

Chars Livelihoods Programme

Seasonal demand for labour on island *chars* and its effect on migration and remittances

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Executive Summary

Key findings

- Monga still exists, and as a result demand for IEP continues.
- The target of 6 million person days IEP is unrealistic.
- The seasonality of agricultural wage labour demand has a large influence on HHs livelihood strategies, such as migration.
- The northern districts are more reliant on agricultural labour based around a lower diversity of crops and as such are affected by seasonality to a larger extent.

As part of its work to improve the livelihoods of over one million *char* dwellers, the CLP implements the infrastructure and employment scheme (IEP), an earth work scheme which provides employment during the annual hungry period of *monga*. The CLP's LogFrame has scheduled 6 million person days of work through IEP during the programme lifetime (2010-2016). During 2010, a number of issues appeared which suggested that the figure of 6 million person days could be unrealistic. This was raised by the CLP ahead of the 2011 annual review, and the review team were specifically asked to examine this issue. In their report, the review team recommended:

“the CLP should investigate the *monga* issue and need for labour alternatives [to IEP] to better understand seasonal labour patterns and how these vary across districts.”

“[The CLP should conduct] secondary and primary research to yield ... an understanding of livelihood means and patterns, including those of migration and remittances”

This report is based on research conducted during June to August 2011, with the objectives of answering the following questions:

- How do seasonality and changes in labour demand across the year affect household livelihood strategies (especially migration and remittances)?
- Is there a demand for cash for work /IEP during *monga*?
- If there is a demand for cash for work /IEP then what other non-*plinth* raising alternatives should be considered?

Data collection was conducted by an independent company between June and August 2011 in 21 villages where the CLP had not yet worked, across seven districts. A number of PRA tools were used, including well-being analysis and seasonal calendars.

The findings indicate that *monga* remains prevalent on the *chars*, and that there is demand for cash for work schemes such as IEP across the working area. Poorer households are disproportionately affected by *monga*, because they rely on agricultural labour for their livelihoods. Consequently, demand for cash for work is higher in lower well-being analysis groups (WBGs).

The seasonality of work availability outside the *monga* period affects households in different ways. Poorer households tend to migrate in search of work during periods of low demand. WBG 1 (the poorest) generally migrates less than WBG 2, perhaps reflecting lower ability. For example, female headed households, households with a chronically ill or disabled earning member, or households without the means to pay for transport may be unable to migrate or to find work in migration. The IEP scheme (including the grant it provides for households without an active working member) remains extremely important for those households unable to migrate.

Broadly speaking, residents of the southern districts grow a wider variety of crops, experience higher demand for their labour, are less reliant on agricultural labour for income, and receive higher wages during migration than their counterparts in the north. This results in a variation in the impact of *monga* and the mitigation practices of households across the working area.

Taking Lalmonhirat (in the north) as an example, all of the four WBGs migrate and would engage in manual labour to mitigate *monga*. Despite the appearance of WBG 4 in the data, migrants from Lalmonhirat receive some of the lowest average wages migration of all districts (IE WBG 4 do not earn sufficiently higher wages to raise the average), and remain totally reliant on agricultural labour during. In contrast, fewer than half of the migrants from Tangail (in the south) engage in agricultural day labour. In Tangail, WBGs 3 and 4 do not migrate at all, do not face scarcity of work at any time during the year and did not report the need for any measures to mitigate *monga*. This suggests that the differences

between WBG 1 and WBG 4 may be smaller in the north, and that the need for intervention against *monga* may therefore be greater in some districts than in others.

In light of the findings, the CLP should continue to lobby GoB and other organisations to offer cash for work schemes on the *chars* during *monga* once the CLP leaves a village (a role for the CLP's Partnerships' Division). The CLP should also consider prioritising investment for areas where alternatives to agricultural labour are scarcer, and differences between WBGs smaller - such as the more remote northern districts of Kurigram and Lalmonohar.

1. Background

The second phase of the Chars Livelihoods Programme or CLP-2 (2010-2016), aims to improve the livelihoods, incomes and food security of up to one million extremely poor people living on island *chars* in the north west of Bangladesh.

67,000 extreme poor households meeting the CLP's selection criteria (or core participant households [CPHHs]) will receive an integrated package of support comprising a grant of Tk 16,000 to purchase an income generating asset of their choice, stipends, livelihoods and social development training, access to a raised plinth, water and sanitation. They also receive access to the CLP's health project.

In an attempt to alleviate *monga*², the CLP continues to implement the infrastructure employment project (IEP). This is a cash for work project that aims to provide income earning opportunities for poor households at a time when there are limited local employment opportunities.

The Programme Memorandum for CLP-2 states "the CLP would provide 5.9 million person days of seasonal employment benefiting 0.5 million participants." Seasonal employment is offered for plinth raising activities only.

During the first year of IEP (2010/11) the CLP observed that:

- Many core participant households (CPHHs) were already on raised plinths (during CLP-1) therefore reducing the number of days on offer through plinth raising;
- On *chars* where land is fertile (e.g. Teesta river) crops are cultivated year-round leaving little or no area for collecting earth or sand for plinth-raising;
- The high water table particularly along the Teesta river limits the depth of pits and hence quantity of earth for plinth raising. Land owners are also reluctant to give up fertile soil for plinths;
- The CLP also noted lower labour demand for plinth work during the last season.

After the first year of IEP the CLP concluded the target of 6 million person days of IEP through plinth raising may not be realistic or achievable and flagged these issues at the first CLP-2 annual review (March 2011).

