

Women and the NREGA

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Prepared by ISST Delhi and Bangalore

*In partnership with Doosra Dashak (Rajasthan) and THREAD
(Orissa)*

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Summary observations from the field studies

Review of worksites around selected villages once a month shows that the sites started functioning after the monsoons were over, in October, in Abu Road, Rajasthan. Drinking water is available on sites. In Sundargarh villagers reported that job cards had been issued and funds (possibly) allocated however no sites were observed to be open in the two villages being tracked until May. Most works are for road construction; or (non permanent) water conservation canals and ponds in Abu Road.

During the project period, discussions have been held with villagers and Panchayat members, and dissemination of information/ discussion on various aspects of the NREGA by project partners is on-going.

Observations from the findings of the household survey:

- a. In all, 1412 households from 33 villages in 11 Panchayats were surveyed in two clusters in Hemgir and Badgaon blocks of Sundargarh district, Orissa; and 1251 households from 11 villages in 8 Panchayats in two clusters (hill and plain areas) in Abu Road block, Sirohi district, Rajasthan. The same questionnaire was used.
- b. A majority of the households in Sundargarh had a household size of upto 5 members (55 %); in Abu Road a majority had a size of between 6-10 members (53%). Since the job cards have been issued per household, this implies varying levels of contribution to household income. Roughly one-third of all household members in Sundargarh, and almost one half in Abu Road, were under the age of 18.

Local Economy, Migration and the NREGA works

- c. In both areas surveyed, the villages are largely dependent on rain fed agriculture and small animal husbandry. In Orissa, collection of forest produce is another major source of income. Apart from this, casual wage labour, wherever available – in or away from the village – is the only supplement to income. In Sundargarh around 11 % of the sample had no land holdings and 21 % did not cultivate any land. In Abu Road around 10 % in the plains area and 2 % in the hilly areas had no land. Of the most important activities undertaken by men and women, in Sundargarh 33 % of women and 23 % of men reported collection of forest produce; 10 % of women and 23 % of men casual wage labour; and 25 % of women domestic duties. The Abu Road data shows very little difference between men and women, with 57 % of women and 55 % of men reporting casual wage labour; and 16 % of both men and women family worker. 41 % in Abu Road, and 25 % in Sundargarh, of those who responded, stated that ‘well without electricity’ is the main source of irrigation. Although livestock is central to the economy of both places, around 20% of households in Sundargarh reported no livestock, and 10 % in Rajasthan. In Sundarsharg 21 % of households reported that they receive remittances from migrants, and 23 % in Abu Road (of which 2% were ‘regular’).

Other characteristics of households that are pertinent to understanding the impact of the NREGA include the finding that around 46 % of respondents reported being members of SHGs in Sundargarh, and over 24 % in Abu Road. Other collectives – including unions (nil in Abu Road, 1 % in Sundargarh) and mahila mandals – had low membership. Around 26 % of the sample had bank accounts in Sundargarh and 15 % in Abu Road (suggesting that payment into bank accounts cannot be a preferred option in these places). While in Sundargarh the percentage of females who are not literate is 32 % and that of males 17 %, in Abu Road the corresponding percentages are 82 (F) and 56 (M).

In Abu Road, 35 % of men and 68 % of women in the hill area found work within 5 km of residence; in the plains this is true of 70 % of men and 93 % of women. Of the others most were able to find work outside the village but within the block. Migrants from the Orissa villages were also mainly intra district migrants. Most migrants are away for work, men as well as women. In the Orissa villages, 77 % of women and 86 % of men were away for work; in Rajasthan, 94 % of women and 87 % of men. Marriage accounts for only 8 % of female migrants in Orissa, and 1 % of men; and in Rajasthan, 2 % of women and 9 % of men (showing an interesting locality specific tradition of movement).

The NREGA works offer an opportunity for supplementary work within or near the village. 91 % of households in the hills of Abu Road, and 83 % in the plains, (or around 88 % overall) reported participation in the NREGA. While both men and women participate, the works have encouraged women to go out for work as the distance to travel is within 5 kms. Of all those reporting participation, 44 % are men and 56 % women.

In Sundargarh, 38 % of households reported participation in the NREGA. Of all those reporting participation, 31% are women and 69 % are men. While actual participation is relatively low, the number of households that are aware of the NREGA is higher (62% of all households), and much higher than those aware of other government programmes. (Oddly enough the awareness levels in Rajasthan have been reported as lower than participation levels (at 53 %), a result that is attributed to the way in which ‘awareness’ has been interpreted, in this case, as awareness of details of the scheme. Here as in Sundargarh, awareness about NREGA is much higher than about other government schemes).

The participation of women in NREGA raises the question of how their household responsibilities are managed. In both places, it was reported that the older daughter and husband assist women in coping with household responsibilities; other children and other members assist in a much smaller degree.

In Sundargarh almost 40 % of respondents said the NREGA income went for food and basic needs, followed by 20 % for health and 20 % for paying back loans (multiple responses). In Abu Road 56 % of the respondents said the NREGA income went for food and basic needs, 19 % health, and 11 % mentioned miscellaneous uses (mainly clothing).

A number of suggestions were made on how the scheme could be improved. While the need for more work, more days of work and higher wages reflects the underlying situation of inadequate employment and work opportunities, some specific suggestions include from Abu Road, the request that 50 % of the payment should be in food grains; training of the mate; better measurement of work; and from Sundargarh, greater participation of people in planning. Overall, it seems the immediate impact of the NREGA has been to improve basic food security, and the longer term or development potential of the programme has not yet taken hold.

Nature of Migration

- d. The number of migrants who could be met was small in both places, however some findings include
 - i. Main reason for migration was lack of work in the village, followed by higher wages
 - ii. While more persons reported migration in a group in Sundargarh, most persons from Rajasthan reported going alone.
 - iii. Nature of work done included mainly construction and earth work, followed by agricultural labour, brick making, and road work (Sundargarh); wage work, construction, marble cutting, agricultural labour (Abu Road).
 - iv. For a large number the destination is usually not the same; and place of work is not known in advance.
 - v. Where there is a contractor, generally not a local person

The survey confirms that NREGA holds out potential for reducing distress migration if it succeeds in stimulating local economic development, itself very much a function of the ripple effects of the works undertaken. In the short run however the main impact of the works is to increase basic food security and meet health expenses to some extent. The immediate impact in Rajasthan is reportedly to draw women into the work force, but not to impact on the choice of work by men. In Orissa, more men have been drawn into NREGA work.

Chapter 1: Context: The NREGA and Gender Concerns

The Employment Guarantee Act was passed in September 2005, and schemes launched from February 2, 2006. The Act will be applicable to areas notified by the Central Government (initially, 200 backward districts) and will cover the whole country within five years. Out of the two hundred, 150 districts had been covered by the National Food for Work Programme (NFFWP).

The NREGA is significant in its *guarantee* of a minimum number of days of work at a minimum wage in rural India, thus recognizing the right to work and earn a reasonable wage. Operational guidelines for implementation have been formulated by the Central Government. The employment generated is on public works that develop the infrastructure base of that area. The choice of works suggested addresses causes of chronic poverty like drought, deforestation and soil erosion.

Salient Features of NREGA

- Employment to be provided to every rural household whose adult member volunteers to do unskilled manual work.
- Household means a nuclear family comprising mother, father, their children and may include any person wholly or substantially dependent on the head of the family. Household may also comprise a single member family.
- Such household is to be provided work for hundred days in a financial year.
- This is a demand based programme and demand emanating from the village through the Gram Sabha.
- Every person who has done the work to be provided minimum wages as prescribed under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 for agricultural labourers in the state. And such wages shall not be less than sixty rupees per day.
- Disbursement of wages to be done on weekly basis but not beyond a fortnight.
- Under Section 4 of the Act every State to formulate the State's Employment Guarantee Scheme to give effect to the provisions of the NREGA.
- Each employment seeker to be registered by Gram Panchayat after due verification and the household to be provided a Job Card.
- Employment will be given within 15 days of application for work by an employment seeker.
- If Employment is not provided within 15 days daily unemployment, in cash has to be paid. The legal liability to provide employment is of the States and liability to provide commensurate funds is of the centre.
- A new work to be commenced if at least 50 labourers become available for work.
- At least one third beneficiaries have to be women.
- Gram Sabha to recommend works. Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) have a principal role in planning and implementation.
- Gram Panchayats to execute at least 50 per cent of works
- Gram Panchayat is responsible for planning, registering, issuing Job Cards to beneficiaries, allocating employment and monitoring of works.

Cost sharing of the NREGA between the Centre and State:

The cost of the following items will be borne by the Central Government.	The cost of the following items will be borne by the State Government.
a) Amount required for payment of wages for unskilled manual workers	
b) 75 percent of the cost of material and wage for skilled and semi-skilled workers.	a) 25 percent of the cost of material and wages for skilled and semi-skilled workers. b) Unemployment allowance payable in case the State Government cannot provide wage employment within 15 days of application.
c) The administrative expenses as may be determined by the Central Government. These will include, inter alia, the salary and allowances of Programme officers and their support staff and work site facilities.	
d) Administrative expenses of the Central Employment Guarantee Council.	c) Administrative expenses of the State Employment Guarantee Council

Implementation of NREGA: findings of various reviews

Since the start of the NREGA programme several studies and *padayatras* have been organised by the various civil society organisations and research organisations to make an assessment of the implementation situation. The Ministry of Rural Development has presented a status report on the implementation of the NREGA to the Standing Committee on Rural Development to demand for grants (2006-07). Some key findings from these reports is briefly presented below.

As per the report¹ the major achievements of NREGA for 182 districts in 18 districts is shown as in Table 1 below.

1. Status of (NREGA) in the selected districts of Eighteen States

Items	Figures(in lakhs)
Application received for registration	224.9
Job cards issued	82.8
Applications received demanding employment	6.60
Employment offered	6.14

The table shows the vast difference between the job cards issued and employment demanded by way of applications. Out of 2.24 crore applications received, job cards have been issued to around 83 lakhs applicants. Applications were received from 6.6 lakh persons and employment was offered to 6.14 lakh workers.

The Standing Committee has recommended that the department should do the analysis of such data carefully and put it up on the web site for public information. Also the committee urges that the government has to undertake effective long term planning, provide the necessary ground training to implementing agencies, identify the work in a timely manner, create the necessary demand for and ensure timely employment to the job seekers for the specified period. It is pointed out in the report that no state has reported making any payment on account of unemployment allowance in spite of the huge gap between applications received and employment offered.

Newspaper reports during 2006-07 on the experiences of the EGA implementation in different state indicates that there are instances of corruption ranging from faked muster rolls to anomalies in the issuance of job cards, overseers charging money for measurement of work by the wage labour.² There are reports of forcing villagers to withdraw their NREGS application by private employers who fear flight of labour.

Ever since the implementation of NREGA started there have been *padyatras*, awareness campaigns organised by the civil society group across the states. The awareness and social audit processes held across several states culminated in the form of National Tribunal on NREGA. During November, 2006, more than a thousand activists from 14 states gathered in Delhi and narrated their experiences before a jury comprising of retired government officials, member of National Human Rights Commission and general secretary of National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW). The experiences highlighted the fact that the factual information about the programme was lacking not only among the people but also among those who are responsible for implementation.³ The narration of experiences also included concern on the system of measurement of task, lack of transparency in the allocation of works and entitlement of work. There is no distinction between skilled and unskilled work, and the same wage is provided for both. Facilities for shade, water, first aid and crèche are not being provided at the work sites. There is a lack of transparency in the allocation of works. In several instances no reasonable explanation has been given for the selective distribution of works to certain hamlets within, or to

¹Ministry of Rural Development, Eighteenth Report: Standing Committee on Rural Development, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, May 2006.

² Newspaper Clippings on National Rural Employment Guarantee Act(Jan-Dec2006),ISST

³ <http://www.wadanatodo.net/images/reports/NREGA/NREGA-TribunalOutcomes.pdf>

specific individuals. Dalits, women, minority groups and persons with disabilities bear the brunt of this selective process of allocation. Women headed households and joint families are at a distinct disadvantage in accessing the benefits of the scheme. The provision of work to one person of the household has in places been interpreted to mean that it is applicable only to the male head of the household.

In a study to understand the role of panchayats in the implementation of NREGA and identify gaps and opportunities for strengthening of PRIs, a household survey was conducted in 16 States including Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Uttaranchal and West Bengal.⁴ The findings indicate that there is a high awareness among rural households that NREGA will provide 100 days of employment but there is low awareness among them about the need to submit an application to get work. The other important findings are delayed wage payment, difficult task requirements, poor productivity of labourers and defective measurements of task, lack of medical and crèche facilities at the work site (except for Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu). The report mentions that there is a high attendance for gram sabha meeting but participation is very low and low awareness among the households about the existence of grievance redressal mechanism. The study concluded that in general panchayats are quite excited with implementation of NREGA but need suitable support system including Sarpanch centric de facto delivery mechanism of NREGA to make it a more sustained effort.

ISST's earlier study seeking to understand the practical ways in which the NREGP can be designed so as to allow women to participate fully and benefit from it and to examine whether such participation leads to empowerment was carried out in selected villages from district Sirohi in Rajasthan, Dhar in Madhya Pradesh, Gulbarga in Karnataka and Sundargarh in Orissa. The study has been able to highlight a number of issues such as heavy dependence of households on land/ forests and lack of other sources of income. Most households get on by a combination of manual labour, agricultural and non-agricultural. From the survey, it is seen that there are differences in the percentage of the landless in the sample (5 % in Sirohi, Rajasthan, 12 % in Sundargarh, Orissa, 33 % in Dhar, Madhya Pradesh and 53 % in Gulbarga, Karnataka); and ownership of animals (8 % without animals in Sirohi, 13 % in Sundargarh, 41 % in Dhar, and over 70 % in Gulbarga). All the areas are characterised by lack of irrigation facilities and hence water conservation and harvesting emerges as a priority in all the four places. The number of eligible persons per household averages 3. The proportion of eligible men and women are roughly the same, but in Rajasthan it is seen that 70-80 % of workers on the EGA sites are women. There are no crèche facilities available at the site. Providing facilities at site will ensure full participation by women which may reduce migration and facilitate the older children to go to school.

Another important finding was that between 30-50% of the sample in Sirohi and Dhar had come to know about the scheme through word of mouth and from other villagers. In Sundargarh 80 % said they had come to know from others. In contrast in Gulbarga all

⁴ PRIA(2006) Role of Panchayati Raj Institutions in Implementation of NREGA: National Study :Phase-I

but one respondent said that this information had come from the sarpanch. As regards payment more than 80% of the respondents from Sirohi, Dhar, and Sudargarh said they would prefer the payment to be partly in food and partly in cash. However in Gulbarga, almost 90 % said they would like the payment in cash.

In Rajasthan, wages being paid are much lower than minimum wages (in fact even lower than under previous programmes such as drought relief works. In Abu Road, wages were reported to be around Rs 38-40/- for a day's work; whereas they had been reported as being Rs 50-60/- in the last year under the drought relief programme. People working on the site are unaware of how much work needs to be done to receive the minimum wage. As far as choice of work is concerned road construction seems to dominate specially in Abu Road. Given acute shortage of water, works aimed at water harvesting and conservation were given high priority everywhere, but in Abu Road only road construction has so far started.

Rural Women in Poverty and the NREGA:

The NREGA provides some explicit entitlements for women, including payment of equal wages; that one-third of the beneficiaries should be women; that work should be provided close to the home (and within 5 kms of residence); that a crèche should be provided at the work site. Additionally, by recognising single persons as a 'household' the Act makes it accessible to widows and other single women.

The NREGA has been strongly influenced by the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (MEGS) and it is useful to review the evidence from the MEGS on women's participation. Scholars like Devaki Jain (ISST, 1979), Dattar (1987), and Krishnaraj (2004) have found that the level of participation by women was higher than that of men in most observations, with more women than men being seen on sites, and more women reporting for work than were registered. However, the reasons for this high participation were not necessarily positive. Work provided under MEGS was usually unskilled, short-term and discontinuous work, and more women are casual and subsidiary workers. Hence, much MEGS work was perceived as 'women's work'. From 38% in 1995-96, women's employment as a percentage of the total employment in person days in the scheme went up to 73% in 1998-99, but fell to 57% in 1999-2000. (Krishnaraj et al., 2004). Skilled women workers did not participate in MEGS, and the scheme did not provide for acquisition of any new skills by women. The majority of the women participants belonged to landless, small or marginal farming families. However, unlike the men, who were quick to consider migration as an option for improving the family's economic status, women looked on schemes like the MEGS as an important component of basic survival strategies (Krishnaraj & Pandey, 1990). They reported an improvement in family nutritional status as a result of participation in the scheme (ISST, 1979) as well as improved status in the family because of an increase in core income. Jain (ISST, 1979) also noted that there was greater participation by women who were already a part of some organized group.

Whether the NREGA will be able to address both the 'practical' and 'strategic' needs of women will depend on factors other than participation per se. Does this work enhance

their ability to take decisions within the household, are they engaged in planning and management of works as well as in carrying them out, is the selection of works responsive and sensitive to gendered priorities, and so on.

Based on its earlier study, the importance of the programme, and the belief that continuous documentation can contribute to better awareness and implementation, ISST has undertaken a follow up study with multiple objectives, as given below.

- The first aspect of the study has been to track the progress of the EGA in a few selected sites with a view to identifying key issues in implementation and social audit. A record has been kept on wages paid, conditions on the work site – crèche, first aid facilities, shade, drinking water, etc, timings, etc.
- The second aspect of the research is capacity building through discussions and workshops, organized in partnership with local organizations that are aimed at helping to build capacity for local level decision making, especially by women and to strengthen community organizations. This is an ongoing process that has been initiated over the last year.
- The third aspect of the research is a household survey carried out in order to develop a baseline picture on the basis of which an analysis of the impact of the NREGA on the local economy could be carried out over time, including impact on local economic development, migration, skills, occupational health and safety concerns and other decent work elements.

Chapter 2 presents a background to the migration story in Orissa and Rajasthan, based on secondary data. Chapter 3 presents the findings of the fieldwork from Rajasthan, and Chapter 4 from Orissa.

Chapter 2

THE CULTURE OF INDIAN MIGRATION: a theoretical and empirical analysis of the politics of contemporary space and place in Orissa and Rajasthan¹

‘A man and his wife and his brother who had gone to work in the brick-kilns of Andhra Pradesh were forced to return within a few months, weak from lack of food and with no money at all. The man fell ill and died in the train on the way back. The wife and brother were too terrified to remove the body off the train, as they knew they would be questioned by the police and feared extortion by exploitative elements. The body had to be abandoned in the train. When Suna went to Hyderabad on the trail of local migrants to lodge a complaint about ill treatment and exploitative conditions, he was told by the Labour Commissioner's office that they had no jurisdiction over migrant workers from other States.’,² Period.

This tragic incident of an Oriya migrant family, narrated by Jagdish Suna, a young Oriya journalist to ‘The Hindu’, appeared in the national daily only a few years back. Profoundly reflecting the agonizing plight of poor migrants in India, this incident fervently reflects their easily expendable lives. More so, the situation of poor migrants in India has rapidly deteriorated since then. As a result, a substantial segment of internal migration in India at large, and within the states of Orissa and Rajasthan in particular, remains distress-led. Colossal collapse of rural employment generation, the economic setbacks at cultivation, and, the largely deficient employment opportunities in urban centres among others, are believed to be the driving force behind the rise of a more insecure type of movement now. Ironically however, this movement is taking place in a world which is marked by a far more profound belief in endorsing equality of opportunity as *a way of life*, disseminating fuller economic growth, and promoting greater social cohesion³, across the socio-political divide. As a result, migratory processes and their subsequent impacts thereof, attains critical significance in the present times.

It is in the above context that the proposed paper seeks to undertake a theoretical and empirical analysis of the nature and pattern of migration in India at large, and of Orissa and Rajasthan in particular. The following paper is divided into seven broad sections. The first section undertakes a theoretical analysis of migration as a ‘concept’ and as a ‘process’ thereof. While, the second section tries to broadly map out the nature and incidence of migration in India.

This is followed by a conceptual analysis of ‘distress migration’, construed essentially as a ‘*means of survival*’, as opposed to being induced by better opportunities, when

¹ This chapter has been written by Wasudha Bhatt

² *Distress: A way of life in Kalahandi*, The Hindu, Online edition of India's National Newspaper, May 13, 2001, <http://www.hinduonline.com/>

³ Stephen Aldridge, *Social Mobility: A Discussion Paper*, by Performance and Innovation Unit, April 2001, <http://www.strategy.gov.uk/downloads/files/socialmobility.pdf>

contextualized within the economic, political, and cultural landscape of India. Consequently, the two sections which follow, try to analyze the pattern of distress migration by foregrounding it within the historiography, polity and economy of the states of *Orissa* and *Rajasthan* in India. Tracing the evolution of migration since the nineteenth century, the segment tries to highlight the newer dimensions and the sharper transformative edge distress migration has acquired in postcolonial India. Subsequently, the second last section tries to contextualize migration debates within the feminist literature, and reinforce the need to analyze migration through the differential experience of women and men in the context of a highly gendered world. The paper finally ordaining migration as '*the*' emergent vehicle for upward mobility within the current global hierarchy, crosscutting lines of class, caste, and gender, succinctly elucidates the formidable challenges it represents for the Indian social fabric.

I. MIGRATION: A theoretical insight into the 'concept' and the 'process'

'Migration'-the word derives from the Latin *migrare*,⁴ referring to the change in residence involving movement between communities⁵. There is however considerable conceptual contestation in defining a migrant. Worker mobility may take different forms, which may however coexist. On one end of the political spectrum, the worker's place of residence and place of work may be different. While at the other end, workers may move permanently from their places of birth or usual place of residence, maintaining little or absolutely no contact with their place of origin. Complicating the situation further, people also move away for differing periods of time between these two extremes. However, most household surveys generally use a cut-off point to determine the usual place of residence, which in India stands to be six months⁶.

Nonetheless, exacerbating the complexity further, economic development, political stability, and the increasing integration of countries into the global political economy in regions all over the world has resulted in enhanced flows of capital, labour, raw materials and technology. These factors in turn have come to exercise a substantial influence on migration. Resultant, labour movements have quickened in response to disparities in income levels, wage levels and levels of human resource development, as workers cross borders to seek better conditions of work. In this context of enhanced migration activity, contemporary migration has come to have a significant impact on the well being of migrants in particular, and, non-migrants, including the 'left behind' at large⁷. However, notwithstanding the complexities involving the definitional pattern of migration, divergent viewpoints have been expressed to explain the migratory

⁴ David L. Sills, Editor, *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 10, The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968, p 287

⁵ P. Neal Ritchey, *Explanations of migration*, Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 2, 1976

⁶ Nevertheless, such a cut-off point has no firm basis in migration patterns. S.K. Sasikumar and Ravi Srivastava, *An overview of migration in India, its impacts and key issues*, Migration Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices in Asia, www.livelihoods.org

⁷ Liem Nguyen, Brenda S. A. Yeoh and Mika Toyota, *Migration and the well-being of the 'left behind' in Asia*, Asian Population Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 2006

phenomenon. Contemporary theorists primarily attribute migration to the desire inherent in most men, to 'better' themselves in material respects, or enhance human well-being⁸. It is thus that the surplus population of one part of the country drifts into another part, where the development of commerce and industry, or the possibility of procuring productive land still in a state of nature, calls for more hands to labour; thus resorting to migration. Herein, though the value of human welfare certainly seems to be intrinsic to humankind, yet, this represents just one of the explanations of migration. The pluralist conception that it is, migration undoubtedly remains a multi-faceted phenomenon.

1.1 Explanations of migration⁹

Ravenstein, the undisputed founding father of the modern thinking on migration, in his path-breaking essay explained that¹⁰ the principal cause of migration has to be sought for in over-population in one part of the country. While there exist undeveloped resources elsewhere which hold out greater promise for remunerative labour. It is however obvious that this is not the only cause. Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even socio-economic compulsions (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing, currents of migration.

The following section brings forth a brief review of research on the causes of migration, thus attempting to delineate the current theoretical development on migration and classifying it into *seven* broad approaches.

Migration as an Individual Rational Choice: The Neo classical explanation

The first purely economic explanation of migration as an 'individual rational choice', developed by Arthur Lewis, in the context of demand and supply of labor, reminisces of the neo classical paradigm. Propounding the key role of migration in 'dual economies' in process of development, he constructed a model 'Economic Development with Unlimited Supply of Labor'. Dual economies found usually in the postcolonial world, signify those economies in which an internationally connected modern sector, co exists with a traditional one, which relies on subsistence agriculture for survival. Consequently, the modern sector of the economy for its expansion draws labor from traditional sector.¹¹

Expanding further, Todaro explained migration as an individual choice when contextualized within two sectors. He argued, that migrants move to cities because of wage differential according to a rationality of economic self interest.¹² Migration for Todaro was thus the result of individual decisions made by rational actors who sought to improve their well-being by moving to places where the reward of their labour will be higher than what they get at home. Push-pull models are an extension of this.

The New Economics of Labour Migration:

⁸ ibid

⁹ The expression 'Explanations Of Migration' is borrowed from P. Neal Ritchey's paper, titled: *Explanations Of Migration*, Annual Review Of Sociology, Vol. 2, 1976

¹⁰ E.G. Ravenstein, *The laws of migration*, Journal of Royal Statistical Society, Vol. 52, No. 2, June 1889

¹¹ Joaquin Arango, *Explaining Migration: A Critical View*, International Social Science Journal, Sep., 2000

¹² John R Harris, Michael Todaro, *Migration, unemployment and Development: A Two Sector Analysis*, The American Economic Review, Vol. 60 No. 1, 1970, pp 126-42.

One of the new theories, probably the most migration specific of all-*the new economics of labour migration*, has developed out of the neo-classical tradition. Associated primarily with the name of Oded Stark, it shares with the neo-classical theory its basic cornerstone, *rational choice*, but differs from it in that the actor who seeks to enhance its utility is more the family or the household¹³, than the individual migrant. It further emphasizes remittances as an inter-temporal contractual arrangement between the migrant and the family¹⁴.

Nevertheless, the underlying framework for most analyses herein still remains the classical competitive model of factor mobility. The model represents an ideal prototype. With labour demand and supply being always in equilibrium, the labour supply adjusts in response to the relative real wage rates between areas. Herein wage symbolizes the price of labour. Therefore, migration of labour occurs in direct response to the expected average real-wage differential between areas and the volume of migration increases as the expected wage differential increases.¹⁵

However, as most studies that relate migration to earnings use nominal measures of earnings or income rather than wage measures deflated to reflect cost of living differentials, Vander Kamp (1971)¹⁶ and Courchewe (1970)¹⁷ advocate separate consideration of the effects of earnings at sender area and at receiver area on migration. Resultant, the effect of increased incentive to migrate is offset by an increase in pecuniary barriers to migration paralleling the lower earnings in the area. Thus the positive association of in migration and earnings should be stronger than the negative association of out migration and earnings.¹⁸

Dual Labour Market Theory:

The opposite happens with another theory which contributes to a better understanding of contemporary realities, the dual labour market theory of Michael Piore. The central argument by Michael Piore in his work titled, *Birds of Passage*¹⁹ grew out of an attempt to understand the large flow of workers between underdeveloped and developed areas in North America and Western Europe through much of the 1960s and 1970s. It advocated understanding large-scale migration between developed and underdeveloped regions in terms of the structure of job opportunities in developed areas, and the peculiar motivation

¹³ Joaquin Arango, *Explaining Migration: A Critical View*, International Social Science Journal, Sep., 2000

¹⁴ Arjan de Haan, *Migrants, Livelihoods, and Rights: The Relevance of Migration in Development Policies*, Social Development Working Paper No.4, Social Development Department, February 2000

¹⁵ P. Neal Ritchey, *Explanations of Migration*, Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 2, 1976.

¹⁶ J.Vander Kamp, *Migration flows, their determinants, and the effects of return migration*, J. Political Econ.:79, 1971, pp 1012-29

¹⁷ T.J. Courchene, *Interprovincial migration and economic adjustment*, Can. J. Econ.3: 1970, p 550

¹⁸ P. Neal Ritchey, *Explanations of Migration*, Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 2, 1976.

¹⁹ Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage*, Migrant Labour and Industrial Societies, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

of migrant workers relative to the motivation of workers born and raised in the area in which they work. Here, the understanding of the job structure was based upon the dual labour market theory hypothesis.

The hypothesis is that for a variety of reasons we do not fully understand, developed industrial economies generate two distinct types of jobs. One of these sets of jobs, found in what is termed in this hypothesis in the secondary sector, is characterised, relative to the other set of jobs, by low wages, menial social status and considerable employment instability, or at least uncertainty. National workers because they are interested in long term career prospects and normally expect a job to support their families and define their social position; shun such work. Migrants are a solution because they typically view their migration as temporary²⁰. Their notion is to come to the developed area for a short period of time, earn and save as much money as possible and then return home to use their savings to facilitate some activity in their place of origin. The difficulty with temporary migrants as a solution to the problem of filling secondary jobs is that they do not remain temporary. While many actually return home, a significant number end up staying longer than originally intended. Finally, when a significant portion of a given migrant stream begins to settle in this way, it tends to create opportunities for more permanent migrants moving from the country of origin and planning to remain on a long term basis with relatives at the destination²¹. This after wave of the first migrant stream also tends to compete with national workers for primary jobs.

This view of migration process may be contrasted with the view conventional in economics²². The latter is one in which migration is driven by an income differential between industrial areas and less developed countries or regions²³. People are assumed to be motivated almost entirely by income and as a result more towards industrial areas where the income is higher. The movement lowers the supply of labour in the area of origin, driving up wages there and increases the supply of labour at the destination, forcing down its wages. Eventually the wages in the two areas will equalise, bringing the migration to a halt.

