structure in emigrant households' and coined the term 'Independent' and 'Linked' emigrant households. Independent emigrant households included emigrant parents separated from a married son residing in the village, separated from parents and married brothers, separated from married brothers and emigrant households having no near kinsman in the village. On the



other hand, in linked emigrant households included emigrant married man, who keeps his wife and children in the village and return frequently to live with them. Emigrant's households each forming a part of a joint unit of parents and more than one married son. The description of linked households is when a married man live outside the village. His parents as well as married brothers, the relation may vary with him from that of integration into a single unit of property, income, expenditure and so on, to that of separation in all respects.

Both, independent and linked household shows the pattern of variations in emigrant households. In this context, the current study is based on limited samples taken from Eastern Uttar Pradesh that show the unique pictures of the change in the family structure caused by emigration. The importance of this paper is that this is the first paper in India that deals the relationship between migration, remittances and changes in intra-household family structure by using primary data collected from emigrant households of Eastern Uttar Pradesh in India.

### **Data and Methods**

This paper is based on the findings of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and discusses about the findings of a household's survey to throw some light on the role of emigration and remittances on the design of the Intra-household family structure. Many studies have already been touched upon the micro level impact of remittances, and tried to explore magnitude and determinants of migration and remittances (Ali & Bhagat, 2016; Martin & Malit, 2017). However, very limited information is available on the impact of remittances on intra-households structure, how the remittances are being controlled and spent in the family? And to what extent remittances enables households to respond to the challenges faced by the household? This study endeavours to address this gap in knowledge by exploring the role of remittances within eight villages that are significantly exposed to emigration. Most of the migration and remittances literature in Uttar Pradesh focuses on the macro level impact of internal remittances on socio- economic development. It is hard to find any data of international remittances on a micro level. Furthermore, this study shows that emigration process increases the level of income of emigrants' households but on the flip side increase in remittances and control over them also affects the intra- household family bonding and structure. However, the duration of emigration is an important factor in determining the overall wealth effects and intra-household's family structure of such migration. Nevertheless, the fact that health and education related expenditure was a common feature across all of the villages does support the argument that migration has a positive impact on emigrants native place. The study

makes an important contribution in drawing attention to the concept of 'federated family' as a theoretical tool for understanding and explaining the impacts of remittances on households.

This paper is a modest attempt in providing a micro-social understanding of households by using remittances. It also shows the impact of remittances on the intra-household family structure. The mixed method approach has been used for this study i.e. quantitative and qualitative data collection. It is focused on investigating the private settings and experience of individuals and their households. The ethnographic methodology adopted for the study (Sikder & Ballis, 2013; Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994) seeks to provide a richer, more detailed account of emigrants' households.

According to 64<sup>th</sup> round of National Sample Survey it has been found that maximum remittance is being received in the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh. The region of Uttar Pradesh, district Kushinagar has been selected for the study, as it is fairly known for international out migration and considered to be a backward district. In order to identify the potential locations/ villages in the district, quick field-based reconnaissance is been conducted before finalizing the locations for the survey. Eight villages has been purposively selected for conducting the survey. The villages selected were among those that are known to have greater, medium and low levels of emigration. The specific reasons for choosing these villages is that there are specific pockets in the district where out migration to gulf countries is high. Two villages were more vulnerable to natural disasters such as flood/riverbank erosion, and are accepted as being typical of the range of rural communities that have come to rely on remittances income only. In total, 328 emigrant households were examined for the study from all the villages of different blocks/tehsils.

The methodology incorporates mixed method approach. Quantitative data collection tools have been used for interviewing the head of the households. A set of the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions have been organised to interview the villagers and *gram-pradhan*. In order to fulfil the objectives, the operational definition of an emigrant household is defined as a former member of a household, who left the household any time in the past for staying outside of India provided he/she, was alive on the date of survey. The NSS definition of emigrant household is followed in this study. An effort was made to select an equal number of (Hindu/Muslim) households, and equal number of male and female headed households so as to understand the utility and effect of remittances based on types of migration and socio-economic status of the household. Each of the



eight villages was visited three times over a six-month period during 2014-2015.

