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Study on the Causes and Impact of Migration in Garo People Lifestyle

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A R T I C L E I N F O	A B S T R A C T
	Garo people are tribal communities who live in the middle northern part of Bangladesh from time immemorial. The purpose of the research was to identify the reasons, outline, and impact on the relocation of Garo people in the city areas in Bangladesh. Primary data were collected from face-to-face contact through an interview schedule. The findings indicate that poverty, lack of production, unemployment, and security were the main push factors where urban job opportunity, urban life style and social security were pull factors for garo migration. Pattern analysis showed that 69 percent of respondents migrate to the city without a plan. Large farm and family size discourged the unplanned migarion where deteriorate social security influence garo people for unplanned migration. Study also revealed that garo people access to better income, health facility, transportation have increased. In contrast, the involvement of agricultureal activity greatly reduced. Moreover, migrated family maintain their daily requirement for food by purchasing market. Government should take policy for improving the security, income opportunity, and infrastructure for discouraging the unplanned migration from village to town.

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Introduction

Twenty-seven tribal groups live in Bangladesh, which comprises 1% of the total population (around 165 million people live in 148,460 sq km areas) (HSSP, 2017; BBS, 2011). However, Bangladesh Adivashi Forum claims 45 indigenous people live in Bangladesh (WIPO, 2006). Garo is one of the tribal groups that live in Mymensingh, Tangail, Jamalpur, Sherpur Netrokona districts in Bangladesh. The ancestral home of the Garo people was in the Xinjiang province, north-west of China. They moved to the north-eastern part of India, namely Asam and Megalya subsequently moved to the northern part of Bangladesh 4500 years ago. Finally, they settled in the greater Mymensingh region (Banglapedia, 2014). Most of the tribal groups live in hilly areas; however, Garos live in the plain land. Garo people call themselves A-chik or Mande, which is their language (Burling, 1997).

The Garo language derives from the Tibeto-Burman Language (Burling, 2003). The traditions, customs, and beliefs were transmitted from generation to generation without any written format. Compared to the latest economic development, Garos' are yet to receive modern uplifting. Nature is their home, where poverty is their regular company.

Like other tribal groups in Bangladesh, most of the Garos are inadequate; however, they have a rich cultural heritage. For example, Garos are matrilineal people; women are the decision-maker in their families who inherit property. The youngest daughter inherits the top portion of their family's properties and eats rice, fish, meat, and vegetables, their traditional foods named *Brenga*. The Garos celebrate *Wangala* following the agriculture cycle of the crops (Dhaka Tribune, 2016). Historically, they face many security threats. Most of them are deprived of basic needs such as education, medicare facilities, utility services, etc. Therefore, they try to migrate to other areas, mainly urban areas, for social safety and employment

opportunities. Currently, about 30 000 Garos are living in Dhaka city (Joshua Project, 2020).

Migration is considered as the movement of people from one geographical region to another. Similar to internal migration from village to urban areas, Garos frequently migrate to city areas. Both temporary and permanent migrations are observed among the Garos. They migrate for children's education, employment, medical treatment, and other utility services. In Bangladesh, most of the development is city-oriented; therefore, Garos migrate to Cities.

Garo migration to urban areas creates problems as other people migrate from rural areas. The urban population is increasing at a 10% rate per annum, creating Dhaka city the 2nd most unlivable city in world city ranking (The World Bank, 2018 & The Daily Star, 2018). Most migrants live in slums, footpaths, rail stations, and other scattered places (Shikdar, 2012). They struggle to survive without having basic needs. They create burdens and raise multiple city dwellers such as overcrowding, traffic congregation, money inflation, competition for the job, threats of public security, etc. Besides, their leaving from rural areas creates a negative impact on agricultural production. The commitment of vision 2041 and SDG goal 2030 of Bangladesh is to uplift the economy and social status of *Garos*. Hence, the inclusion of tribal people in national development is essential. Every segment of the people will likely be involved with the development of the national economy.

