

**Male Gulf Migration: Effects on left-behind women in Bihar**

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**Introduction**

In the present context, migration is the movement of people due to social and economic reasons. Scholars from different disciplines have defined migration differently. Sociologists emphasize the social consequences of mobility, geographers stress on time and space of mobility, demographers stress on technical arrangements such as registration, evaluation, and calculation of global and specific indicators of the phenomenon, cultural anthropology focus on issues like transfer of culture and relationship between migrants and the natives and economists give importance to economic consequences of migration (Mishra, 2019). The census of India defines migration in two ways; migration by birthplace and migration by place of residence. Migration can be in-migration (immigration) or outmigration (emigration). A common pattern characterizing migration of men in developing countries is that they leave their wives and children in the place of origin while they migrate in search of work. Male out-migration greatly increases women's work burdens and amalgams their difficulties of basic survival. The impact of migration on family members left behind can be both positive and negative, depending on whether the migrant is away temporarily or permanently and whether or not they remit money back to home. If migration is temporary or circular, the return of the migrant could also bring back valuable skills acquired abroad as well as entrepreneurial potential. On the other hand, the withdrawal of what are usually prime breadwinners from the household's labor supply pool could either increase the work burden of others or decrease their labor supply depending on the flow of remittances and their use. Today researchers are giving more attention to women's increased autonomy followed by financial privation and increased responsibilities. This research does not concern about the negative or positive impacts rather it is about the changes in their lives after their husband leaves for overseas. Some researchers come up with some inferences that men's absence from home and regular remittances provide conditions for fostering women's autonomy, self-esteem, and role expansion (Desai & Banerji, 2008). Thus, the present study focuses on problems of women left behind due to male gulf migration in the Gopalganj district of Bihar, India. This study is expected to cast new light on ingrained reality and help in deepening the discourse on women's empowerment autonomy and their wellbeing in the context of male migration.

**Indian Migration in Gulf Countries**

Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries are one of the best-known migrant corridors in the world. These six countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) are not only attracting migrant workers from India but also attracting workers from other south and Southeast Asian countries (Kumar, 2013:2). Pull and push factors play a vital role in this regard. Approximately 8.5 million people migrated to these GCC countries. Most of them are mainly engaged in the unskilled and semi-skilled professions. This huge number of

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Indian migrants is playing an important role, not only the gulf countries are benefiting from these cheap Indian laborers but this labor migration also has a respectable socio- economical contribution in their home country.

Migrants are mainly getting employment in three categories of employment first category of White-Collar Jobs such as Doctors, Engineers, Architects, Accountant, and Managers. The second category is of Blue-Collar Jobs like Craftsman, Drivers, and other Technical Workers and the third category is of Unskilled Labors in construction sites, farmland, livestock ranches, shops, stores & household maids (Hussain& Khan,2016:4). The former category of workers comprises about 30 percent of the total Indian emigrants and the latter two categories comprise almost 70 percent (Binod, 2010, cited in Hussain &Khan, 2016:4).

**Table:1 Indian Migration in GCC countries till 2019**

Country	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019*	5-year Total
Saudi Arabia	306,000	162,000	73,000	66,000	143,000	750,000
UAE	225,000	159,000	141,000	103,000	42,000	670,000
Kuwait	67,000	70,000	51,000	52,000	72,000	245,000
Oman	85,000	61,000	4,900	32,000	26,000	209,000
Qatar	59,000	29,000	22,000	32,000	28,000	168,000
Bahrain	16,000	12,000	10,000	9,000	9,000	28,000

*Source: [http://mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs\\_1.pdf](http://mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs_1.pdf)*

The Indian- Gulf region is the second-largest migration corridor in the world. Table 1 shows that a substantial number of Indian migrants are staying in the six GCC countries. This table also reveals the year-wise migration of people from India to GCC countries. Saudi Arabia is the best corridor where maximum people have migrated while as less number of migrations from India to Bahrain. Meanwhile, the outflow of Indian migrants to the region has slackened while return migration has increased due to economic slowdowns, fluctuating oil prices, and changes in Gulf labor policies. The future of India-Gulf migration is further clouded by the Coronavirus pandemic, which poses unprecedented health and livelihoods challenges for the millions of Indians working in the Gulf, as well as for the families and communities that depend on them and which presents a daunting test for the Indian government.