### **Consequences of international remittances**

International remittances bring about a bundle of changes at the individual, household and community levels (Ratha, 2007; Akkoyunlu, 2010; Ali & Bhagat, 2016; Martin, 2017). There are social, economic as well as demographic reconstruction due to international remittances at the emigrant's native place. The most important outcome of emigration is the remittances which influence the consumption pattern and life style of the individuals and households. The majority of the surveyed emigrant households (73.0%) reported to have received remittances. The frequency of receiving remittances was regular as one half of the emigrant households received it on monthly basis. The mean annual amount of remittances received by the emigrant households was rupees 2.37 lakh (3476 US\$) and about a one fifth emigrant households of them reported to have received remittances above rupees 2 lakh (2930 US\$) during the past one year (Table 1). Therefore, with the effect of international remittances, Eastern Uttar Pradesh faces the new phenomenon of reshaping of intra-household family structure and emerging changes in the caste system.

To answer to the question whether emigration and remittances bring changes in the society, 44% of emigrant households reported that emigration has an impact on the increase in remittances based migration in the society followed by 17% impact on weakening in family bonding structure of the family members. Emigration also increases the economic status (29%) and increases the saving and investment (10 %). Thus emigration not only brought changes at economic status at individual and household level, but also for the community at large. It has further increased the aspiration to take up emigration among a larger socially disadvantaged sections of Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

### **Changes in family structure**

One of the major change in the social front brought by emigration and remittances in Eastern Uttar Pradesh is the formation of '*federated families*'. Here, a federated family is a family that functions as a separate economic units but united as a joint family for the purpose of social and religious functions (Table 2). Federated family is used here to explain the effect of remittances on intra-household family structure.

**Table 1.** Percentage of emigrant households received remittances, mode of transfer and the person receiving remittances at home and remittances effect on society

Particulars	Emigrant households (n=328)
Remittances received	72.9
<b>Frequency of receiving remittances</b>	
Monthly	50.0
Every Two month	17.8
Every three month	24.2
Every Six month	1.3
Whenever need arose	6.8
<b>Amount of remittances received during last 12 months (in Rs.)</b>	
Upto 50000	5.5
50001 to 100000	14.4
100001- 150000	24.6
150001- 200000	17.0
2000001 and above	38.6
Mean annual amount (in Rs.)	237255
<b>Remittances received by</b>	
Parents	41.5
Son/daughter/Brother/Sister	3.4
Spouse	55.1
<b>Mode of transfer remittances</b>	
Through bank	56.8
Financial Institution	34.8
Electronic Money Order	0.9
Through relative/friends coming on leave	7.6
<b>Impact of remittances on individual and family</b>	
Increased in trends towards nuclear family	6.1
Weakening of caste system	14.9
Increased in aspiration for international migration	44.8
Self –pride	0.6
Weakening in family bonding structure	17.1
Others	16.5
Total	100



**Table 2.** Intra-household family structure and changes in caste system in Emigrant households

Category of Relation		Household (n=328)
A	"Federated Family" Emigrant households	<b>48 (15%)</b>
	More than one emigrant wives separated	
i	kitchen in same households but united in a common property	14
	Emigrant parents and brother separated	
ii	kitchen in a same households but united in a common property	16
	Emigrant wife separated kitchen from non-	
i	migrant married brothers and other family member in same households	7
	Emigrant wife separated kitchen with inter-	
v	state migrants and non-migrants wives in a same households	11
B	"Joint to Nuclear Family" Emigrant households	20 (6%)
	Emigrant wives moved to other house in a	
i	same village	5
	Emigrant wives moved to their parental	
ii	families	3
	Emigrant household of a emigrant wife	
i	linked with parents but separated from a married brother in the village	12
C	Caste Structure	
i	Weakening in caste system	49 (15%)
	No effect of remittances on family structure	
D	and caste system	211 (64%)
Total		328