The review team recommended:

"the CLP should investigate the *monga* issue and need for labour alternatives to better understand seasonal labour patterns and how these vary across districts. If the study demonstrates continued need for labour alternatives during *monga*, CLP should investigate the potential of other non-plinth cash for work opportunities, e.g. access roads, fish ponds, forestation etc. On the other hand, if the study on *monga* finds that there are more labour opportunities for *chars* households then the Logical Framework (LF) needs to be revised.³"

"[The CLP should conduct] secondary and primary research to yield ... an understanding of livelihood means and patterns, including those of migration and remittances"

² *Monga* is seasonal food insecurity in ecologically vulnerable and economically weak parts of north-western Bangladesh, primarily caused by an employment and income deficit before *aman* rice is harvested. It mainly affects those rural poor who have an undiversified income that is directly or indirectly based on agriculture. The definition of *monga* is restricted to the lean season preceding the *aman* harvest between mid September and mid November although there is a second lean season before *boro* rice is harvested (mid March to mid April). As the March-April lean season is less severe it is termed *little monga*.

³ Premchander S, et al; CLP-2; Annual Review 2011; March 2011

The Innovation, Monitoring and Learning Division (IML) therefore conducted research to answer the following questions:

- How do seasonality and changes in labour demand across the year affect household livelihood strategies (especially migration and remittances)?
- Is there a demand for cash for work /IEP during *monga*?
- If there is a demand for cash for work /IEP then what other non-plinth raising alternatives should be considered?

2. Methodology

Research was conducted between June and August 2011 in 21 island *char* villages across 7 Districts⁴. Villages were selected based on a random sampling methodology but proportionate to village size, using villages where the CLP had not previously worked. A mix of quantitative and qualitative data was collected using researchers from an independently outsourced company.

A range of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) tools were used including social mapping, wellbeing analysis and seasonal calendars. During the wellbeing analysis, villagers were asked to classify families into four wellbeing groups (WBGs) based on criteria set by themselves, with WBG 1 being the poorest and WBG 4 the least poor.

A seasonal calendar was conducted in each village to collect information on cropping patterns & associated labour demands. Smaller group discussions were then held with each of the WBGs in all villages. Seasonal calendars were produced for each WBG in all villages to show 1) general work availability by season, and 2) periods of migration and remittance. Questions were also asked about coping mechanisms during periods of limited work availability, levels of migration and remittance and preferred options for reducing the effects of *monga*.

3. Results

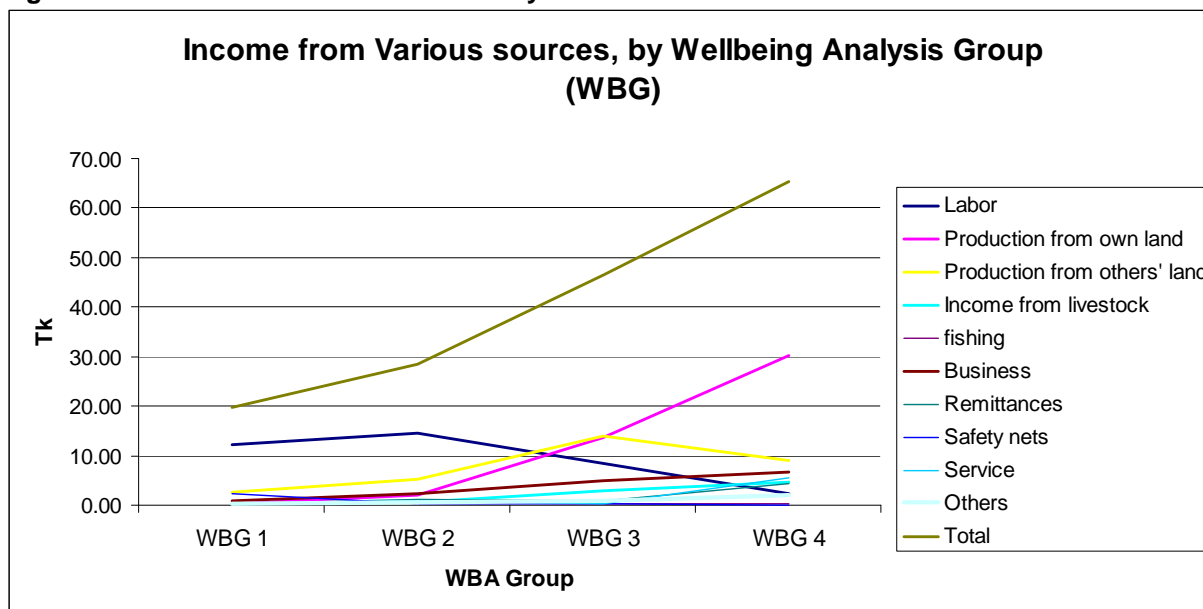
3.1 The reliance on agricultural day labour

The poorer households on the *chars* tend to be highly dependent on agricultural labour. Figure 1 illustrates the importance of agricultural labour as a source of income particularly for the poorer households (WBGs 1 and 2, which represent over 65% of the *char* population), and this is supported by baseline data for CLP-2's second cohort of CPHHs which show that 75% of male adults and 4% of female adults are involved in agricultural day labour⁵.

⁴ Nilphamari, Lalmonirhat, Rangpur, Pabna, Tangail, Kurigram and Jamalpur

⁵ Mascie-Taylor, N.; Socio-economic characteristics and nutritional status of cohort 2.2 (first tier); report of the baseline survey conducted in October/November 2010; January 2011

Figure 1: Sources of household income by WBG



A fall in the demand for local labour and/or the household's ability to supply labour can therefore have a significant impact on those households reliant on selling their labour, and can very quickly determine whether a household is above or below the rural Rajshahi extreme poverty line of Tk 19 per person per day (pppd, in 2009/'10 prices)⁶.