From the empirical perspective, rural to urban migration has a complex impact on migrants' households. He (2019) and Wang et al. (2019) stated that labor remittance could promote agriculture efficiency and mechanization in rural areas. Migrants bring the modern management practices for agriculture from the town area. They also create new sales opportunities, which ultimately promote the commercialization and modernization of agriculture (Rahman and Abdulai, 2018; Khat et al., 2018). Some studies claim that rural migration can be an essential strategy to enhance rural livelihood conditions. Remittance income can significantly enhance the per capita food consumption income. This new development in the economy further contributes to the rural economy by creating non-agricultural income sources, ultimately generating employment opportunities (Xu et al., 2019; McCabe et al., 2014; Wan et al., 2018; Milan, 2014). However, excessive rural migration can create a labor shortage in rural areas. The shortage of labor migration can reduce agricultural output in rural areas (Wang and Benjamin et al., 2019).

On the other hand, some studies suggest that unplanned, immature migration is not likely to contribute to the migrants' household due to proper social, financial, and education (Gautam, 2017). In the same way, excessive migration can significantly damage the rural economy, which is unlikely to recover from the remittance income (Liu et al., 2016) however, though rural to urban migration is a sensitive issue, particularly for the tribal people in Bangladesh, few studies related to the rural to urban tribal people migration. Karim and Muhammad, (2018) identified lack of employment opportunity as the main reason for migration in Bangladesh's northern part. Martin et al. (2014) found that climate-related disasters stirred the migration rate in Bangladesh. However, they also stated that migrants in Bangladesh are primarily motivated by income generation. In another study, Hosain et al. (2016) identified that most migrants in Bangladesh are male and youth. They also point out that rural migration is playing a vital role in economic development in Bangladesh. However, Afrad et al. (2020) studied the impact of labor migration on agriculture. They opined that increased dependency on remittance income, shortage of labor, and decreased agricultural land status were the main obstacles created by labor migration. Swain and Teufel (2017) further stressed that migration could enhance the crop-livestock farming system. Though there have few studies related to migration, study related to tribal migration is absent. Our research discussed the socio-economic status of the *Garos*, their migration struggle, with their impact on agricultural and farming activities. This research also identified the pattern of migration and the determining factors related to migration.

This study provides first-hand knowledge to the policymaker and other concerned bodies about the reason and consequence of Garo migration. This study ultimately helps policymakers assess the present situation and make appropriate policy for the Garo people's holistic development.

Methodology

Selection of Sample Area and Sample Size

The paper is based on primary data. Data were collected from Dhaka city from January 10 to January 25, 2020. Three areas viz. Uttara, Dhanmondi, and Gulshan-1 from Dhaka city were purposively selected. A total of 200 migrants were interviewed from the study area using snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling technique was used as the exact address of Garo migrated people were unavailable. During the data processing time, 2 sample interview was rejected because of the incompleteness of the interview. The following table represents the sample allocation in a different area.

Table 1. Distribution of sample list

Area	Sample	
	Male	Female
Utuara	40	26
Dhanmondi	40	26
Gulshan-1	34	32

Demographic Characteristic

This study's demographic categories were eight components: age of respondent, level of education, family size, farm size, annual family income, gender, marital status, and occupational status. Among them, the latter three components were qualitative characteristics of the respondent. Thus, only number and percentage analyses were conducted for these three variables.

Analytical Technique
Causes and impact of migration

A descriptive approach was used to explore the causes and impact of Garo migration. Mean and percentage of respondent opinion were identified to describe the cause and impact of migration.

Pattern of migration

Migration patterns were identified in two ways; planned and unplanned migration. The goal of this objective was to determine factors that have a significant impact on unplanned migration. A probit model was used to identify the factors influencing respondents in unplanned migration for this specific study. For the regression purpose, the respondent who decided unplanned migration was assigned a score of 1, and who decided planned migration was assigned 0.

$$Y_i* = Y_{un} - Y_p > 0 = a + zX_i + U_i,$$

Where $U_i \sim N(0, 1)$, $i = 1 \ldots n$

$Y = 1$ if $Y* > 0$, Otherwise

Where Y_i* is the latent variable representing the probability of respondent decided unplanned migration. Y_{up} and Y_p represent unplanned migration and planned migration, respectively. The empirical model for this analysis is given below:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_A + \beta_2 X_E + \beta_3 X_{FS} + \beta_4 X_{FI} + \beta_5 X_{ST} + \beta_6 X_{AI}$$

Y stand for the pattern for migration (1= unplanned migration, 0 otherwise), X_A = age of the respondent, X_E = Year of education, X_{FS} = Family size, X_{FI} = total family income (tk), X_{ST} = Face social threat (1 = if they are threatened, 0 otherwise), X_{AI}= Income from Agriculture (tk).