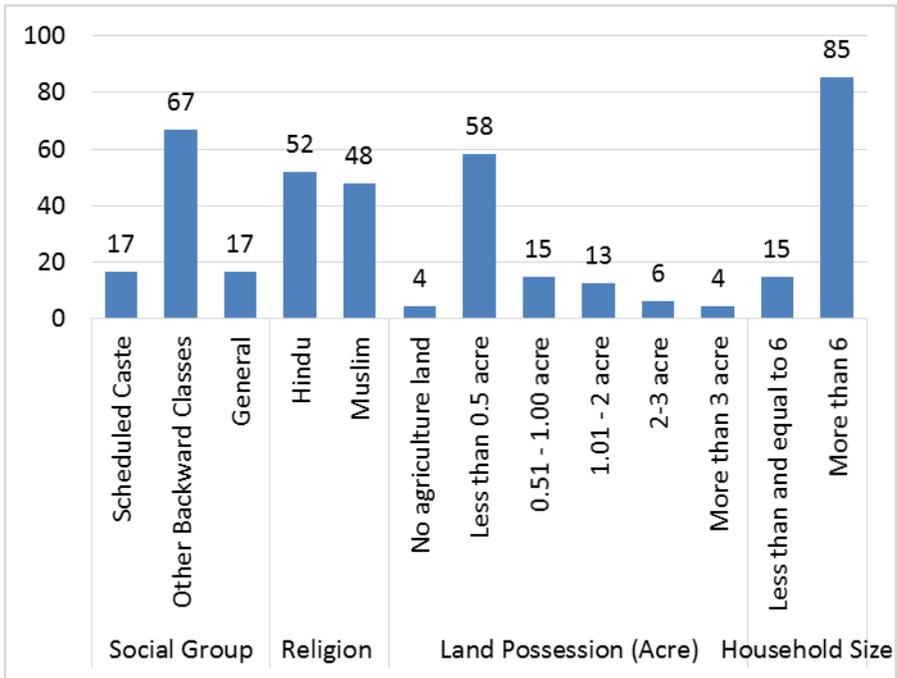
There is a considerable variation in the nature of relationship maintained by emigrant households within the villages in Uttar Pradesh. To show the pattern in the variations, different set of variables have been worked out which proves the concept of the federated families in some ways or others. Above table (Table 2) shows, that 21% of the families became separate/ moved to different places/ use different kitchen under the same roof. In terms of the weakening in caste system, analysis shows that 15% of the sample feel that

emigration is weakening the caste system. The separation as different economic entities takes place due to the intra household-income inequality emanated from the international migration of one or more person. Many studies have examined the effect of remittances on the household level and on left behind family. However, from the observation in selected villages, the complex effects of remittances on refashioning in the intra-household family structure among Hindus and Muslim. The survey result indicates that the possible reason for the formation of a federated family is intra-household income inequality (explained by head of the households and emigrants wives) caused by remittances from an emigrant member and the second reason is: a lack of managerial and problem solving techniques in malfunctioning of the household that creates a need for a separate kitchens. Improper management of resources, as some using resources to the fullest, and others getting no chance to use it and making them vulnerable and thereby gearing the family's demand for separate kitchen. In addition to this, there comes a lot of responsibility with increasing number of people at home. Desire to live with freedom, provision of quality and value guided education to children, maintain healthy standards of living plays an important role in augmenting their desire to live in nuclear families. Majority of new married females do not want to take additional responsibilities of other family members apart from their husbands and wants free lifestyle. Employed women finds it challenging to excel in managing their job and home simultaneously. As a consequence nucleation of family occurs.

The socio-economic characteristics also affect the intra-household family structure in emigrant households in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. The federated family and its association with land possession, social group and religion are shown in above graph. The result shows that among the total surveyed emigrant households 15 % (48) are federated families. Out of the total federated families, two third (67%) belongs the backward class. There is no significant difference notices by religion. It is found that a family's chance of becoming federated increases when household size increases. As shown in above chart, out of the federated families 85% are those whose family size is more than 6. It shows that probability of evolving the federated family is higher among the once whose size is large.



**Figure 1.** Percentage of federated families by social group, religion, land possession & size of household



**Caste system in India from ancient time**

Caste is an endogamous social group in India where status is determined by birth. Ranking of the caste is based on four-fold Varna categories with Brahmins at the top followed by Warriors (martial community), Vaishyas (trading community) and Shudras (also known as untouchables now called as scheduled caste) at the bottom (Bhagat, 2015; Keshri & Bhagat, 2013). After independence, the Indian Constitution declared certain castes and tribes as scheduled castes (SCs) and scheduled tribes (STs) to create a system of affirmative action in employment and education for these castes. Other backward classes (OBCs) are a group of castes that are also supposed to be backward in respect to socio-economic development, but better than STs and SCs. Privileges have been granted to the OBCs since 1990. In India, *scheduled caste* always occupied the outskirts of villages as they were considered to be polluted. In fact, historically they have been the agrarian working class in the villages who tilled the land which they did not own. The traditional system of procuring agricultural labour tied to land and land owners similar to the system of serf in Europe was very much prevalent in India. This system of caste relations which was both social and spatial was known as *Jajmani System* (patron-client relationship)