Seasonality, local cropping patterns, weather conditions etc. all have a bearing on the demand for local agricultural labour, the principal employer on the *chars*. However, even when local labour demand exists, some households may not be able to take full advantage due to their limited ability to supply labour. For example female headed households or households with disabled or chronically ill active members may find it difficult to supply labour in the quantities required for an income of above the poverty line.

3.2 Seasonality and its effect on local demand for agricultural labour

The data show that the five most common crops are (in descending order):

Table 1: The Five Most Common Crops
Number of Villages Where Crop is Grown (out of 21)

Crop	Number of Villages Where Crop is Grown (out of 21)
Jute	17
Aman rice	17
Boro rice	9
Maize	7
Wheat	5

Figure 2 illustrates that the demand for local labour is very low between the first half of September and first half of November. There is some demand for labour during November and this is associated with the maize and early maturing Aman rice crops. Hired labour is generally engaged for land preparation, transplanting, harvesting, and threshing. Irrigation, weeding, applying fertiliser and pesticides are activities generally undertaken by the land owner/ share cropper. The demand for labour is therefore influenced not just by which crops are grown, but also depends on the growing cycle of each crop.

However, this data obscures inter-district variation (see Annex 1). For example, the data indicate that the labour demand for maize is limited geographically, mainly to Nilphamari and Lalmonirhat and wheat cultivation is equally limited (Annex 2). It may be significant that both Nilphamari and Lalmonirhat experience fewer days off during *monga* than most other districts (Annex 1). The apparent geographical concentration of maize and wheat may be because these are relatively new crops to the *chars* and are not yet fully established. The cultivation of maize (mainly along the Teesta), for example, is relatively new on the *chars* and is a response to the increasing demand for poultry feed. Furthermore, there are differences between districts in terms of annual labour demand. Kurigram, for example, never attains

⁶ Jackson, A. (2009) DfID Bangladesh Information Note: Poverty Thresholds and Reporting

levels of labour demand above the average, while Pabna experiences the strongest demand for most of the year (Annex 1). Some of these differences can be explained directly in terms of geography or cropping patterns – for example Pabna cultivates nine different field crops and is well situated for access to two major urban centres (Dhaka and Rajshahi), whereas Kurigram is isolated by the rivers and cultivates just 5 field crops (Annex 2) – but others are more complex and direct causes are not clear.

Figure 2: Demand for labour by month (5 major crops)⁷

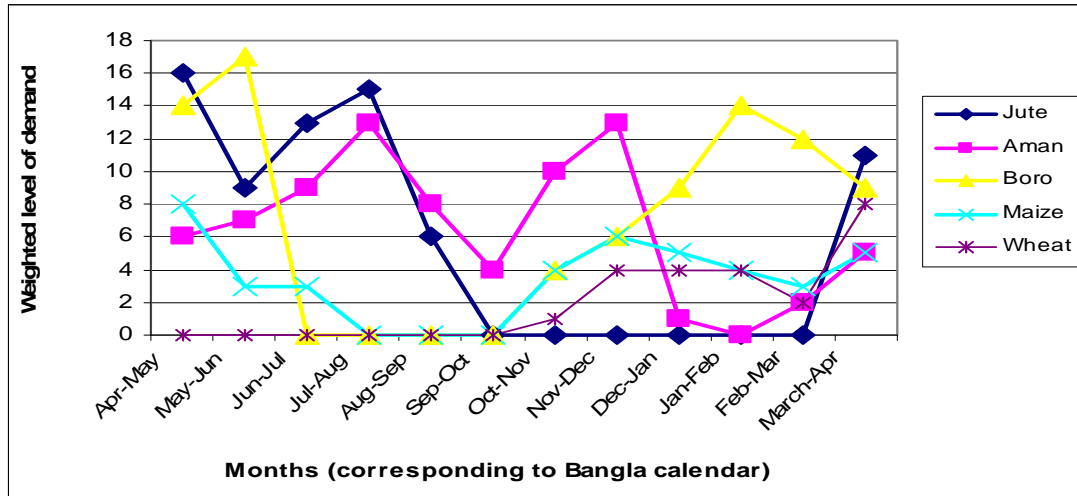
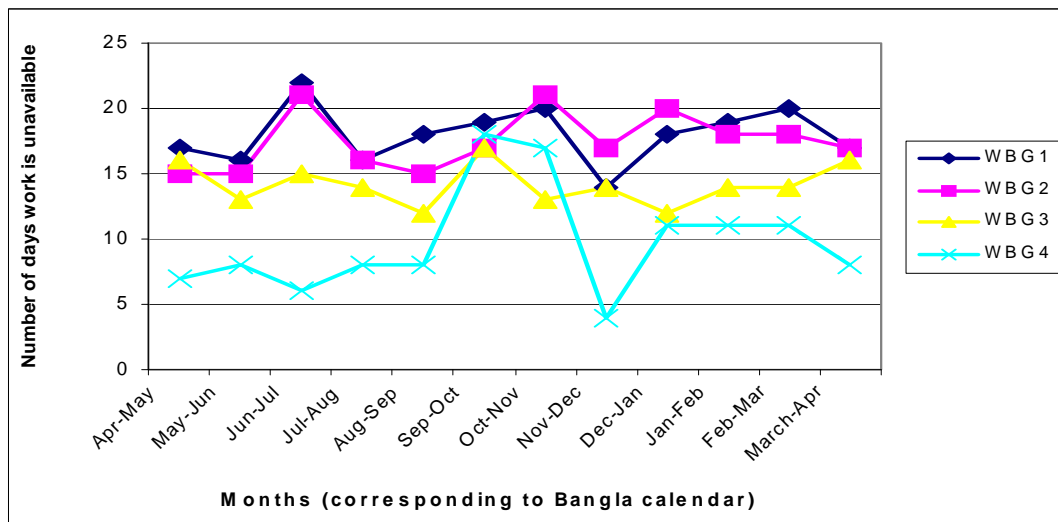