This model was analyzed using STATA 16 software.

Results and Discussion

Demographic Characteristic

Data showed that the respondents' average age was nearly 31 years, where the standard deviation was 7.97. Data also represent that maximum Garo migration respondents belonged to the young age category. Similarly, Mawa (2018) stated that most migrants' age was 20-45 years. Temin et al. (2013) also stated that young people were preferred to migrate than aged people.

The average year of schooling for Garo migration was 4 with a standard deviation was 3.07; the values were far below the national average of 11.2 years (UNDP, 2019). Table 2 also showed that usually illiterate (10%) and low-level educated people (61%) from *Garos* migrated to the city.

The average family size of the Garo migrants was five, and most of the respondents came from medium-sized families (4-7). According to Jalil and Oakkas (2012), most of the Garo family consists of 6-8 members. Usually, the *Garos* live in a joint family.

The average land size of the *Garo* migrants was 290 decimal, where most of the respondents were landless (18%) or marginal owners (30%). Likewise, Muhammad et al. (2011) stated that 90% *of Garos* were landless who depend on agriculture for their livelihood.

The respondent's average annual family income was more than ninety thousand takas, where most respondents belong to low (43%) to medium (45%) income families.

The maximum respondents were male (57%), and the rest were female (43%). The female had no freedom to decide on migration. Female migrants had less opportunity than male counterparts to avail themselves of education and social security than men (O' Neil et al., 2006). Thus, the new environment could be vulnerable to lonely migrating women (Temin et al., 2013). About 43% of respondents were married in our study, and 57% were single, divorced, or widowed (Table 2). Most of the respondents were garment workers (35%) and workers at salons or beauty parlor (29%) in the migrated city. Our findings corroborate Bal's study (2010), which reported that *Garos* migrated to Dhaka city to find a job in the beauty parlor, household, and the garments industry.

Causes of Garo Migration

The causes of migration were divided into two categories named push and pull factors. Based on the respondent's opinion, eight push factors and seven pull factors were responsible for the *Garo* migration. The details of the causes of migration are presented in Table 3.

Push factors: There were eight push factors (viz., unemployment, landlessness, lack of production, security, poverty, natural disaster, loss of income, and freedom from cultural and family obligation) that influenced *Garo* migration (Table 3). Nearly 79% of respondents migrated from their origin because of their low agricultural production; because agricultural production is not enough to meet their livelihood, thus they migrated to the city areas for better livelihood. Our study also reported that about 66%, 54%, and 40% of respondents had lived at the poverty level, was unemployed, and lost their income source suddenly, respectively; these factors were also considered the causes of migration. Besides, 25% and 30% of respondents were migrated due to landlessness and frequent natural disasters, respectively. Many studies identified the major causes of migration: landlessness, crop failure, drought, other natural disasters, and poverty (Reddy, 1990; Murthy, 1991; Rao, 1994). About 40% of respondents complained of social and economic insecurity as another significant cause of migration to city areas; because the Forest Department's security personnel physically assaulted them. This study corroborates the findings of Muhammad et al. (2011), who pointed out similar physical assaults of *Garos* by Forest Department officials instigated them to migrate. The rest of the 10% of *Garos* wanted to be free from their culture, heritage, and family obligations; hence, they migrated to the cities.

Pull factors: Seven pull factors were identified in this study based on the opinion of the respondents. These factors were modern and urban facilities, job opportunities, business opportunities, good quality education, positive information about Dhaka, joining family, and better social security. About 73% of respondents migrated from their native place in the hope of getting a better job (Table 3). On the other hand, 45% of respondents migrated to Dhaka to enjoy the better modern and urban facility. A total of 37% of respondents migrated for better social security in their life (Table 3). Likewise, 28% percent of respondents migrated due to positive information about Dhaka; Dhaka city is the capital of Bangladesh, which has a better job and social security opportunities. Our study also revealed that 18% and 13 % of respondents migrated for business and education purposes.