Structural Explanations of Migration:

Structural Explanations of Migration share the duality of economy and wage differential between the two, while also emphasizing on the demand of cheap labor force for capitalist development and historicity involved in it. Marxism and structuralist theories focus on political and other institutions that determine migration, and tend to emphasise the negative consequences²⁴. Authors like McGee (1982), Standing (1985), Protero and

²⁰ Joaquin Arango, *Explaining Migration: A Critical View*, International Social Science Journal, Sep., 2000

²¹ *ibid*

²² Michael J. Greenwood in: P. Neal Ritchey, *Explanations of Migration*, Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 2, 1976.

²³ Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage*, Migrant Labour and Industrial Societies, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1979.

²⁴ Arjan de Haan, *Migrants, Livelihoods, and Rights: The Relevance of Migration in Development Policies*, Social Development Working Paper No.4, Social Development Department, February 2000

Chapman (1985), Breman (1985), and Rubenstein for Mexico (1992)²⁵, challenge the individualistic emphasis in the analyses of Todaro and others. They see labour migration as inevitable in the transition to capitalism, and emphasise the advantages of migrant labour for capitalist production, and the instrumentality of migration in capitalists' control over labour. Migration thus rather than being a choice for poor people, signifies the only option for survival after alienation from the land²⁶.

Explicating further, Alejandro Portes points out, 'Power and capital flow in one direction, economic surplus and labour in the other.' 'After a while it is not clear what is left in the periphery or how such places can survive'²⁷. Analysed in these terms, migration can be seen as 'a way through which the exploited contribute to ever expanding structures of economic domination and simultaneously the form in which they react to their constraints. It shows how economic concentration and inequality are perpetuated by the initiative of both dominant groups and their victims.'

This conclusion applies as well to the formation of the urban informal economy, which Portes views as both a survival mechanism for the lower classes of the periphery, and an arrangement which enables capitalist firms to maximise the extraction of surplus by reducing the cost of subsistence and foreclosing the formation of an organised labour force. Contrary to analyses which considers the informal economy as a 'lag' or 'transition', Portes conclusion is that 'it is an integral component of peripheral capitalist economies and its development is mandated by the conditions in which these economies are incorporated into the contemporary world-system.'²⁸

Cumulative Causation:

Another theoretical strand that has received fresh air in recent times is the idea that migration is a 'self sustaining' and 'self perpetuating' phenomenon. This idea was first put forth by Gunnar Myrdal several decades ago, under the label cumulative causation²⁹, in the context of *backwash effects* put in motion by uneven development in underdeveloped areas.

²⁵ McGee (1982), Standing (1985), Protero and Chapman (1985), Breman (1985), and Rubenstein for Mexico (1992) in Arjan de Haan, *Migrants, Livelihoods, and Rights: The Relevance of Migration in Development Policies*, Social Development Working Paper No.4, Social Development Department, February 2000

²⁶ Moreover, scholars like Alejandro Portes and Saskia Saskia Sassen have put forward historical-structural explanations of migration in international context. The essence of their explanation lies in the problems of inequalities of capitalist development, followed by a number of dislocations and disruptions, including the dislocation of workers who lose their traditional life and occupation. And the way it seeks to unify the world that is historically fraught with inequalities, into one global economic system. For details see: Joaquin Arango, *Explaining Migration: A Critical View*, International Social Science Journal, Sep., 2000 .

²⁷ Alejandro Portes and John Walton, *Book Reviews: Labour, Class and the International System*, Academic Press, New York, 1981

²⁸ *ibid*

²⁹ Joaquin Arango, *Explaining Migration: A Critical View*, International Social Science Journal, Sep., 2000

Douglas Maseey has recently retaken and enlarged the notion, identifying several factors that are responsible for the self perpetuation of migration³⁰. The basic idea is that migration changes reality in a way that induces subsequent moves through a number of socio-economic processes.

Sociological and anthropological studies and, the Gender analysis:

While the labour mobility studies lay empirical emphasis on the conditions of areas and migration, the sociological and anthropological approaches however are distinguished by their concern with attributes of individuals. One of which is Gender analyses which seeks to portray more complex pictures of migration. Recent theories have also emphasized that analyses need to incorporate both individual motives, institutions and the structural factors in which the migrants operate, in the form of a 'structuration theory'³¹.

Following which, two generic attributes – structural and social-psychological – characterise social-demographic analysis. Whereas, structural attributes indicate the individual's position or status in society or in a more specified social structure (such as rural or urban community types), thus indicating differential constraints on behaviour in relation to the general societal structure or the more local social structure. Social-psychological attributes on the other hand, symbolise motives, aspirations, values, perceptions and modes of orientation³².

Gender analysis too has made a crucial contribution in understanding the institutions that structure migration processes. Gender here is seen as 'an essential tool for unpicking the migration process'³³. Consequently, there is now more emphasis on differential migration responses by men and women, gender discrimination in returns to migrant labour, and the gendered nature for motives of remitting, as determined by gender-differentiated inheritance rules.

Cognitive behavioural approach:

Contemporary studies on migration can now boast of a growing literature on the relationship between geographic mobility and community preferences. Herein one can witness an increasing interest in this area stemming from the formulation of the cognitive-behavioural approach to location theory³⁴. Basic to this approach is the idea that spatial preferences are subjective evaluations and the perceived attractiveness or

³⁰ ibid

³¹ Chant and Radcliffe (1992) quoted in Arjan de Haan, *Migrants, Livelihoods, and Rights: The Relevance of Migration in Development Policies*, Social Development Working Paper No.4, Social Development Department, February 2000

³² P. Neal Ritchey, *Explanations of Migration*, Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 2, 1976.

³³ Wright (1995), Sinclair (1998), quoted in Arjan de Haan, *Migrants, Livelihoods, and Rights: The Relevance of Migration in Development Policies*, Social Development Working Paper No.4, Social Development Department, February 2000

³⁴ Seetlarvey (1969), in: P. Neal Ritchey, *Explanations of Migration*, Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 2, 1976.

perception of residential desirability of alternative locations is a critical element in the decision making process of migration and a critical determinant of migration and its direction. Through obtaining the perceived attractiveness of areas, the researcher gains the basic evaluation that the respondent's experience and deliberation produces concerning alternative locations. The logical directions of research are thus primarily aimed at determining the extent to which migration corresponds to the perceived attractiveness of alternative locations.

II. MAPPING THE INCIDENCE AND NATURE OF MIGRATION IN INDIA

2.1 The commencement of migratory streams in India: A historical insight

Before the advent of agriculture, around 12,000 years ago, the Indian sub-continent was believed to be inhabited solely by hunter-gatherers, and the population density was extremely low³⁵. Population movements into the subcontinent of India however started from the middle of the second millennium BC, and continued into the nineteenth century. They subsequently altered the social structure and the political system of the region, and shaped its subsequent historical development. The earliest known population flows was of the Aryans, who were a pastoral people migrating from Iran through Afghanistan to north-west India starting around 1500 BC, and eventually displacing the local Indus Valley Culture³⁶. Following which, in the fourth century BC, a thousand years later, Alexander the Great led his Greek army through Persia and Afghanistan into the lower Swat Valley of Pakistan, and then across the Indus to the Ganges. He was followed by the Sajthians, Arabs from Baghdad, Turkish invaders of Afghanistan and the Central Asian conquest of Northern India by Babur in the sixteenth century, and the subsequent consolidation of the Mughal rule under Akbar³⁷. Interestingly, a significant feature of these invasions was that the invaders governed from within India, and were subsequently absorbed into the Indian populace, as Indians. More so, as aptly stated by M.N. Srinivas, the Indian social order itself enabled many of the immigrant communities to become a part of the Indian Mosaic, without surrendering their community identity³⁸.

The existent literature on these early migration flows however primarily attributed migration to population expansion, new settlements, agro-ecological reasons and political conquests³⁹. But, it was the literature on patterns of migration during the British period which followed, that brought new perspectives into light. It was the abolition of slavery and the demand for replacement labour that played a large role in triggering Indian emigration abroad. Such emigrations were carried out normally through indenture, a form

³⁵ Tim Dyson, Robert Cassen and Leela Visaria eds., *Twenty First Century India: Population, Economy, Human Development and Environment*, Oxford University press, New Delhi, 2004, p 16

³⁶ Myron Weiner, *Migration*, The Oxford India Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology, Vol. 1, Ed. By Veena Das, Oxford University Press, 2003

³⁷ *ibid*

³⁸ *ibid*

³⁹ R. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and Bengal Frontier*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1984.

of contract labour, wherein a person would bind himself for a specified period of service, in return for payment of their passage. They would hence leave for the British, Dutch and French colonies to work in sugar plantations, and subsequently in the tea and rubber plantations of Southeast Asia⁴⁰.

Though a large part of this labour was procured through some form of organized mediation, yet, some portion of it did remain circulatory and retained robust links with the areas of origin. However post-migration, it acted as a beacon of hope for other migrants. With the result that the urban pockets of Kolkatta and Mumbai attracted numerous rural labourers. These laborers hailed largely from labour catchment areas of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa in the east and Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and parts of Kerala and Karnataka in the south⁴¹.

Subsequently, migration only increased with the passage of time. Resultant, in the past few decades new patterns have emerged with regard to movement of labour in both developed and the developing world at large:

- 1) 'First, there have been shifts of the workforce towards the tertiary sector in both developed and developing countries.
- 2) Secondly, in developed countries, urban congestion and the growth of communication infrastructure have slowed down urbanisation.
- 3) Thirdly, in developing countries, the workforce shift towards the secondary/tertiary sector has been slow and has been dominated by an expansion of the 'informal' sector, which has grown over time'⁴².

While in 2001, India's population itself exceeded the 1 billion mark. 'At that time, 67.2% lived in rural areas and 32.8% in towns and cities. Between 1951 and 2001, the proportion of the population living in urban areas rose from 17.3% to 32.8%. Of the total workforce, 73.3% remained in rural areas, declining marginally from 77.7% in 1991 and 79.3% in 1981'⁴³. So much so, that S.K. Sasikumar and Ravi Srivastava propound that in

⁴⁰ H.Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830–1920*, Oxford University Press, London, 1974.

⁴¹ V. Joshi, and H.Joshi, *Surplus Labour and the City: A Study of Bombay*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1976; B. Dasgupta, Issues of migration and employment with reference to Calcutta, in: S.M. Alam, and F.Alikhan, *Perspectives on Urbanization and Migration: India and USSR*, Allied Publishers, Delhi 1987; S.K. Sasikumar and Ravi Srivastava, *An overview of migration in India, its impacts and key issues*, Migration Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices In Asia, www.livelihoods.org

⁴² S.K. Sasikumar and Ravi Srivastava, *An overview of migration in India, its impacts and key issues*, Migration Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices In Asia, www.livelihoods.org

⁴³ *ibid*

some regions of India, as much as three out of four households include a migrant⁴⁴. In addition, permanent shifts of population and workforce co-exist with the ‘circulatory’ movement of populations between lagging and developed regions and between rural and urban sectors in India. Consequently, this labor force is mostly being absorbed in the unorganised sector of the economy⁴⁵. Evidently, the footprints of migration on individuals, households and regions are much larger than can be envisaged by the human mind. And with the passage of time migratory movements show little sign of abating with the rapidly unfolding development processes.

2.2 Contemporary trends in population mobility

When it comes to India, short distance migration predominates, with around 60% of migrants changing their residence within the district of enumeration, and over 20% within the state of enumeration, while the rest move across the state boundaries⁴⁶. Herein, women too migrate over short distances following marriage, while, the proportion of male lifetime migrants is less in most poor states and high in most developed regions. More so, inter-state migration reflects a similar trend: with developed states showing high inter-state immigration, while poor states, exhibiting low rates of total and male immigration⁴⁷.

Though migration statistics in the early 1990s suggested a decline in mobility, which prompted the inference that population mobility in India is low⁴⁸. Yet, recent evidence based on NSS figures for 1992–1993 and 1999–2000, and indirectly supported by the census, exhibit an increase in migration rates – from 24.7% to 26.6% over that period. In addition, as per the 2001 Census data, out of the total population of 1,028.6 million persons in India as at the 2001 Census, about 307 million (or 29.9%) were reported as migrants born outside the village/town of their enumeration⁴⁹. This is also exemplified by the rapidly rising figures of emigration for employment of people from: 1986-2005 in Figure 1.

⁴⁴ Nonetheless the influx of such population movements apart, Myron Weiner in his article maintains that presently only a small proportion of people in India live outside their place of birth or that of their spouses. He sights that between 1981 and 1991; only 13 million rural dwellers migrated to India's cities and towns, a little more than 2% of India's rural populace. For details see: Myron Weiner, *Migration*, The Oxford India companion to sociology and social anthropology, Vol. 1, Ed. by Veena Das, Oxford University Press, 2003

⁴⁵ S.K. Sasikumar and Ravi Srivastava, *An overview of migration in India, its impacts and key issues*, Migration Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices In Asia, www.livelihoods.org, p 1

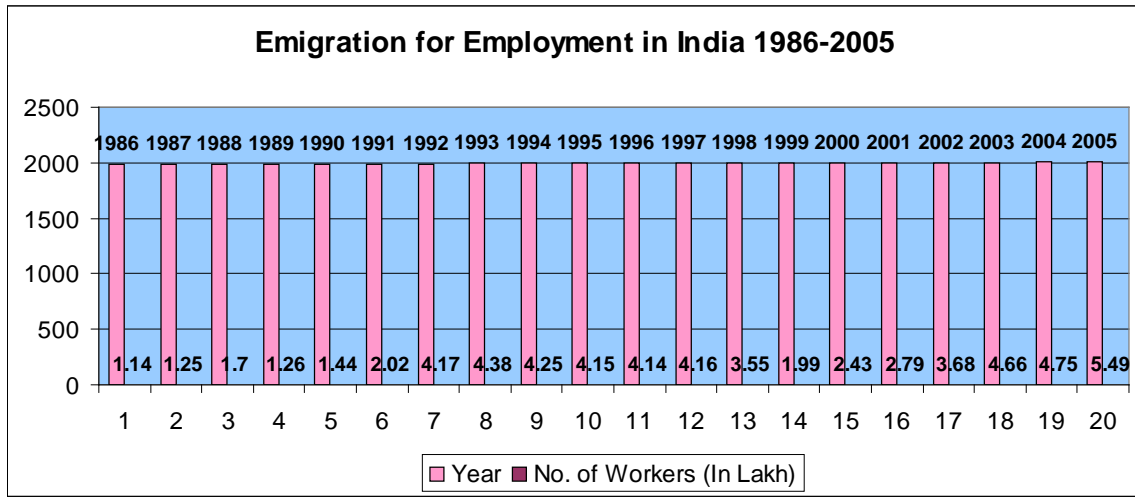
⁴⁶ Tim Dyson, Robert Cassen and Leela Visaria eds. *Twenty First Century India: Population, Economy, Human Development and Environment*, Oxford University press, New Delhi, 2004, p 108

⁴⁷ S.K. Sasikumar and Ravi Srivastava, *An overview of migration in India, its impacts and key issues*, Migration Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices In Asia, www.livelihoods.org

⁴⁸ K. Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1951; A. Kundu, and S. Gupta, *Migration, urbanisation and regional inequality*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 28, 1996, pp. 3391–98

⁴⁹ Source: Table D1, *Census of India 2001*

FIGURE 1



Adapted from statistics provided by Ministry of Labour and Employment, Govt. of India 2005, <http://www.indiastats.com>

Furthermore, the in-migrants in one state actually constituted the out-migrants from other states. Therefore, if one took into account the immigrants and out-migrants to and from all the states together, the net migrants as far as the country was concerned were only those who were born abroad (or 6.1 million)⁵⁰. Moreover, a comparison of the 2001 Census migration data with 1991 Census reflected high growth (32.9%) in the number of total migrant by place of birth, which is much more than the natural growth of the population. Noticeably thus, the migration of population from across the boundary of the state rose sharply by 54.5% from about 27.2 million in 1991 to about 42.1 million in 2001⁵¹.

Moreover, Srivastava and Bhattacharya through their analysis of the NSS estimates from the 49th and 55th rounds on comparing the decadal migrant streams also reveal that:

- 1) 'a greater percentage of the urban migrant workers were from the non-agricultural sector (self-employed or regular employed);
- 2) a greater percentage of the male migrant workers were self-employed or in regular employment in 1999–00;

⁵⁰ R.S. Srivastava, *Migration and the labour market in India*, Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 41(4), 1998.

⁵¹ *ibid*

- 3) in the case of females, however, a larger percentage of decadal female migrant workers worked in 1999–00 as casual labourers (in the rural areas in agriculture)⁵².

On the other hand, ‘international migration’ has always been numerically small compared to the size of India’s population. However, out-migration since the 1960’s is believed to have had the most profound effect on India’s population, with the introduction of ‘radically new ways of thinking and behaving, not least with respect to aspects of family and personal life’⁵³. Chart 1 which details distribution of annual labour outflows from India by destination also shows that annual labor outflows have increased substantially within 2001 to 2005.

CHART 1

Distribution of Annual Labour Outflows from India by Destination (2001 to 2005)					
Country	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
United Arab Emirates	53673	95034	143804	175262	194412
Saudi Arabia	78048	99453	121431	123522	99879
Malaysia	6131	10512	26898	31464	71041
Qatar	13829	12596	14251	16325	50222
Oman	30985	41209	36816	33275	40931
Kuwait	39751	4859	54434	52064	39124
Bahrain	16382	20807	24778	22980	30060
Maldives	-	-	-	3233	3423
Mauritius	-	-	-	3544	1965
Jordan	-	-	-	2576	1851
Libya	334	1339	2796	2303	-
Others	39865	83193	44044	10715	15945
Total	278664	367663	466456	474960	548853

Source: Ministry of Labour and Employment, Govt. of India 2006, <http://www.indiastats.com>

Papola and Sharma however reasserting reality back into the frame propound that though figuratively India seems to be shinning, yet, it is only for a small minority of around 10%, mostly consisting of the rich and higher middle class in the urban areas⁵⁴. The labour market in the rural areas clearly reflects near zero elasticity of employment. More so,

⁵² ibid

⁵³ Tim Dyson, Robert Cassen and Leela Visaria eds. *Twenty First Century India: Population, Economy, Human Development and Environment*, Oxford University press, New Delhi, 2004, p 127

⁵⁴ T.S Papola and Alakh N. Sharma, *Labour: down and out?*, Seminar, May 2004, pp 19-23

even if agricultural productivity witnesses a dramatic increase in the following decade, it will be unable to absorb much of rural labour considering the drastic fall in the contribution of agriculture to GDP, from '50 percent to 25 percent by the beginning of this decade'⁵⁵. This has instead spurred an enormous rise in the streams of migrants in search of gainful employment. On the other hand, these migratory streams have also gained momentum as a result of rapid population growth and the breakdown of the jajmani system. Consequently, migration is now accepted in rural areas as a 'fact of life'⁵⁶. Moreover, the development of infrastructure and communications and expansion of the urban frontiers have further boosted labour movements, while simultaneously enlarging the social and mental space of villagers considerably.

These migratory streams nonetheless overlap with the innumerable workers who are employed in the informal economy, and constitute around 90 to 93 percent of the working populace. More so, 6 percent of the 10 percent of aggregate workers employed in the formal sector have jobs in the public sector. But even here:

- 'a) the low capacity of agriculture to absorb the work force and,
- (b) job losses in the public sector have led to a decline in employment opportunities'⁵⁷.

Furthermore, Dyson and Visaria while forecasting the projected trends in urban growth and urbanization in India emphasize that urban bound movement-both rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban-will tend to increase. Nevertheless, they effectively bring home the point, by stating that 'India may well be alone among the world's major countries in still being predominantly rural in 2026'⁵⁸.

III. STRESSORS, INVOLUNTARY MOBILITY, AND THE AFTERMATH: a conceptual insight into distress migration

The human civilization has always been accompanied by migration and the movement it entails in every stage of its development. These migratory movements when traced historically could be attributed either to force in terms of slavery, or to reasons of colonization. However, post-colonization, towards the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was the massive industrialization and urbanization by the developing countries in emulation of the first world which commenced massive waves of international

⁵⁵ Neera Chandhoke, *Democracy and Well Being in India*, Draft Working Document for the UNRISD Project on Social Policy and Democratization, May2005

⁵⁶ M N Srinivas, *An Obituary on Caste as a System*, EPW Special Article, February 1, 2003

⁵⁷ Neera Chandhoke, *Democracy and Well Being in India*, Draft Working Document for the UNRISD Project on Social Policy and Democratization, May2005

⁵⁸ Tim Dyson, Robert Cassen and Leela Visaria, eds., *Twenty First Century India: Population, Economy, Human Development and Environment*, Oxford University press, New Delhi, 2004, p 129

migration⁵⁹. Nevertheless, early migration was largely directed towards the north and the west. In contrast, if one really wishes to get a fuller grip over contemporary migration processes and its impact thereof, understandings within linear terms are no longer viable. Contemporary migration has to be conceived of as a fluid movement in multiple directions, while simultaneously also resonating the structural constraints and continuities embedded within.

Though migration is largely undertaken in the hope of bettering one's life chances, and securing greater well-being, nonetheless, it is largely marked by numerable impediments obstructing the very process. Consequently, migration is increasingly susceptible to a constraining effect not only structurally, with regard to the choices made available, or even culturally, but, also in the sense in which it may induce emotional and psychological distress⁶⁰. A number of factors play a decisive role in molding the decision to migrate, which is counter-influenced by numerable other compulsions at play. "For the migrants, time presents itself differently in the host nation and the present is experienced as a double loss, of origin and of reality, a 'hyperreality', as it were"⁶¹. More so, 'home is conceptualized in fluid terms as being neither here nor there... rather, itself, a hybrid, it is both here and there-an amalgam, a pastiche, a performance'⁶²

It is in the context above that images of migrants differ. On the one hand, migrants are perceived as rational economic agents, armed with the ability to judge differences in opportunities and rewards at home and the place of destination. However, the reverse image is of migrants portrayed as victims of economic deprivation, political or social discrimination, and environmental degradation⁶³. Herein migration, rather than generated by *opportunity and increased life chances*, is understood to be induced largely as a *psychological reaction to 'distress'*, provoked by the economic, social and political environs of the sending state.

Earlier migration theories explained this largely in dual terms of the push and the pull factors, i.e. the voluntarist perspective.

- 1) The early theories held that out-migration is highly susceptible to an increase as a result of various situations characterizing surplus labour. These could be attributed to scarcity of cultivated land, inequitable land distribution, low agricultural productivity, high population density, and the exclusive concentration of the rural economy on

⁵⁹ Meenakshi Thapan, ed. *Woman and Migration in Asia: Transnational migration and the Politics of Identity*, Ed., Vol. 1, Sage publications, New Delhi, 2005

⁶⁰ *ibid*

⁶¹ Hamid Naficy, *The Poetics and Practice of Iranian Nostalgia in Exile*, *Diaspora*, 1(3), 1991, p 285-302, as quoted in: Meenakshi Thapan, ed. *Woman and Migration in Asia: Transnational migration and the Politics of Identity*, Ed., Vol. 1, Sage publications, New Delhi, 2005

⁶² Bammer as quoted by Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson, *Migrants of Identity*, Oxford, New York, Berg, 1998

⁶³ Arjan de Haan, *Migrants, Livelihoods, and Rights: The Relevance of Migration in Development Policies*, Social Development Working Paper No.4, Social Development Department, February 2000

agriculture. These factor combinations thus created a 'push'⁶⁴ which was more often than not encountered in fragile environs.

- 2) However, following the 1950s, the 'pull' factor emerged as the inevitable consequence of the demand for labour, which was largely created by 'growing modern industrial complexes', and the intrinsic gap in rural and urban wages⁶⁵. Herein, the pull factor was also attributed to the desire inherent in most men for acquiring skills or gaining new experiences. Subsequently, voluntary migration of the poor for economic reasons was then re-determined by 'urbanisation and the spread of manufacturing'; with the inbuilt wage gap emerging as probably the most important pull.

However, Gallawery by introducing a conceptual distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration, shed a renewed light into the phenomenon of distress migration, as an extension of involuntary mobility. The essential characteristic of *voluntary mobility* is that potential migrants have the option of remaining in their present jobs. Here the decision to migrate involves the comparison of shadow wages offered in market areas. However, *involuntary mobility* results from workers being dismissed from their existing jobs because of poor performance, reorganisation, shifts in consumer demands, or other disabilities. Resultant, involuntary migrants would move to those areas in which job opportunities are more abundant numerically. He suggests that it is likely these workers are under great pressure to find work, have less market information and are less competitive than other workers. As a result, involuntary migrants would move to those areas in which job opportunities are more abundant numerically.⁶⁶

Moore (1972) and Wolpert (1965) further suggest that migration herein is also motivated by an attempt to reduce the stressors and strains present in the residential environment⁶⁷. Though changing residence is itself stressful, yet, distress migrants also face a series of stressors from their current, physical, psychological and social environments, as well as their previous circumstances and experiences. There are thus two aspects to the stress concept:

- Stressors which are causative factors,

⁶⁴ Priya Deshingkar and Sven Grimm, *Voluntary Internal Migration: an update*, Overseas Development Institute, Sept. 2004, <http://www.odi.org.uk/>

⁶⁵ There have since been many models and debates on what motivates people to migrate including theories of 'expected' as opposed to actual wage differentials, *ibid*

⁶⁶ Gallawery here argues that there is good reason to expect a negative relation between the number of jobs available in an area and area earnings. Thus involuntary mobility can further confound the observed relation between mobility and earnings. For details, see: P. Neal Ritchey, *Explanations of Migration*, Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 2, 1976.

⁶⁷ Christine H. Lindquist; Mark Lagory; Ferris J. Ritchey, *The Myth of the Migrant Homeless: An Exploration of the Psychosocial Consequences of Migration*, *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 42, No. 4., Winter, 1999, pp. 691-709, <http://links.jstor.org/>

- The stress reaction per se, which is the psychological and the physiological reaction of the organism which results from its interaction with the stressor⁶⁸.

Consequently, a very substantial part of internal migration in India at large, and from the states of Rajasthan and Orissa in particular, is 'distress-led'. It is driven by a colossal collapse of the availability of rural employment, the economic difficulties marking cultivation, and, the inadequate employment opportunities in towns to name a few. And this sheer desperation has led to a more insecure type of movement which is rapidly on the rise. Aggravating the already wretched plight of these out-migrants, distress migration reeks of innumerable pitfalls. 'The difficulty of finding paid work, the sheer possibility of being duped, the exposure to criminality of various sorts, the problem of dealing with such basics as housing and sanitation, has been found to be particularly acute for such migrants, who are often compelled to simply living on the streets'⁶⁹. Thus it becomes all the more imperative for one to undertake an in-depth analysis of the historiography, the causative factors, and the stress reaction per se; if one intends to gain a far more profound insight into the pattern of distress-migration in these states.

IV. MIGRATION IN ORISSA

4.1 A historical insight into Oriya migration

The state of Orissa carries along with it a history spanning a period of over 3000 years. 'The word *Oriya* is an anglicised version of *Odia* which itself is a modern name for the *Odra* or *Udra* tribes that inhabited the central belt of modern Orissa'⁷⁰. And it is in alignment with this ancient republican tradition of Orissa that its history of migration also coexists. It was since the ancient and middle ages that Oriya merchant's had formed trade links with other parts of the country. More so, the coastal region gave way to increased maritime trade which played a significant role in the development of Oriya civilization. This was followed by its extensive commercial, cultural, and political contacts with regions of Southeast Asia, particularly southern Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia. As a result, around the 7th century AD, the Kongoda Dynasty from central Orissa began migrating to Malaysia and Indonesia⁷¹.

However, soon after the Second Anglo-Maratha War, in 1803 the British under the British East India Company occupied Orissa⁷². The British colonial rule over the state

⁶⁸ G. M. Mirdal, *Stress and Distress in Migration: Problems and Resources of Turkish Women in Denmark*, International Migration Review, Vol. 18, No. 4, Special Issue: Women in Migration, Winter, 1984, pp.984-1003, <http://links.jstor.org/>

⁶⁹ Jayati Ghosh, *Migration and public policy*, Frontline, Volume 22 - Issue 10, May 07 - 20, 2005

⁷⁰ <http://en.wikipedia.org>

⁷¹ Ajaya Kumar Sahoo, *Oriya Diaspora: A Brief History of Migration and Transnational Networks*

⁷² <http://en.wikipedia.org>

brought tremendous changes in the region⁷³. It had a severe impact on the social and economic life of the Oriya people. With time, numerous craft workers, especially weavers and dyers became bankrupt, and were subjected to abject poverty.

But, official historians like W.W. Hunter, and G. Toynbee turned a blind eye to the realities in their urge to rebuff the exploitative nature of the British Administration. Nevertheless, the mismanagement and failure of East India Company's provincial administration subsequently gave way to 'famines and rapid migration from villages to the developing urban centres within and outside Orissa. These were deliberately glossed over'⁷⁴. Consequently, the large number of unemployed workers created by the shrinking cottage industry, coupled with abject poverty, and extensive draughts and famines, initiated the first wave of migration from the state. As a result, large scale migration of Oriyas as indentured labour took place to work in East African countries on their plantations. Migration of unskilled labourers also took place to Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, and Caribbean countries⁷⁵.