which kept the agrarian labouring classes immobile (Bhagat, 2015). On the other hand the privilege of mobility was confined to the *Brahmins* (priestly castes) and *Vaishyas* (trading castes) principally who moved to provide priestly services and the trade of goods respectively. The traditional *Jajmani system* has been giving way as urbanization unfolded the opportunity of salaried jobs and wage labour in cities and towns (Bhagat, 2015). Caste is perceived to have an important relationship with the temporary migration particularly in the countryside (Haberfeld *et al.*, 1999; Sundari, 2005). According to Keshri and Bhagat (2013) find that temporary and seasonal mobility is higher among scheduled tribes than other caste groups in rural areas. Although the development effects of emigration at the place of origin have received a lot of attention from both scholars and policy maker at the national level, the impacts of migration, utilization of remittances and changes in caste system at the state level have been less documented. The impact of migration on family structure and caste system and effect of migration and remittances on individual and communities behaviour at the place of origin have been scarcely studied in India and state level due to unavailability of migration data. Therefore, this paper also attempts to examine the impact of remittances on the caste structure in selected villages in eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Income inequalities due to migration and remittances also affect the caste system in rural Uttar Pradesh. This is the fact that emigration process increases the socio-economic status of households, but on the other hand it also affects the traditional caste system in rural Uttar Pradesh. According to gram pradhan (head of the village), remittances also increases social violence at the initial phase. In Indian society, traditionally, Scheduled caste and other lower economic class (underprivileged) compared themselves to higher and elite caste. According to head of the village, due to inter-generational migration process through social networking, lower caste and others belonging to low income households are also receiving higher international remittances almost every month. Due to this additional income, the consumption power and some-times ostententous consumption expenditure increases. This phenomenon is highly associated with young generation, who is mostly working in gulf countries for more than six months to less than 2 years. When they comes back to India, they strongly believes that income is essential part of life style. Their behaviour also influences other members of the households and their peers groups. According to temporary return emigrants from Dubai, who work as a tailor master there, now think that they are in good economic position as compared to others, so why to engage themselves and their family members in agriculture



labourers and other kind of mean jobs. Before emigration, they had no other source of income, so their family members were totally dependent upon dominant caste for their livelihood in the form of agriculture or others labour works. Similarly, same view was explained by gram pradhan and others emigrants' relatives. Now slowly, everyone especially dominant class has accepted this scenario and practice of untouchability has also decreased.

### **Utilization of remittances**

Remittances and its impact on native community is an important aspect of migration. This study shows that because of remittances poverty has been declining in the study villages. An important aspect that comes to the light from the interview of gram pradhan (head of the village) is that, there were no single house that was completely furnished before 20 years, but now majority of the houses were well furnished and are having better facilities. Duration of stay at the destination also plays a significant role in sending the remittances. These optimistic view supported by Mahapatro (2016) who found that households with overseas migrants for a relatively long duration are in fact better off. Present study also shows that frequency of such migration has a positive impact on sending more remittances comparatively to the people who have lesser frequency. A person who was working on certain area and came back to his native, after some time if he goes again to join the same position, he will get better salary. The fact which we wanted to show here is if one person is staying for long on the same position will earn less money than the person who discontinue, comes back and again join it again. A returned emigrant who was working in the agricultural department in Riyadh of Saudi Arabia, back to his native place five years ago, says *"10 years before, there was nothing in my house, but today, I own a well-furnished house and has also bought a tractor. Now, I have enough money to send my kids to school for better education. He further says, the respect his family is getting now from the people of his village is only because of migration"*. There has been a tremendous improvement in the standard of living of many emigrant households in this locality as compared to the life before migration. Emigration provides better education to children, uplifts family and helps in clearing debts. Majority of the respondents have said that after fulfilling the basic needs, money is being invested on construction of houses along with improved sanitation facilities. Based on the micro level study at the household level, remittances have been utilised in increasing the educational level. It has also been found that more money is spent on girl's education. *A left behind wife said 'I could not study much and because of my illiteracy I had to face many problems and I do not want my daughter to experience the same.* Almost 50