Table 2. Distribution of the Garo migrants according to their demographic characteristics

Variable	Measuring unit	Categories	Respondents(n=198)		Mean	Standard Deviation
			Number	Percentage		
Age of the respondents	Years	Young (Up to 35)	128	65	30.73	7.97
		Middle-aged (36-50)	42	21		
		Old Aged(above 50)	28	14		
Level of education	Years of schooling	Illiterate (0)	20	10	4	3.07
		Can sign only (0.5)	24	13		
		Primary (1-5)	94	48		
		Secondary (5-10)	42	21		
		Above Secondary (>10)	54	27		
Family size	Number of people	Small (1-4)	34	17	5	1.84
		Medium (4-7)	110	56		
		Large (>7)	54	27		
Farm Size	Decimal	Landless (0-50 decimal)	36	18	290	320
		Marginal (50-150 decimal)	60	30		
		Small (150-250 decimal)	22	11		
		Medium (250-750 decimal)	66	33		
		Large (> 750 decimal)	12	6		
Annual Family Income	Thousands BDT	Low income (< 75)	86	43	91.14	44.738
		Medium income (76-150)	88	45		
		High income (>150)	24	12		
Gender	-	Male	112	57	-	-
		Female	86	43		
Marital Status of Migrants	-	Married	86	43	-	-
		Single	96	49		
		Divorced	6	3		
		Widowed	10	5		
Occupation of migrants	-	Garments worker	68	34	-	-
		NGOs	18	9		
		Salon/beauty parlor	58	29		
		Tea stall/ small business	30	15		
		Others	22	11		

Table 3. Causes of Garo migration

Reason of Migration (Multiple Response possible)	Frequency	Percentage
Push Factors		
Unemployment	106	54
Landless	50	25
Lack of production	156	79
Security	80	40
Poverty	130	66
Natural Disaster	60	30
Loss of income source	80	40
To free from cultural and family obligation	20	10
Pull Factors		
Modern and urban facility	90	45
Job opportunity	146	73
Suitable Business opportunity	36	18
Good quality Education	26	13
Positive information about Dhaka	56	28
Joining families	14	7
Better social security	74	37

Only a few of the respondents (7%) migrated to join their family already exist in Dhaka. From this study, we found that the opportunities for jobs, education, and social security were the primary reasons for the migration of *Garos* to the city area. Our studies corroborate the findings of Raitapura and Bal. (2016). They reported that a strong aspiration for a better and secure life in the city areas had attracted them to live in the cities. Besides, the child's education also the reason for the Garo migration.

Migration Pattern of the Migrants

The decision of migration of *Garos* was two types planned and unplanned. Unplanned migrations resulted from some shock factors like losing the job and the family crisis in the migrants' life. In our study, most of the migration (68.69%) was unplanned; however, the rest (26.26%) was planned. Generally, an unplanned migration pattern depends on different social and economic parameters. A probit model was developed to understand the impact of these parameters.
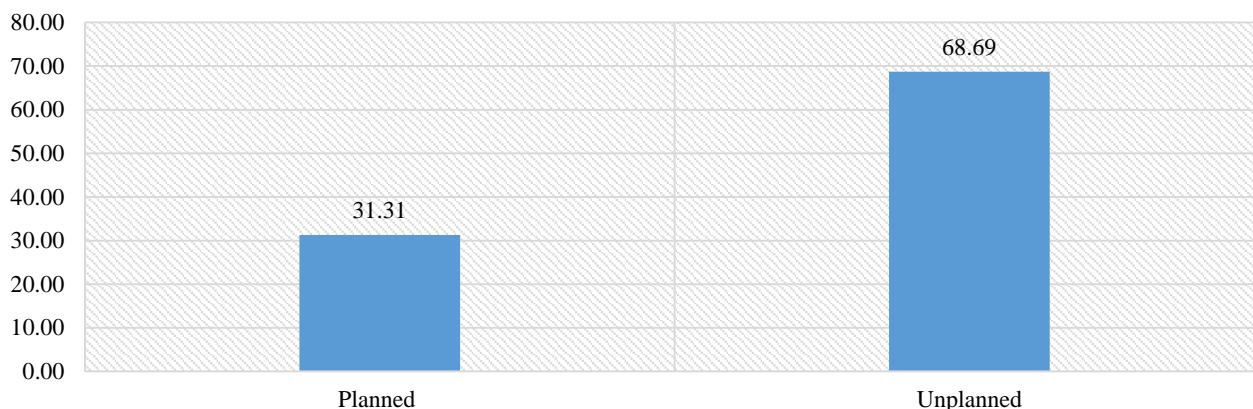
Migration Pattern