4.2 A review of distress migration in and from Orissa: the interface between poverty and migration

'Orissa has a total population of nearly 35 million people. In normal times, of these, 60% live below the poverty level. Almost 90% of the populations live in rural areas. More than 50% of the children below the age of 4 are suffering from malnutrition. Nearly 90% have access to safe water, but only 4% have sanitation. Health statistics are reported to be incomplete. However, under 5 mortality and maternal mortality is reported to be high and measles vaccination coverage around 60%. Cholera and Malaria are endemic...'⁷⁶

The above statistics representing a sorry state of figures are from a report on Orissa by W.H.O. Sure enough; poverty and migration have always been interrelated in Orissa⁷⁷. "Be it long term unemployment, drought and crop failure, or displacement and chronic hunger, 'everything' in one of the poorest, yet resource rich, districts in India, 'is a

⁷³ The first British factories were established at Hariharpur in Orissa. Subsequently other factories were established in *Balasore* on the river *Burabalanga* and *Pipil* on the river *Subarnarekha*. For details see: Ajaya Kumar Sahoo, *Oriya Diaspora: A Brief History of Migration and Transnational Networks*

⁷⁴ Binod S. Das, *Orissa's Economy in the Nineteenth Century*, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 4, No. 11. (Jun., 1976), pp. 32-46, <http://links.jstor.org/>

⁷⁵ Ajaya Kumar Sahoo, *Oriya Diaspora: A Brief History of Migration and Transnational Networks*

⁷⁶ *Cyclones in Orissa India*, October 1999, Mission Report by Dr Jóhanna Lárusdóttir TO-EHA WHO, SEARO 5th – 17th November 1999, Executive summary, Orissa\WHO Orissa Report.htm

⁷⁷ Devi Prasad Mahapatra, *Labour Migration: A Shadow of Poverty in Orissa*, http://EzineArticles.com/?expert=Devi_Prasad_Mahapatra

struggle”⁷⁸. With income poverty being higher in Orissa than the rest of India, all data sources indicate that the gap in incomes and between Orissa, and the rest of India have been rapidly widening over the last twenty years. ‘Whereas in 1980 per capita income in Orissa was 27% lower than in the rest of India, in 1997 it was 70% lower. The proportion of people below the poverty line is estimated at 47.13% compared with 26.1% in the whole of India’⁷⁹. Moreover, there are extensive disparities between the coastal and southern regions, which can be attributed to high concentration of Scheduled Tribe population in southern Orissa⁸⁰.

When contextualized in the above socio-economic scenario, long before the migrations swelled to an exodus, the National Commission on Rural Labour found (1991) there were ‘more than 10 million circular migrants in the rural areas alone. These include an estimated 4.5 million inter-State migrants and six million intra-State migrants.’⁸¹ However the NCRL report stands outdated, as it was in the 1990s that these numbers began to acquire gargantuan dimensions as never before. Lakhs of people began migrating to the other states to work as wage labourers, leading to a more permanent kind of migration wherein families often lost track of their loved ones, often never hearing again from them⁸². Moreover, state-wise figures of Census of India detailing 1991 and 2001 population of *Orissa*, also shows a migration rate of 0.7 (per 100) in 1991-2001, and a population growth rate of 16.25 (1991-2001)⁸³. On the other hand, *Rajasthan* exhibits a lesser migration rate of 0.6 (per 100) in 1991-2001, and a larger population growth rate of 28.41 (1991-2001).

⁷⁸ *Distress: A way of life in Kalahandi*, The Hindu, Online edition of India's National Newspaper, May 13, 2001

⁷⁹ Devi Prasad Mahapatra, *Labour Migration: A Shadow of Poverty in Orissa*, http://EzineArticles.com/?expert=Devi_Prasad_Mahapatra

⁸⁰ What is more, the Scheduled Tribe population in coastal area is 7.2% as against 39.7% in the southern region. So, poverty ratio in coastal region is 64.0% as against 85.5% in the southern region. For details see: Devi Prasad Mahapatra, *Labour Migration: A Shadow of Poverty in Orissa*, http://EzineArticles.com/?expert=Devi_Prasad_Mahapatra

⁸¹ P. Sainath, *The Millions Who Cannot Vote*, The Hindu, 15 March, 2004

⁸² The Adivasis, Harijans and backward class villagers have always been struggling for their basic need (i.e. food). After the harvest, the villagers who are engaged in paddy field become jobless. Following which, without second thought, they have to leave their villages and their homes in search of ‘work for food’ and start their journey to the neighbor states for working in construction, in weaving, in hotels or as rickshaw and cart pullers. ‘This is not a new story; it is being repeated every year since 1965’. For details see: Devi Prasad Mahapatra, *Labour Migration: A Shadow of Poverty in Orissa*, http://EzineArticles.com/?expert=Devi_Prasad_Mahapatra

⁸³ *Census of India 2001*, Data Highlights, MIGRATION TABLES, (D1, D1 (Appendix), D2 and D3 Tables), p 14

CHART 2

ORISSA

Number of persons migrated per 1000 persons of each category

Period since migrated	Female	Male
0 years rural persons	5	3
0 years urban persons	12	12
1-4 years rural persons	56	27
1-4 years urban persons	82	89
5-9 years rural persons	64	12
5-9 years urban persons	73	53
10 & above rural persons	275	27
10 & above urban persons	256	143
Total migrants	823	366

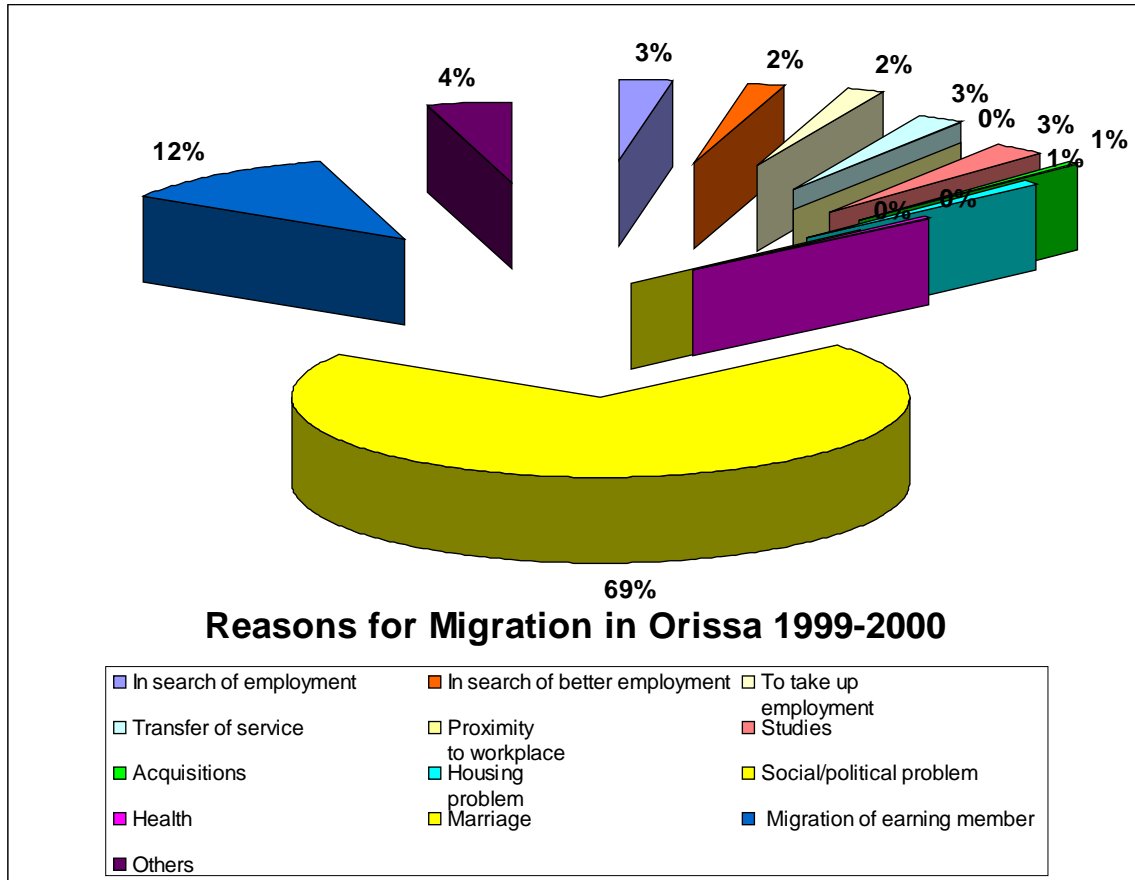
Adapted from the National Sample Survey 55th Round 1999-2000

However, migration has acquired a lethal edge following the devastation of agriculture in the last decade in Orissa. This has led to nil investment, collapse of the employment machinery, and spiraling of debt, thus shoving millions into the 'footloose army'⁸⁴. Unsurprisingly, seasonal migration has now become an important livelihood strategy for many Oriyas. Lakhs of poor tribal people and Dalits are migrating to distant towns in the State's coastal belt or outside to scrape a living⁸⁵. Chart 2, along with Figure 2, clearly highlights an increasing number of migrants undertaking migration due to compulsions induced by work and marriage. Moreover, this is further marked by a predominance of women migrants over men.

⁸⁴ The expression 'footloose army' is borrowed from: P. Sainath, *The Millions Who Cannot Vote*, The Hindu, 15 March, 2004, <http://www.hindu.com/2004>

⁸⁵ Prafulla Das, *Backwardness and a mood of cynicism :Cover Story*, Frontline, Volume21-Issue09, April24-May07, 2004

FIGURE 2



Adapted from the National Sample Survey 55th Round 1999-2000

Depleting the already bleak scenario, the middleman and the labour contractor better known as ‘sardar’, who organize the laborers into small groups, and send them to different destinations, has emerged as the new set of tormentors when the rural credit folded in early nineties. With the rich industrialists, brick-kilns owners, and the road contractors savoring the cheap and skilled labour, migration of people has now become a big business running into crores of rupees in this no-industrial belt. Consequently, this has led to a manifold multiplication of the miserable plight of these gullible laboureres, with many of the migrants having fewer guarantees, and lacking in local support systems while they are away⁸⁶. More so, since the deals are struck in Orissa, the labour machinery of a host state can't undertake any action against the contractors⁸⁷. Though, occasionally at a vulnerable time, the sardar do come to the rescue of the poor laborers by offering a

⁸⁶ *Coastal Migration and Mobility*, The Sustainable Coastal Livelihoods (SCL) Project, CLIPS, <http://www.ex.ac.uk/imm>

⁸⁷ Jaideep Hardikar, *Orissa's labour industry*, June 2004, [www.OrissaIndia Together - June 2004.htm](http://www.OrissaIndiaTogether.com)

loan, for anything from Rs. 5,000 to 20, 000⁸⁸, this instead becomes a gateway for the commencement of the migration cycle and for the repayment of debt by these migrant laborers.

Consequently, in recent times, out-migration from Orissa neither awaits any 'natural' calamity to occur, nor does it cater distinctly towards humanizing the lot of the migrant families⁸⁹. Hence, the seasonal migration of people to neighboring states, particularly to Andhra Pradesh, is a standard phenomenon especially during seasons when work is scarce locally⁹⁰. Most of the Oriya labourers known as 'Pathuria', migrate to Andhra Pradesh usually from November to May, to work in brick kiln. 'These pathurias are working in brick kilns with a rate of payment about Rs 80 for 1,000 bricks made. They work for 12 to 15 hours, sometimes 18 hours a day to get the wage (around Rs. 70 per day) more than the home state. The minimum wage for daily labour in Orissa is little more than Rs 50. The final settlement is made only when they are ready to leave that place'⁹¹. Furtheron, this final settlement includes deduction of all the payment including food expenses or any other expenditure. Consequently, sometimes the return journey traverses into the last journey for many of these migrant labourers. Moreover, making matters worse, those who cannot migrate also suffer. They battle hunger, succumb to starvation, and when pushed to the wall they sell their children to survive. Whereas various committees arriving in convoys to enquire, and investigate only serve to alienate them further from the State⁹².

V. MIGRATION IN RAJASTHAN

5.1 Rajasthan: The traditional patterns of migration in the state

The migration of men and livestock between complementary ecological zones has been a *traditional way of life* in Rajasthan ('land of kings')⁹³, and a frequent feature in the arid

⁸⁸ Devi Prasad Mahapatra, *Labour Migration: A Shadow of Poverty in Orissa*, http://EzineArticles.com/?expert=Devi_Prasad_Mahapatra

⁸⁹ *From the fields : Migration has Struck Deep Roots*, <http://www.labourfile.org/>

⁹⁰ P. Sainath, *The Millions Who Cannot Vote*, The Hindu, 15 March, 2004

⁹¹ When we talk about the law for migration issue, the only law, *the Interstate Migrant Workman Act, 1979*, formulated with particular attention to western Orissa, was applicable only to people who crossed state boundaries. Movements within the state did not fall within its purview. Its emphasis is on regulation of movement, not on welfare and security. And it is almost impossible to apply the law in favour of individuals. More so, there is still no state machinery to follow up on names and addresses, even if a worker is able to report them. For details see: Devi Prasad Mahapatra, *Labour Migration: A Shadow of Poverty in Orissa*, http://EzineArticles.com/?expert=Devi_Prasad_Mahapatra

⁹² Prafulla Das, *Eloquent images of struggle*, The Hindu, Online edition of India's National Newspaper, Aug 07, 2005

⁹³ <http://www.routledge.com/folklore/southasian/Rajasthan.pdf>

and semi-arid regions of the state⁹⁴. This can be contextualized within the wavering agricultural practice and depleted agricultural yield characteristic of the desert region, which has given way to 'pastoralism' for distributing the production risk. As a result, agriculture of large tracts of non-arable and marginal land, coupled with the use of seasonally fallow rain fed crop tracts as pastures forms, combines to support the region's rural economy. Subsequently, the process of migration has in fact emerged as an integral and far more reliable part of the region's agrarian economy.

Moreover, inheriting a diverse physiography, the state is replete with a non-nucleated and dispersed pattern of settlement⁹⁵. Herein, it is characterized by a highly skewed class-size distribution of landholdings: '50 percent of total numbers of landholdings are marginal or small, measuring less than two hectares in size. These cover only 10 percent of total area under cultivation'⁹⁶. In addition, the state exhibits tremendous regional and social variations, which mediate access to all resources, and are intricately linked with its ecological plane, while informing the emergent migration patterns.

Herein, one can sight the example of the pastoral region to the west of the Aravalli Range which is absolutely a separate ecosystem from the rest of the Rajasthan.⁹⁷ It stands in complete contrast when compared to southern Rajasthan which abounds with a history of bonded labour and exploitation within the tribal institutional framework⁹⁸. Migratory processes in the state further acquire pace, when foregrounded within the existing social fabric of the region. Here nomadic tribes who have been the traditional migrants, have had no citizen's rights, no visibility in the Census, and villages have often been unwilling to let them in and occupy revenue lands. And hence the journey for some of these social outcastes always remains devoid of any final destination. As a result, these mechanisms of caste accommodations and networks built over generations, provoked by the fragile eco-system and the arid environment, have largely induced migratory processes often taking place in clusters and networks⁹⁹.

Another important aspect of this 'transhumance migration' is pastoral migration, which constitutes an essential part of the ecosystem of Rajasthan. Pastoral groups usually migrate in huge groups, of hundreds or thousands, with cattle and all belongings. With the acquisition of cattle accomplishing considerable significance in the lives of the landless and marginal land holding population of the desert village, sheep husbandry has emerged as a significant means of livelihood for these groups¹⁰⁰. Moreover, even the

⁹⁴ Purnendu Kavoori, *Transhumance and Pastoralism*, Chapter III - Sources of Livelihoods in Rajasthan, <http://www.undp.org.in/hdrc/>

⁹⁵ *Rajasthan Human Development Report*, Rajasthan, 2002

⁹⁶ *ibid*

⁹⁷ *Migration, Trafficking and Sites of Work: Rights and Vulnerabilities*, A pilot study: Report of initial findings in Rajasthan and Gujrat, Jagori, New Delhi

⁹⁸ *ibid*

⁹⁹ *Migration, Trafficking and Sites of Work: Rights and Vulnerabilities*, A pilot study: Report of initial findings in Rajasthan and Gujrat, Jagori, New Delhi

¹⁰⁰ Purnendu Kavoori, *Transhumance and Pastoralism*, Chapter III - Sources of Livelihoods in Rajasthan, <http://www.undp.org.in/hdrc/>

dependence of the marginal groups on migratory sheep husbandry extends far beyond those keeping flocks, to those, 'that provide support services, such as roving bands of sheep shearers, buyers of sick and tired animals and mobile wool merchants'.

In a normal year, migration begins sometime in October, with the monsoons heralding the return of the flock to their home tracts. The direction of migration is usually towards areas bordering Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat¹⁰¹. 'Estimates are that about 45 % of the total sheep flocks in the state migrate. Over 2 lakh families are considered to be dependent on migratory sheep husbandry for their livelihood though some argue that this figure might well be a conservative estimate'¹⁰². *Sirohi*, Barmer, Bikaner, Churu, Jaisalmer, Jalore, Nagaur, Pali, and to some extent, Ajmer are some of the districts from which migration mainly takes place in the state¹⁰³.

5.2 An overview of distress migration in and from Rajasthan: the drought and the mutation of the traditional migratory pattern into distress

In the recent times, recurrent monsoon irregularities have resulted in extended periods of drought that periodically threaten the well-being of livestock and human populace inhabiting the state, and have simultaneously wreaked havoc on the traditional pattern of migration of labour¹⁰⁴. Following which, the last three years of the recurrent drought in Rajasthan and in the neighbouring States as well have been devastating, affecting over 3.3 crores of the population. With vanishing livelihood many villages are suffering from acute crises and severe malnutrition. All the more, with almost every family owning livestock, cattle have started perishing, due to the paucity of green fodder. Even the government admits that the immediate fallout of the drought has led to a burgeoning rate of unemployment, 'especially among the landless agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers, families below poverty line (BPL) and rural artisans'¹⁰⁵ as well.

Meanwhile, drought-affected people have paid an enormous price for this stalemate. In most of the villages, the number of persons seeking employment on relief works far exceeds the number of jobs available. 'According to a recent survey of 105 hamlets in

¹⁰¹ Purnendu Kavoori, *Transhumance and Pastoralism*, Chapter III - Sources of Livelihoods in Rajasthan, <http://www.undp.org.in/hdrc/>

¹⁰² *ibid*

¹⁰³ As a result seasonal labour migration of bhil adivasis (the rural tribal communities of the borderlands of south Rajasthan, and eastern Gujarat) in western India for casual work in urban construction and related industries has also increased. For details see: David Mosse, Sanjeev Gupta, Vidya Shah, *On the Margins in the City Adivasi Seasonal Labour Migration in Western India*, EPW Special Articles, July 9, 2005

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.routledge-ny.com/folklore/southasian/Rajasthan.pdf>

¹⁰⁵ T.K. Rajalakshmi, *From bad to worse in Rajasthan*, Frontline, Volume 20 - Issue 09, April 26 - May 09, 2003

drought-affected areas of Rajasthan, in April-May this year eight persons were seeking employment on relief works for every person actually employed'¹⁰⁶. Moreover, women of all ages constitute a sizeable majority of any labour force engaged in relief work. Following which, the young children accompanying them are also exposed to high-risk conditions during the day. Figure 3, which details the various reasons for migration in Rajasthan shows that as many as 41% of the people have reported to migrate with their complete households, with over 30% sighting work and employment as the second important reason. More so, as exemplified by Chart 3, women outnumber men in migration, something which is similar to Orissa¹⁰⁷. If not anything else, these figures are a blatant confirmation of the intense misery infecting the migrants in the state.

CHART 3

RAJASTHAN

Number of persons migrated per 1000 persons of each category

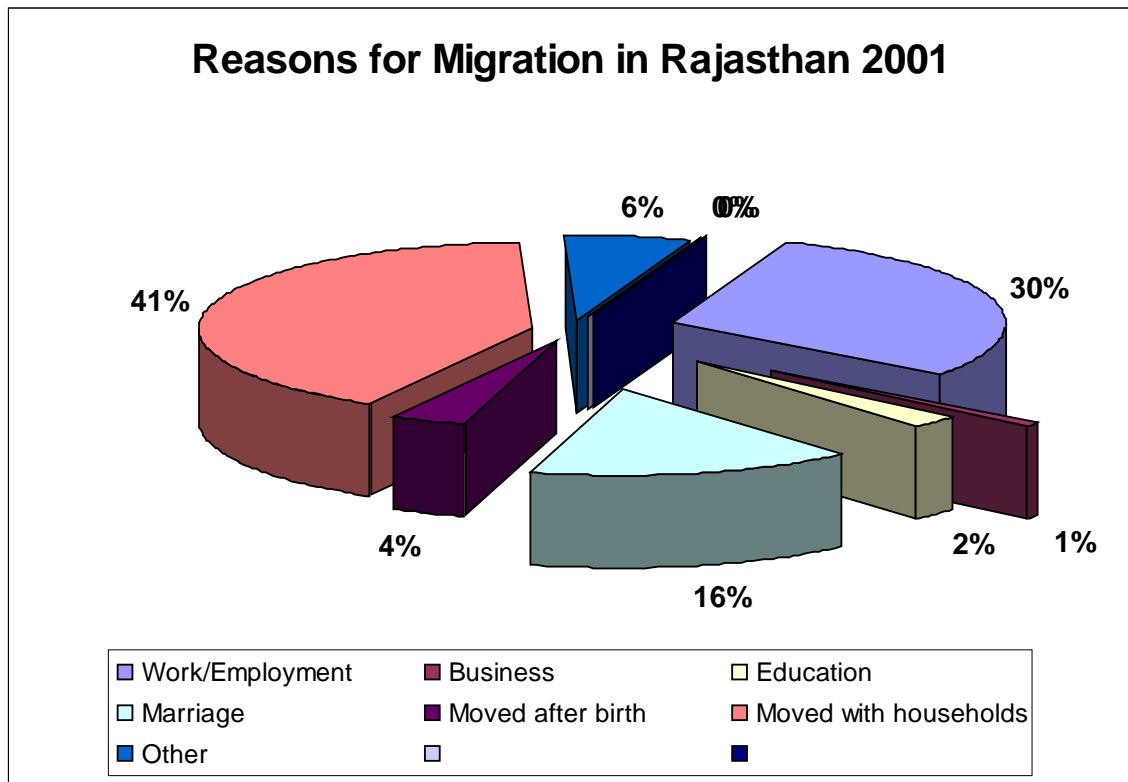
Period since migrated	Female	Male
0 years rural persons	9	4
0 years urban persons	20	13
1-4 years rural persons	84	17
1-4 years urban persons	107	77
5-9 years rural persons	78	11
5-9 years urban persons	92	55
10 & above rural persons	352	32
10 & above urban persons	262	103
Total migrants	1004	312

Adapted from the National Sample Survey 55th Round 1999-2000

¹⁰⁶ The pitiable plight of these drought affected people seeking employment in relief works was further worsened with the introduction of draconian ceilings on the numbers employed on relief works in 200. This was a blatant violation of Rajasthan's famine code, which clearly stipulated (Clause 75) that every person who comes for relief work shall be provided with work. For more details see: Jean Dreze, *From food-for-work to fight-for-work*, The Hindu, Online edition of India's National Newspaper, June 14, 2001

¹⁰⁷ See CHART 2

FIGURE 3



Adapted from the Census of India 2001

Subsequently, the existent high levels of ecological stress upon land, water and forests resources of the State have been multiplied by encroachment from the more powerful interest groups¹⁰⁸. The precarious situation of these migrants is further compounded by the increased levels of urban poverty, as compared to rural poverty levels. This is coupled with the high rates of growth of urban population (40 percent 1981-91), in contrast with that of rural population (22.9 percent)¹⁰⁹ leading to urban congestion as the cost of migration to be borne by the society at large. These constrictions are further compounded by 'bureaucratic inertia, infrastructural bottlenecks, lack of communication between Ministries', and the 'blame game' between the Central and State Governments. With constructive efforts to resolve these differences being few, the state governments complain of insufficient food allotments from the Centre. The Centre, for its part, holds

¹⁰⁸ The influence of these interest groups is not limited to the economic spectrum only. It extends into the social domain and critical sectors of education as well. As a result of which the present educational system is largely enforcing the basic socio-economic structure with its 'social hierarchy and flagrant inequalities'. With the expansion taking place in laissez faire style largely, and denied of purposeful interventions, education is confined to large central villages. For details see: Mohd Akhtar Husain, *Access to Schooling in Rural Areas: A Case of Selected Villages of Rajasthan*, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 11, No. 7. July, 1983, pp. 50-57

¹⁰⁹ *Rajasthan Human Development Report*, Rajasthan, 2002

the State Governments accountable for failing to make full use of their existing allotments.¹¹⁰

Moreover, the agonizing plight of these migrants is reflected in their willingness to accept a lower wage in the village and their compliance to bear the costs of migration along with the hostile and exploitative environs post-migration¹¹¹. To begin with, migration traverses into an expensive journey, with massive transport costs, uncertain earnings, health hazards, and increased costs of living in urban areas coupled with poor living conditions. Subsequently, migration leads to a complete upheaval and emotional turmoil in the social life, which is true both in the case of migration of men alone and of entire families as well. However the situation worsens manifold with migration of entire families, with children having to be removed from schools into precarious environments, and women becoming far more susceptible to sexual exploitation. This has happened in the case of carpet industries which were shut down for use of child labor, and have since relocated to Rajasthan and started employing women¹¹².

The situation above represents the plight of migrants in the rural areas. However, the cities have not been far removed from the adverse multiplier effect migration has had on the urban centers. Even here, one can witness tremendous spurt in begging, increased number of rikshaw pullers, women in prostitution, swelling suburbs and slum settlements and labor in 'chokti's'. 'Chokti is the local name given to particular places in the city where labourers, most of whom have migrated from the rural areas, assemble in the early morning to provide their services to contractors who come looking for casual, daily wage labour in their worksites'¹¹³. 'Where there were once 100 people in one place, there are now 250-300 people in the same place. Often the whole family is there to provide for labour'. Nevertheless, these chokti's are also castigated by the falling work available, and the resurgence of the mafia builders who are now playing a predominant role in exploiting these workers¹¹⁴.

Moreover, with the volume of migrants into cities increasing phenomenally, the wave of seasonal migration has also eclipsed women, who are now compelled to go into cities looking for wage labour. Herein exists a unique phenomenon, that of seasonal migration of young tribal adolescent girls to work primarily in the cotton picking fields of Gujrat or to Udaipur city, and also, other sectors such as the tobacco industries, oil pressing mills, and for cleaning out-machinery during the dry months¹¹⁵. However, in the year 2001, an

¹¹⁰ Jean Dreze, *Starving the poor – II*, The Hindu, February 27, 2001

¹¹¹ Reetika Khera, *Employment guarantee and migration*, The Hindu, July 13, 2006

¹¹² *ibid*

¹¹³ *Migration, Trafficking and Sites of Work: Rights and Vulnerabilities*, A pilot study: Report of initial findings in Rajasthan and Gujrat, Jagori, New Delhi

¹¹⁴ *ibid*

¹¹⁵ *ibid*

interesting episode was captured in print, which has been oft re-telecasted in the lives of these migrants. These girls returned empty-handed chiefly because drought conditions and water scarcity had affected construction work and the availability of employment. Ironically, 'It is said that in Gujarat the owners of cotton fields sent them back saying that they should ask the Rajasthan government to provide them work'¹¹⁶.

VI. THE GENDER DIMENSION OF MIGRATION IN INDIA: a brief review

Issues pertaining to gender remain unvoiced in a large part of the early literature on migration. Here migration has often been taken to be chiefly a male movement, with women either being residual in the process, or ascribed as followers dependent on their men folk. However, a numerical analysis of migratory figures shows that women have migrated in almost the same numbers as men, i.e. 'in the year 2000, there were 85 million female migrants as compared to the 90 million male migrants'¹¹⁷. In addition women account for 46% of the overall international migration from developing countries, with Asia having the largest number of international migrants¹¹⁸.

Moreover, experience itself shows that migration plays a significant role in spurting new opportunities for improving women's lives and changing oppressive gender relations to their benefit. Migration can thus prove to be a critical source of income for migrant women, thereby promoting increased self-confidence, far more autonomy, and instigating upward social mobility. Nonetheless, tamed to perfection with the burden it carries, migration is undoubtedly a complex movement. Herein, migration can also embed traditional roles and disparities, and dig out new vulnerabilities for women resulting in a rickety legal status, and complete exclusion. Moreover, when migrating, women migrants have to confront gender-biased procedures, and corrupt agents, while, post migration brings new social stigmas and discrimination at each level of the migration cycle¹¹⁹. Thus, migratory processes when foregrounded in the above context strongly reaffirm the need to analyze *migration* within the social milieu reflecting the differential experiences of women and men in a gendered world.

However, a profound analysis of the factors above has always eluded the early literature on migration. It is this limited attention paid to the presence of women in the migration stock, and their contribution thereof, which the gender perspective on migration seeks to overcome. Following which, the recent literature links female migration to gender specific patterns of labour demand in cities, particularly in both South East Asian, and

¹¹⁶ T.K. Rajalakshmi, *Rajasthan's Thirst*, Frontline, Volume 18 - Issue 06, Mar. 17 - 30,2001

¹¹⁷ Jolly, Bell and Narayanswamy (2003), as quoted in: Meenakshi Thapan, ed., *Woman and Migration in Asia: Transnational migration and the Politics of Identity*, Ed., Vol. 1, Sage publications, New Delhi, 2005

¹¹⁸ *ibid*

¹¹⁹ Susie Jolly with Hazel Reeves, *Gender and Migration: Overview Report*, BRIDGE, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9RE, 2005

Latin American cities¹²⁰. Herein, women now are no longer mere passive movers as against the migrating household head¹²¹. With daughters being sent to towns to work as domestic servants¹²², girls are becoming economically independent from an early age. They live in the cities on their own and send remittances home, thus promoting 'autonomous female migration'.¹²³

Though, in contrast, some studies have indicated that the autonomous movement of South Asian and Middle Eastern young women as labour migrants is relatively quite rare, and is allied to 'derogatory status connotations'¹²⁴. Nevertheless, a closer look of the Census of India data has quite a different story to tell. It is the females who dominate in rural-rural migration, constituting 80% of the aggregate, both in 1981 and 1991 census. More so, a comparison between 1981 and 1991 census of rural-urban migration strongly indicates a relative rise in female migration to urban areas¹²⁵, in alignment with general economic development. This is also visible in the improved share of women in urban-urban migration in 1991 census over 1981, and Urban-rural migration as well, wherein the majority of women are believed to migrate only on marriage.

A study¹²⁶ of NSSO 55th Round Report for the states of Orissa and Rajasthan further reveals:

- 1) High Urban female migration in Rajasthan, as compared to rural female migration. Orissa on the other hand, exhibits least mobility among its urban females.
- 2) More so, Rajasthan comprises one of the predominantly male migration states, as far as rural migration is concerned. While, such predominant male migration is witnessed in the case of Orissa specifically with regard to urban migration¹²⁷.