Figure 3: Scarcity of local employment opportunities by wellbeing group and month



WBGs 1 and 2 are particularly involved in selling their labour and are therefore the most affected by a fall in demand for agricultural labour. This is illustrated in figure 3 which shows the number of days without work by WBG and month.

WBGs 1 and 2 suffer the most (59% of the time they are unemployed) in a year, compared with WBG 3 (47%) and WBG 4 (32%).

With the exception of Nilphamari, all four WBGs in the northern districts (Lalmonirhat, Kurigram and Rangpur) face a scarcity of work during the lean period (September-November) however some villagers indicated that things are now relatively better than in the past. In the past they reported having to ‘starve’ during *monga*, but with the intervention of different safety net programs by the government, availability of early maturing rice and the introduction of maize they can now do some work in the fields

⁷ Data collected in 21 villages. If crop cultivated then questions asked about the associated demand for labour. If ‘high’ demand then score of 3, if ‘medium’ then a score of 2, if ‘low’ then a score of 1. Maximum score per crop is 21. The Bangladeshi year begins on the 14th April, meaning that each month runs across part of two months of the Roman calendar.

during this lean period. It is notable that in Jamalpur, Pabna and Nilphamari WBG 4 did not report any scarcity of work at any time during the year, and in Tangail this was true for both WBG 3 and WBG 4.

There is also a reduction in the level of labour demand during June/ July which is associated with the flood season, as well as the end of the Boro rice season. Variations between districts in terms of labour demand can be quite large. Kurigram reports more than double the number of days "off" per month on average (16 days across all WBGs), than Pabna (seven days per month – Annex 1). It is interesting that Rangpur has the lowest fluctuation in number of days off, yet experiences a fairly typical labour demand curve. This may be due to the influence of Rangpur city, which provides employment and good transport and communication links, and because Rangpur tends to suffer less from the severe flooding that can make agricultural work impossible.

3.3 Who migrates, when and where to?

Migration is one type of coping strategy when local employment opportunities are scarce ('push' factor). Households also migrate to other areas when wage rates are relatively better ('pull' factors). Extreme poor households, whilst reliant on daily wage labour are however sometimes unable to migrate, for example if the household is female headed, or if male adults are disabled or chronically ill.

In general, Figure 4 illustrates high migration ('push') during April-May (*little monga*) and late October to early November (*monga*). There is also migration during other months but this is related to better income earning opportunities in other districts ('pull' factors). Months of relatively low migration correspond with the monsoon season.

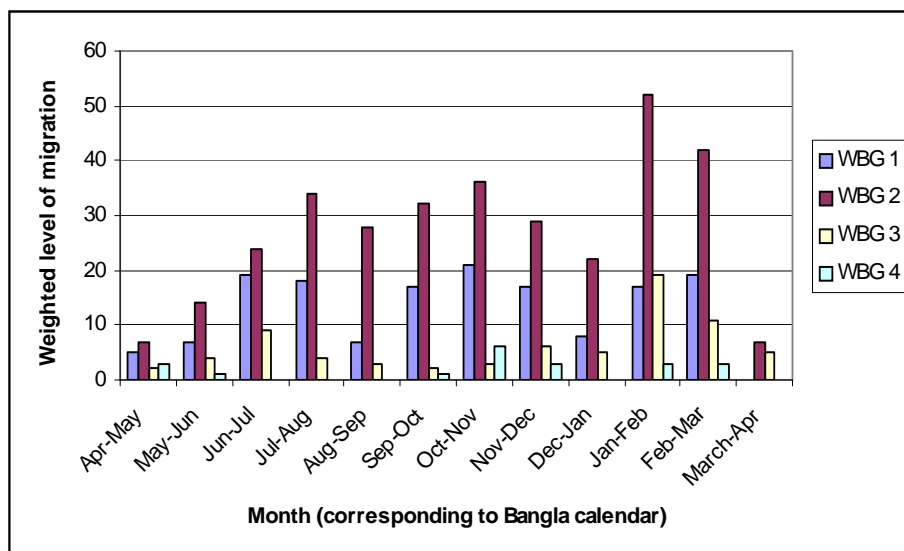
However, there is naturally some variation across the study area in terms of when and who migrates, and the value of that migration. Out-migrants from Tangail tend to stay for longer than other districts on average (214 days per year), and migrants from Tangail also reported the highest remittances (Annex 3). This could reflect greater diversity of work available around Tangail (beyond agricultural day labour), perhaps as a result of its proximity to Dhaka. Conversely, Lalmonirhat reports the lowest average daily wage for out-migrants, which could be a result of its geographical isolation reducing the ability of migrants to make the journey to places such as Dhaka, where wages may be higher.