Figure 1. Migration patterns of the Migrants

Table 4. Result of probit model regression

Variable	Co-efficient (S.E)	Marginal Effect (S.E)
Intercept	3.463 (3.99)	
Age	0.083 (0.06)	0.003 (.002)
Education	0.272 (0.227)	0.10 (0.007)
Farm Size	-0.647* (.344)	-0.024** (0.10)
Family Size	-0.688** (.330)	-0.026***(0.008)
Total Family Income	0.001 (.0001)	0.0007 (0.00045)
Facing Social Threat	5.724** (2.34)	0.219*** (0.52)
Income from Agriculture	-0.001 (.0004)	-0.00002(0.00001)
Log-Likelihood Ratio (Omnibus Test)	109.81**	
R Square	0.77	

(*, ** & *** indicate 10%, 5% and 1% level of significance respectively)

The result of probit analysis is presented in Table 4. Results from Table 4 represent the log-likelihood ratio of the model. This test's objective was to determine whether the model represents a significant improvement and fed over an unconditional model containing a predictor. The result indicates that this model's omnibus test is significant, which indicates that this model represents a significant improvement and fit over the unconditional model containing predictor. The R square value explains that the independent variable can explain nearly 77 percent of the dependent variable. The result indicates that the coefficient of farm size, family size, and facing social threat is statistically significant. It indicates that these three variables significantly influence respondents to take unplanned migration decisions based on their opinion.

Family Size: The coefficient of family size is significantly negative. The result indicates that if the family size increases, the possibility of unplanned migration decreases. Members of a large family are more likely to involve in income-generating activities; therefore, less likely to migrate to other places.

Farm Size: The coefficient of farm size is a significant and negative sign. It explains that if the farm size is large, then the possibility of unplanned migration is reduced. In this study, farm size is used to represent the asset of the farmer. Usually, a large farm farmer is not willing to shift from his native place unless otherwise disturbed by other factors.

Face Social Threat: The coefficient of social threat is a significant and positive sign. The result indicates that with

the increase of social threats, the possibilities of unplanned migration would increase. The social threats came from the local Forest Department and local thugs, which prompted *Garos* to migrate into city areas.

Non-Significant variable: Study also found that the coefficient of age, education, total family income, and income from agriculture have an insignificant relationship with the unplanned migration. This explains that they do not influence the pattern of Garo migration.

Comparison of Socio-economic Condition of Migrant before and after Migration

An experiment was made to gather information about the socio-economic condition of migrants before and after migration. As such, socio-economic conditions such as income, working conditions, access to urban transportation, access to education and health care, and general living conditions of migrants were used to assess the impacts of migration on individual migrants.

Table 5 represents the migrants' opinion about migration's impact on a different aspect of their life. The study found that about 53 percent of the migrants reported that they had improved their work types. However, 78 percent of them had made improvements in their income. In comparison, 55 percent of them had made significant improvements in their health care services, and 66 percent of them had made improvements in their transportation system. Besides these, 21 percent had improved access to education for their children, and 31 percent had improvements in general living conditions. In comparison,

only 7 percent of them had got improvements in access to housing. So, it can be concluded that many migrants are getting good income, better housing, better healthcare, and better livelihood conditions from their origin places. On the contrary, about 84 and 42 percent of the respondents reported that access to housing and general living conditions worsened, respectively. About 25 percent of them informed that health care services have worsened, while 20 percent reported that their access to health care remained the same.

Most of the respondents (64 percent) have reported that their access to educational facilities remained the same after they migrated to Dhaka. In comparison, 15 percent said that their access to education remains the same. Regarding their works and income, 26 and only 5 percent stated that their condition is worsened, and 21 and 17 percent stated that their condition remained the same, respectively. On the other hand, about 29 percent of the surveyed migrants reported that their transportation facilities worsened their rural life. Besides, nearly 65 percent of migrants reported that their education facility had remained the same. This can be justified as most migrants usually engaged in different income-generating activities after arrival in Dhaka. Thus they got little time for education. In general, 42 percent reported that their living condition has worsened than their origin.

Impact of Garo migration in agriculture

From the study, we found that most of the Garo people were somehow involved with agriculture and farming before migration to Dhaka city. The upland Garo people were involved in *jhum* cultivation, and low land Garo people were involved in regular traditional farming. Table 6 represents that about 74% of people were involved in farming and agriculture directly or indirectly, where 26 percent people were not involved with agriculture.