¹²⁰ Fernandez-Kelly & Maria Patricia, (1983), and Khoo Siew-Ean, (1984), in *Gender Dimensions in Rural-Urban Migration in India: Policy Imperatives*

¹²¹ J.T.Fawcett, S.Khoo and P.C. Smith, *Women in the Cities of Asia: Migration and Urban Adaptation*, Westview Press Boulder, Colorado, 1984, and, M.S.A. Rao, (Ed) *Studies in Differentiation: Internal and International Migration in India*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1986

¹²² Lourdes Arizpe, *Relay Migration and the Survival of the Peasant Household*, (ed) Jorge Balan, Why People Move, UNESCO Press, Paris, 1981

¹²³ V.Thadani and M.Todaro, *Female Migration: A Conceptual Framework*, in Fawcett et al (1984).

¹²⁴ J.T.Fawcett, S.Khoo and P.C. Smith, *Women in the Cities of Asia: Migration and Urban Adaptation*, Westview Press Boulder, Colorado, 1984

¹²⁵ Source: *Census of India 1981: Migration Tables Part V-A and B (I)*, Office of the RGI and Census Commissioner GOI New Delhi. And, *Census of India 1991 Migration Tables, Vol II Part I*, from NIUA, *Urban Statistics Handbook 2000*, New Delhi, 2000, pp15-16.

¹²⁶ *Gender Dimensions in Rural-Urban Migration in India: Policy Imperatives*

- 3) Further on in Rajasthan, females constitute an equal number in urban migration, while, they constitute only 21% in rural migration. Amongst the less developed states, Orissa stands on the other extreme with least female participation in urban migration¹²⁸.
- 4) However, due to low levels of urbanization, states like Bihar and Orissa witness high rural to rural migration, when compared to urban to urban migration. Moreover, these migration streams from Orissa are largely dominated by men, which can be attributed to cultural and economic factors at work.

Nevertheless looking at the larger picture, a number of young Asian women provoked by trade liberalization, have now been enthused into joining the migration streams in groups or with their families to ‘cash- in’ the opportunity brought with the increase in gender specific labour demand, and new economic policies in India¹²⁹. This is believed to aggravate independent movement of numerous young women in India which Thadani and Todaro characterize to be heralding the ‘autonomous female migration’ in the country¹³⁰. Moreover, though this does not portend well with women development, yet, it has not dissuaded women from contributing to family survival, while allowing the men sufficient leisure in finding a suitable job or improving their skill¹³¹. This further explains the ‘family migration’ of the 1990s tipping over ‘male selective migration’ in the 1980s. This is reinstated with the large percentage of females migrating with households in the state of Rajasthan, as illustrated in Figure 4.

¹²⁷ Source: NSSO 55th Round Report, and *Gender Dimensions in Rural-Urban Migration in India: Policy Imperatives*

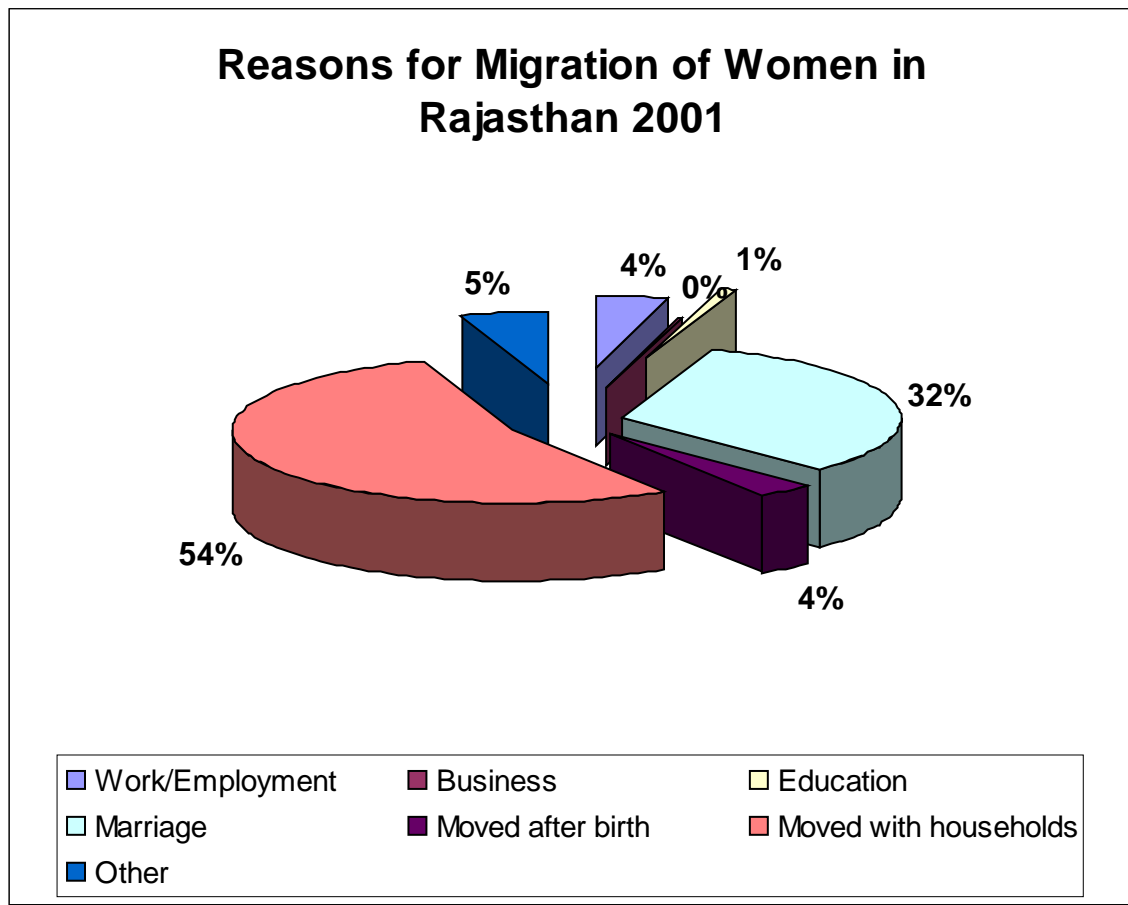
¹²⁸ Furthermore, though household and childcare responsibilities at home act as impediments for women workers, thus further castigating them in the labour market due to paucity of fixed-time for work. This has also resulted in further weakening of their position in terms of earnings and occupations. ‘It is sometimes claimed that labour markets adapt so as to allow women to combine paid work with unpaid work... But, this kind of adaptation is one-sided – more designed to allow the productive economy access to workers whose entry into the labour market is constrained by domestic responsibilities than to give weight to the contribution that women’s unpaid work makes to the productive economy’. Also see: Elson (1999), as quoted in Jeemol Unni and Uma Rani, *Gender, informality and poverty*, Seminar

¹²⁹ Kabeer (2000) in her study finds Bangladeshi women (with a long tradition of female seclusion) taking up jobs in garment factories and joining the labour markets of Middle East and South East Asian Countries. Moreover, recent migration research shows that female migrant’s constitute roughly half of all internal migrants in developing countries. In some regions they even predominate over men. (Hugo1993). For details see: *Gender Dimensions in Rural-Urban Migration in India: Policy Imperatives*

¹³⁰ V.Thadani and M.Todaro, *Female Migration: A Conceptual Framework*, in Fawcett et al (1984).

¹³¹ K.Shanthi, *Female Mobility and Gender Dimensions in Labour Migration*, Institute for Economic Development, Discussion Paper Series No 32, Boston University, Boston, Nov. 1993 .

FIGURE 4



Adapted from the Census of India 2001

Following which, the number of women farmers in Rajasthan has also witnessed a dramatic increase, registering an overall growth rate of 86 percent between 1981 and 1991. However, a further prodding of the creamy numbers is all it takes to reveal, that much of the increase in the aggregate employment share of women is as a consequence of distress in agriculture forcing women to migrate to construction sites, mining and quarrying. Moreover, women do not appear to have gained much from diversification of employment that has taken place in the last decade in Rajasthan. 'In fact, in 1991 only 7.4 percent of workers in Rural Non Farm Sector (RNFS) were women'. A gender bias in current trends of employment diversification and increased 'feminisation of poverty' is thus clearly visible¹³².

Nevertheless, the footprints of migration are expected to bear an empowering impact on women in terms of increased labour force participation, economic independence, decline in fertility, and advanced self esteem. But as apparent from the statistics above, female

¹³² Rajasthan Human Development Report, 2002

rural to urban migrants are still vulnerable to gender based discrimination which reserves the most unskilled, and monotonous jobs for women within the inequitably segmented labour market. All the more, they are inevitably trapped in the vicious circle of long working hours at very low income, dangerous working conditions, and physical and sexual aggression pervading the informal sector, to which they are largely relegated¹³³.

This is also evident from the innumerable cases of many tribal girls from Orissa being duped by relatives and agents and sold to brothels in Delhi and Mumbai. Consequently, migrant tribal girls find it difficult to get married within tribal societies, as people suspect she could be HIV positive, also known as the dreaded 'Delhi disease'. This results into a social boycott of the girl; with her family also at times being socially ostracized¹³⁴. Furthermore, the tribal women and girls who do resist financial exploitation by employers have to face harsh consequences, with the resistance having little impact on the employers¹³⁵. Evidently, these women are the worst sufferers, for having to migrate largely as dependents (Figure 5), or else face a gruesome fate on undertaking autonomous migration.

Evidently, migration is far from being a free floating, and uncontrolled process. It is regulated to a large extent by the societal structures and the state from the very beginning. The channeling of immigrants into the limited work options is thus controlled, and engendered by the state, and the larger social institutions, which pervade into the everyday lives of the migrants. Herein, despite women negotiating with the state, the traditional social order does play a predominant role in informing their identities¹³⁶.

In addition, despite the noble intents, the gender perspective on migration also carries some inherent shortfalls. Over the years migration literature has grown in leaps and bounds, in response to the unfolding complexities of migratory processes. Yet, only a few studies carry out an in-depth study of the movement of women, particularly in relation to poverty¹³⁷. Furtheron, though research studies on migration profess to be gender-neutral, yet, they end up employing migration models drawn heavily on the experiences of men.

¹³³ *Gender Dimensions in Rural-Urban Migration in India: Policy Imperatives*

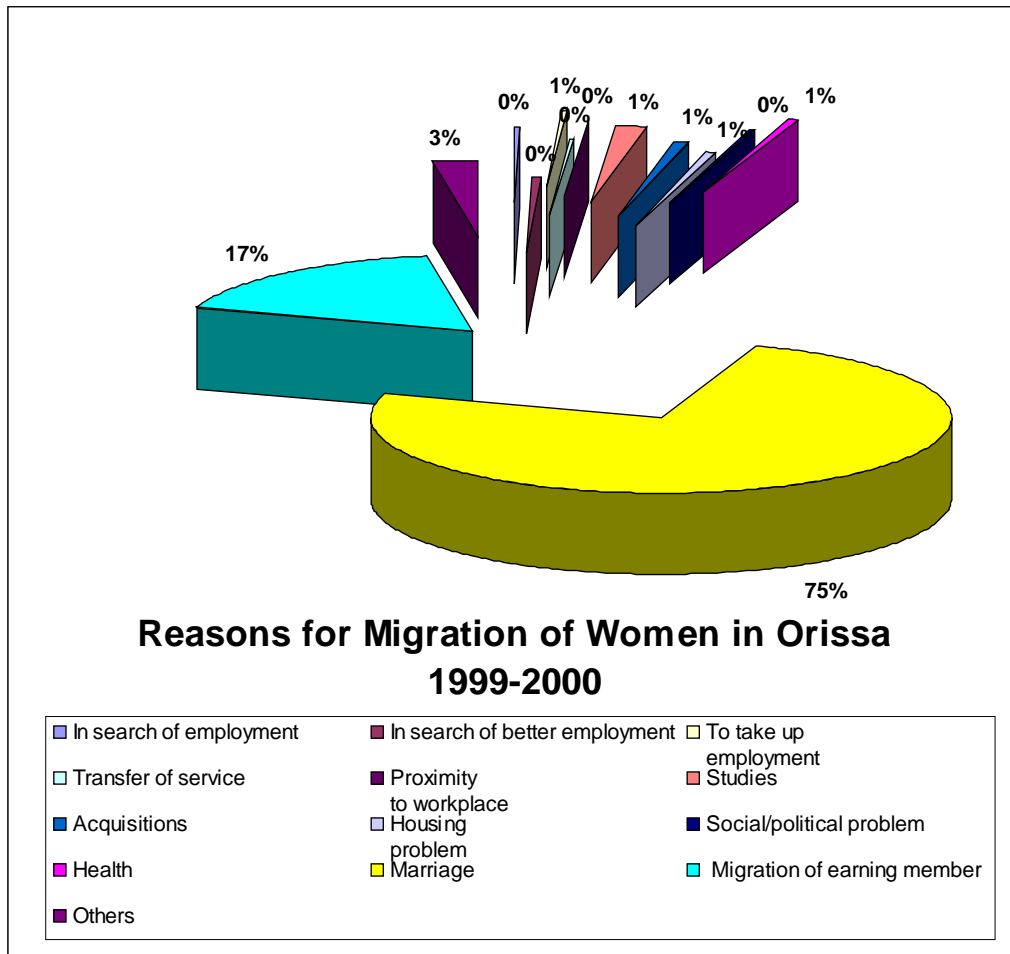
¹³⁴ It indeed appeared from the study that *Sundargarh* district had become a wholesale market for buying girls to serve the sex bazaars of urban centres. The observations made by family members, relatives and social activists showed that many illiterate and ignorant tribal girls are indeed migrating (or being lured) for such reasons. For details see: Vikas Jha, *A New Story of Exploitation Migration of Orissa's Tribal Women*, EPW Commentary, April 9, 2005

¹³⁵ *A Research Study On Migrant Tribal Women Girls in Ten Cities : A Study of Their Socio-Cultural and Economic Reference to Social Intervention*, A research study report, Submitted To Planning Commission, Government Of India, New Delhi, by Tirpude College of Social Work, Civil Lines, Sadar.

¹³⁶ Meenakshi Thapan, ed., *Woman and Migration in Asia: Transnational migration and the Politics of Identity*, Ed., Vol. 1, Sage publications, New Delhi, 2005

¹³⁷ The work of Connell, one of the earliest of the studies in migration engages in a detailed discussion on women's migration. While, Fernandez-Kelly and Khoo concentrate on women and work both migrant and non-migrant in the world's labour force. They discuss the problem in the wider context of problem of

FIGURE 5



Adapted from the National Sample Survey 55th Round 1999-2000

As a result, women are relegated to being dependents,¹³⁸ while they constitute the principal wage earners in numerous poor migrant households. Thus, it is all the more imperative that far more stress is laid in understanding migration among females, not only as a poverty reducing strategy, but also as a vehicle for economic diversification, upward mobility and as an essential gateway to personal growth and well-being¹³⁹.

feminisation of the work force, de-skilling and devaluation of manufacturing work. For details see: *Gender Dimensions in Rural-Urban Migration in India: Policy Imperatives*

¹³⁸ 2004 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development: Women and International Migration, Department of economic and Social Affairs, Division for the Advancement of Women, United Nations, 2005

¹³⁹ Sen states that, 'The expansion of women's capabilities not only enhances women's own freedom and well-being but also has many other effects on the lives of all. An enhancement of women's active agency can in many circumstances contribute substantially to the lives of all people. –men as well as women,

VII. CONCLUSION

Movement of labour is propelling the economy of India probably more than at any time in the past,¹⁴⁰ whether it is from villages to towns and cities, within and across districts, or even through the porous borders of the nation and the state. Though it is mostly short-term and oft repeated, yet destinations may change. And while it has already resulted in profound changes in the lives and work patterns of ordinary Indians, these changes have yet to be aptly tapped and addressed by public policy processes.

Economic considerations vis-à-vis the social factors at play:

The ways in which these migratory flows have contributed to macro-economic stability of the country are innumerable. They include the inflow of remittances by Indians working abroad, dependence of large construction activities in Indian cities on labour drawn from villages, migrants from eastern borders of India occupying many service sector occupations, and even formal industries relying on migrant workers to fill in the 'casual labour' slots in their workforce¹⁴¹.

Nevertheless, the profundity of economic considerations apart, which are believed to play a predominant role in determining migration, it are the immensely significant, yet, profoundly undermined social and cultural factors which have had a decisive influence in moulding it. This is blatantly visible in the evolution of a culture of migration on the Indian social fabric. Migration subsequently has become so deeply rooted in the cultural landscape of states, that it has rapidly entered the calculus of conscious choice, and acquired an essentially normative character. More so, the relationship between the village and various places of overseas migration is neither one of simple economic dependency, nor one-way traffic. Herein, goods and people move back and forth between locations, with consumption proving to be central to migrants for reinventing themselves. Out-migration consequently becomes cultural in the sense that the aspirations to migrate are transmitted across generations and between people through social networks.

As a result, young men now particularly come to see migration as a normal part of their life course and a profound marker of their transition from adolescence to manhood, with women increasingly having to cope with the long-term absence of male household members. Furthermore, this has particularly led to a decline in the importance of the village as a status reference point as opposed to the growing 'rural cosmopolitanism'¹⁴². However, this also brings along the inequality which becomes simultaneously the cause

children, as well as adults'. For details see: Amartya Sen, *Many faces of Gender Inequality*, Frontline, Vol. 18, No. 22, Oct/Nov. 2001

¹⁴⁰ Jayati Ghosh, *Migration and public policy*, Frontline, Volume 22 - Issue 10, May 07-20,2005

¹⁴¹ *ibid*

¹⁴² Filippo Osella and Katy Gardner, Ed. *Migration, Modernity and Social Transformation in South Asia*, Contributions to Indian Sociology Occasional Studies 11, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004

and effect of migration in sending communities. Subsequently, this has also generated serious disharmony and dissensions detrimental to the traditional family structure - symbolizing family solidarity, greater attachment to the soil and settlement.

The fate of migrants, women, and the left behind:

The underlying reality nonetheless being very promising, post-migration, has nonetheless accentuated the problems of these migrants, following the deeply entrenched unbalanced urbanization and extreme urban decay. The massive rural to metropolitan migration of distressed people constitutes a typical characteristic of out-migration from Orissa and Rajasthan¹⁴³, leading to acute urban involution, congestion and decay. More so, with the severe constraints characterizing the employment-generating capacity under capital-intensive industrialization within these metropolises, the incoming illiterate and unskilled migrants are absorbed only in very poorly paid urban informal sectors¹⁴⁴. Moving from rural poverty to urban poverty in fact, the masses of illiterate and unskilled labour migrants have no other alternatives, but to earn their dismal living in urban centers by performing odd jobs.

The situation of women migrants is all the more miserable. What is more, there are more women undertaking this type of insecure movement, with often dire consequences. Clearly, this kind of migration is fraught with hazards especially for women, who thereby expose themselves to the possibility of sexual exploitation and violence, in addition to other problems. There are many cases of women and even young girls being physically violated. Many of these go unreported, as the local police often do not bother too much to register these incidents in which the victimized constitute the poor people from other areas¹⁴⁵.

The fate of the family left behind and communities is another concern which stems from what has been called the 'feminization' of migration in the region with more and more Asian women, traditionally caregivers in the family are on the move. As female migrants begin to outnumber male migrants in several parts of the country¹⁴⁶, Asian families are also increasingly facing a 'care crises'. This emerging phenomenon strictly requires a profound rethinking of the nature of vulnerable groups among the 'left behind', and the requisite policy processes for their well-being.

Legislation, governance reforms, and the political compulsions at work:

¹⁴³ Shekhar Mukherji, *Internal Migration – Social Processes and National Patterns Low Quality Migration in India : the phenomena of distressed migration and acute urban decay*, 24th IUSSP conference, Salvador, Brazil, Session 80, August 2001

¹⁴⁴ Shekhar Mukherji, *Mechanisms of Underdevelopment, Labour Migration and Planning Strategies in India*, Prajna, Calcutta, 1981, pp. 1-265 and, *State of India's Urbanization*, National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA), New Delhi, 1988, pp.68-70.

¹⁴⁵ Jayati Ghosh, *Migration and public policy*, Frontline, Volume 22 - Issue 10, May 07 - 20, 2005

¹⁴⁶ Liem Nguyen, Brenda S. A. Yeoh and Mika Toyota, *Migration and the well-being of the 'left behind' in Asia*, Asian Population Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 2006

Migrant labour is recruited from various parts of a particular state through contractors or agents for work outside that state in large construction and other projects. As a result, this system is immensely prone to abuse, with long working hours and extremely harsh conditions of work for the laborers¹⁴⁷. Legislation itself is prone to failure because regulatory authorities are over-stretched, the state lacks commitment and migrant workers are weak and vulnerable with little support from civil society. With most migrant labourers employed in the unorganised sector, the lack of regulation therein multiplies their vulnerability.

Though the Indian Constitution does contain basic provisions relating to the conditions of employment, nondiscrimination, right to work, yet, these provisions and commitments, along with pressure from workers' organisations, have found little expression in labour laws and policies. Labour laws aiming to protect migrant workers have remained largely on paper. As is the case with the 1979 Act, few contractors have taken licences and very few enterprises employing interstate migrant workers have registered under the Act¹⁴⁸. The record of prosecutions and dispute settlement has been very weak. Moreover, migrant workers do not possess pass books, prescribed by law, and forming the basic record of their identity and their transactions with the contractor and employers.

Aruna Roy of the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sanghatan, spearheading a 'right to information' campaign in Rajasthan, further asserts that the political compulsions and core constituencies of the party in power still stand unchanged, the major administrative bottlenecks still remain, and corruption is even more rampant now¹⁴⁹. Moreover, the pervasiveness of scarcity cutting across the wide geographic Indian plane makes for a forecast of mounting misery. Herein, it is all the more imperative that we realize that a "...good civil service is necessary, but insufficient for good governance; a bad civil service is sufficient, but not necessary for bad governance. Governance reforms are intractable under a 'kleptocracy' that exploits national wealth for its own benefit and is, by definition, uninterested in transparency and accountability"¹⁵⁰.

More than anything else, the present scenario represents a challenge to one's basic sense of humanity itself. With migration still being 'one of the most important methods of diversifying rural livelihoods'¹⁵¹, migrants nevertheless often end up being denied their

¹⁴⁷ For details see: <http://www.labourfile.org/cec1/cec>

¹⁴⁸ S.K. Sasikumar and Ravi Srivastava, *An overview of migration in India, its impacts and key issues*, Migration Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices In Asia, www.livelihoods.org

¹⁴⁹ *The ground realities, A first-round study of the drought situation in some of the badly affected States, in the north and the west: Rajasthan, Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra*, A Frontline Team, Frontline, Volume 19 - Issue 17, August 17 - 30, 2002

¹⁵⁰ N. C. Saxena, *Improving Service Delivery*, Seminar, Special issue on 'New Priorities', September, no 541, pp 49-53

¹⁵¹ F.Ellis, *Household Strategies and Rural Livelihood Diversification*, *Journal of Development Studies* 35(1): 1-38, as quoted in: Clare Waddington, *Livelihood Outcomes of Migration for Poor People*, Working Paper T1, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, December 2003, <http://www.migrationdrc.org>

most fundamental rights. Distress economic migration, of relatively short-term nature, is now a perpetual feature of the Indian social plane. Though it does contribute to macroeconomic stability, yet, at the same time it imposes tremendous costs on those forced to undertake it. It is imperative that policymakers and the public become more sensitive to its manifold implications, and took requisite measures for ensuring that migration provoked by distress did not degenerate into further trauma.

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Chapter 3 Abu Road

a. About Sirohi District

Socio-Demographic Information on State, District and Rajasthan:

Sirohi district¹ is situated in the south west part of Rajasthan. It is bounded by district Pali in the north-east, district Udaipur in the east, Jalore in the west and Banaskantha district in Gujarat in the south. It is one of the smaller districts of Rajasthan with a total geographical area of 5139 sq. kms, which is 1.5 percent of the total area of the state. This is one of the six districts selected for the implementation of NREGA.

The district is one of the drought prone areas of the state and in the past few years the average rainfall (73.5cm) has been on the decline. For Abu Road the average rainfall is 80.6cm. This has important implications for agriculture in the area since it is mostly rain fed.



The district has 5 *tehsils*. Abu Road which has been selected for the study is one of the *tehsils*. It has 25 panchayats and 81 (revenue) villages.

The chapter is divided as follows: Section 3.1 discusses the secondary data pertaining to the block, district and the state, Section 3.2 presents the methodology and Section 3.4 presents findings from the household survey.

¹ www.sirohi.nic.in

Section 2.1: Census information about Sirohi district

Table 1: Basic Demographic and socio-economic indicators of Sirohi district, Rajasthan and Abu Road.

Indicators	Sirohi	Rajasthan	Abu Road
Population	850756	56507188	184487
Average annual exponential growth rate	0.02630	0.02494	-
Population density (per Sq Km)	165	166	127
Sex ratio (females per 1000 males)	944	921	802
Percent urban	17.8	23.4	-
Percent Scheduled caste	19.1	17.2	-
Percent Scheduled tribe	24.8	12.6	-
Percent of literate population age 7+ years:			
Person	54.4	60.4	43.55
Male	70.6	76.5	59.43
Female	37.4	43.9	26.41

Sources: Census of India (2001), <http://www.rchindia.org/rep/raj/sirohi/chep1.pdf>
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The population of Sirohi district is 850,756 which is 1.51 percent of the state's population whereas Abu Road has 21.68 percent of the district's population. Its density at 165 persons per sq. km is roughly the same as the state's figure of 166 but for the block it is much lower with a figure of 127 persons per sq.km. The sex ratio of Abu Road stands at 802 as compared to the state's and the district's sex ratio of 921 and 944 respectively. Around 43.9 percent of the population in the district consist of SC and ST communities. The individual percentages are 19.1 percent for SC and 24.8 percent for ST vis-à-vis 17.2 percent and 12.6 percent respectively at the state level. Literacy rate for the block is 43.5 percent which is lower than the district level rate of 54.2 percent and the state level rate of 60.4 percent. The female literacy rate (26.4 percent) in the block is almost half of the male literacy rate (59.4 percent). This is true for both district as well as state level literacy rates for females.

Table-2 indicates that the percentage of workers in Abu Road block is 39.1 percent as against district and state average of 40.4 percent and 42.0 percent respectively. The percentage of women workers in the block stands at 25.7 percent as compared to the district and state average of 30.1 percent and 33.5 percent. This shows that the concentration of workers in general and female workers in specific is less in the block as compared to the district and state average. Rural women constitute 19.6 percent of the main workers in Abu Road. As far as marginal workers are concerned, 15.5 percent of the women are marginal as against 4.7 percent men.

Table 2: Distribution of Main, Marginal and Non-workers in Abu Road, Sirohi and Rajasthan

			Total population	Total workers	Main workers	Marginal workers	Non-workers
Rajasthan	Total	Persons	56507188	23766655	17436888	6329767	32740533
		Males	29420011	14695802	12841318	1854484	14724029
		Females	27087177	9070853	4595570	4475283	18016324
	Rural	Persons	43292813	19856423	13962042	5894381	23436390
		Males	22426640	11379536	9771540	1607996	11047104
		Females	20866173	8476887	4190502	4475283	12389286

	Urban	Persons	13214375	3910232	3474846	435386	9304143
		Males	6993371	3316266	3069778	246488	3677105
		Females	6221044	593966	405068	188898	5627038
Sirohi	Total	Persons	851107	343905	245762	98143	507202
		Males	437949	219491	195040	24451	218458
		Females	413158	124414	50722	73692	288744
	Rural	Persons	700217	297621	204055	93566	402596
		Males	357178	179595	157587	22008	177583
		Females	343039	118026	46468	71558	225013
	Urban	Persons	150890	46284	41707	4577	104606
		Males	80771	39896	37453	2443	40875
		Females	70119	6388	4254	2134	63731
Abu Road	Total	Persons	184610	72199	58777	13062	112411
		Males	97455	49816	45952	3864	47639
		Females	87155	22383	13185	9198	64772
	Rural	Persons	114818	49664	38259	11405	65154
		Males	59326	30150	27359	2791	29176
		Females	55492	19514	10900	8614	35978
	Urban	Persons	69792	22535	20518	1657	47257
		Males	38129	19666	18593	1073	18463
		Females	31663	2869	2285	584	28794

Source: Census of India (2001).

Table3: Distribution of Workers by Sex in Four Categories of Economic Activity in Abu Road

			Total workers	Category of workers			
				Cultivators	Agricultural laborers	Household Industry workers	Other workers
Abu Road	Total	Persons	72199	21032	10285	1160	39722
		Males	49816	12700	4064	748	32304
		Female	22383	8332	6221	412	7418
	Rural	Persons	49664	20799	10179	544	18142
		Males	30150	12519	4003	348	13280
		Female	19514	8280	6176	196	4862
	Urban	Persons	22535	233	106	616	21580
		Males	19666	181	61	400	19024
		Female	2869	52	45	216	2556

Source: District Census Handbook (Part-A&B),Sirohi District, Census of India,2001

In Abu Road 37.2 percent women are cultivators as against 25.5 percent men. The female participation as agricultural laborers and household industry workers is higher as compared to males. However 64.8 percent men registered as other workers as against 33.1 percent women.

Demographic Characteristic of Abu Road:

Situated in Sirohi district, bordering on Gujarat, Abu Road block is characterized by extreme poverty and under development. An entirely hilly area, there are 81 villages in this block but they are dispersed in small, scattered clusters of households situated on the slopes of hills and in small valleys. As against a male-female ratio of 922 for Rajasthan, the ratio for Abu Road block is 802 which is among the lowest in the country and illustrates the dismal status of women. About 71 percent of the population is comprised of the Garasia ST community who are categorized as a primitive tribe.² As against 28 percent for the whole of Rajasthan, the percentage of families below the poverty line in Abu Road block is 51 percent. This ratio rises to about 70 percent among the tribal people.