### Review of Literature

Singh (2018), in his study, argues that male out-migration is a strategy adopted by rural areas to surmount risks associated with agriculture and to diversify income. Various factors behind the increase with an exodus of labor from Uttar Pradesh are underemployment, unemployment, less availability of non-farm jobs, and population pressure. The findings show that, while decision-making has empowered women, they are nevertheless hampered by a lack of financial autonomy and the incapacity to make crucial judgments. Other important problems that obstruct their access to rights include insecurity and loneliness. They are prone to physical, verbal, and social abuse in the absence of their husband. The study recommends that to reap the benefit of out-migration, the government should empower women by providing technical knowledge of farming and encourage bringing about changes in the attitude of the communities.

Iqbal et al., (2014), a study from Pakistan investigates the impact of male out-migration on their families left behind in Pakistan. The study reveals the lack of male members of the family has altered the role, decision-making, and autonomy of women who remain at home. According to the research, women used their remittances to invest in economic and commercial activity.

Remittances contributed to improving the quality of life of family members and brought happiness to the family. Migrant families also send their daughters to school and the dowry system was less prevalent in the migrant household. It was observed that international migration not only raised the standard of living of the left behind household but also modified their social behavior through the diffusion of secular ideas into the traditional values of the sending countries.

Gulati (1998) in her study on the impact of migration on a family is a dynamic process, which kept constantly changing with the length of the migrant's stay abroad. Over time, women took on increasing responsibilities for the running of the household. On their own, they became responsible for the health and education of their children and the management of their funds and properties. This process broke down women's isolation, increased their mobility, and brought them into contact with a wider network of institutions that were hitherto outside their experience. This new experience resulted in their gaining self-confidence.

### **Objectives and Methodology**

The objective of the study was to analyze the impact of gulf migration on women left behind in the Gopalganj district of Bihar and possible social work interventions.

The design of the study was descriptive and qualitative. The qualitative technique is used to collect and interpret the data and the study findings are based mainly on the empirical data where constructivism philosophy is appreciated. This study was carried out in the Gopalganj district of Bihar (India) on the phenomena of the impact of Gulf Migration on women. In a time spanning from August 2020 to February 2021. This descriptive study initially started on mapping the narrative on how male migration affects the left-behind families but later on author analyzed that aspect of wives are important to see how their partner's absence affects the life of wives within families. The researcher used the semi-structured interview guide and direct observation methods for the collection of data. In this study, an open-ended question was also included to gather a depth understanding of phenomena. The respondents are women who reside in the Gopalganj district of Bihar, India and their husbands migrated to Gulf countries, and the migration period completed at least two years. For this purpose, the researcher conducted 13 in-depth interviews with migrant wives. There is no better way to gain an understanding of society than through its stock of stories, which constitute its dramatic resources (Kakar, 1990). The questions were asked in the local language Bhojpuri. Both secondary and primary data are used in the study. The sample is selected through purposive sampling techniques. This paper is divided into two parts; the first part is dealing with the nature of migration as well as the literature of phenomena to develop an understanding of migration around India in the beginning. On the other hand, the second part deals with empirical evidence of how male migration affects the lives of women in this area. The data gathered during the field interviews were recorded with the informed consent of the participants. They were informed of the fact that they can suspend or withdraw from the interview at any point of time during the interview. The data collected from field interviews were first transcribed in Urdu and then translated in English by the researcher itself and later analyzed and interpreted accordingly.

### **Demography and Profile of Study Locale**

Bihar is an Indian state. The eastern part of the state is described with low and stagnant economic growth, higher poverty, and the lowest per capita income. According to the 2011 census of India, the total population of the Gopalganj district is 2562012 of which males and females are