After migration to Dhaka city, the trend of farming involvement drastically changed. Table 6 reported that the majority of the migrants had no involvement with farming and agriculture. Statistically, we have found that about 79 percent of respondents have no involvement with agriculture and farming activities, 9 percent have seasonal involvement with agriculture and farming, and 12 percent are involved with homestead farming. The result is justifiable as doing agriculture-related work is time-consuming. Usually, migrants people have a little day off for doing this kind of time-consuming work.

Impact of migration on food dependency

In a general way, Garo people are self-sufficient in their consumption. They produce enough cereal, fruits, and other consumable products that fulfill most of the consumption efficiently. Table 7 represent the food dependency status of the respondent before and after migration:

For daily rice consumption, the Garo people mainly depend on their cultivated rice. About 74% of respondents depend on their self-produced rice, 11% depend on marketed rice, whereas 13% of them are self-produced and marketed rice before migration (Table 7).

Table 5. Impact on socio-economic condition

Conditions	Current Status						Total (n=198)	
	Improved		Worsened		Remained the same			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Type of work	104	53	52	26	42	21	198	100
Income	154	78	10	5	34	17	198	100
Access to education for their children	42	21	30	15	126	64	198	100
Access to housing	14	7	166	84	18	9	198	100
Access to urban transportation	130	66	58	29	10	5	198	100
Health care	108	55	50	25	40	20	198	100
General living conditions	62	31	84	42	42	26	198	100

Table 6. Involvement in Agriculture

Category	Percentage
Involvement in agriculture before migration	
Yes	74
No	26
Involvement in agriculture after migration	
Not involvement	79
Seasonal involvement	9
Only involve in homestead gardening	12

Table 7. Food dependency of migration

Category	Self-Produced (%)	Marketed (%)	Both (%)
Before Migration			
Rice	74	11	13
Fish and dairy products	44	24	32
Fruits and vegetables	34	27	19
After Migration			
Rice	9	65	25
Fish and dairy products	7	82	10
Fruits and vegetables	18	68	13

Regarding fish and dairy products, 44% of people depend on their production, where 24% of the respondents depend on the market. In the same way. 32% respondent depends on both market and personal production before migration (Table 7).

In the case of fruits and vegetable consumption, 34% of Garo people depend on the homestead and self-produced fruits and vegetables, 27% depending on the marketed products, and 39% depend on self-produced and marketed fruits and vegetables before migration situation (Table 7).

The trend of self-dependent food consumption has changed due to migration. The above Table 7 showed that the respondents mainly depend on marketed rice (65%), but before migration, they depend on self-produced, whereas the self-produced rice percentage has drastically fallen to 9%. In the case of fish and dairy products, most respondents (82%) depend on the market. For fruits and vegetable consumption, the trend is also market-oriented. So, the study indicated that after relocation, most of the migrated Garo people started getting busy time with their new job. For this reason, they are departed from farming and agricultural works.

Conclusion

The majority of *Garo* migrants were young having little formal education. They migrated to city areas for better livelihood. In the case of adults, they lacked farmlands and lived in an extreme poverty level; they migrated to the city areas to find a job and aspire to live a better life. Other pull factors to migrate were modern urban facilities, education, etc.. Meanwhile, the pattern analysis indicated that most of the *Garo* people migrated without a plan. The low social security influenced this unplanned migration to the city areas from their ancestor's land. Our studies also reported that small to middle-sized families were preferred to shift in city areas in search of improved lifestyles by accessing ample foods, child's education, and medicare facilities. As a whole, migration was mainly happened due to the socio-economic imbalances between rural and urban areas. Policymakers should take the initiative to uplift the living standard and social security of rural areas like city areas so that people are not taking risks of shifting their native place. Policymakers should also consider the push factors of unplanned migration. Moreover, the migration of garo people have huge impact on agriculture activity in the rural area. Most of the migrated family abstained from agriculture activity and increased their dependence on the agriculture market for their consumptions. However, study also revealed that most of the garo migrated people living condition improved in terms of helath care, better income situation and better transportations system. So, policy maker should take initiative to improve the garo village consition by providing the better security, continuous agriculture training, and better infrastructure situations.

Ethical Statement

Our research was not involved with clinical research. Instead, it was based on respondents' perceptions and data collected over the phone interview. There was no physical contact between the respondents and the data collector. Therefore, we think it is not required an ethical statement.

However, respondents' approval was obtained during data collection. Besides, verbal consent was collected during data collection about remigration.

Data availability Statement

Data will be available on request.

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