Education and Gender:

There are 53 primary schools in the Abu Road block. Approximately 40 percent of the Garasia families have no access to basic education. The latest gross enrolment ratio for the whole block (the B.D.O. Office, Abu Road) is 76 percent, 84 percent for boys and 52 percent for girls. However, the participation rate of boys and girls in the Garasia tribal community is approximately 50 percent for boys and 20 percent for girls. The literacy rate in Abu Road was 43.55 percent in 2001, 59.43 percent for males and 26.41 percent for females. Less than half the proportion of girl children participated in elementary education in the age group 6-14.

Participation Rate (percent) in Elementary Education (6-14yrs) in 2000

Sex indicator	Rajasthan	Sirohi	Abu Road
Person	81.74	72.82	61.28
Male	89.71	83.75	72.21
Female	71.86	58.96	47.98

Source: www.rajshikha.net (Government of Rajasthan)

Health and Gender

The condition of women in Abu Road is not different from the rest of Rajasthan. The education system continues to exclude a vast proportion of females. The dropout rate of females is unacceptably high. About one third of girls are married between the ages of 15 and 17 years. Women bear the maximum burden of earning livelihood for the family and lead exceptionally arduous life.

The health scenario also presents an alarming picture. Health staff is generally not adequate in rural areas. Those who are posted in the villages, generally avoid living there. The infant mortality rate is 91 as against the state figure of 87.

²http://www.doosradashak.org/article.php?id_article=6

Vital Rates on Demographic Indicators 1997 in Rajasthan & Sirohi

Indicator	Rajasthan	Sirohi
IMR	87	91
Life Expectancy	61.36	60.01
Crude Death Rate	8.9	9.2
Total Fertility Rate	4.9	4.8
Crude Birth Rate	32.19	32.21

Source: Human Development Report, Rajasthan Society for International Development, 1999

b. Observations on implementation (worksites)

The tracking of sites on 17th day and 18th day of every month since October, 2006 has been undertaken by ISST in collaboration with Dooshra Dashak. The sites are selected based on the study completed earlier by ISST. The study did a survey of households in the two villages Mahikhera and Nichlagarh. Therefore, while tracking the worksites, places surrounding the mentioned villages were visited. The major issues which came up from the tracking of the sites are as follows:

- Creche facility has not been provided at the sites at all.
- Drinking water facility has been provided at all the sites.
- Medical kit is not available on the site. Only few medicines are kept by the mates for emergency which are not sufficient. It is clear from the tracking reports that medicines /gel /bandage needed to treat cuts/injuries are missing.
- Tent has been provided for shade but not at all sites.
- The measurement of task remains a puzzle for the mate/secretary/labour. It is hard to understand from the parameters who decide what, against what norms. However, the Junior Engineer³ gave the measurement details to ISST researchers which he follows to make the payment of wages. For a person to get a wage of rupees seventy three per day, she/he has to work for 1.67 cubic meter or 58.96 gun ft. Recent task revision has reduced the task for per person as 1.36 cubic meter/54 gun ft.
- It is clear from the tracking reports that there is a lack of awareness regarding the various provisions made in the EGA act. This makes the mate/secretary more vulnerable to decide on the task as well as facilities to be provided to the labour.
- In Nichlagarh, no site has been opened since monsoon. It has been gathered from the panchayat that new proposals have been taken. The work done based on earlier proposals was found to be temporary and not sustainable. After the monsoon season, the panchayat expected that people would apply for jobs but it

³ Researchers from ISST and Doosra Dashak met the junior the engineer on 20th January 2007 at the Employment Officer's chamber to get some insight on the task measurement issue. Also we wanted to know if officials of Abu Road block follow any measurement rate list like the one used in Dungarpur district. We were informed that the measurement of task is done against the norms mentioned in the text. However there was no official document as such kept on record in the office of the employment officer who co-ordinates the NREGA programme in the entire block.

- seems people were not aware of this and therefore did not apply for jobs. This could be one of the reasons for the delay in reopening of the site.
- There is a notification circulated by the district administration that there is 20 percent deduction in the task measurement in the last week of September, 2006. During the visit mate/secretary both were found to be unaware of the issue. This raises serious doubts on the system responsible for the information dissemination from the district headquarters to the implementers on the site.
 - In most sites visited, the labour demanded food grains as wage instead of cash. The reasons being there is a scarcity of food grains in the households. Due to excess rain, yield from the field was much lower as compared to last year. Secondly, there is no proper distribution of food grains at PDS⁴ for APL⁵ people. Thirdly, workers are unable to buy grains from the open market because of high prices.

c. Report on Household Survey

Methodology

A detailed discussion was held among the researchers at ISST, director and field staff of Doosra Dashak regarding selection of the villages and households for the proposed survey. The survey methodology was discussed in detail with Doosra Dashak staff who had collected data for the study. It was argued that for making our sample households representative ones we need to capture more villages surrounding each of the two villages already studied earlier (ISST, 2006). Villages Mahikhera located in the plains and Nichlagarh located in the hills were part of an earlier household survey conducted by ISST in 2006. Therefore, for the present study a total of eleven villages is selected of which six villages represent hilly area and five are from plain area. The list of selected villages and panchayats is given below.

List of selected villages and the Panchayats

Villages (Bhakar)	Panchayat	Villages(Bhittrot)	Panchayat
Nichlagarh	Nichlagarh	Mahikhera	Bahadurpua
Nichlakhejra	Uplakhejra	Fathepura	-Do-
Nichlibor	--Do-	Chanar	Chanar
Kairy	Jayadra	Girvar	Girvar
Jaidra	--Do-	Chandela(Chorvao)	Chorvao
Uplagarh	Uplagarh		
Total	-		

⁴ Public Distribution System

⁵ Above poverty line

It was also decided that around 35 to 40 percent of the households from each of the villages will be selected for household survey. The number of households comes to around 1251.

Table1: Total Population & Number of Households in the Selected Villages of Abu Road

Villages	Census 2001		Doosra Dashak-2004,2006			Selected Households
	Total Population	Number of Households		Total Population	Number of Households	
Jayadra	828	143	Jayadra	828	143	81
Kyari	473	88	Kyari	642	81	31
Nichlakhejra	1087	166	Nichlakhejra	1126	187	89
Nichlagarh	2264	392	Nichlagarh	2379	405	180
Nichlibor	383	67	Nichlibor	508	81	32
Uplagarh	2103	347	Uplagarh	2447	502	259
Total	7138	1203	Total	7930	1399	672
Plain Area						
Chanar	3493	606	Chanar	3493	606	122
Fatehpura	938	130	Fatehpura	1044	201	81
Girwar	3889	671	Girwar	3889	671	208
Mahi-khera	1547	239	Mahi-khera	1895	305	141
Chandela(Chorvao)	2549	454	Chandela (Chorvao)	316	76	27
Total	9867	1646		10637	1859	579

Source: *District Census Handbook: Part-A & B, Sirohi District, Census of India, 2001*
Drought & Health Survey, Doosra Dashak Project, Abu Road, 2004,2006

It is clear from Table- 1 that there is a variation in the number of households in a given village as per census data, 2001 and data collected by Doosra Dashak which is more recent with data collected during 2004 and 2006. It is argued that there are changes in the household situation and population in the villages between census and 2006. The population of the villages or number of households have declined in some villages and increased in some other villages. One of the reasons for this may be migration from one village to another by members of the garasiya community (which is the dominant community in these areas). This kind of moving out of one area and getting settled in another area is common and is linked with the social and cultural practices prevailing in

the area.⁶ If there are fights between the communities on issues of land/marriage etc. this sometimes becomes so very serious that one community's very existence may be under threat. In situations like this migration occurs to escape the threat of complete extermination of extended family networks (around 30-50 households).

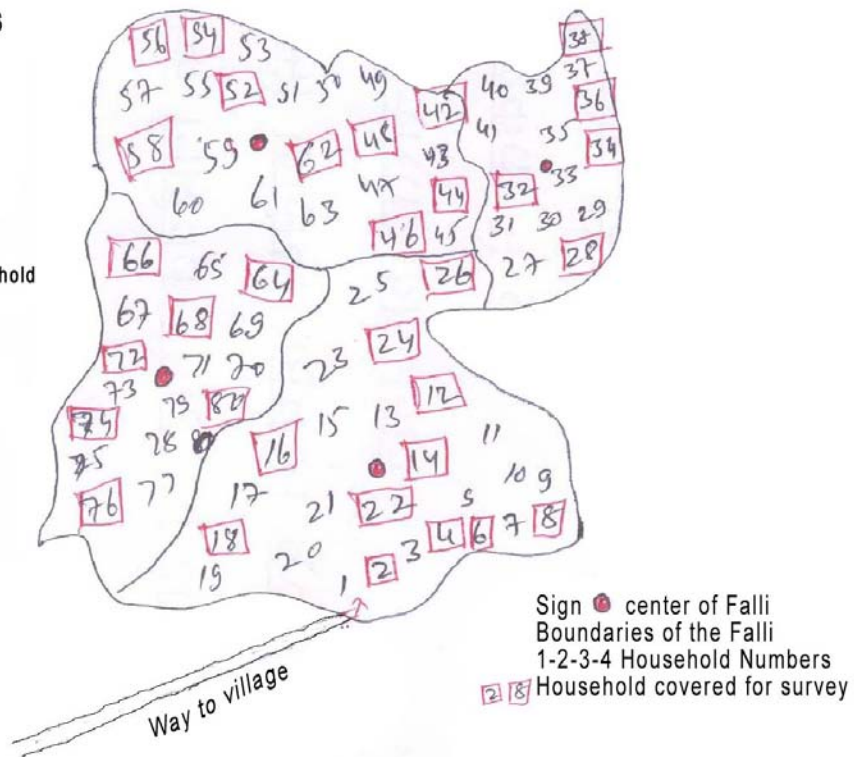
Selection of the households:

Households have been selected on the basis of local data base. Before plunging into the survey process, a map was drawn for each of the selected villages and a list of existing households in the villages was taken from the Panchayat. Attempts were made to see the boundary of the villages. Once the main road to enter the village was found, the listing was done considering the household located at the entrance as household number one. The process continued till the end of the road /boundary of the village. From the list in each village around forty percent households were selected. This diagram of Kyari village given below describes the selection of the households.

Map of Kyari village

40% of 80 Households

2	34	68
4	36	72
6	38	74
8	42	76
12	44	78
14	46	
16	48	Last Household
18	52	No. 80
22	54	
24	56	
26	58	
28	62	
32	64	
	66	



⁶ Personal communication with Mr B.K.Sharma, Director, Doosra Dashak, Abu Road

Questionnaire used for the survey:

A questionnaire was developed to seek information on the various issues of concern. It was divided into different parts such as household characteristic⁷, demographic characteristic of the household, employment details, awareness and opinion about NREGA, benefits of contribution of EGA. A separate section has been devoted to record information on migration. The questionnaire was canvassed to each of the households and information was collected from the head of the household/spouse (see Annexure-I). Information on migration was collected if (migrant) he /she was present in the household at the time of the survey. There were few open ended questions in the questionnaire. The responses to these questions were coded (see Annexure-II).

Analysis of Survey Data:

Table 1 presents the number of households selected for the survey from each of the villages located in hilly and plain areas of Abu Road. The study aims to understand the experiences of NREGS among the households' in terms of number of days of employment offered to them, kind of activity people are engaged in, problems if any faced by them to get employment etc. Therefore, an analysis is done as to how many of the selected households' members have really participated in NREGS and how many have not participated, and to question if there any special reason for this.

Table:1.1 Number of Households surveyed by types of households

	Bhakar (hilly area) (%)	Bhittrot(Plain) (%)
Migrant Households	1.0	1.2
Households refused work on job cards	0.4	0.3
Households with no job cards	2.2	3.1
Households where job cards not used	4.8	12.3
Households participated in NREGA	91.5	83.1
Total	672	579

Note: figures indicate column percentage

Around 1 percent households in the given sample of households from both locations, hilly and plain area are migrant (**Table- 1.1**). Entire families go to places in Gujarat and work there as agricultural labourers for 6-8 months. Most of these families are given shelter to stay near the field and food to eat. Sometimes the workers are paid as wage

⁷ Caste and religion was not canvassed

labourers. These migrants come to the native villages for four months during the monsoon. In some households we managed to collect information from their relatives/family members left behind that the wage offered under NREGA is too low therefore they have not left the age old tradition of going out of the village for work.

Less than 1 percent households reported that they were refused work on grounds that work was not available, or the muster roll had the necessary number of workers required for the particular work site. There are households 2.2 percent and 3.1 percent in hilly and plain areas respectively who did not have job cards, reasons being absence of the households members at the time registration of cards. There are both households in hilly area (4.8 percent) and plain area (12.3 percent) that have not used their job cards. In some cases, since an extended family has one ration card, sometimes with as many as ten adult members on the same ration card, they are entitled to a single job even though they may have broken up into several nuclear household units. Generally speaking there has been a 27 percent increase in the number of households since 2001 census (based on which ration cards have been made). This is clear from the data given below:

Total number of job cards made in Abu Road

Number of Job cards made	Total households (census,2001)	New households added(2006)
21237	16687	4550

Source: B.D.O. office, Abu Road, 2006.

There are households that have very young children where women could not go for NREGA work. In Abu Road it is women predominantly who participated in the NREGA work. Men leave the village mostly to the city to earn daily wages and come back in the evening since the wage in the city is much higher than the rate given under the NREGA programme.

Household Characteristic:

Table: 1.3 Distribution of Households by Household Size

No of Members in Household	Number of Households		Total (%)
	Hilly Area (%)	Plain Area (%)	
1- 5	46	41	43
6-10	50	56	53
11- 15	4	3	3
16+	-	-	-
Total	672	579	1251

Note: figures indicate column percentage

There are around 57 percent households with up to five members in the hilly area as against 43 percent in the plain area (Table-1.3). If we look at the specific locations in the

hilly area more percentages of households there have members between six to ten. The same is true for the plain area too. The large family size is found more in hilly area than the plain area because of the ration cards. In many families the ration card has not been separated even if the family is divided in two/ three new households. This is deliberately done because of the land distribution system.

Of the total 580 households who have land between 0.1- 2.9 bighas, 52 percent households are from hilly areas against 48 percent households from plain areas (Table 1.4).The trend remains the same upto 12 bighas of land size. In the hilly area most households (45 percent) have land size between 0.1- 2.9 bighas followed by (35 percent)of households with land size varying between 3 to 5.9 bighas ,14 percent households with land size between 6.0 to 8.9 and less than five percent of households have land beyond 9 bighas. A similar trend is seen for the households in the plain area though a higher proportion of households have land size beyond 12 bighas in the plains (4 percent) than in the hills (1 percent).

Table: 1.4 Distribution of Households by Land Size.

Size of land holding (in bighas*)	Number of Households		Total (%)
	Hilly Area(%)	Plain Area(%)	
No Land	2	10	6
0.1-2.9	45	48	46
3.0-5.9	35	29	32
6.0-8.9	14	6	11
9.0-11.9	3	4	3
12+	1	4	2
Total	672	579	1251

Note: figures indicate column percentage

**4 Bighas=1 Acre*

Table: 1.6 Distribution of Households by Source Of Irrigation

Sl. No.	Source of Irrigation	Number of Households		
		Hilly Area (%)	Plain Area (%)	Total(%)
1	Govt Canal	1	26	13
2	Private Canal	3	1	2
3	Tank	-	3	1
4	Well with electricity	-	10	5
5	Well without electricity	43	40	41
6	Tube well with electricity	-	-	-
7	River	7	3	5
8	Lake	-	-	-
9	Waterfall	-	-	-
10	Other sources	46	19	33
	Total	607	557	1164

Note: figures indicate column percentage

As regards sources of irrigation around 13 percent households mentioned using government canal water for irrigation of their lands. Of this 95 percent households are from the plain area and only 5 percent belong to the hilly area. The two very important sources of irrigation that have been mentioned by the households in the hilly area are: wells without electricity 54 percent and rain water reported under the miscellaneous 'other' category 73 percent. In the plains 46 percent and 28 percent households use well without electricity and rain water for irrigation. This makes it clear that there is an urgent need for implementation of water conservation projects in the hilly areas. Implementation of such projects will not only improve the drought conditions in the area but will also improve land fertility in terms of agricultural produce.

Table: 1.7 Distribution of Households by Kinds of Livestock.

Kinds of Livestock	Number of Households		Total
	Hilly Area	Plain Area	
No Livestock	(41)	(59)	129
Cows	(62)	(38)	755
Bullocks	(62)	(38)	761
Goats	(64)	(36)	859
Hen	(74)	(26)	314
Buffalo	(35)	(66)	380

Note: Figures in brackets indicate row percentage

Out of the total households, 8 percent households in the hilly area and 13 percent households in plain areas have no livestock. The number of households in hilly areas possessing cows (62 percent), bullocks (62 percent), goats (64 percent) and poultry (74 percent) are higher as compared to plain area. However (66 percent) of the households from plain areas possess buffaloes as against (35 percent) in the hilly areas (Table-1.7). This makes it clear that water availability in this area is comparatively better off than the hilly area. Water requirement is the precondition for rearing buffaloes. In this connection it is important to note that under NREGA, work should be taken up which contribute to local development be it a road, drinking water or local resources for sustainable development. Therefore, one may design such projects which may be beneficial for people who are dependent on land and animals primarily. There are around 1 percent households in the hilly areas who have neither land nor livestock while 3 percent of such households exist in plain areas.

Table: 1.8 Distribution of Households by Membership in Collectives

Membership in Collectives	Number of Households		Total (%)
	Hilly area (%)	Plain area (%)	
SHG	30	17	24

Mahila Mandal	1	1	1
Union	-	-	-
Others	1	-	1
Not mentioned	67	81	74
Total	672	579	1251

Note: figures indicate column percentage

Table-1.8 indicates that 24 percent of the total households have membership in Self Help Groups. In the case of hilly area 30 percent households have membership in SHG while in plain area only 17 percent households have such membership. The SHG membership was studied because it could help enhance the collective bargaining power in terms of ensuring various provisions under NREGA such as crèche facilities, wage rates etc. Also collective efforts can help people to design projects for their own benefits and ensure implementation of these projects.

Table: 1.9 Distribution of Households by Bank Account

Bank Account	Number of Households		Total (%)
	Hilly area (%)	Plain area (%)	
Yes	18	11	15
No	82	89	85
Total	671	578	1249

Note: figures indicate column percentage

The data on bank accounts reveals that only (15 percent) households have bank accounts. It was important to know about bank accounts since at one point a recommendation has been put forth at the policy level that payment for NREGA work be made directly to the bank account of the wage earner. It is argued that in this manner leakages can be minimised. The other important issue that needs to be addressed is most bank accounts are in the name of the head of the family. Therefore, a labourer who does not have his/her own account may/may not have direct access to wage earned if it is deposited in the bank account held in the name of the head of the household

Table: 1.10 Distribution of Households Receiving Remittances from Migrants

Households receiving remittances from migrants	Number of Households		Total (%)
	Hilly area (%)	Plain area (%)	
Regular	2	1	2
Irregular	31	9	21
No	67	90	77
Total	671	568	1239

Note: figures indicate column percentage

Table-1.10 indicates that 23 percent of the households out of the total households receive remittances from the migrants. Further, out of this 23 percent only 2 percent households receive regular remittances. This suggests that migration is still in place though in small percentages.

Household Details:

Table: 2.2 Distribution of Household Members by Age

Age Group	Hilly Area		Plain Area		Total (%)
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	
Less than 18yrs	50	47	52	50	49
18-65 yrs	49	52	48	49	50
66+ yrs	1	1	-	1	1
Total	1983	1969	1722	1668	7342

Note: figures indicate column percentage

The age distribution of the population indicates that in all age groups, number of females is more than the number of males but for the under 18 years age group females are less than the males in both locations. The distribution is worked out against these categories since the eligible age for participation in NREGA is 18 years.

Table-2.6 gives the educational status of the sampled population. Among males a higher proportion are illiterates in the hilly area (51 percent) as against in the plain area (49 percent). In all other educational groups males from hilly area scored slightly higher than males from the plains.

Table: 2.6 Distribution of Educational Status by Gender

Educational Status	Hilly area		Plain area		Total	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Not Literate	52	79	59	86	56	82
Can Read & Write	13	5	5	2	9	3
Upto Primary	22	11	18	8	20	10
Upto Middle	11	4	12	2	11	3
Secondary	1	1	4	1	3	1
Upto Graduation	1	-	1	-	1	-

Above Graduation	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	1	2	1	-	1	1
Total	1533	1511	1293	1243	2826	2754

Note: figures indicate column percentage

But from the secondary level and onward the trend is different, males from plains area scored better than their counterparts in the hills. In the case of females the trend remains same with more female illiterates in the hilly area (53percent) as compared to the plain area (47 percent).

Table: 2.7 Distribution of Adult Members by Worker Status

Whether working or not	Hilly Area		Plain Area		Total	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Yes	66	57	61	53	64	55
No	34	43	39	47t	36	45
Total	1064	1080	859	856	1923	1936

Note: figures indicate column percentage

Table: 2.7 presents the distribution of adult members by workers' status. Data is based on the number of people reporting that they are workers.

4	Outside the district within the state	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Others	5	2	4	3	5	2
	Total	381	244	279	243	690	487

Note: figures indicate column percentage

Table:2.8 Distribution of Adult Members by Area & Labour Status

Sl. No	Responses	Hilly Area		Plain Area		Total	
		Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
1	Self Employed	4	4	2	1	3	3
2	Regular Salaried	12	11	9	5	10	8
3	Casual Wage Labour	64	64	48	50	55	57

4	Bonded Labour	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Family worker	8	11	26	19	16	15
6	Available for work	1	4	3	2	2	3
7	Attending Educational Institution	-	-	0	0	0	0.0
8	Attending Domestic Duties	3	1	1	13	2	7
9	Too Young to Attend School/Work	3	2	8	7	6	4
10	Old & Disabled	3	2	3	3	3	3
11	Others	2	2	1	1	1	1
	Total	933	851	812	853	1786	1704

. Note: figures indicate column percentage

Out of the total workers the percentage of women who are wage labour is 49 percent and men are (51 percent) (Table-2.8). The wage labour category represents both types of workers: those who worked in NREGA as well as outside NREGA as wage labour. It is clear from the table that among the women, the percentage of wage workers are more in the hilly area (56 percent) as compared to plains (44 percent).

Table: 2.10 Reasons for migration by Area

Reasons of Migration	Hilly Area		Plain Area		Total	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Study	3	-	4	33	4	4
Work	95	98	76	67t	87	94
Marriage	2	2t	20	-	9	2
Total	60	46	46	6	106	52

Note: figures indicate column percentage

Table-2.10 presents the reasons for migration. Out of the total males who have migrated 87 percent have migrated for work and another 9 percent have migrated on account of marriage. In case of females 94 percent have migrated on account of work.

Table: 2.12 Place of Work

SL. No	Place of work	Hilly Area		Plain Area		Total	
		Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
1	Within 5 km from the place of residence	35	68	70	93	52	81
2	Outside village within the block	55	28	22	3	39	15
3	Outside the block within the district	4	2	4	1	4	1
4	Outside the district within the state	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	others	5	2	4	3	5	2
	Total	381	244	279	243	690	487

Work Details of all Members of the Household:

Of the total 1251 households selected for the study, 1096 households 88 percent have participated in the NREGA work. Among the households participating in NREGA, 55 percent are from hilly area as against 45 percent from the plain area. Percentage of male participation works out to be at 44 percent as against 56 percent female participation. If we look at the ratio between households participated in NREGA and individuals, it works out to be an average of 1.5 persons per households.

Table: 3.5a Household worked in NREGS by number of days in Hilly and Plain Area

Number of days worked in NREGS	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total (%)
	Number of households (%)	Number of households (%)	
Less than 15 days	20	58	78
16-31 days	35	55	90
32-47 days	46	55	101
48-63 days	114	73	187
64-79 days	123	52	175

80-95 days	156	63	219
96+	121	125	246
Total	615	481	1096

Note: figures indicate column percentage

Table: 3.5 Number of Days Worked in NREGS by Households by Gender in Hilly and Plain Area

Number of Days worked in NREGS	Hilly Area			Plain Area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Less than 15 days	52	57	109	76	88	164
16-31 days	110	80	190	78	75	153
32-47 days	66	93	159	61	67	128
48-63 days	90	111	201	36	79	115
64-79 days	50	65	115	20	44	64
80-95 days	36	48	84	15	42	57
96+	18	25	43	7	36	43
Total	422	479	901	293	431	724
100	18 (42)	25 (58)	43 100	6 (18)	27 82	33 100

Note: Figures in brackets indicate row percentage

In general women outnumbered the men in terms of number of days of participation in NREGA. Among those who have completed 100 days of work in NREGA, 68 percent are females as against 32 percent males. This is quite close to the block level data given below.

Activities Undertaken in NREGA and Participation of Workers

Total number of completed works	Total number of workers participated	percent of women's participation
273	17370	72percent

Source B.D.O. office, Abu Road, 2006

Awareness:

Table: 4.1.1 Awareness Regarding Government Run Schemes Providing Employment.

	Hilly Area(%)	Plain Area(%)	Total(%)
Yes	42	74	56
No	58	26	43
Total	662	561	1234

Note: figures indicate column percentage

Table: 4.1.2 Awareness about any particular scheme

Awareness	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
NREGA	43	65	53
Indira Awas Yojna, Food for work	18	3	11
Not aware	39	32	36
Total	660	544	1204

Note: figures indicate column percentage

It seems that there is very little awareness about government schemes providing employment. A total of 1234 households responded to the query regarding awareness of government programme providing employment only 56 percent households said 'yes'. Out of the total households' responses 60 percent belong to plain areas while 40 percent households are from hilly areas (**Table-4.1.1**). The NREGA has been mentioned as part of an awareness of a particular scheme by 43 percent of the households from hilly area against 65 percent households from plain areas (**Table-4.1.2**). Another 11 percent households have mentioned that they are aware of schemes like Indira Awas Yojna and food for work. Most of the responses are from the hilly area (87 percent).

Table: 4.1.3 Whether benefited from the programme?

Sl. No.	Responses	Hilly Area (%)	Plain Area (%)	Total (%)
1	Got wage for work	43	51	47
2	Got wage work within the village	17	12	15
3	Benefited but got less wages	23	9	17
4	Benefited because of small family.	-	-	-
5	No gain	11	12	11
6	Through the Indira Awas Yojna	-	-	-
7	Useful because of the water conservation structure	-	-	-
9	Not Applicable	6	14	10
	Total	658	548	1206

Households have responded to the query whether any members have benefited from these employment programmes. The benefits have been spelt out clearly which are then coded. In both locations the benefits are listed in the given order. Most prevalent among the responses in the hilly area are 'got wage work' (43 percent) followed by 'got wage work

within the village’ (17 percent) and ‘benefited but got less wage’ (indicating subtle dissatisfaction on wage earned) (23 percent) (**Table-4.1.3**).The complaint about low wage came up quite significantly in the case of households from the hilly areas, 72 percent against 28 percent plain area. In our report (ISST, 2006) it has been mentioned that in some pockets in the hilly areas wages were very low and a lot of agitation took place to increase wages.

Table-4.1.4 presents the number of suggestions by the households to improve upon the scheme. It is interesting to note that the pattern of suggestions reflect the kinds of association one has with the scheme, socio-economic condition of the area as well as the experiences of the households while participating in the NREGS. In case of the hilly area the order of the responses are: wage should be given in cash and kind (61 percent); work should be provided for more than hundred days (16 percent) and rates for the wages need to be revised (11 percent) While in plain area households maintained that proper rate should be given (22 percent) and work should extended to two hundred days (21 percent). Many more important suggestions have been made by the households from locations which may not be significant in term of percentages but the fact that these came up is important for the implementing agency. The implementing agencies may take these as leads while implementing the NREGS work which may further strengthen the programme. Some such suggestions are need to take up projects on concrete work and water conservation. There is a need to provide training to the Mate (who delegates work and supervises at the site) so that he can efficiently handle the work. The other suggestions are: measurement of tasks need to be done properly and corruption need to be checked.

Table: 4.1.4 Ways to improve the scheme.

Sl. No.	Responses	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
1	50percent grains and 50percent wage should be paid	(85)	(15)	450
2	Awareness is needed so that people get the benefit of the scheme	(19)	(81)	54
3	Regular work should be provided for 100 days	(80)	(20)	25
4	Work should be provided for two hundred days	(51)	(49)	201
5	Rates need to be revised	(68)	(32)	108
6	Need to check on Mate and measurement of tasks need to be done properly	(73)	(27)	40
7	Need for regular monitoring of work	(50)	(50)	16
8	Training of Mate is needed	(91)	(9)	22
9	Not applicable	(32)	(67)	121
10	Project on concrete work need to be taken up.	(94)	(6)	32
11	No idea	(16)	(84)	80
12	Corruption need to be checked	(45)	(55)	20
13	Need to take up water conservation project	(90)	(10)	19
14	All eligible worker should get 100 days of work	(87)	(13)	15

15	Improvement of the conditions at site	(100)	-	1
16	Proper rate should be given for the work	(25)	(75)	142
17	Timely payment should be done	(25)	(75)	4
18	More sites need to be opened	-	(100)	1

Note: Figures in brackets indicate row percentage

The households from the hilly areas clearly mentioned that the role of the panchayat was good in the selection of works followed by the registration of job cards. They see low performance of the panchayat on grievance redressal (48 percent). Responses from the plain area were somewhat different indicating that the panchayat's role on grievance redressal was high (52 percent) while performance on selection of works was rated as low as (33 percent). The total responses for the panchayat's role on information dissemination was shared by 56 percent households from hilly areas as against 44.3 percent from plain areas (Table-4.2.1). Households from hilly areas opined that the best way people can participate in the EGA is to monitor the programme by overseeing the implementation of works under EGA. The total responses are shared by 66 percent households from hilly areas as against 34 percent from the plain areas (Table-4.2.2).