1267666 and 1294346 respectively. The total population of the age group of 0-6 is 449530, of which male and female are 230014 and 219516 respectively. As per the Census 2011, the average literacy rate of Bihar state is 61.80 percent but the average literacy rate of Gopalganj district is 47.50 percent of which male literacy rate is 63 percent and female literacy is 32.20 percent (Census: 2011). The sex ratio of the Gopalganj district is 1015 per 1000 males, (Census: 2011). The physical (Geographical) area of the district approximates about 2033sq.km. There are 14 Community Development Blocks which consists of 1,397 inhabited villages and 4 towns. The growth rate is 18.83 percent and the Sex ratio is 1,015 (Females over 1000 males). The total urban population contained in these towns was 4.99 percent of the total population of the district, while 95.01 percent of the district's population lived in the villages. In more recent times there has been significant migration from this district to different parts of India and abroad. The major languages spoken in the Gopalganj district are Bhojpuri, Hindi, and Urdu. In terms of educational institutions, there are 835 primaries, 323 middle and 51 high schools, 1 teacher training college, 1 Polytechnic, 1 homeopathic college, 1 ITI Mirganj, and 1 Sainik School (Hathua) in this district. Bhojpuri is the local language and people also speak Hindi. The state has seen an increment in the Human Development Index (HDI) from 0.237 in 1981 to 0.308 in 1991 to 0.367 in 2001, and 0.536 in 2015. It ranks the lowest among the 15 major states in India in terms of HDI. According to the Ministry of External Affairs, Bihar is emerged as the second state to send maximum people to GCC countries i.e., 18 percent. On other hand, the Gopalganj district sends 15,533 labor to GCC countries. Table 2 also reflects the basic profile of the Gopalganj district.

Table: 2 About The Gopalganj

<b>Total Villages</b>	<b>1566</b>
<b>Inhabited</b>	1397
<b>Uninhabited</b>	169
<b>Panchayat</b>	234
<b>Sub Division</b>	02
<b>Blocks</b>	14
<b>Revenue Circles</b>	14
<b>Halka's</b>	101
<b>Police Station</b>	18
<b>Police Out Post</b>	04
<b>Town</b>	04
<b>Nagar Parishad</b>	01(Gopalganj)
<b>Nagar Panchayat</b>	03(Barauli, Mirganj&Kateya)
<b>M.P Constituency</b>	1
<b>M.L.A Constituency</b>	06
<b>Total Area</b>	2033km <sup>2</sup>
<b>Major Crops</b>	Rice, Wheat, Groundnut, Sugarcane

Source: Census 2011

## Discussion

### Women's Decision Making

It is logical to assume that the absence of a husband has a significant influence on the lives of women. In an Indian context, two areas seem to be particularly affected. First, various studies of women's empowerment in India have noted limited autonomy and decision-making ability on the part of women (Desai 1994; Mason and Smith 2000; Jejeebhoy and Sathar 2001; Bloom et al. 2001). We anticipate that, in the absence of their husbands, women will play a larger role in family decision-making and will be able to set aside traditional notions of female isolation, as the necessity for their involvement and leadership in the family's day-to-day activities will rise. Moreover, migration may introduce new ideas and attitudes in men which may ultimately change gender roles in the family. Second, while male migration may be associated with a higher likelihood of remittances, women may need to fill in for absent husbands in many ways including care of animals, and work on the family farm or in the family business (Jetley 1987; Paris et al. 2005). Moreover, in some instances, the sporadic nature of remittances may also force women to generate cash income through wage work (Gulati 1993).

Gulati's (1993) interviews with women in Kerala provide insights into the processes shaping women's lives in the context of male migration, and document both the constraints and the opportunities provided by male migration. Hameeda, one of Gulati's informants, reports (p. 31):

*When Jamal [husband] is visiting home, he takes me out to movies. He never insists that I should cover my head. My mother is very orthodox and would never have permitted me such liberty. Actually, now several women in our neighborhood have stopped covering their heads and go to the movies in short-sleeved blouses. You need someone to take the initiative and introduce these small changes.*

In contrast, Rehana reports (p. 38):

*My position is rather awkward. Of the 13 persons living in this house, I am the only outsider. Although I am married to the most important person who is everyone's hope, I have very little freedom of movement, speech or action. I cannot go out of the house without the permission of my mother-in-law. In my position, I simply cannot afford to displease anyone.*

In every sphere of decision making, left behind women living in a nuclear family system enjoys more autonomy and decision-making power and thus, become more self-confident and self-reliant.

In contrast, because migration in Gopalganj district usually involves the temporary departure of an adult male, to the extent that this male was the head of the household prior to the departure, there is a *de facto* increase in the need for the spouse left behind to make important decisions relating to the welfare and maintenance of the household. They also find that attitudes about gender roles are more socially conservative in households that experienced migration than among those that have not. They also could simply be attributable to return migrants asserting the male prerogative after a period of absence.