Figure 4 illustrates that WBGs 1 and 2 migrate more frequently than WBGs 3 and 4, and in fact in the majority of districts, only WBG 1 & 2 migrate. Households from WBG 2 migrate the most frequently – more so than households from WBG 1 because they also rely heavily on selling their labour yet they are more able to secure migratory work than households from WBG 1 (e.g. less illness & disability, better contacts and financial means).

However, there are differences between the districts in terms of which WBGs migrate, which indicates that a lack of options is more severe in certain areas. Lalmonirhat and Rangpur are the only districts where all the WBGs migrate. By contrast in Pabna and Tangail WBGs 3 and 4 do not migrate, indicating that employment insecurity affects only the lower WBGs in Pabna and Tangail.

Jamalpur is also an interesting case, as only groups 2 & 3 migrate. Jamalpur residents reported that pull factors were responsible for the majority of migration, which may suggest that in Jamalpur migration is not feasible for the very poorest (who may not be able to afford transport, or do not have contacts elsewhere that will allow them access to work).

Figure 4: Migration by WBG and month⁸



Choice of destination varies by season, district, WBG etc. The principal destinations include:

- Tangail (proximity and similarity with the *chars* environment)
- Dhaka (more options and earning opportunities)
- Bogra (relatively close, central urban centre)
- Comilla (paddy cultivation and more intensive agriculture)
- Gazipur (garment sector and small scale industries)

Interestingly, while Tangail has relatively high levels of out-migration, it was also the most popular destination overall for migrants (Annex 3). This might be due to a lack of social capital (e.g. contacts) in destinations that are far from the northern *chars* resulting in a preference for migration relatively locally.

3.4 Remittance flows

Factors influencing the amount remitted include wage rates on offer, the cost of living in the destination and the type of activity undertaken.

Most people that migrate are involved in agricultural day labour. Some however migrate to work in brick making factories, for rickshaw pulling and construction work. There is a clear north-south trend in the type of work that migrants from different districts are involved in, and this is almost certainly a result of proximity to other markets (Table 2). Pabna, for example, is well placed to access both Dhaka and Rajshahi, and migrant workers are not restricted to agricultural labour - 78% of migrants from Pabna reported working in non-agricultural activities during migration, the highest level of any district. By contrast in Nilphamari, one of the most remote northern districts, just 6% of migrants were involved in non-agricultural activities (the lowest of any district)(Table 1).

Table 2: % of Migrants from Different Districts that Work in Agriculture During Migration

	% of migrants involved in agricultural work
Lalmonirhat	90
Nilphamari	94
Kurigram	71
Rangpur	57
Jamalpur	50
Pabna	28
Tangail	42

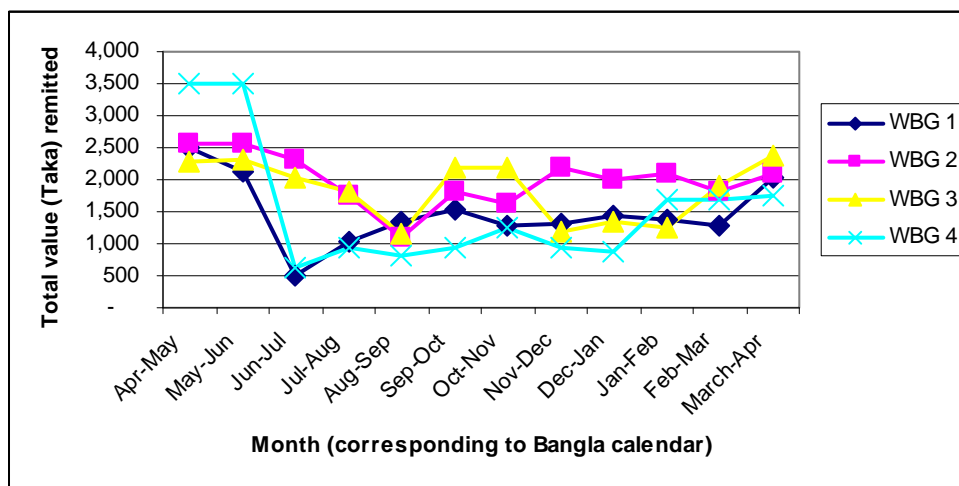
⁸ Score available of 0 = no migration, 1 = low migration, 2 = medium migration, 3 = high migration. 21 villages visited and therefore total available score of 63

Wages of different categories of labour vary in different months during migration. Wages of agricultural labour varies with the demand and nature of activities. For example, the highest wage recorded was Tk 350 per day by migrants from Pabna & Jamalpur whilst the lowest recorded was Tk 120 by migrants from Lalmonirhat and Kurigram.

Respondents frequently mentioned that March-April and April-May are the months of high wages which correlates with the main rice season in Bangladesh, and the harvesting of the Boro and IRRI rice crops. Local wages during this time range from Tk 90 (Kurigram, boro harvesting) to Tk 225 per day (Pabna, IRRI harvesting). This undoubtedly drives migration. Nevertheless, average daily wages for migrants from the northern districts can still be Tk 100 lower than their southern counterparts during this time (Annex 3).

Figure 5 shows the mean value of remittances per household in each of the WBGs by month (only those households that migrate). The value of remittances varies widely by WBG and by time of year. Remittances are generally lowest for WBG 1, probably because they are reliant on offering low skilled labour. WBG 2 also offer low skilled labour but are able to migrate more frequently (Figure 4), and may have more resources available to secure better employment (such as better general health).