percent of the emigrant's households are paying attention towards education, particularly of girl's education. It is also found in the surveyed villages that girl education level is better than that of boys. In this village, majority of young adult boys are highly motivated to migrate to gulf countries just like other emigrants. In a micro level study of village, it was revealed that almost 80 % boys have made their all basic arrangements such as passport and other related documents, required to migrate abroad. Qualitative interviews conducted with the local stakeholders really helped us to bring this local dynamics of the villages in front. There is a stepwise migration in the villages, which means, boys go to Nagaland after finishing 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> standards of schooling and learn some work there. After gaining some knowledge and learning the skills, they apply for visa to the gulf countries. Apart from focusing on girl's education, some households save money to conduct marriage of their daughters immediately. A uniform pattern in the use of remittances is not found across the surveyed emigrant households. Thus it was identified that the major amount is being spent on construction, education, repayment of debts. Only two to three percent households are using their remittances in their business and 10 to 15 percent households save money for their daughters' marriage. The village head also explained that most of the emigrant belongs to unskilled worker that is the reason they use their money on their own family rather spending it on other relative.

It is true that emigration has helped to uplift the level of household's income. At the same time, it has also increased the intra-household and inter-household income inequality in the study villages, and thereby adversely affected the family bonding and structure. The study shows that in a joint family if there are two son, of which one is emigrant and another one is involved in agriculture living with family. Son who is living outside, he is more interested to spend his remittances (earning) on their immediate family i.e. wife and children rather spending it on parents and brother's family. Reason behind this as he is living apart from his family and sacrificing. This is one of the reason which creates problems and reason to divide the families. Although to prove this fact, there is a need of conducting the study at larger scale. It is evident from the literature that left behind wives become more independent and get opportunity in the process of decision making in many areas of day to day life. Along with this empowering factors they have to face psychological pressure due to the absent of their husband. This is evident from the disparity in satisfaction reported by wives of emigrants and non-emigrants. To analyse this gap, interviews were conducted twice after an interval of six months of left behind wives and questions were asked to them. Most of them were not able to answer a particular question: "Are you happy with



your life?" There was not a uniform pattern in their answers. Women whose husbands are emigrated after only eight months of their marriage and left their wives back at home were not at all happy with their lives. Those women whose husbands emigrated after a gap of four to five years responded that they are happy in their life. They responded maturely that if their husbands' had not emigrated then how they would be able to run their families and meet all the household expenditure. Left behind wives, manages all remittances by themselves very well. They do all the things from managing their household work to purchase a land. They reported that before marriage they used to wear "Parda" and could not go to the market alone as well as could not talk to others, but after the emigration of their husband they have become more independent. Now they do their work by themselves like withdrawing money from the bank, dropping their children to school, submitting the fees of their children, buying things from market, etc. which is indicative towards the women empowerment. In absence of their husbands they are the ones who decides each and every thing which gives an opportunity to empower them. Although empowerment is a very big term and this study shows just a fraction of that opportunity. But yes, it can help women to come at front and be independent.

### **Discussion**

The impact of emigration plays an important role for restructuring the social, economic and behaviour changes in the family. There are many of the previous studies which supports these issues by their soft touches (Sikder & Ballis 2013; Suman & McCarthy, 2016; Zotova, N., & Cohen, 2016), however there is need for further exploration. Impact of the emigration can be seen in both ways i.e. positive as well negative, this paper tried to explore both the aspects in parallel. Some of the studies have also established that emigration can improve household's income through remittances and subsequently helps in improving many other areas of development such as education and health. (Ratha, 2007; Sikder & Ballis 2013; Ali & Bhagat 2016; Martin 2017). Study by Akkoyunlu (2010) supports this line of argument. Using general to specific modelling approach it shows that remittances have positive effect on migration in the short as well in long run and remittances increases the migration flow from Turkey. Study also highlighted the fact that, remittances increase the income differentials between families with member who have migrated and other families and hence lead to an increase in migration incentives. They support but they mainly focused on family formation on first and second generation at the place of destination. Findings of the current paper depicts the changes in intra-familial relationships (within the emigrant households) caused by the income inequality between the