Table: 4.2.1 Kinds of Roles played by the Panchayat in the NREGS

Sl. No.	Responses	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
1	Information	(56)	(44)	1046
2	Registration /Issue of Job Card	(63)	(37)	710
3	Selection of Works	(67)	(33)	572
4	Grievance Redressal	(48)	(52)	698

Note: Figures in brackets indicate row percentage

Table: 4.2.2 Number of ways people can participate to monitor the programme

Sl. No	Responses	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
1	Better implementation of works	(66)	(34)	533
2	Timely and full payment of wages to beneficiaries	(51)	(49)	1036
	Total	646	531	1177

Note: Figures in brackets indicate row percentage

Benefits and Contribution of EGA:

At the NREGS work site in Abu Road we have seen that the women participate much more than the men. Therefore it becomes important to know what arrangements the woman has to make in order to relieve herself from household responsibilities while she is away for work. We have selected few activities which are usually handled by the women such as taking care of young children, taking care of sick and elderly, tending to

animals and other household chores and sought responses from them to find out who does all these activities in their absence. In the case of hill areas it has been found that either the woman herself takes care of the children or her husband or the elder daughter does so while in plain areas the burden is shared more often by the elder daughter followed by the husband. Out of the total responses 13 percent from hilly area as against 17 percent from plain area have mentioned that the elder daughter is responsible for taking care of the children while the mother is away for wage work(**Table: 5.1.1**). It is important to mention that in the hilly area there are around 3 percent households where women could not participate in the NREGA work because of young children. These women opined that had there been any provision to look after the children they would have been in a position to work. This calls for necessary action by the implementation agency.

As regards taking care of the elderly and sick, it is the husbands who take care of the sick followed by the elder daughters. The emerging trend seems to be interesting with husbands being more co-operative and sharing household responsibilities when the woman is away for work. This is prevalent more in the hilly area as compared to the plain area.

For the other responsibilities like tending to animals and taking care of the household chores the trend seems to be like that of the previous activities with women themselves taking the bulk of the responsibility followed by the husbands and elder daughters. It is a matter of concern that the elder daughter serves as a substitute for the woman in the household and takes the responsibilities of her mother while she is away at work. A closer look at the age profile of these girls indicates that they are very young and in fact the right age for schooling. However in the absence of any support system for the women it is not possible to send the daughter to school. What seems to be doable in this case is to provide some sort of support to the working women by providing crèche facilities at the site.

Table: 5.1.1 Taking care of children at home

Sl. No.	Responses	Hilly Area (%)	Plain Area (%)	Total (%)
1	Elder Daughter	13	17	15
2	Elder Son	5	3	4
3	Other Children	3	3	3
4	Husband	21	15	18
5	Mother-in- Law/Father-in-Law	6	10	8
6	Sister-in Law/Bother-in-Law	2	1	1
7	Relative	1	1	1
8	Others	4	2	3
9	Self	21	5	13
11	Not Applicable	21	43	31
12	Woman has not been to NREGS because of young children	3	-	2
Total		494	466	960

Table: 5.1.2 Taking care of sick and elderly

Sl. No.	Responses	Hilly Area (%)	Plain Area (%)	Total (%)
1	Elder Daughter	10	14	12
2	Elder Son	7	5	6
3	Other Children	3	1	2
4	Husband	36	36	36
5	Mother-in- Law/Father-in-Law	6	9	7
6	Sister-in Law/Bother-in-Law	2	3	2
7	Relative	-	1	1
8	Others	4	6	5
9	Self	32	23	28
11	Not Applicable	-	1	-
Total		230	211	441

Table: 5.1.3 Tending to animals

Sl. No.	Responses	Hilly Area (%)	Plain Area (%)	Total (%)
1	Elder Daughter	22	25	23
2	Elder Son	12	8	10
3	Other Children	10	8	9
4	Husband	23	31	26
5	Mother-in- Law/Father-in-Law	6	9	7
6	Sister-in Law/Bother-in-Law	3	2	2
7	Relative	1	1	1
8	Others	5	4	5
9	Self	18	12	16
11	Not Applicable	-	1	1
Total		360	265	625

Table: 5.1.4 Taking Care of the Household Chores

Sl. No.	Responses	Hilly Area (%)	Plain Area (%)	Total (%)
1	Elder Daughter	14	14	14
2	Elder Son	3	1	2
3	Other Children	3	1	2
4	Husband	15	11	13
5	Mother-in- Law/Father-in-Law	3	4	4
6	Sister-in Law/Bother-in-Law	2	1	1

8	Others	4	3	4
9	Self	56	65	60
11	Not Applicable	-	1	-
Total		367	288	655

Table:5.1.5 Any Other

Sl. No.	Responses	Hilly Area (%)	Plain Area (%)	Total (%)
1	Elder Daughter	14	16	15
2	Elder Son	3	1	2
3	Other Children	3	-	2
4	Husband	20	22	21
5	Mother-in- Law/Father-in-Law	5	8	6
6	Sister-in Law/Bother-in-Law	2	1	2
7	Relative	1	-	-
8	Others	3	1	2
9	Self	48	50	49
11	Not Applicable	-	1	-
Total		147	100	247

Benefits of EGA:

Table: 5.2.1 Number of works completed in/near your village.

Sl. No	Responses	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
1	Incomplete road	(55)	(45)	285
2	Gravel road construction	(88)	(12)	408
3	Nari Kodai	(62)	(38)	359
4	Nothing happened	(6)	(94)	153
5	No idea	(12)	(88)	93
6	Annecuts are made	(100)	-	4
7	Canal cleaning /reconstruction	-	(100)	3
9	Not Applicable	(100)	-	2

Note: Figures in brackets indicate row percentage

Table-5.2.1 presents the number of works completed in /near the villages where the households survey was done. Out of the total responses around 22 percent are of incomplete roads. It has been mentioned that roads did get constructed but were not completed. Of the total responses 55 percent are from the hilly areas as against 45 percent from the plain areas. The households from the hilly area seem to be satisfied with gravel roads that are already constructed and the Nari kodai helps in providing water. The responses from the hilly areas are 88 percent and 62 percent respectively as against 12 percent and 38 percent from the plain areas. There is very high percentage of responses from the plain area 26 percent that nothing happened. This needs to be looked at closely in order to find out the reason for such responses. Is it because people are generally

ignorant /is it because nothing substantial was gained. The data given below indicate the number of works completed under NREGA. At this stage one can look into the data and match the location of the site village-wise for further analysis.

Type and Number of Works Done (Feb2006-07March)

Type of Works Done	Number of Works Done
Nadi	145
Gravel Road	178
Annicut	40
Merbandi	06
Nali banana	16
Nursery	02
Total	387*

Source B.D.O. office, Abu Road, 2006

*273 works are completed and 114 works are on-going.

Table-5.2.2 presents the responses to the query if EGA works have made any difference to the households. The responses are quite different with 81percent responses from hilly areas as against 19 percent responses in the plain areas having access to road. This seems a very positive gain for the households in hilly areas while plain areas presents a very depressing picture. However it is interesting to know that households from both locations have acknowledged the fact that because of NREGS they got wage work which helped them earn some wages. The total responses shared by the households from the hilly areas is 42 percent as against 58 percent in the plain areas.

Table: 5.2.2 Works that made a difference to the households in terms of benefits

Sl. No.	Responses	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
1	Access to road	(81)	(19)	373
2	Benefited but road is far off	(78)	(22)	23
3	Could buy food grains and clothes	(94)	(6)	34
4	Got wage work	(42)	(58)	468
5	Sick people can be taken to the hospital	(100)		2
6	Due to nari kodai animals are getting enough water	(38)	(62)	37
7	Availability of drinking water	(91)	(9)	11

8	Could spent on children's education	(100)	-	8
9	Save money on transportation	(80)	(20)	5
10	Water can be stored	(89)	(11)	36
11	No gain	(39)	(61)	147
12	Earned extra money	(100)	-	1
13	Not Applicable	(26)	(74)	80
14	Due to monsoon the structure got washed away	(67)	(33)	9
15	Canal water leaked into the agricultural field	(100)	-	2
16	Due to crèche facility older children can go to school	0	1 (100)	1

Note: Figures in brackets indicate row percentage

Contribution of EGA:

Table -5.3.1 presents the responses on how the income earned through NREGA has been used. Most responses are concentrated around using money for food and basic needs and for medical expenses. Of the total responses 58 percent and 49 percent are from hilly areas as against 42 percent and 51 percent from plain areas. Another important response that occurred very often is in the category of 'others'. In this category people have mostly said they bought clothes. This answer has come predominantly from the households located in the hilly areas. Some households have mentioned using money to buy animals, to make payments to labour hired for agricultural work, to buy diesel for the diesel engine use for irrigation, and to pay back loans. It may be noted that all those households which have mentioned about food emphasised that the quality of food has improved substantially.

Table: 5.3.1 Contribution of EGA

Sl. No	Responses	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
1	Children's education	(85)	(15)	53
2	Food & basic needs	(58)	(42)	996
3	Health	(49)	(51)	340
4	Household & Household assets	(48)	(52)	42
5	Saving money for future	(75)	(25)	8
6	Paying back loans	(97)	(3)	68
7	Others	(77)	(23)	202
9	Not Applicable	(72)	(28)	65

Note: Figures in brackets indicate row percentage

Experiences of Migrants:

This section presents the data on the experiences of the migrants. The questionnaire was canvassed to the migrant member if he/she was present at the time canvassing. In all there were a total of 29 persons who responded to our questionnaire from both locations.

Table: 6.0 Number of Migrant by Area

No.of Migrants	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
	19	10	29

Work related experience of the migrants

Table-6.1 presents the reasons for migration. In both locations the most preferred responses were availability of work and higher wages.

Most migrants reported leaving behind one/more family member in the household to look after the land/other assets. Most migrants moved individually rather than in a group. The contractor was not a local person as per most respondents and also the destination for work was not usually the same. Therefore it seems migrants are quite risk taking and vulnerable while they are in search of wage work every time at a new place. Around fifty percent of the migrants informed that there is a middle man who facilitated them to move out of the village. Very few respondents said that the contractor was a local person. Mediating for the work and arranging accommodation for the migrants were the substantial roles played by the middle man. Place of work was hardly known to them. Men mostly work as wage labour; also get engaged in marble cutting and stone cutting. Similarly women also get engaged in this kind of work. However the number of responses was too small to come to any conclusion but warrants more indepth study of migrants (Table 6.4.1-6.4.9).

Table: 6.1 Reasons for migration by Area

Reasons	Hilly area	Plain area	Total
Availability of work	15	9	24
Availability of preferred work	5	1	6
Higher wages	7	2	9
Better ability to some money	0	0	0
Marriage	0	1	1
Others	2	0	2
Total responses*	29	13	42

*Multiple responses

Table: 6.4.1 is migration done individually or group?

Type	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
Individual	12	8	20
Group	6	1	7

Table: 6.4.2 whether any member of the family stayed back

	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
Yes	13	9	22
No	4	1	5

Table: 6.4.3 whether there is a middle man/contractor

	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
Yes	9	3	12
No	9	2	11

Table: 6.4.4 whether the man/contractor is a local person

	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
Yes	2	3	5
No	14	4	18

Table: 6.4.5 Is the destination usually the same?

	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
Yes	1	2	3
No	15	6	21

Table: 6.4.6 Role of middle man

Categories	Hilly area	Plain area	Total
Mediating for the work	9	1	10
Providing credit	0	1	1
Bearing the cost of travel	0	1	1
Arranging accommodation	0	3	3
Keeping discipline among the group	0	0	0
Any other	0	0	0
Total	9	6	15

Table: 6.4.7 If place of work was known to the people

	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
Yes	4	4	8
No	10	4	14

Table: 6.4.8 work usually done by men

	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
Wage work	9	2	11
Marble cutting	1	1	2
Work on construction site	1	4	5
Stone cutting	1		1
Agricultural labour		1	1

Table: 6.4.9 work usually done by women

	Hilly Area	Plain Area	Total
Wage work	2	1	3
Marble cutting	1	1	2
Work on construction site			-
Stone cutting			-
Agricultural labour		1	1

Perceptions of Living Conditions of Migrants:

Table-6.5.1 presents the experiences of the basic amenities available to the migrants. The number of responses was small but still is indicative that less than 25 percent had decent /reasonable living quarters. 12 out of 27 migrants reported that they could get safe drinking water. As regards safety of women only 5 migrants have reported positively out of 20 migrants. Nearly 45 percent of migrants availed of toilet and health facilities. Negligible number had mentioned getting any free facilities.

Table: 6.5.1

Living Conditions	Hilly Area		Plain Area		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Reasonable living quarter	3	14	3	7	6	21
Safe Drinking water	7	10	5	5	12	15
Safety for women	4	10	1	5	5	15
Toilet facilities are available	3	14	3	7	6	21
Toilet facilities are free	1	11	3	5	4	16
Health facilities are available	6	11	3	7	9	18
Health facilities are free	2	9	0	8	2	17

Chapter 4

Sundergarh District, Orissa

The current project sought to build on a study on Women and the NREGA funded by ILO and carried out by ISST in collaboration with THREAD (Team for Human Resource Education and Action for Development) in Orissa in May 2006.

The May 2006 pilot study, carried out almost immediately after the Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme was launched, sought to understand ways to facilitate the participation of women in the NREGS, and identify constraints to their participation, as well as identify women's current sources of livelihood vis-à-vis opportunities that may arise through the implementation of the NREGS. The microstudy, which used quantitative and qualitative methods and covered a sample of 250 people from five villages (Chamunda, Jhantalburh, Raidihi, Lakhapara, Tudalaga) of the Badgaon block of Sundergarh District, provided some interesting insights:

1. Women form a large part of the eligible work force for the NREGS in the district.
2. Women have lower literacy levels and fewer job opportunities.
3. Special efforts must be made to inform women of their rightful entitlements under the NREGS and to encourage them to participate in the scheme.
4. Collectivisation can help to make them participants and evaluators of programmes under the NREGS.
5. 'Part cash, part food grain' is the preferred payment for work.
6. The NREGS if well implemented can significantly enhance the economic security of a large number of women.

The current study aimed at understanding the development and migration related impact of EGS. An attempt was made to document the nature of migration as it exists at present, to understand if there is any observed immediate impact of EGS works on migration.

About the study area: Sundergarh district

The study was carried out in two blocks: Badgaon and Hemgir, in Sundergarh district. The survey questionnaire was developed by ISST and refined after discussions at an expert meeting with representatives of the ILO. It was translated into Oriya, and the survey conducted with the help of THREAD, a partner organization, which is a community development organization with a specialized focus on training for transformation and development, with its head office in Jatni, Khurda District, Orissa, and it has an extensive field presence in the state. A field research coordinator supervised the exercise, which was conducted with the help of eleven field researchers in the two blocks. The raw data was coded and tabulated by a second team, and the results are presented in this chapter.

Sundergarh district is situated in northern Orissa between 21°36' and 22°32' latitude, and 83°32' and 85°22'E longitude, covering an area of 9712 sq. km., which is 6.23 percent of the total area of Orissa.

Sundergarh has 43 percent forest cover, which yields timber, kendu-leaf, and bamboo besides minor products like sabai grass, lac, tassar, myrabalan, mahua, kusuma seed, resin, tamarind, gum, and sal seed. It also has abundant mineral resources like iron ore, manganese, limestone, and lead. It is bordered by Ranchi District of Jharkhand on the north, Raigarh district of Chhatisgarh on the west and north-west, Jharsuguda, Sambalpur, and Angul district of Orissa on the south and south-east and Singhbhum district of Jharkhand and Kendujhar District of Orissa on the east.

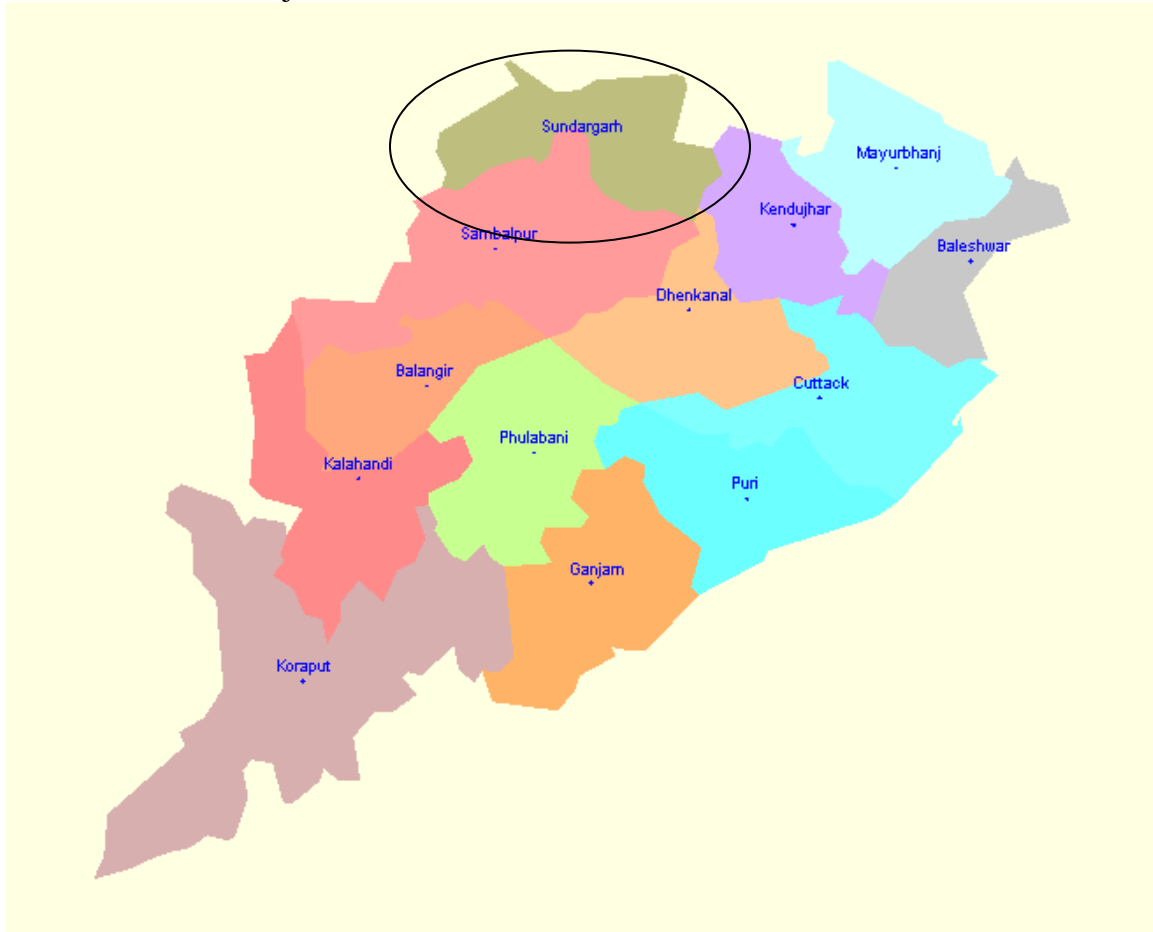


Figure 1: Map of Orissa, with the location of Sundergarh district circled

(Source:

<http://www.indnav.com/servlet/DMap?mt=stateMapPage&stId=9&mapSz=Big&smt=districtMap>)

Geographically the district consists of tracts of open country dotted with tree-clad isolated peaks, vast inaccessible forests, extensive river valleys and mountainous terrain. Torrential hill streams and the rivers Ib and Brahmani run through the district. The general elevation ranges from 700 ft. to 3331 ft. The slope of the district is from North to South. Due to the undulating and sloping nature of the terrain, the area is subject to rapid runoff leading not only to soil erosion but also to scarcity of water both for drinking and agriculture. The soil here is alluvial and lateritic. The annual rainfall is 1657.1 mm.

Temperatures range from 20°C to 45°C in summer and 13°C to 32°C in winter (source: www.adb.org). The main agricultural products of the district are paddy, wheat, mustard and potato (source: <http://sundergarh.nic.in/ITDApanrti.doc>).

Secondary data related to Sundergarh district

Sundergarh is divided into 17 blocks and has a population of 18,29,412, accounting for 4.9 percent of the state's population. Population density at 188 persons per sq. km is considerably lower than the state average of 236. At 34 percent, the urban population of Sundergarh is higher than the state average of 14.97 percent. The district has a sex ratio of 957 females per 1000 males which is significantly lower than the state average of 972, which itself is lower than the norm, and suggests the lack of gender equity that is prevalent even at birth. Traditionally marginalized sections of the population, scheduled castes (8.78 percent) and scheduled tribes (50.74 percent), make up about 60 percent of the district's population. Literacy rates for the district are higher than the state average, at 75.69 percent for men and 54.25 percent for females respectively, thus accounting for 65.22 percent of the 7+ population in the district. Sundergarh district has an edge over the state average in percent of villages electrified. At 86.79 percent it is higher than the state average of 73.30 percent.

Table 1: Basic Demographic Indicators of Sundergarh district, Orissa State

Indicators	District	State
Population	18,29,412 (2001 Census - Provisional)	3,68,04,660
Population density (per sq.km.)	188	236
Population decadal growth rate	13.39	15.94
Sex ratio (females per 1000 males)	957	972
Percent Urban	34.38	14.97
Percent Scheduled caste	8.78	18.20
Percent Scheduled tribe	50.74	22.21
Percentage of village electrified as on 31/3/99	86.79	73.30
Percentage of total workers to total popn. (1991)	39.44	37.53
Percent of literate population age 7+ years		
Person	65.22	63.08
Male	75.69	75.35
Female	54.25	50.51

(Source: Census1991)

The following tables provide information about the population and employment situation in Sundergarh.

Table 2: Population and total workers in Orissa State and Sundergarh District (2001).

Categories	Total Population (Orissa)	Total Population (Sundergarh)	Total Workers (Orissa)	Total Workers (Sundergarh)
Total Persons	3,68,04,660	18,29,412	1,42,76,488	7,40,291
Males	1,86,60,570	9,34,902	98,02,006	4,81,487
Females	1,81,44,090	8,94,510	44,74,482	2,58,804
Rural Persons	3,12,87,422	12,00,520	1,25,86,969	5,60,906
Males	1,57,48,970	6,02,043	83,73,695	3,25,549
Females	1,55,38,452	5,98,477	42,13,274	2,35,357
Urban Persons	55,17,238	6,28,892	16,89,519	1,79,385
Males	29,11,600	3,32,859	14,28,311	1,55,938
Females	26,05,638	2,96,033	2,61,208	23,447

(Source: Census 2001)

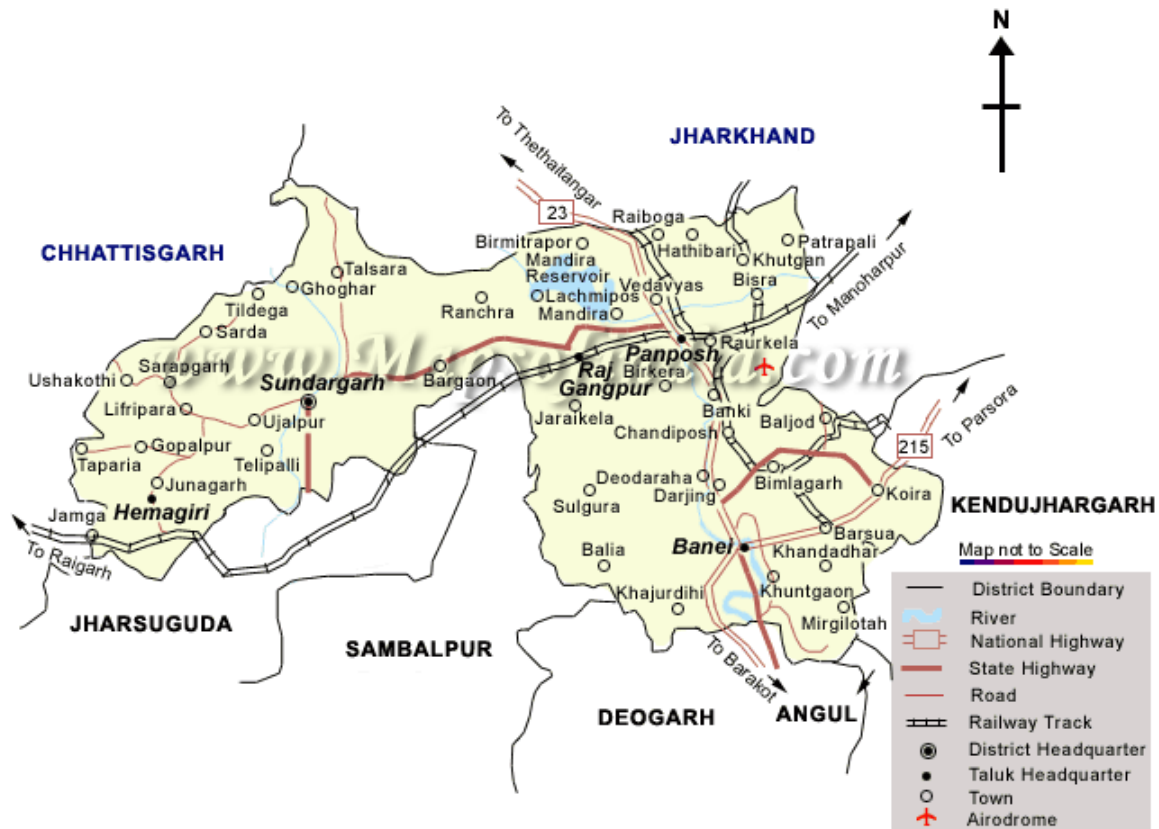
Table 2 reveals that the percentage of workers in Sundergarh district, at 40.46 percent, is higher than the state average of 38.78 percent. Female workers in the district (28.3 percent) are higher than the state average of 24.6 percent. However, Table 3 shows that rural women form only 22.72 percent of the task force of main workers in the rural areas of the district. Further, 66.96 percent of the marginal workers in the villages are women as against 33 percent men. This clearly indicates that there is significant underemployment of women. There is thus an opportunity for improving the employment situation by including women in the NREGS.

Table 3: Main workers, marginal workers, and non-workers - Orissa State and Sundergarh district 2001.

Categories	Main Workers (Orissa)	Main Workers (Sundergarh)	Marginal Workers (Orissa)	Marginal Workers (Sundergarh)	Non – Workers (Orissa)	Non – Workers (Sundergarh)
Total Persons	95,89,269	4,80,247	46,87,219	260,044	2,25,28,172	10,89,121
Males	80,04,740	3,90,093	17,97,266	91,394	88,58,564	4,53,415
Females	15,84,529	90,154	28,89,953	168,650	1,36,69,608	6,35,706
Rural Persons	80,71,999	3,17,047	45,14,970	2,43,859	1,87,00,453	6,39,614
Males	66,77,417	2,44,994	16,96,278	80,555	73,75,275	2,76,494
Females	13,94,582	72,053	28,18,692	1,63,304	1,13,25,178	3,25,549
Urban Persons	15,17,270	1,63,200	1,72,249	16,185	38,27,719	4,49,507
Males	13,27,323	1,45,099	1,00,988	10,839	1483289	176921
Females	189947	18101	71261	5346	2344430	272586

(Source: Census 2001)

Figure 2: Map of Sundergarh



(Source: <http://sundergarh.nic.in/mapsng.gif>)

Report on the field survey

The current survey was carried out in April 2007 in two blocks, Badgaon and Hemgir, in Sundergarh district. In Hemgir block, the survey was carried out in 42 hamlets of 19 villages in five gram panchayats: Durubaga, Hemgir, Ankelbira, Dudka and Kendudihi respectively. In all 539 households in the block were surveyed. The break up of households surveyed by village and gram panchayat is shown in Table 4. The rest of the 873 households of the total sample of 1412 households were surveyed in Badgaon block. Here, 59 hamlets of 14 villages in six gram panchayats: Tikilipada, Bhoipali, Fulbari, Sahajbahal, Tudalaga and Pamra were covered. Thus a total of 93 hamlets in 33 villages of nine gram panchayats in two blocks of Sundergarh district were covered. Detailed survey related information for Badgaon block is shown in Table 5.

Table 4: Showing details of survey carried out in Hemgir Block, Sundargarh District, Orissa

Sl No.	Name of Gram Panchayat	Name of Village	No. of Hamlets covered	No. of Households surveyed
1.	Durubaga	Kutabaga	2	27
		Durubaga	3	58
		Budhajharia	1	10
2.	Hemgir	Hemgir	5	56
		Rangiadhupa	3	30
3.	Ankelbira	Rohini	1	9
		Raichuan	1	10
		Ankelbira	2	25
		Kaudhar	3	35
		Barbahali	1	13
4.	Dudka	Balichuan	5	40
		Kundra	2	13
		Dudka	2	25
		Barpali	2	59
5.	Kendudihi	Kendudihi	1	49
		Dunguridihi	3	28
		Badibahal	2	23
		Kodbahal	2	23
		Panchpedi	1	6
TOTAL		19 villages	42 hamlets	539 households

Table 5: Showing details of survey carried out in Badgaon Block, Sundargarh District, Orissa

Sl No.	Name of Gram Panchayat	Name of Village	No. of Hamlets covered	No. of Households surveyed
1.	Tikilipada	Tikilipada	8	78
		Panderpalli	7	111
2.	Bhoipali	Bhoipali	5	81
		Kharikamunda	3	45
		Raidihi	2	40
		Gariamal	3	26
3.	Fulbari	Fulbari	2	30
		Chamunda	5	56
		Salepalli	2	35
4.	Tudalaga	Tudalaga	1	45
5.	Sahajbahal	Jhantalbud	3	35
		Sahajbahal	9	153
		Sankaraposh	7	97
6.	Pamra	Pamra	2	41
TOTAL		14 villages	59 hamlets	873 households

The key findings are presented below. Data is presented for the two clusters in Badgaon and Hemgir (detailed findings at Panchayat level are contained in the annex).