Figure 5: Average remittances by WBG and month



3.5 Is there a continued demand for CLP's Infrastructure Employment Project?

Monga still exists and there is a continued demand for earth work activities by the community. This demand varies across districts, being highest in Lalmonirhat and lowest in Pabna and Tangail. There are also variations across the districts in terms of which WBG group would be interested in IEP, which suggest that *monga* is more severe in some areas than in others. In Lalmonirhat respondents from all WBGs would be prepared to do manual labour during *monga* (the only district where this was the case), and supported interventions such as earth works. This indicates that IEP may be more important in these areas, as the differences between WBGs in these districts are relatively small, and all WBGs in these districts experience the impact of *monga* to a similar degree. This is supported by field observations. By contrast in Pabna and Tangail WBG 4 did not report a need for any type of intervention to mitigate *monga*.

However the CLP's target, as per the Programme Memorandum, of 6 million person days IEP through plinth raising alone is unrealistic: Assuming 80,000 plinths are to be raised during CLP-2, 30% of which will be raised during *monga*. Assume also that each plinth requires 100 person days. The maximum number of person days available for plinth raising during *monga* is 2.4 million person days.

Even if earth work activities were not constrained to plinth raising activities alone but included earth works for community projects such as road construction, the target of 6 million person days is still unrealistic simply based on population figures alone. A target of 2.52 million person days IEP is more realistic (see assumptions)⁹.

⁹ 1) Based on current data there are 210,000 hhs in CLP-2 working villages (from 8 Districts including Kurigram, Gaibandha and Jamalpur), 2) assume 40% of all hhs contribute 20 days of labour during each IEP season, 3) assume IEP operates in each village for 1.5 seasons.
Calculation: (40% x 210,000) x 1.5 seasons x 20 days = 2.52 million

4. Conclusions

Monga still exists and is strongly related to the lack of local demand for agricultural labour. *Monga* affects the poorest households of the community who are reliant on selling their labour. While clear trends are difficult to identify, the data seem to suggest that CLP's northern districts are generally more reliant on seasonal agricultural work and at greater risk of *monga*.

Monga and the resultant fall in demand for local labour 'pushes' households in all CLP districts to migrate in search of labour, particularly those households from the poorer WBGs. Some extreme poor households are however unable to migrate because they do not have the means to do so - e.g. female headed households. In some districts, such as Lalmonirhat and Rangpur, all WBGs migrate. Considering the other data in this report (such as the fact that in Lalmonirhat WBG 4 would be prepared to do IEP earthwork), this seems to indicate that these districts have lower variation between WBGs, and that even WBG 4 relies on manual labour and is affected by *monga*. In areas where most of the WBGs engage in agricultural day labour, competition for employment is consequently higher, meaning that IEP can provide an important additional source of work.

Migration is related to, but not always driven by lack of available work locally. Wage rates in other districts are an important 'pull' factor. Most migration takes place outside the *monga* period.

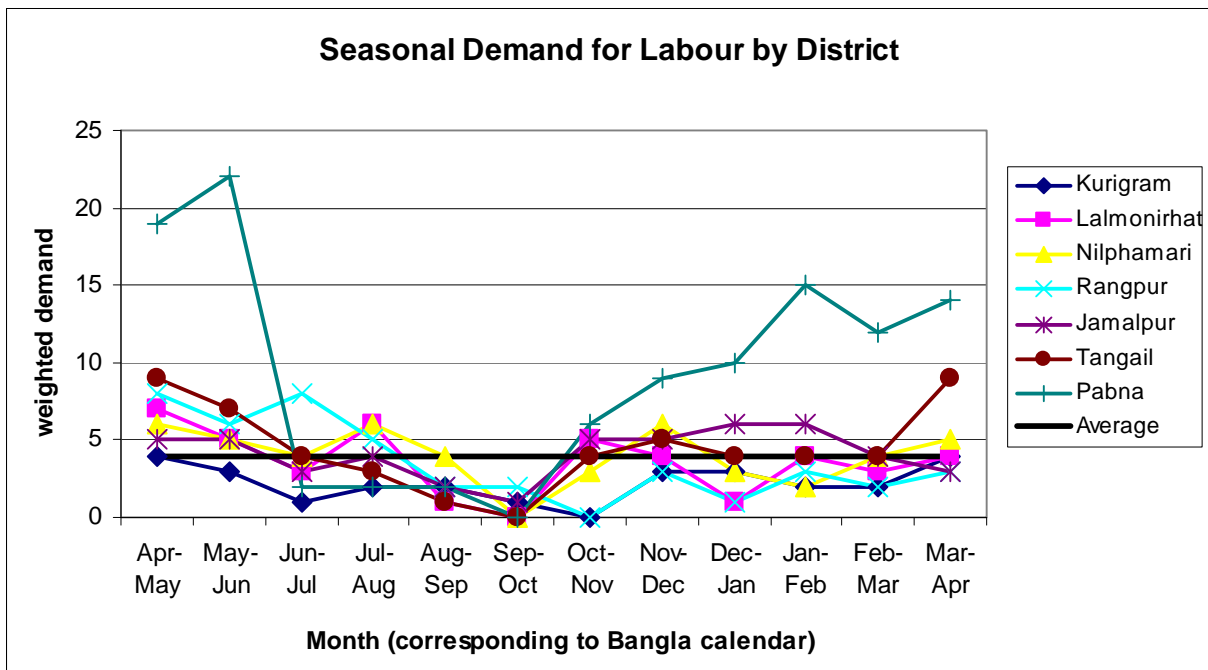
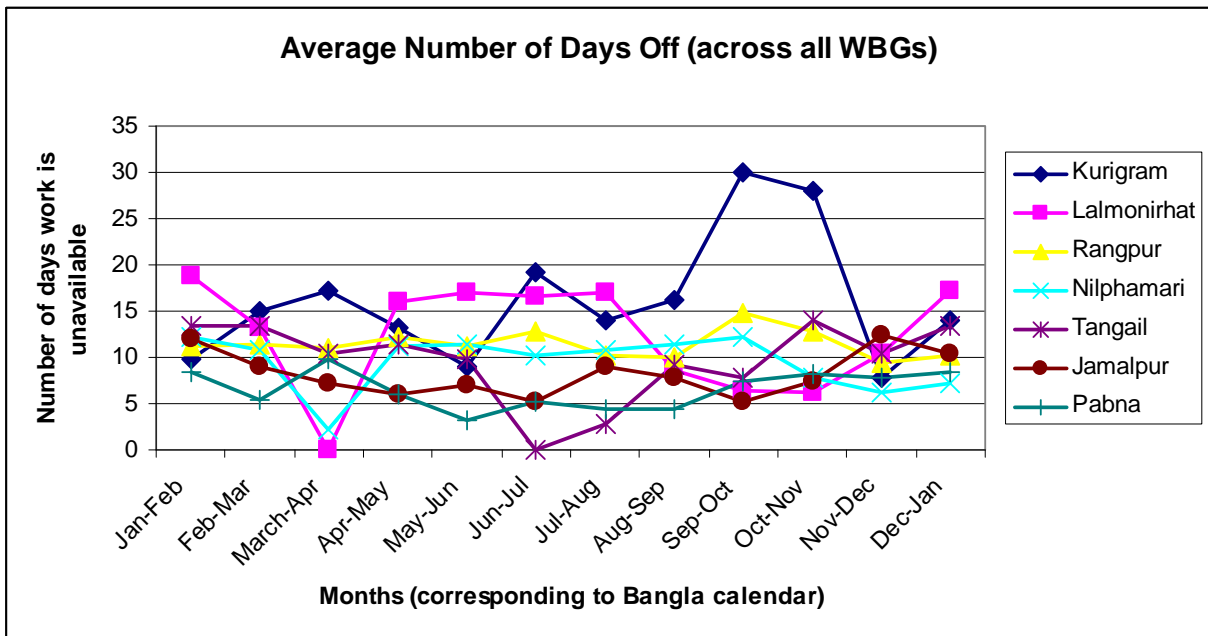
In the short term, cash for work can be relatively effective during *monga* and is popular. However, it is unlikely to be a long term solution.