*"Most of the time, I make my own decisions because he is not always available. There are some things I need to ask him about, and I need to listen to his advice, but for the most part, I can make my judgments". (IDI: 5).*

Another respondent has a different opinion regarding decision making in this area

*"I live with my children and make whatever decisions I need to. I listen to my husband's advice and never make a choice without consulting him first." (IDI:3).*

The preceding narratives highlight several key elements that allow us to assess whether or not these women can develop leadership qualities in the absence of their spouses when responsibility shifts. The truth is that the wives who were left behind had no choice but to assume the increased obligations. As a result, they become accustomed to dumping responsibilities, whether purposefully or unwittingly.

Male migration, however, has allowed testing the capacity of women. They seek advice and suggestions from their husbands overseas. Wives are found to have obtained higher autonomy in bringing up their children the way they wanted. In terms of mobility, some women tend to be mobile, that is, they want freedom of mobility and some are not. When they are together, in case, they needed to buy anything from a distant rural grocery, husbands usually used to go. Now that husbands are not around wives are to go for groceries and shopping, pay for bills, go to the market and deal with public organizations, etc. Thus, they enjoy enhanced freedom of movement.

### **Added Responsibility and Left-behind Women**

With the migration of the male members of the household workload of women goes up substantially while at home, men help their wives in varying degrees, in household work, preparation of food, taking care of children, farming, caring for the livestock, and outside work especially going to the market. In the absence of the male members, these tasks are almost completely transferred to their wives. During the field study, I also found that migrant wives faced added responsibility due to the absence of their husbands. One respondent reflected;

*“Because my husband migrated to Qatar, I feel a greater sense of duty. I have three children; my father-in-law is alive but suffering from health problems, therefore I am in charge of all household duties am therefore responsible for everyone.”* (IDI: 1).

On the other hand study by Varkey (2004) finds out that females in the families, whose males migrated to the city have to bear a heavier burden within the family. Another study conducted by Shekhar (1996) find out due to male out-migration females bear the overburden/ over responsibility within the family as well as outside the home especially taking care of children.

It is observed in my study that due to the overburden of responsibility left behind women always felt anxiety, depression. This anxiety as well as depression is not good for their health. One of the respondents said that due to the overburden of work I always feel a headache when my husband came on holiday I feel relaxed and also observed that those days I don't have any headaches. So, we can say that male out-migration brings psychological pressure and slowly boosts the problem of headaches in a woman.

### **Health Issues**

Health is an important part of any human being's life, due to the less availability of employment opportunity in their area people especially male members leave their home for searching of better employment opportunity but they leave behind family especially wives and children, who are supposed to face lot of problems and health issues. The impact of male migration on the health status of the families left behind needs to be better understood in a manner that the health of women and children is likely to be adversely affected. A large portion of the community, absence of the migrant will make things even more difficult for the women, by increasing the difficulty of the women getting alone and not having a male member to go with her to the hospital.

*One interviewee said that my husband has migrated to the gulf (Arab) before our marriage. I already knew that I am going to marry a migrant person. When I got married After 2 months of our marriage my husband went to Saudi Arabia to earn money after a few days, I suffered periods problem [Har 15 din me Mujhe MC ho jatatha]. Just after four months of my marriage, I can't share this problem with my in-laws because maybe they will gossip that I brought this problem from my home [mai apne Ghar se bimari ka tokra leke aai hun]. One day I told my husband about this problem, he said to me manage yourself till I will come back home then I will you to a doctor. I felt helpless after the reply of my husband and I am so much worried about my reproductive health I can't tell you (IDI:3).*

*Another respondent share pain about their daughter's health issue due to her father's migration, one of my elder daughters suffered from typhoid. Due to the absence of her father, no one was available to take care and drop my daughter at the hospital. My mothers-in-law depend upon "Duwa Tabeez". But my daughter's conditions worsen day by day. One of my neighbours helped me in taking daughter to the doctor. After consultation, a doctor told me that if you would have delayed one day more your daughter would not have survived. This whole incident was very horrible for me (IDI: 4).*

So above narrative indicates that migrant family members especially wives and children missed their husbands/fathers especially when they were facing health issues at a critical time. This situation creates a lot of stress on the wife and also learns the sense of how to tackle this situation.