Socio-economic profile

Religion and caste composition

Tables 6 shows the religious and caste composition of the sample in the Badgaon and Hemgir blocks respectively. While less than one percent of the sample identified themselves as non- Hindu in the Hemgir block, the Badgaon block sample was more mixed, with almost 18 percent of the sample being Christian. (These populations tended to be largely localized to the Tikilipada and Sahajbahal gram panchayats). Overall, almost 89 percent of the sample identified themselves as Hindu. 96.3 percent of the total sample identified themselves as SC, ST or OBC, with the largest sub-section of the sample (63.3 percent) belonging to the ST category.

Table 6: Religious and Caste Composition of the Sample (percent)

Religion	Badgaon	Hemgir	Total
Hindu	82	99	89
Muslim	0.1	0.1	0.1
Christian	18	0.7	11
Others	-	-	-
Total N	873	539	1412
Caste			
SC	11.6	12	11.6
ST	70	52	63
OBC	15	31.5	21
Others	3	4	3.6
Total N	873	539	1412

Household Size

Table 7 shows the number of members in the households of the sample in the Badgaon and Hemgir blocks respectively. About 55 percent of the total sample have between three to five members in the family, suggesting that most of the families consist of nuclear families or small extended families. However, about 30 percent of the sample had between 6 to 8 members in the family. One - third of the sample is below the age of 18, testifying to the young nature of the population.

Table 7: Household size (in percentage)

No of members	Badgaon	Hemgir	Total
1-2	9.7	12	11
3-5	55	53	54
6-8	30	29.7	30
9 and above	5	5	5
Total N	873	539	1412

Table 8: Age structure

Age Structure	Badgaon		Hemgir	
	F	M	F	M
Less than 18	36	39	34	32
18-72	63	60	64	65
over 72	1	1	2	2
N	2153	2136	1298	1335

Local Economy, Migration and the NREGA

Land Holdings

Only about 11 percent of the sample showed no landholdings at all. The largest sub-section, 37 percent of the sample, had holdings of between 1 to 2 acres. About 8 per cent of the sample had holdings larger than 5 acres. Nearly 21 percent of the sample did not cultivate any land: this implies that about ten per cent of the sample which possessed land holdings too did not cultivate them. About 14 percent of the sample cultivated holdings of less than an acre. The major sub-section, about 37 percent, cultivated holdings between 1 and 2 acres (0.4 to 0.8 ha) in size. Only 4 per cent of the sample cultivated holdings of more than five acres (i.e., more than 2.02 hectares). Thus, farming was largely subsistence or marginal farming.

Table 9 Total Land Cultivated (percentage distribution)

Total land Cultivated	Badgaon	Hemgir
Nil	16	29
< 1 acre	15	14
1-2 acres	42	30
2-3 acres	13	14
4-5 acres	11	8
>5 acres	4	6
Total N	873	539

Irrigation

91 percent of the households in Badgaon and 87 percent in Hemgir reported no irrigation facilities. Of the few who had access to irrigation, the major sources were tanks and wells without electricity. Only two persons in the entire sample of 1412 respondents reported access to a tubewell with electricity, and only 15 respondents had access to a government irrigation canal.

Livestock Ownership

Nearly 21 percent of the respondents reported owning no livestock. Cattle were the livestock of choice, with about 67 percent of the respondents reporting ownership, followed by the ownership of poultry (43 percent) and goats (32 percent), as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Livestock ownership by percentage of respondents

Kind of livestock	Badgaon	Hemgir	Total
Cattle	46	50	47
Goats	24	18	22
Poultry	30	32	31
Total N	1369	634	2003

Sources of livelihood

Table 11 briefly summarises the activities engaged in over the last month, and the rest of the year. The broad picture suggests that work on land (either own land or as wage labour) and collection of forest produce are the two main sources of livelihood. Seasonality is reflected in the varying percentage occupied in the last month and the rest of the year. The NREGA works have added to the casual wage labour available locally. A higher percentage of men than women is engaged in regular work and also in self employment.

Table 11: Activities undertaken by (percentage of respondents)

	Badgaon				Hemgir			
	Last month	Rest of year	Last month	Rest of year	Last month	Rest of year	Last month	Rest of year
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Self employed	5	4	9	7	2	3	8	7
Regular salaried/ wage	2	2	6	5	1	1	7	5
Casual wage labour*	13	21	25	26	5	15	18	29
Bonded	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Family worker (own land)	4	30	6	34	8	22	6	26
Available for work	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attending educational institute	12	10	13	12	14	12	14	11
Domestic duties	25	26	11	12	24	34	7	13
Too young for school	4	1	4	1	5	3	5	2
Old and disabled	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	1
Collection of forest produce	32	3	21	2	36	7	27	5
Others (pension)	1	1	1	0	2	1	4	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	2207	2839	2184	2715	1162	1272	1203	1272

* including NREGA

Group membership

About 46 percent of the respondents reported membership in self-help groups (SHGs). About 13 percent are also members of Mahila Mandals. Very few respondents (16 in the entire sample) were unionized.

Table 12: Membership of Groups (as percentage of sample size)

Collective	Badgaon	Hemgir	Total
SHG	41	52	46
Mahila Mandal	15	10	13
Union	1	2	1
Others	2	7	4
Total responses *	512	388	900
Sample size N	873	539	1412

* multiple responses

Bank Accounts

Only about a quarter of the sample (26 percent) had bank accounts.

Education

The sample shows a higher level of illiteracy among females (32 percent) than males (17 percent); however the higher education levels of males reflects a basic education up to secondary level and not beyond.

Table 13: Educational profile (in percentage)

	Badgaon		Hemgir		Total	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Not literate	35	19	27	14	32	17
Can read and write	11	9	10	9	11	9
Up to primary	18	21	23	25	20	23
Up to middle	11	15	14	15	12	15
Secondary	14	21	13	19	14	20
Up to graduation	4	5	4	7	4	6
Over graduation	1	2	0	1	1	2
Others	0	1	1	2	1	1
N.A.	5	6	7	7	6	7
N	2087	2156	1281	1310	3368	3466

Migration

Migration is a means of supplementing incomes earned within the village and from the land/ forest. Overall, 21 percent of the households reported receiving remittances from migrants. The number of persons living away from home was roughly 3 percent of the women and 9 percent of the men. 83 percent of those who migrated sent back remittances (74 percent of women and 85 percent of men). Women migrants made up 23 percent of all migrants. Table 14 below shows that of those who were living away from home, most of those from Badgaon were outside the block but within the district, while of those from Hemgir a majority was within the block.

Table 14: Place of stay of migrants (in percentage)

Place of stay	From Badgaon		From Hemgir	
	M	F	M	F
Within 5 km of home	7	8	17	14
Outside village and within block	15	19	28	45
Outside block and within district	45	49	18	18
Outside district within state	23	14	15	14
Others	10	9.7	21	9
Total N	203	72	109	22

Both female and male migrants are away mainly for work: 77 percent of women and 86 percent of men. The second most important reason is study (15 percent, 13 percent) and marriage accounts only for 8 percent of female and 1 percent of male migration.

Table 15: Reason for staying away from home

	Bargaon		Hemgir		Total	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Study	16	17	10	6	15	13
Work	78	83	71	92	77	86
Marriage	6	0	19	2	8	1
Total N	87	217	21	111	108	328

Issues relating to the NREGA

In Sundargarh, 38 percent of households reported participation in the NREGA. Of all those reporting participation, 31 percent are women and 69 percent are men. While actual participation is relatively low, the number of households that are aware of the NREGA is higher (62 percent of all households), and much higher than those aware of other government programmes.

The number of women who had benefited from government schemes in the last year was around a third of those showing awareness in Badgaon; in Hemgir, the percentage was 85 percent. For males the corresponding percentages are 41 percent and 67 percent. If we examine awareness of NREGA alone, as Table 16 shows, in general the awareness is greater than participation. However there is one exception (women in Hemgir, and this may be because the women participated without knowing exactly which scheme is offering the work).

Table 16 Awareness of and participation in the NREGA

	Awareness		Benefit		Benefit/Awareness(percent)	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Badgaon	255	499	90	223	35	45
Hemgir	78	181	81	148	104	82

Respondents showed much higher awareness of the NREGA than of other schemes; 81 per cent of the female respondents and 78 percent of male respondents said they were aware of it. The next best known were the National Food for Work Programme (NFFWP) and the SGSY/SGRY (less than 10 percent showed awareness of these among women, around 10 percent among men).

The completed works were predominantly road works, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16: NREGA works

List of Works Completed Under the NREGA in or near the Villages of Respondents	Badgaon	Hemgir	Total
Road Work	108	8	116
Construction	1	3	4
Canal Work	1	1	2
Rain Water Harvesting	3		3
Dam Work	4		4
House Work		1	1

The perceived benefits of work completed under the NREGA relate to better roads and communication facilities, and some emphasis on food and water security.

Looking at the uses of income derived from the NREGA, top most uses included were for food and basic needs, followed by health and payback of loans.

Table 17: use of NREGA income (percent)

List of the Uses of Income from NREGA Works	Badgaon	Hemgir
Children's education	6	10
Food & basic needs	40	67
Health	19	5
Household & household assets	15	13
Saving money for future	0	0
Paying back loans	19	3
Others	0	3
Total N	221	39

Of the 65 responses received related to perceptions about wages under the REGS, 83 percent felt that wages under the NREGS were higher than those paid for local manual labour jobs, and only about 1 percent felt that they were lower.

The number of suggestions for the improvement of government-run employment schemes were quite low, especially when one considers that there were multiple responses from several respondents (155 from women, 331 from men). This seems to suggest a fairly high level of disenfranchisement on the part of respondents – pointing to their possible lack of conviction about (a) whether improvements in these schemes are actually possible

and (b) whether they can influence the process to any degree. Among the suggestions offered by the women, the maximum number of respondents (54 percent) felt that more days of work should be offered. 14 percent of the responses stated that people's participation and planning was required, and nearly 10 percent felt that higher wages were necessary. About 42 percent of the males' responses suggested more days of work through government-sponsored schemes, 18 percent asked for greater people's participation and planning, while about 15 percent recommended higher wages. The tables suggest that the significant concern of both men and women related to the government-sponsored employment programmes is that they at least fulfil their basic purpose, i.e., provide more days of paid employment, with any other additional benefits to be considered later.

About one third of respondents felt that the panchayat's role was to provide information; registration of potential beneficiaries and the issue of job cards. However, less than one fifth were aware of the role of the panchayat in the selection of works and only a tenth of its role in grievance redressal.

However, some respondents do feel that people can play a role in monitoring the employment guarantee programme. 46 percent of the women's responses and 43 percent of the men's responses indicate that people can monitor the programme to ensure better implementation of work undertaken under the NREGS. 53 percent of the women's responses and 57 percent of the men's responses suggest that monitoring by the people can contribute to timely and full payment of wages to beneficiaries. This suggests that people are in favour of the social audits required for legal compliance with the NREGA; however it is again clear that they are unaware of their entitlements and insufficiently empowered to claim them.

Women's Coping Strategies for Household Responsibilities

Participation in paid labour rarely precludes women from having to fulfil many of their responsibilities related to their reproductive work. Since the NREGS acknowledges women's roles in both engaging in paid economic activity as well as their reproductive burdens, by reserving work for them as also providing entitlements related to conditions of work including childcare, the survey also included questions related to women's coping strategies while participating in the REGS. Elder daughter and husband emerge as the strongest supports, and less significant, but extant, sources of support are older sons and parents-in-law.

Table 18: Help in coping with household responsibilities (in percentage)

	Badgaon	Hemgir
Elder daughter	32	13
Elder son	13	3
Other children	1	7
Husband	38	5
Others	16	15
N	310	61

Exploration of Current Issues related to Migration

Incidence of Migration

This section of the questionnaire was canvassed only if there was a member of the household who had had the experience of migration and was present in the household during the canvassing. Consequently the number of responses is much smaller.

Table 19: Showing incidence of individual and group migration reported in households surveyed in Badgaon and Hemgir blocks

Incidence of Migration	No. of respondents		
	Badgaon	Hemgir	Total
Individual Migration	17	9	26
Group Migration	27	10	37
Total	44	19	63

Reasons for migration

Of the total reasons listed for migration (see tables 107 and 108), the most (37 percent) referred to the availability of work as the reason, followed by higher wages (36 percent). 21 percent referred to the availability of preferred work. Less than five percent suggested that there was a better chance of saving money. This suggests that a lot of the migration is for subsistence reasons, rather than for substantial economic advantage.

Table 20: Showing list of stated reasons for migration – Badgaon block

List of Reasons for Migration	No. of Respondents						
	Tikilipada	Bhoipali	Fulbari	Tudalaga	Sahajbahal	Pamra	Total
Availability of work	4	10	2	1	12	0	29
Availability of preferred work	1	4	1	3	3	0	12
Higher Wages	7	14	0	0	5	0	26
Better Ability to Save Money	1	3	0	0	0	0	4
Marriage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	13	31	3	4	17	0	71

Table 21: Showing list of stated reasons for migration – Hemgir block

List of Reasons for Migration	No. of Respondents					
	Durubaga	Hemgir	Duduka	Ankelbira	Kendudihi	Total
Availability of work	0	3	7	1	0	11
Availability of preferred work	0	2	8	1	0	11
Higher Wages	1	2	5	0	4	12
Better Ability to Save Money	0	0	0	0	1	1
Marriage	0	0	0	1	0	1
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	7	20	3	5	36

Perceptions of changes in incidence of migration

Migrants were also asked about their perceptions of the extent of migration among men and women, as compared to three years ago. Of the 60 responses received related to the migration of men, nearly 42 percent felt that the extent of migration among men had decreased, while 30 percent felt it had remained the same, and 28 percent thought it had increased. For the women, nearly 49 percent of the respondents felt migration among women had decreased, nearly 31 percent felt it had remained the same, and about 20 percent felt that it had increased.

Table 22: Showing migrant workers perceptions of migration as compared to three years earlier

Migrant Workers' Perceptions of Migration Compared to 3 Years Ago	No of Respondents		
	Badgaon	Hemgir	Total
Migration has decreased for men	22	3	25
Migration has remained the same for men	13	5	18
Migration has increased for men	9	8	17
Migration has decreased for women	16	3	19
Migration has remained the same for women	10	2	12
Migration has increased for women	5	3	8

As Table 23 shows, by far the most significant reason for any changes in the incidence of migration is the availability of work, and its converse, the lack of work. If work is not available locally, people will migrate. However, when work becomes available locally, people prefer to stay in their villages. The availability of preferred work was not perceived as a significant factor. This was confirmed by the focus group discussions at which both men and women said that they would prefer to stay in their villages, and if work was available locally at the NREGS wages, they would not consider migrating.

Table 23: Showing migrant workers reasons for perceived changes in the incidence of migration

Migrant Workers' Reasons for Perceived Changes in the Incidence of Migration Compared to 3 Years Ago	No of Respondents		
	Badgaon	Hemgir	Total
Availability of work	15	15	30
Higher wages	4	4	8
Availability of preferred work	0	0	0
Better ability to save money	1	1	2
Lack of work	7	7	14
Low wages	1	1	2
Women are concerned about children's education	1	1	2
Smaller land holdings	1	1	2
Availability of same wage locally	1	1	2
Health hazards	1	1	2

Nature of work undertaken

Information about the nature of the work done by migrants is summarized in Table 24. According to the table, construction and earth work claim the most migrant labour, followed by agricultural labour, brick-making and road work. While the numbers in the table are too low to make broad generalizations, these findings were confirmed by the focus group discussions.

Table 24: Showing the nature of work undertaken by migrant labourers from Badgaon and Hemgir blocks

Work done by migrant workers	Number of Respondents				Total
	Badgaon		Hemgir		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Nursery	0	0	0	0	0
Road Work	1	3	0	2	4
Agriculture	0	4	1	0	5
Drainage	0	0	0	0	0
Tank/Well Cleaning	0	0	0	0	0
Horticulture/ Farmland Work	0	2	0	0	2
Stone Work	2	1	0	1	4
Construction	6	13	3	4	26
Canal Work	0	0	0	0	0
House Work	0	0	0	0	0
Rain Water Harvesting	0	0	0	0	0
Earth Work	3	7	2	0	12
Forest Work	0	0	0	0	0
Casual Work	1	1	0	0	2
Brick Making	1	4	0	0	5
Clearing	0	1	0	0	1
Total	14	36	6	7	63

Nature of the migration experience

Several tables that follow present data related to various aspects of the migrant worker experience. The destination is usually important, as sometimes the migration is seasonal, and may therefore be to known places, undertaken at periodic intervals, or may be to unknown places, in which case the chances of exploitation are much higher. As Table 25 shows, 95 percent of the respondents from Badgaon and 88 per cent of the respondents from Hemgir said that they knew where they would be working before they left. Only 20 per cent of the respondents from Badgaon said that the destinations tended to be the same from year to year, though this figure for Hemgir was 50 percent. Again, the caveat is offered that the figures in question are small.

Table 25: Shows the responses related to destination of migrant labourers
Destination

Questions related to destination	No. of respondents			
	Badgaon		Hemgir	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Before leaving, do you know where you or your spouse will be working?	42	2	14	2
Is the destination usually the same?	9	36	9	9
Total	51	38	23	11

Looking after land and assets in the village

It was earlier reported that nearly 89 per cent of the sample had landholdings of some kind. Hence, a moot question was how this land was taken care of when migration happened. Both in Badgaon and Hemgir, a significant number of respondents (81 percent and 84 percent respectively) said that one or more family members stayed behind to look after land and assets while others migrated (Table 26).

Table 26: Showing responses about care of land and assets for the duration of migration

Questions related to looking after land and assets	No. of respondents			
	Badgaon		Hemgir	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Does any family member stay behind to look after land/house/assets?	38	9	16	3

Issues related to middlemen/contractors:

Frequently, the migration experience is mediated by middlemen or contractors. As Table 27 shows, 67 percent of the respondents from Badgaon and 58 percent of those from Hemgir said that there was usually a contractor or middleman for the working group. Fewer respondents in general were willing to answer the question about whether the middleman was a local; of those who did, nearly 68 per cent of those in Badgaon said that the middleman was not a local. In contrast, 60 per cent of respondents in Hemgir said the middleman was a local, but the figures involved are very small, and do not warrant a broad generalization (Table 27).

Table 27: Showing responses related to the involvement of middlemen

Questions related to middlemen/contractors	No. of respondents			
	Badgaon		Hemgir	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Is there a middleman/contractor for the working group?	31	15	11	8
Is the middleman/contractor a local?	12	25	9	6

Table 28: Showing responses related to the role of middlemen

Role of the Middleman for Migrant Workers	No. of Respondents		
	Badgaon	Hemgir	Total
Mediating for the Work	30	11	41
Providing Credit	1	0	1
Bearing the Cost of Travel	15	5	20
Arranging Accommodation	22	8	30
Keeping Discipline Among the Group	17	7	24

Quality of Basic Living Conditions

Table 29 shows opinions about the quality of basic living conditions as experienced by migrant workers. About 63 percent of those who addressed the issue of living quarters felt that they were reasonable, while about 37 per cent did not. Nearly 71 percent felt that they could obtain safe drinking water. 54 per cent felt that conditions were safe for women. However, sanitation was an issue, with nearly 71 percent saying that toilet facilities were unavailable. Of the 18 respondents who said that toilet facilities were available, nearly 59 percent said that these were free. About 47 per cent said that health facilities were available. 89 percent of those who addressed the issue of safety said they felt safe both in the place of work and at the residence.

Table 29: Showing perceptions of basic living conditions experienced as migrant labour.

Quality Indicators of Basic Living Conditions	No. of Respondents			
	Badgaon		Hemgir	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
The living quarters are reasonable	34	14	8	10
We get safe drinking water	32	15	14	4
It is safe for women	14	20	10	0
Toilet facilities are available	9	32	8	9
Toilet facilities are free	7	1	3	8
Health facilities are available	26	21	5	13
Health facilities are free	15	8	9	3
I feel safe in my place of work and my residence	38	5	5	0

Effects on children

The part of the questionnaire related to migration was canvassed only if there was a returned migrant in the household during the survey to such persons. Even given that this restricted the number of responses, it became very evident that parents were reluctant to speak of effects of migration on children, with the highest number of responses from across both gram panchayats on a question being only ten. Hence for the following parameters, only the total number of responses is indicated, without a block or Gram Panchayat-wise break-up. Since it would be unwise to generalise from such a small set of responses, this data is presented sans comment.

Table 30: Listing children's issues in the context of migration.

Sl. No.	Broad Parameters of Children's Issues in the Context of Migration	Specific Parameters	No. of Respondents who flagged the issue
1.	List of Effects on Children of Migrant Workers who accompany their parents	a. Stop schooling	4
		b. Home schooling/NFE	2
		c. Gaps in schooling	2
		d. Children engaged in domestic work	1
		e. Continue schooling	1
		TOTAL	10
2.	List of Childcare Arrangements for Children of Migrant Workers, who are not in school	a. Care by neighbours/friends	3
		b. Care by older children	2
		c. Anganwadi	0
		d. Care at worksite	0
		e. No one to take care of children	3
		f. Mother	1
		TOTAL	9
3.	List of work done by children of migrant workers	a. Taking care of younger children at home	2
		b. Taking care of the sick and elderly	0
		c. Taking care of household chores	0
		d. Tending to animals	2
		e. Helping parents with work	3
		TOTAL	7

**Questionnaire for a Survey of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
(NREGA) – Study II**

Name of the Enumerator	
Place of Visit:	
Village:	
Panchayat:	
Block:	
District:	
State:	
Date of Survey:	
Investigator's Signature:	
Name of Supervisor and Signature:	

*As per the NREGA operational guidelines 'household will mean a nuclear family comprising of mother, father, their children and may include any person wholly or substantially dependent on the head of the family. Household will also mean a single member family'. **Each nuclear family counts as a separate "household"**.*

Section 1: Household Characteristics

1.1	Religion	
1.2	Caste (Please note sub castes also)	
1.3	Total members in this Household	
1.4	Land owned as on date of survey	
	a. Leased in (ha)	
	b. Leased out (ha)	
	c. Otherwise possessed	
1.5	How much Land is - (i) Cultivated ? (ii) Irrigated ?	
1.6	Major Source of Irrigation	

Codes 1.1
1. Hindu; 2. Muslim; 3. Christian;
4. Other (specify)

Codes 1.2
1. SC; 2. ST; 3. OBC; 4. Others

Codes 1.6
1. Govt. Canal; 2. Private Canal; 3. Tank; 4. Well with Electricity; 5. Well without Electricity
6. Tube Well with Electricity; 7. River; 8. Lake; 9. Waterfall; 10. Other Sources

1.7	Livestock possessed	
	a. No. of cattle	
	b. No. of goats	
	c. No. of poultry	
1.8	Are you or any member of the family member of any group? If yes, please tick the options given: 1. SHG 2. Mahila Mandal / Other Women's Group 3. Union (e.g. SEWA) 4. Other (specify)	Yes / No Yes/No Yes/No Yes/No Yes/No
1.9	Does household have a Bank Account?	Yes / No
1.10	During last 365 days did you receive remittances from migrants?	Yes / No

Codes 1.9 & 1.10

1. Yes; 2. No

Section 2: Household Details

As on Date of Survey: _____

S. No.	Name of Respondent and Household Members	Age (in completed yrs.)	Sex	Marital Status	Relationship with HEAD	Education	Whether Working or Not Yes/No	Type of Work including NREGA	Does any member of the family stay outside? Yes/No	Reasons	Remittance Yes/No	Place of work
	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.10	2.11	2.12
1.												
2.												
3.												
4.												
5.												
6.												
7.												
8.												
9.												
10.												

Section 2: Code Sheet

Code 2.3

1. Male; 2. Female

Code 2.4

1. Unmarried; 2. Married; 3. Married but spouse is away for most of the year; 4. Widowed; 5. Divorced; 6. Separated;

Code 2.5

1. Head ; 2. Spouse; 3. Son / Daughter; 4. Daughter-in-Law; 5. Grandson / Daughter; 6. Mother / Father / Mother-in-Law / Father-in-Law; 7. Grandmother / Grandfather; 8. Brother / Sister / Brother-in-Law / Sister-in-Law; 9. Niece / Nephew /; 10. Other

Code 2.6

1. Not Literate; 2. Can Read & Write; 3. Upto Primary; 4. Upto Middle; 5. Secondary; 6. Upto Graduation; 7. Above Graduation; 8. Others (specify); 9. NA

Code 2.7

1. Yes; 2. No

Code 2.8

1. Self Employed; 2. Regular Salaried / Wage Employee; 3. Casual Wage Labour ; 4. Bonded Labour; 5. Family Worker; 6. Available for Work; 7. Attending Educational Institution; 8. Attending Domestic Duties; 9. Too Young to Attend the School / Work; 10. Old & Disabled; 11. Others (specify)

Code 2.10

1. Study; 2. Work; 3. Marriage

Code 2.12:

1. Within 5 km. from the place of residence; 2. Outside village within the block; 3. Outside the block within the district; 4. Outside the district within the state; 5. Others

Section 4: Awareness and Opinion about NREGA

AWARENESS:

4.1.1 Are you aware that the government runs various schemes for providing employment to the people? Yes / No

4.1.2 Are you aware about any particular programme run by the government? If yes, specify.

4.1.3 Have you or any of your family members benefited from these government run employment schemes during last 365 days? Yes / No

4.1.4 If yes, how could the scheme be improved?

OPINION:

4.2.1 What kind of role according to you have the Panchayat played in the NREGA process? Please tick any one or more then one of the following:

- 1. Information
- 2. Registration / Issue of Job Card
- 3. Selection of works
- 4. Grievance redressal

4.2.2 In what ways can people participate to monitor the programme?

- 1. Better implementation of works
- 2. Timely and full payment of wages to beneficiaries

4.2.3 What would you do so that you can?

- 1. Influence what work is taken up
- 2. Ask / bid for work as a group

Section 5: Benefits and Contribution of EGA

Ask to the married women who has most recently worked on NREGA:

5.1 How did you organize your household responsibilities while participating in EGA?

Responsibilities	Coping Strategies
5.1.1 Taking care of the children at home	
5.1.2 Taking care of sick and elderly	
5.1.3 Tending to animals (if any)	
5.1.4 Take care of the household chores	
5.1.5 Any other	

BENEFITS OF EGA:

5.2.1 What works have been completed in or near your village? Please specify.

5.2.2 Have these works made a difference to you and your households? If yes, please list the benefits.

CONTRIBUTION OF EGA:

5.3.1 What has income from EGA been used for?

--

Code 5.1

- 1. Elder Daughter; 2. Elder Son; 3. Other Children;
- 4. Husband; 5. Mother-in-Law / Father-in-Law;
- 6. Sister-in-Law / Brother-in-Law; 7. Relative;
- 8. Others 9. Self

Code 5.3.1

- 1. Children's education; 2. Food & basic needs;
- 3. Health; 4. Household & household assets;
- 5. Saving money for future; 6. Paying back loans;
- 7. Others

Section 6: List of Questions for Migrants

All those who have migrated and are present at the time of Survey

R 1

R 2

R 3

REASONS FOR MIGRATIONS:

6.1.1 What was the reason for your migration?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. Availability of Work | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. Availability of Preferred Work | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. Higher Wages | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. Better Ability to Save Money | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. Marriage | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6. Other (specify) | _____ | _____ | _____ |

WAGES:

6.2.1 Are wages received lower / equal to / higher than what is locally available?

CHILDREN:

6.3.1 If children accompany parents, what happens to schooling?

6.3.2 If the children are not in school, what arrangements for child care are available?

6.3.3 What kinds of work do the children do?

Code 6.2.1

1. Lower; 2. Equal; 3. Higher

R 1

R 2

R 3

WORK:

- | | | | | |
|--------------|--|-------|-------|-------|
| 6.4.1 | Is the migration done individually or as a member of a group? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6.4.2 | Does any member of your family stay behind to look after land/house/assets
Yes / No | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6.4.3 | Is there a middleman/contractor for a working group? Yes / No | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6.4.4 | Is the middleman/contractor a local person? Yes / No | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6.4.5 | Is the destination usually the same?
Yes / No | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6.4.6 | What is the role of the middleman? | | | |
| | 1. Mediating for the Work | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 2. Providing Credit | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 3. Bearing the Cost of Travel | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 4. Arranging Accommodation | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 5. Keeping Discipline Among the Group | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 6. Any Other (specify) | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6.4.7 | Before leaving the village do you know where you or your spouse will be working?
Yes / No | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Code: 6.4.2; 6.4.3; 6.4.4; 6.4.5; 6.4.7 1. Yes; 2. No

R 1

R 2

R 3

6.4.8 What work is usually done by men?

6.4.9 What kind of work is done by women?

LIVING CONDITIONS:

6.5.1 Do you have access to

a. Reasonable Living Quarter

Yes / No

b. Safe Drinking Water

Yes / No

c. Safety for Women

Yes / No

d. Toilet Facilities

Available: Yes / No

Type of Facilities:

Free / On Payment

e. Health Facilities

Available: Yes / No

Type of Facilities:

Free / On Payment

6.5.2 Do you feel safe?

a. In your place of work : Yes / No

b. In your residence: Yes / No

c. Both: Yes / No

Code 6.5.1 & 6.5.2

1. Yes; 2. No

PERCEPTION ABOUT MIGRATION:

6.6.1 Compared to 3 years ago, do you think going out of the village for work

- a. For men has decreased /
remained the same / increased _____ _____ _____

- b. For women has decreased /
remained the same / increased _____ _____ _____

6.6.2 What do you feel are the reasons for this change?

Code 6.6.1

1. Decreased; 2. Remained the same; 3. Increased

Codes for Open Ended Questions

Code 4.1.1

1. Yes 2.No

Code 4.1.2

1. Yes 2.Aware of EGA and other scheme. 3. No

Code 4.1.3	Responses
1.	Got wage for work
2.	Got wage work within the village
3	Benefited but got less wages
4	Benefited because of small family.
5	No gain
6	Through the Indira Awas Yojna
7	Useful because of the water conservation structure
9	Not Applicable

Code 4.1.4	Responses
1.	50% grains and 50% wage should be paid
2	Awareness is needed so that people get the benefit of the scheme
3	Regular work should be provided for 100 days
4	Work should be provided for two hundred days
5	Rates need to be revised
6	Need to check on Mate and measurement of tasks need to be done properly
7	Need for regular monitoring of work
8	Training of Mate is needed
9	Not applicable
10	Project on concrete work need to be taken up.
11	No idea
12	Corruption need to be checked
13	Need to take up water conservation project
14	All eligible worker should get 100 days of work
15	Improvement of the conditions at site
16	Proper rate should be given for the work
17	Timely payment should be done
18	More site need to be opened

Code 5.1.1

8. Daughter in law

9. Self

10. Take children along

11. Not Applicable

12. Because of young children the woman has not gone for work.

1.