In the longer term, the introduction/ promotion of crops that demand labour during *monga* (such as maize and early maturing Aman rice) could be a way forward. Ultimately, diversification of livelihoods away from agricultural labour is needed.

5. Recommendations

- Revise down the target of 6 million person days for IEP through plinth raising activities. A target of 2.4 million person days is more realistic;
- Continue/ scale up the IEP safety net scheme for extreme poor households unable to sell their labour during *monga*;
- Continue to lobby GoB and other organisations to increase/ initiate cash for work schemes on the *chars* (particularly in the north) during *monga* to assist households once CLP has left the village (a role for the Partnerships' Division);
- Maize and early maturing Aman rice can create employment opportunities during *monga*. The CLP should consider exploring this in more detail e.g. 1) linking with the Department for Agricultural Extension, 2) through the work of the proposed Agricultural Services Providers, and 3) through the making markets work for the poor project.
- Consider prioritised investment for areas where alternatives to agricultural labour are scarcer, and differences between WBGs smaller - such as the more remote northern districts of Kurigram and Lalmonirhat.

Annex 1: Labour Demand



District	Average number of days off per month (across all WBGs)
Kurigram	16
Lalmonirhat	13
Rangpur	11
Nilphamari	10
Tangail	10
Jamalpur	8
Pabna	7

Annex 2: Cropping Patterns

District	Number of villages surveyed that cultivate crops (3 villages surveyed per district)														
	Jute	Aman	Boro	IRRI	Aus	Maize	Wheat	Potato	Sesame/ Mustard	Chili	Pea Nut	Lentil/ Khesari	Black gram	Tobacco	Onion
Kurigram	3	3	3				2			1					
Lalmonirhat	3	3	1			2		2		1					
Rangpur	2	3	1			1		2		1				1	
Nilphamari	2	3	0			3								1	2
Tangail	3	2	0	2			1		2	1		1	1		
Jamalpur	3	2	0	1		1	1		1						
Pabna	1	1	0	1	1		1		1		1	1	1		
TOTAL:	17	17	5	4	1	7	5	4	4	4	1	2	2	2	2

District	Number of Different Crops Grown
Kurigram	5
Lalmonirhat	6
Nilphamari	5
Rangpur	6
Jamalpur	6
Tangail	8
Pabna	9