### **Left behind wives and Loneliness**

Loneliness is one of the most serious issues among India's left-behind women. Women in Gulf nations are separated within their families as a result of male migration. When the "gulf migrant's wives" were asked about the adverse consequence of the migration of their husbands, loneliness came across as one of the leading problems (Zachariah and Rajan, 2001). Male migration was viewed as unavoidable, and the women were reconciled to it.

*One of my research participants narrated, my husband has migrated to Qatar for 9 years "I'm missing his presence in every situation. We have four children, and he visits us every two to three years. I'm here by myself most of the time, and I wish he were here with us because I wouldn't have felt so lonely". (IDI: 5).*

*Another 29-year-old respondent share her feeling of loneliness due to the absence of her husband, she lived in a joint family, "She knew she was going to marry an Arab male before she got married (Gulf Boy). This is a myth: if you work in the Gulf, you will earn significantly more money than a non-migrant boy, and you will live a happy life as a result of your wealth, but I am bored with my wealth. I'd like to remain with my hubby. Every two years, my husband goes home for 30-45 days, and the rest of the time, my children and I miss him greatly". (IDI: 2).*

Apart from these, wives also feel lonely when conflict arises within family members, especially with mothers-in-law. One respondent said that whenever conflict arises with in-laws,

*I feel lonelier because at that time no one stands with me as a support system. Due to this situation, I always have a headache and sometimes feel the tension in my life [ Bus do char rupee ke liye aisi tension bhari zindagi jee rai hoon aur aise bhi jeena koi jeena hakya].*

This narrative illustrated that due to the male migration women feel psychological pressures in their life and this is not good for their health. Over the period of time this leads to stress, anxiety & depression in her life.

### Fear and Insecurity

Often, women's apprehensions about male migration are related to the fear of divorce and desertion (Menon, 1995). Jetley's (1987) study throws light on the insecurities that women face when they are left behind by men. She finds that one-third of the women interviewed were positively unhappy about their men migrating, and one-half regretted the long absence of male members of the family. During fieldwork one of the respondents expressed their feeling of insecurity

*"When my husband comes home for the holidays, he always talks about beauty of girls at his work place, and sometimes he says to me that they are too beautiful, and that most people are attracted to their beauty, especially those who remain there for a long time. This account makes me feel insecure, therefore every time I communicate with my husband while he is in Oman, I try to talk to him via video call, and before the video conference, I always make sure I look beautiful. This is the only reason why my husband isn't interested in another woman". (IDI:4)*

In the study of Singh (1989) finds that migration has brought about a transformation in social conditions as well as social attitude and this leads to developing extra-marital affair in an urban region. One of my respondents expressed their feeling of fear and insecurity that

*"extramarital affairs are common when you away from your partner especially men indulge more in this regard because men don't have much more power to control on their emotion, they always like to have beautiful girls around them so there is more chance to attract with beautiful girls. For this reason, I always talk to him via video call, and that time I touch up my face for looking beautiful whenever I talk to my husband, I always try to look more beautiful so that he doesn't attract towards anyone else (IDI;3 IDI;7).*

The finding revealed that fear of insecurity as well as fear of extramarital affairs always give psychological pressure on women. And this fear of extramarital affairs gives a negative impact on women's lives.

### Dependency Gradient

Male out-migration increases the dependency level of women in India. Due to this left-behind women's dependence for everything on another family member as well as relatives. In this condition, the kinship network proves highly functional and condition of joint family women don't have any power to make a decision regarding day to day living as well as long-term decisions for children wellbeing, in contrast, if women living independently women are far more likely to make an independent decision regarding day to day living as well as long term decision for children's wellbeing.

*"I am living in a nuclear family, where I live with my 3 kids because my husband stays in a Gulf country. I am dependent on my parents as well as my brothers for all family chores, apart from this I also take help from my neighbors, due to this situation I don't have any helping hand for any family chores. When my husband comes home during holidays, I feel free of all tension and live with the happy environment" (IDI:6).*

*Similarly, another respondent said that "My husband migrated to Qatar 9 years ago. I miss his presence in everything. He comes after every 2-3 years. I miss him a lot in every aspect of life. I am here alone handling everything. From house to kids, all responsibilities are on my shoulder. No one is here to share my burden. People think taking care of the house and kids is an easy task, but actually, it is not. I think working in an office is much easy. I often feel tired. I feel stressed due to the burden of responsibilities" (IDI:5).*

A study of Varkey (2004) in study Kottayam Municipal area find out that due to male gulf migration level of dependency in women's increase especially if left-behind women's living within the joint families.