individuals of the same households. These differential occurs because of the different emigration statuses of the families. The evolution of the concept of 'federated family' is to measure the impact of remittances on intra-household conflicts. Intra-income inequality due to remittances is main determinant of formation of federated families. During an interview with gram pradhan (head of village), they clearly explained the same fact. In other words, indirectly it is also related with saving purposes. In the interview of emigrants' wives they clearly shows that "why my husband spend more on households activities compared to his non-emigrants brothers". This is another reason which supports to create federated families. With the help of the findings of the current paper, we are in a stable position to set some of the positive as well negatives of the emigration and remittances on Indian society. It has been noticed that majority of the emigrants belongs to a lower income group of the families, whose monthly income ranges between (Rs. 8000-10000/per month) and average family size is (6.9), this kind of unskilled and semi-skilled labour gets a big support from the international remittance which directly and indirectly helps to reduce the poverty of the family. Due to increase in the income of the family, people have started focussing on girl child & other health issues, which improves the health seeking behaviour. On the other side there is a pool of negative impacts on the family as well on the society because of such kind of international migration. Study found that the increase of intra-household income increases the inequality within a joint family, because of the restructuring mechanism of the remittances gained from the emigrants versus non-emigrants. This income inequality adversely affects the family bonding, structure, thinking of the members which leads for federation of the families. Study also gives some of the leads to support the violence in the community. India is known to have a very strict caste hierarchy where there is a set of responsibilities/activities assigned to a group of people of lower castes. Due to emigration pattern it has been noticed that now the lower caste group are not comfortable for such activities, which increases the dissatisfaction level in the different caste groups. During the interaction with Gram Pradhan in the qualitative part, we have found that because of the long duration of the stay, emigrants used to earn more money. Since there is no data available at the National level to support this fact, so there is a need to further explore this at broader level which can explain the effect of remittances on behaviour of lower and upper cast. But, with the available data collected at primary level, it has been clearly came out that remittances have a strong impact on caste.

As a part of the methodology, some of the qualitative interviews has been conducted during the data collection process with the different



group of stakeholders i.e. gram pradhan, school teacher, head of the household, emigrants wife & non-emigrant wife (in the same family). The most common thing revealed with qualitative findings that Muslim families were open to accept the fact that they have been using separate kitchen in the same households which was totally absent among Hindus. The reason related with the status of the society. As the literature shows that Muslim belongs to the socially disadvantaged group and empirical evidence shows that joint family system is traditionally most common among higher caste and elite group. On the history of this tradition, Hindu family did not openly accept the fact that they have been using separate kitchen in the same households. An emigrant household reduces his relations with other family members in terms of income and expenditure. Some of them reduce their relation with original village members during the course of time and settle down at new place within the same village. They also choose to settle at other place of residence, retaining in the original household, occasionally visiting their relations, other family members, and immovable property.

### **Conclusion and policy recommendation**

This study touched many issues which are directly and indirectly linked to the fact of emigration and the remittances along with its advantages and limitations on the Indian family structure and emerging societal issues. The major finding which has come up exclusively with the help of this study is how the family structure of Indian society especially in the village settings is changing over a period of time due to remittances received and how it's being utilised for wellbeing of the family members. The fact of the evolution of "Federated family", reshaping of the activities assigned to a lower caste groups, impact of the remittances on the family bonding and mechanism to utilize the remittances in the more comprehensive way, needs to be further explored with larger studies. This study clearly shows that one fifth (68) of the total sampled population strongly feel that families are converting into the nuclear families because of the fact of emigration.

There is a clear need of exploring the state specific migration pattern. It will help the policy makers to frame some policy especially for semi-skilled work force who are migrating to the gulf and other countries. These programs/policies will help to generate the evidences to understand the emerging changes in the families and society. It is also recommended that there should be state specific programs or guidelines on utilization of remittances for wellbeing of the families and if some financing mechanism can be further added to such kind of schemes.

There is lack of available data on international migration, the last available data source is NSS 64<sup>th</sup> round which has been conducted in 2007-08, which was not focussed on migration, it was just covered as part of employment and unemployment. After this there is no such data available. This is the first primary data collected which explains this domain in this much detail. There is a strong need for collecting such data in India.

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