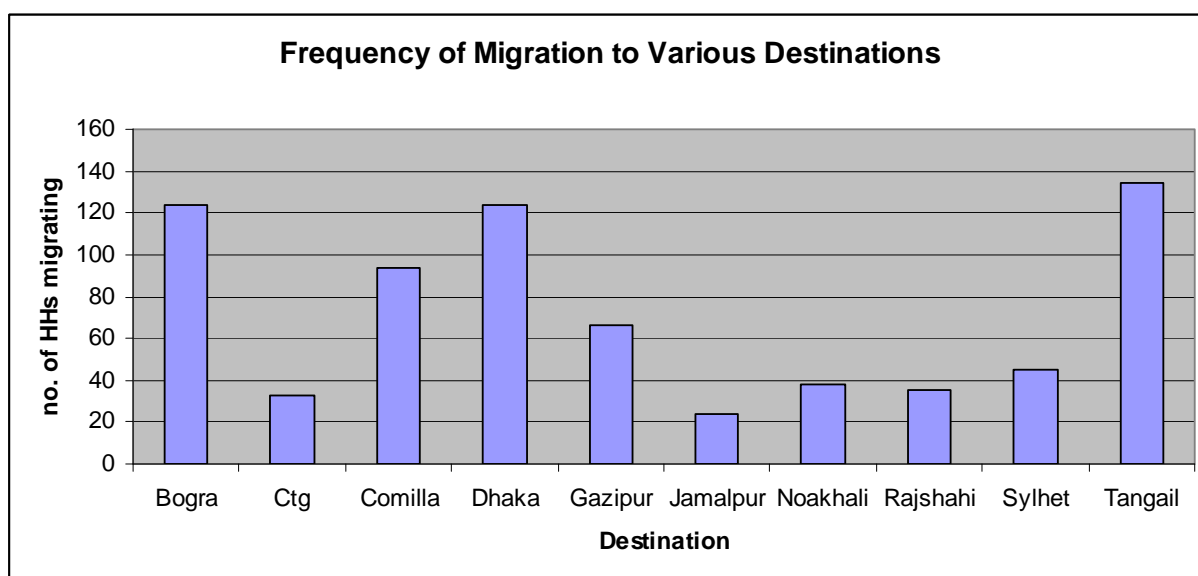
Char Based Field crops calendar

	Duration	Rabi					Kharif-I					Kharif-II				
		Oct	Novem ber	Decem ber	Janua ry	Februa ry	March	April	May	June	July	August	Septem ber	Oct		
		Kartiq	Agrahay an	Poush	Magh	Falgon	Chait ra	Baish ak	Jaisth a	Asar	Chrav an	Bhadra	Ashine			
Aus *																
Taifa	100-110															
T.aman*																
BR-4	130-135															
BR-11	135-140															
BR-28	130-135															
BRRI-29	135-140															
BRRI-36	125-130															
Gainga	100-110															
Putadapha	100-110															
B. aman*																
Gainga	100-110															
Zadu	90-100															

Annex 3: Migration

Average stay during migration by month and district

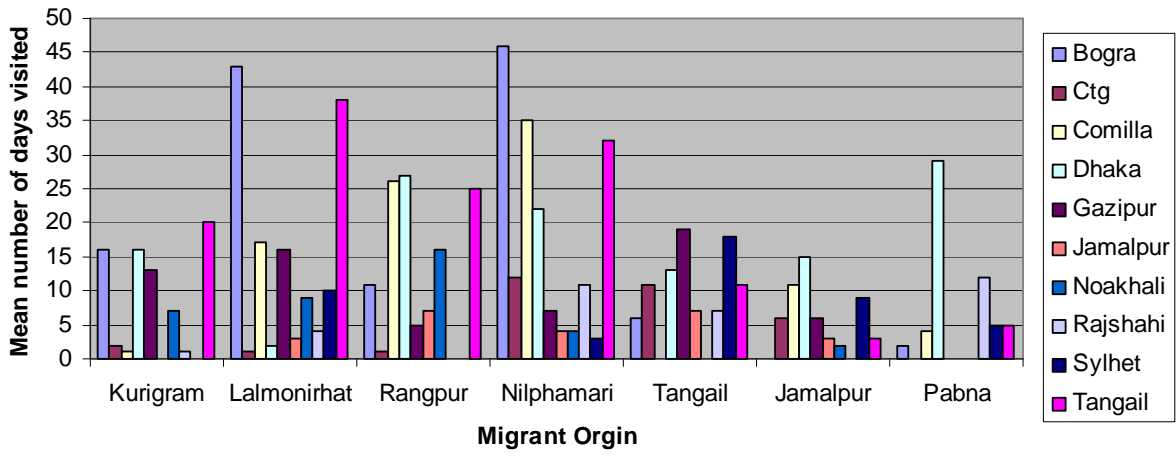
Home District	A-M	M-J	J-J	J-A	A-S	S-O	O-N	N-D	D-J	TOTAL
Kurigram	18	13	0	3	0	25	18	7	13	139
Lalmonirhat	20	20	8	11	5	8	8	8	16	148
Rangpur	20	15	5	8	8	18	13	11	13	147
Nilphamari	18	17	8	8	13	18	11	9	9	142
Tangail	23	19	0	6	19	16	23	16	24	214
Jamalpur	14	10	9	0	5	8	19	20	13	147
Pabna	18	9	5	21	21	18	13	17	21	179
TOTAL:	131	103	35	57	71	111	105	88	109	



Average daily wages during migration (Tk.)

Home District	A-M	M-J	J-J	J-A	A-S	S-O	O-N	N-D	D-J	J-F	F-M	M-A
Kurigram	285	240	0	175	0	205	235	225	215	225	240	260
Lalmonirhat	300	255	215	150	120	125	140	175	160	170	150	0
Rangpur	205	235	130	120	120	190	120	155	120	120	125	145
Nilphamari	260	245	175	135	155	140	175	225	215	165	135	0
Tangail	315	275	0	215	190	190	125	225	150	150	150	275
Jamalpur	325	325	350	0	275	400	265	275	225	225	250	265
Pabna	315	350	350	225	225	225	275	290	250	275	200	290

Popularity of Migration to 10 Major Districts



Annex 4: District Map of Bangladesh