### Social Attitude towards left behind women

The social environment also affects the life of left-behind women in India. If women live separate from her husband, society makes abused statement about her. Women have to face many such difficulties during their lifetime. People from society always talk and short questioning about left-behind women when she takes any help from any male members of the society in the absence of her husband. During fieldwork, one respondent said

*“Since the migration of my husband I had to seek help from my neighbor's. And if the male member comes for help, our society looks at it in other ways. They accuse us of many illegal relations. Their gossip becomes the talk of the town. These things affect my relationship with my husband”. (IDI:5).*

In the study of Kohli (2013) findings are the same, study showed that society puts a suspicion of doubt on women who are pregnant especially when her husband stays far away from them.

It can be said that society also plays a role in the marginalization of women instead of empowering and supporting them in the absence of her husband. One of the respondents narrated,

*“I always pray to Allah when my husband is with me, then I should give good news about my pregnancy to him otherwise I can't handle suspicious questioning about my pregnancy”.*

This narrative gives detail about how women feel the pressure even when they expected to be a mother and in this situation doctors always give the advice to avoid any stress during this period, but this migration unexpectedly gives unwanted tension, stress on women.

### Conclusion

These left-behind women are becoming more self-confident and self-reliant. It is also observed during the study that their husband's migration leads them to involve in financial matters. This has given them more power and freedom to make their own decision and have given them a great sense of contact with the outside world. There is a *de facto* increase in the need for the spouse left behind to make important decisions relating to the welfare and maintenance of the household. Wives are found to have obtained higher autonomy in bringing up their children the way they wanted. Wives also go for groceries and shopping, pay for bills, go to the market and deal with public organizations, etc. Thus, they enjoy enhanced freedom of movement. But in the study area, wives do not enjoy their freedom of autonomy.

On the other hand, added responsibilities and increased workload create psychosocial problems. The health of women and children is likely to be adversely affected due to male migration. A huge burden of ill-health and diseases is handled by women left behind. The absence of a male creates a lot of stress on the women, but also makes women learn the sense of how to tackle the tough situations. Migrant's wives also feel lonely when conflict arises within family members, especially with mother in law. As and when the conflict arises with in-laws women feel more lonely because at that time no one stands for her as a support system. A feeling of loneliness is a common problem among the women left behind. Fear, insecurity, stress full life, depression, anxiety is common among left-behind women because of the absence of their husband. Women depend on everything for another family member as well as relatives. There is suspicion on her character in the absence of male migrants by societal members. In the study area, wives have the same experience compared to another study.

If we look at the social work intervention point of view, social work is a practice-based profession. According to the latest definition, (IFSW: 2014) social work is concerned with social

justice, protection of human rights as well as social cohesion. A social worker needs to step ahead for changing the perception of the society regarding left behind women of the migrated men. There is a need for social work intervention in providing adequate employment opportunities so that the migration can be avoided and the interest of left behind wives of the migrant can be safeguarded. It can be concluded that in the Indian context women belong to a marginalized group and the extent of marginalization widens when she stands for right individually. If we talk about health all their condition passes a threat to reproductive health. Their basic physical need is not properly fulfilled. Apart from this women always fear that their husband's hidden threat is to leave her alone and marry other women or he may indulge in extramarital affairs. This way male migration passes a negative impact on women and because of which she felt excluded from society as well as family. Even today the labor out-migration did not stop, a large chunk of labor constitutes in the Gulf countries of such migrants. Which has produced migrants and migrant's left behind families. A livelihood promotion activity needs to be addressed through policy and programs interventions by the Governments and Non-Government organizations in these areas. Those women who are suffering from anxiety, depression, medical illness, loneliness, and issues of child-rearing needs to be addressed through social work intervention in terms of counseling, family support institution services, and community involvement. These services may reduce the sufferings which arise due to the heavy burden of personal and family issues in the absence of male migrants.

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