Code 5.2.2	Responses
1.	Access to road
2	Benefited but road is far off
3	Could buy food grains and clothes
4	Got wage work
5	Sick people can be taken to the hospital
6	Due to nari kodai animals are getting enough water
7	Availability of drinking water
8	Could spent on children's education
9	Save money on transportation
10	Water can be stored
11	No gain
12	Earned extra money
13	Not Applicable
14	Due to monsoon the structure got washed away
15	Canal water leaked into the agricultural field
16	Due to crèche facility older children can go to school

Code 5.2.1	Responses
1	Incomplete road
2	Gravel road constructed
3	Nari Kodai
4	Nothing happened
5	No idea
6	Annicuts are made
7	Canal cleaning /reconstruction
9	Not Applicable

NREGA and Women: Abu Road, Sirohi District, Rajasthan

Tracking Report of the on going sites

Mahikhera

Village-Mahikhera

Site visit: 17/10/06

The site was opened on 16.10.06 and expected to be over 29.10.06. The canal reconstruction was going on. There were two maste and two mistry (skilled labour) were engaged to do the work. A total of sixteen labour were there with nine female and seven male labour. Women carry the head load of slurry and dump it at the respective place. Men are engaged in hammering the stone and digging. As regards facilities first aid box was not there at the site. There was no crèche as well as shed facility available at the site. However, drinking water was provided to the labour at the site.

Village-Mahikhera:

Site visit: 17/11/06

The village was visited but no site was opened.

Village-Mahikhera

Samshan Ghat Nadi (dt of visit -17th Dec,2006)

The site was started on 16/12/06. A total of 60 workers were there on the site including 23 male and 37 female workers. This was the first muster roll for this site. Regarding task measurement the maste did not know about it. The panchayat secretary handed over the muster roll with an instruction on number of labour to be taken for this muster roll. During the visit it is found that a few workers were busy digging and others were dumping the slurry in the respective place, without any notion of wage. No body has come to the site for visit including the panchayat secretary who has given the order for the site to open. Site starts at 8'o clock in the morning and closes at 5'0 clock in the evening with an hour break. The distance between the residence and the worksite is about four kilo meter. Two female workers are there to serve water to the workers. There is no facility of shed for workers. For children no crech facility is there. No medical kit was there as such but maste keeps some tablets used for vomiting, stomach pain, loose motion and fever.

Nadi (adjacent to Tejabhana's house)(dt of visit -17th Dec,2006:

The site was started on 1st December, 2006. The 2nd muster roll was started on 16/12/06..This was the second muster roll going on in the site. A total of 60 workers were there in the muster roll including 19 male and 41 female. The measurement of task is decided as 12.12.2 ft, for 4 labours per day .Workers are not sure when would they get their wages.

Workers informed that they apply for jobs and job card entry is done regularly. Panchayat secretary handed over the muster roll to the mate with instructions on the number of labours to be recruited. Usually no one from the panchayat visits the site. Workers were very happy to have this programme launched but only dissatisfaction is that in spite working so hard they get low wage. Distance between the worksite and the place of residence is around 4 kilometer of the workers. As regards facilities, drinking water was available but crèche and shed were not there. Most female workers at the site mentioned if the crèche facility is provided then many more women can come to the site for work.

Village-Mahikhera

Samshan Ghat Nadi (dt of visit -17th Jan,2007)

This is one of the on going sites in Mahikhera Village. In this site labours are engaged for digging Nadi. For this a total of sixty labour are given work of which 23 are male and 37 are female. This site was opened on 16th Dec 2006 and two muster rolls were over and third one is on. This particular muster roll was started on 16/1/07. Regarding measurement of task, the Mate informed that 10*10* 2 Ft will be done by a group of three labours. One of the male workers informed that the work is more and quite difficult to accomplish. The distance between the place of digging and a place for dumping the slurry is quite long but is not taken into consideration while measurement is done for wage payment. This could be one of the reasons for low wage rate. It is told that the wage for the work is given to the labours only after two one month. Labours feel that the wage is not enough. The female workers opined that they are not satisfied because they finish their household chores and come here to earn income. Still they earn so little. The wage earned is not enough to support a family. The labour in particular female prefers food grains to cash income as wage. The job card entry is done on the site once the individual is given the work. So far no body has come from the panchayat, however Junior Engineer come to do the measurement of the work done on the earlier muster roll. It is interesting to note that he did the measurement on 11th Jan2007 which was exactly after eleven days of completion of the work site. It is reported that in the earlier muster roll both men and women were given the equal wages. On an average four kilometer is the distance between the place of residence and the work site. Two women are there to serve water at the site. Also there is a provision of tent at the site so that workers can rest and have lunch there. In the medical kit, medicine for fever /pain is there but nothing is available to heal up wounds/cuts/injuries. There is no crèche facility available for the children on the site. The mate seems to be unaware of such facilities to be provided under the act. Women were also unaware of it.

Nadi (adjacent to Tejabhana's house) (dt of visit -17th Jan,2007):

Currently three sites are on in and around Mahikhera village. Of which Nadi adjacent to Tejabhana's house is one. Around seventy labours are employed with fifty female and twenty male workers. The site was started on 1/12/06. It has completed 3 muster rolls and the fourth one is on and is expected to be over by 31/1/07. The measurement of task is done by mate which is 10,10,2Ft digging will be done by 3 labour per day with a male labour and two female labours. Earlier on i.e in the last muster roll the workers got the wage as rupees fifty three. One of the male workers on the site urged that if food grains can be offered as wage. In couple of other sites completed one month before coupons for food grains were distributed. Most workers say that it is not possible to buy food grains from the open market and PDS distribution is very poor for the APL people.

It is informed that junior Engineer came and did the final measurement of the Nadi after ten/eleven days of the completion of the site. He was not present either at the beginning/end of the muster roll.

As far as medical kit is concerned a few medicines are given for use but there is nothing available to apply in case of injuries/cuts. Two female workers are there to serve water to the workers. There is no crech facility available for the small children.

Daang phali(Nadi) (dt of visit -17th Jan,2007)

In this site a total of 59 workers are recruited including 25 male and 34 female. The site was opened on 1/1/07 and two muster rolls have been taken up of which one was over on 13/1/07 and the other one got started on 16/1/07. The task measurement is being done as 10.10.2 for three labour per day. Workers informed that the wages are given only after a month of completion of the work. All the female workers who were there on the site demanded that they be given food grains as wage. This is because there is a shortage of food grains in the households. Due to excess rain yields from agriculture was much less as compared to last year. Secondly, the irregular ration distribution by the PDS shops. The workers are unable to buy food grains from the open market due to high price.

At the beginning of the site the panchayat secretary met the mate and handed him the muster roll with instructions on the measurement of the task. This was done in his office only and not on the site. Sarpanch and the ward panchayat come to the site but not very often. The final measurement of the task was done by the junior engineer after ten/eleven days of completion of the particular muster roll. Regular entry is done in the job cards. Equal wages are offered to the male and female workers. Two female workers are engaged to serve drinking water to the workers. A tent is arranged for the workers on the site so that workers can take rest /have lunch. Medical kit is not available on the site only a packet of tablets are kept by the mate. No medicine is available for cuts/injuries. No crech facility is available for children. Female workers did mention that if the facility is available then many more women can come to work.

Nichlagarh:

Nichlagarh:

Site visit: 17/10/06

The village was visited on 16/10/06 but no site was on. There was no site because of water logging.

Nichlagarh:

Site visit: 17/11/06

The village was visited on 17/11/06. There was no worksite. The interaction with the villagers made it clear that there was water logging on the site hence the site was closed. However it was informed by Mr R.C.Jayanth, Block Coordinator, EGA programme that already three muster rolls have been sent but due to the water logging people are unable to come to the site. There is no limit for completion of the site. As soon as the water is pumped out from the site people would start work. To pump out the water machines will be called in soon.

Nichlagarh:

Site visit: 18/12/06

The site was visited on 18/12/06 and was found to be closed. It was informed that in every gram sabha new proposals had been discussed and finally the proposals were submitted to the panchayat samity. Panchayat officials and members informed that were busy in planning new proposals since before monsoon what work has been done, has been damaged due to heavy rain. In the new proposals pucca work has been preferred which will require more material. The cost of material will be high. The will be more sustainable in nature. This time under the new proposals many such ideas came up in gramsabha to construct pucca structure that are capable of retaining rain water. It is also informed that the NREGA scheme has become unpopular because of low wage. Most members of the panchayat including sarpanch were unaware of the various provisions in terms of the facilities to be provided on the site. They do not know from where they will meet up extra wages required to hire labour for crèche and/ to provide drinking water. Panchayat members informed that by now sites would have been functional but because of lack initiative from the villagers it remained closed. On the other hand, villagers mentioned they did not fill up job application since from the beginning Panchayat secretary used to fill up the form. This time villagers thought in routine basis it would be done.

NREGA WORKSITE MONITORING SHEET

Village: **Mahikheda**

Nature of Work: **Nadi Khudai**

Date of commencement of the worksite: **16.12.2006**

Expected date of completion: **15.2.2007**

Date of Visit: **17.12.2006**

Name of the site: **Shamshanghat Nadi**

1.	Workers at the site	M: --23----- F: ----37----- Total: ---60--
2.	Types of activities undertaken/Wage rate a) Digging the ground b) Carrying the slurry & dumping c) Leveling the ground d) -----	M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR.....FWR.....
3.	Has any payment been made? If yes, after how many days of opening of the worksite? If no, when is the payment expected to be made?	Y -----, N---No----- ----- No idea ----- (Investigator: Please note after how many days of opening of the worksite is the payment expected to be made)
4.	Work timings	8 am to 5pm with a break for an hour
5.	Facilities available at the site	Drinking water -----yes Shade -----yes First aid facilities----- only a few tablets are kept with the mate.----- Crèche -----No
6	Average distance covered to reach the site from residence	4 km

NREGA WORKSITE MONITORING SHEET

Village: **Mahikheda**

Nature of Work: **Nadi Khudai**

Date of commencement of the worksite: **16.12.2006**

Expected date of completion: **15.02.2007**

Date of Visit: **17.01.2007**

Name of the site: **Shamshanghat Nadi**

1.	Workers at the site	M: 23 ----- F: 37 ----- Total: 60 -----
2.	Types of activities undertaken/Wage rate a) Digging the ground b) Carrying the slurry & dumping c) Leveling the ground d) -----	M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR.....FWR.....
3.	Has any payment been made? If yes, after how many days of opening of the worksite? If no, when is the payment expected to be made?	Y -----, N----- NO ----- ----- No idea ----- (Investigator: Please note after how many days of opening of the worksite is the payment expected to be made)
4.	Work timings	8 am to 5pm with a break for an hour
5.	Facilities available at the site	Drinking water : YES Shade: YES First aid facilities: Only a few tablets are kept with the mate. Crèche : NO
6	Average distance covered to reach the site from residence	4 km

NREGA WORKSITE MONITORING SHEET

Village: **Mahikheda**

Nature of Work: **Nadi Khudai**

Date of commencement of the worksite: **16.12.2006**

Expected date of completion: **15.02.2007**

Date of Visit: **17.12.2006**

Name of the site: **Shamshanghat Nadi**

1.	Workers at the site	M: 23 ----- F: 37 ----- Total: 60 -----
2.	Types of activities undertaken/Wage rate a) Digging the ground b) Carrying the slurry & dumping c) Leveling the ground d) -----	M WR..... F WR..... M WR..... F WR..... M WR..... F WR..... M WR..... F WR.....
3.	Has any payment been made? If yes, after how many days of opening of the worksite? If no, when is the payment expected to be made?	Y -----, N--- NO ----- ----- ----- (Investigator: Please note after how many days of opening of the worksite is the payment expected to be made)
4.	Work timings	8 am to 5pm with a break for an hour
5.	Facilities available at the site	Drinking water : YES Shade: NO First aid facilities: Only a few tablets are kept with the mate. Crèche : NO
6	Average distance covered to reach the site from residence	4 Km

NREGA WORKSITE MONITORING SHEET

Village: **Nichlagarh**

Nature of Work: **Site closed**

Date of commencement of the worksite:

Expected date of completion:

Date of Visit: **18.12.2006**

Name of the site: **NA**

1.	Workers at the site	M: ----- F: ----- Total: -----
2.	Types of activities undertaken/Wage rate	
	a)	M WR..... FWR.....
	b)	M WR..... FWR.....
	c)	M WR..... FWR.....
	d)	M WR.....FWR.....
3.	Has any payment been made? If yes, after how many days of opening of the worksite? If no, when is the payment expected to be made?	Y -----, N----- ----- ----- (Investigator: Please note after how many days of opening of the worksite is the payment expected to be made)
4.	Work timings	
5.	Facilities available at the site	Drinking water : Shade: First aid facilities: Crèche :
6	Average distance covered to reach the site from residence	km

NREGA WORKSITE MONITORING SHEET

Village: **Mahikheda**

Nature of Work: **Nadi Khudai**

Date of commencement of the worksite: **16.12.2006**

Expected date of completion: **31.01.2007**

Date of Visit: **17.12.2006**

Name of the site : **Tejabhana Nadi**

1.	Workers at the site	M: 19 ----- F: 41 ----- Total: 60 -----
2.	Types of activities undertaken/Wage rate a) Digging the ground b) Carrying the slurry & dumping c) Leveling the ground d) -----	M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR.....FWR.....
3.	Has any payment been made? If yes, after how many days of opening of the worksite? If no, when is the payment expected to be made?	Y -----, N---NO----- ----- ----- (Investigator: Please note after how many days of opening of the worksite is the payment expected to be made)
4.	Work timings	8 am to 5pm with a break for an hour
5.	Facilities available at the site	Drinking water : YES Shade: NO First aid facilities: Only a few tablets are kept with the mate. Crèche : NO
6	Average distance covered to reach the site from residence	4 km

NREGA WORKSITE MONITORING SHEET

Village: **Mahikheda**

Nature of Work: **Nadi Khudai**

Date of commencement of the worksite: **01.12.2006**

Expected date of completion: **31.01.2007**

Date of Visit: **17.01.2007**

Name of the site: **Tejabhana**

1.	Workers at the site	M: 20 ----- F: 50 ----- Total: 70 -----
2.	Types of activities undertaken/Wage rate a) Digging the ground b) Carrying the slurry & dumping c) Leveling the ground d) -----	M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR.....FWR.....
3.	Has any payment been made? If yes, after how many days of opening of the worksite? If no, when is the payment expected to be made?	Y - ----, N--- NO ----- ----- ----- (Investigator: Please note after how many days of opening of the worksite is the payment expected to be made)
4.	Work timings	8 am to 5pm with a break for an hour
5.	Facilities available at the site	Drinking water : YES Shade: YES First aid facilities: NO Crèche : NO
6	Average distance covered to reach the site from residence	4 km

NREGA WORKSITE MONITORING SHEET

Village: **Mahikheda**

Nature of Work: **Nadi Khudai**

Date of commencement of the worksite: **01.01.2007**

Expected date of completion: **15.03.2007**

Date of Visit: **17.01.2007**

Name of the site: **Dangphali Nadi**

1.	Workers at the site	M: 25 ----- F: 34 ----- Total: 59 -----
2.	Types of activities undertaken/Wage rate a) Digging the ground b) Carrying the slurry & dumping c) Leveling the ground d) -----	M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR..... FWR..... M WR.....FWR.....
3.	Has any payment been made? If yes, after how many days of opening of the worksite? If no, when is the payment expected to be made?	Y -----, N---- NO ----- ----- ----- (Investigator: Please note after how many days of opening of the worksite is the payment expected to be made)
4.	Work timings	8 am to 5pm with a break for an hour
5.	Facilities available at the site	Drinking water : YES Shade: YES First aid facilities: NO Crèche : NO
6	Average distance covered to reach the site from residence	5 km

NREGA WORKSITE MONITORING SHEET

Nature of Work: **Reconstruction of cannal**

Date of commencement of the worksite: **16.10.06**

Expected date of completion: **29.10.06**

Date of Visit: **17.10.06**

Village: **Mahikheda¹**

1.	Workers at the site	M: ---7----- F: -----9--- Total: -16+2*=18
2.	Types of activities undertaken/Wage rate a) b) Digging the ground b) Carrying the slurry & dumping c) Leveling the ground c) Plastering of walls d)	M WR..... F WR..... M WR..... F WR..... M WR..... F WR..... M WR..... F WR.....
3.	Has any payment been made? If yes, after how many days of opening of the worksite? If no, when is the payment expected to be made?	Y -----, N----No----- ----- ----- (Investigator: Please note after how many days of opening of the worksite is the payment expected to be made)
4.	Work timings	8 am to 5pm with a break for an hour
5.	Facilities available at the site	Drinking water : Yes Shade: No First aid facilities: No Crèche : No
6	Average distance covered to reach the site from residence	5 km

¹ There were two male skilled labours who have fixed wage

Report of the workshop on the Experiences of NREGA: 19-20 Jan 2007

ISST in collaboration with Doosra Dashak, organized a workshop on **Experiences of NREGA** on 19 and 20 Jan'2007 in Abu road, district Sirohi, Rajasthan. It was a two-day event. One day was totally devoted to record the experiences of the women and the next day was kept for men. Men and women were asked to participate separately for reasons that women may not be articulate in front of the men. The workshop was organized with a view to capture various experiences of these men/women while participating in NREGA and also to share information on various provisions given in the Act. The group comprised of men and women who have worked in the NREGA work site as mates, workers etc. Besides representative of panchayats, representatives of labour union from the formal set up, local NGOs involved with campaign and awareness generation have also been invited.

Three issues were taken up in the workshop for discussion. These are

- what facilities have been provided at the site,
- who takes care of woman's responsibilities when she is away for work,
- perception of the programme in general and what are the constraints people face while participating in NREGA.

A total of thirty three women and fifty men comprising of workers, panchayat members, aagan wari workers and mate participated in the workshop. The group of men and women were formed into small groups of five/six representing different panchayats.

Experiences of NREGA: Views of Women

Bahadurpura panchayat:

Shani Devi informed that many of the households have completed hundred days of work. At the beginning rate of wage was as low as twenty five per day so these households are at the looser end. She feels that NREGA programme is a good one at least it provided some employment opportunities. There is dissatisfaction because of the fact in spite of the putting so much labour; wage rate comes out to be only thirty to forty rupees per day. She feels there are some people who have vested interest in making the program flopped tries not to improve on the wage rate.

Kesari Bai worked in various worksites such as Nadi khudai, Graval road construction, Plantation work in nursery. She received wage of rupees fifty in the last muster roll that she had attended. She has already finished her hundred days of work and now she has nothing to do. From her household, she is the only one to go for work. Husband does not work and sons stay in separate households.

She feels that NREGA programme is better than the earlier programs. Earlier programs (referred to the drought relief programme) were meant for BPL families only. In case of

NREGA there is no restriction as far as participation is concerned. Anyone who wants to work can go for work.

She knows that she would be eligible for work sometime after holi (the festival comes in March). However she is unaware of the fact that she will have to apply for jobs like this year. She was asked has she ever received any receipt from the panchayat secretary for submission of the application for each of the muster she has worked in. She replied in negative. To this all most all the participants informed that they had never received receipt from the secretary of the panchayat for submission of job application. Participants are informed about the importance of receiving receipts so that they can challenge the authority for any misconduct. It is mentioned that they are not informed about the gram sabha meeting hence people do not attend these meeting. She opined that the program where food grains were given as wage was much better, that really helped her to save money for herself. She used her savings to buy some jewellery.

Uplakhejra Panchayat:

Virubai from Uplakhejra Panchayat informed that she has three adult members in the household as eligible workers i.e she, her son and daughter-in law. She has worked in two muster rolls. However she has not received any payment for the same. Almost a month is over now. Regarding measurement, she said mate as well as panchayat secretary are not familiar/ well versed with the measurement of the work site. Usually workers are communicated that they have to work in the site and have to carry out activity like digging, stone cutting, dumping slurry etc. Even at the end of the muster roll, junior engineer come to takes the measurement for deciding the wage. It seems no body knows when he comes and takes the measurement. Therefore it is quite vague and there is a lack of transparency regarding wage payment. This has been taking place in Uplakhejra since beginning of NREGA programme. This was agreed by the other participants present from the same panchayat.

At the sites no facilities are provided in terms of shed and crèche for children. However provision for drinking water is there at the site. No medical kit is there at the site.

Virubai opined that it would be beneficial for them to have food grains as wage. There is a scarcity of food grain at the households' level. Due to excess rain this monsoon agriculture yields was almost nil. Further distribution of grains at PDS outlet is very poor for APL households. Therefore, labours need to buy the grains from open market which is beyond their reach. This view was supported by most participants including Gujribai who works as an activists in the area and has been involved in the awareness of NREGA act at the initial stage. This is what makes the drought relief programme better than this NREGA. Secondly wage earned is very low. Although it is a good programme and offers wage opportunity for hundred days.

Gujribai raised the issue of children being dropping out of the school because of increase in pressure at the household level to look after the younger children when the woman goes to the worksite. Virubai informed that her own grand daughter dropped out of

school to look after the younger siblings at home when the mother is away at the site for wage work. Further, she says 'pet pahale bhareng, padai bad me sochenge.....'. It has been informed that many school going children are now going for wage work. Doosra Dashak, a local organization engaged in non-formal education for the children found in several occasions that those children who were declared as under age for some curriculum in their set up have been taken for wage work. The name of these children is being entered in the job card making them eligible wage worker².

Jambhori Panchayat:

Gangubai has already completed her hundred days of works and has nothing to do now. She reported that many women accompanied by small children had to leave the work site. This is done at the behest of the mate who asks them to do so. As regards the programme, she feels it has impacted their lives positively. It is informed that no facilities are provided at the sites but for drinking water.

Aabal Panchayat :

Participants informed that the wage is very low. They work very hard still wage remains low. It is suggested that this could be checked if proper supervision is done. Almost in every site there are few people who do nothing but always loitering on the site from one end to the other and claim full wage. They are close to mate and are privileged to take this opportunity. Therefore, the total wage rates get affected because of the average calculated based on the total man-days. Participants from Mungthala village informed that the scheme was very good because to some extent it checked migration. Often males were going to Mount Abu and stay there for 15-30 days for wage work. Due to the NREGA it got reduced but it is only a temporary phenomena. Many of the households have finished their hundred days of work and will go back to the old practice.

Meen Panchayat:

Kantha Bai and her mother both go to sites. She informed that once her sister was feeling unwell and requested for some medicines to the mate on the site. He simply sent her home back saying he does not have any medicine. There is no provision for crèche and shed facilities at the site. It is interesting to know that in her job card she has another four days left to complete hundred days but secretary and mate refused to give them work saying it hampers accounting process in the muster roll..

² Any person attaining the age of 18years and above is an eligible worker.

Experiences of NREGA: Views of Men

Kairiya Panchayat:

In this panchayat two sites are on, of which one is construction of gravel road and the other is nadi khudai. The worksite for road construction is closed. The wage rate has improved from thirty to fifty five. There are no facilities in terms of medical aid, crèche for young children, shed for the labour available on the site. Drinking water is available for the labour. The mate does the measurement of the task and gets the work done. The measurement of task is done on the basis of length, breath and height. The distance (that the labour has to cover to carry the slurry from one place to dump in another place) is not at all considered for measurement of the final task. The time spent by labour for each task is an important consideration. The task based measurement gives a lot of importance to time taken for each task to complete. This view was supported by all the participants present at the workshop.

Aamthala Panchayat:

There are working two/three on going work sites in the Aamthala panchayat. It was reported that in earlier occasions workers were given food grains against the wages they earned. But the mate had taken more than his share of food grains. No body knows how could he take that much. Raising this issue in the gram sabha made no difference. Another interesting thing was mentioned that many muster rolls had children between the age group 12-16 yrs as workers.

There has been an improvement in the wage rates from rupees twenty to fifty five. No facilities are provided for the children at the site in terms of crèche. Earlier shed was not provided at the site, only few days back shed has been provided to the labour to take rest and have lunch there. Drinking water is served at the site.

As regards NREGA programme, workers feel it is a good scheme but lot of exploitation is done by the mate and others in the power. Implementation of the scheme has been able to check migration and in addition it has provided work to the women.

The mate informed that at times it becomes difficult to face the public especially for wage. He was not aware of the new task revision (20% reduction of the task). There is a strong felt need that mate should be provided training with special reference to task measurement.

Bahadurpura Panchayat:

Surmaranjan had three more members to go for NREGA work. His household has completed one hundred days of work. The recent wage received by him is fifty five rupees which is almost more than double. All the three sites that are on, two are of nadi khudai and the third one is a pucca work. He mentioned that he would be eligible for

work in the next year after holi (festival comes in the month of March).He seems to know that he has to apply for the work however on earlier occasions it was all done by the mate only.

He informed that only men go to the gramsabha but not the women. There is a lot of confusion about the measurement of task. It is informed that measurement of task has been reduced. Earlier it was 12*12*2ft for four labour. But now it is 10*10*2Ft for three labour.

The mate from Bahadurpura informed that they will get cradle for children (Jhula) soon. He does not have any idea how many actually be given to the site. There is no shed facility available on the site. Drinking water is available for the labour. Two women are engaged for the purpose.

Through implementation of NREGA people do not go out of the village in search of work. They get work right in the village. As regards education, more children are going to the school. In other words attendance is more in the school.

The participants informed that mate has not been given any training for the measurement. Usually the measurement is done with a strip of wood which is considered to be the yardstick. This seems to be a more of a gross measurement rather than accurate. The junior engineer comes and does the final measurement. The payment is done after at least two muster rolls are over. From this it appears those who had worked in the first muster roll has to wait for their wage at least 20-25 days. In any case junior engineer comes and does the measurement after three/four/even after ten days of completion of the task and another four /five days wages get disbursed.

Bhamaria Panchayat:

There is no ongoing site currently in this panchayat. It seems it is due to lack of applications requesting for work from the villagers. It is gathered that from the beginning villagers never applied for jobs but panchayat secretary has been filling the form. For this there is a good reason for the villagers that they have to travel a distance of five kilometer to reach the panchayat office. So it is simpler if the panchayat secretary does it on their behalf. However, it appears that there is a lack of awareness about how and when to fill up the form etc. One of the participants who served as labour on the site opined that the wage is determined based on group task/output. This has paved the way to those who do not work hard to claim the same wage like others who put lot of hard work.

Meen Panchayat:

Currently three sites are on.Chauhan has a job card which has registered three members for work, his wife, son and daughter- in- law. His son is away in Mumbai. Hence his wife and daughter- in- law go the worksite. In one occasion his son's name was entered as worker in the muster roll. The family did not know about this. To their surprise, when the wage for the same muster roll was disbursed his name was called out

to collect wage. His wife had also worked for the same muster roll and was present there to collect the wage. On hearing her son's name she made a hue and cry that how come his name is called out for wage when he has not worked on the site, moreover he is not even in town. In- spite of the protest nothing happen. Mr Chauhan reported the matter to the panchayat, nothing happened, on the contrary his family has not been allowed to work for remaining days on their account to complete hundred days. It seems this kind of leakage is prevalent in the area. Many bogus names are entered in the muster roll and wages are claimed. This is confirmed by ex-sarpanch from Bahadurpura.

No facilities are provided at the site in-terms of crèche for the children of the labour, shed for the labours etc. Drinking water is provided at the site. The wage rate has been improved. Recently workers got the wages as high as rupees seventy per day, initially it was as low as rupees twenty per day.

Aabal Panchayat:

There is no on-going site in the area. The latest wage disbursed was rupees sixty per day. It is reported that the site that was opened on 16/12/06 and closed on 31/12/06, no measurement was done till 22nd January, 2007. The mate reported this incident. He says he has no knowledge of measurement but has been asked to open the site by the panchayat secretary. He was told about the total area to be dug up and number of labour to be required. As regards measurement of day's output, he does it at the end of the day but does not keep any record. No other facilities are available on the worksite but for drinking water. There is no medical box available with the mate or at the panchayat office.

List of organizations invited for the workshop

Aravali Seva Samity: ASS is an NGO working for pregnant and lactating mothers. It implements a project on Janany Suraksha Yojna sponsored by Rajasthan state govt. Under this program a campaign has been launched in all the 81 villages of 25 panchayats that pregnant women should get their delivery done in the Government hospital which will provide free service and the mothers will be given 1400 hundred rupees within seven days of delivery. It also runs a counseling centre for those women who are under stress.

Ekal Nari Sanghstha: This is a branch of Aastha, an NGO located in Udaipur. It looks after the problems of single women, widow and destitute.

Society for All-Round Development: SARD is an NGO and has been working in Sirohi and Jalore districts of Rajasthan for last five years. It facilitates people to build their own institutions for managing their natural resources, health, education and livelihood.

Participants: Women

S. No.	Name	
1.	Bhuri Devi	
2.	Bhawari Devi	
3.	Kunk Devi	
4.	Sankali Devi	
5.	Piru Devi	
6.	Shoti Devi	
7.	Indira Devi	
8.	Gujari Devi	
9.	Keruri Devi	
10.	Mali Devi	
11.	Mani Devi	
12.	Manu Devi	
13.	Saji Devi	
14.	Dhanki Devi	
15.	Manu Devi	
16.	Kanta Devi	
17.	Champa Devi	
18.	Radha Devi	
19.	Sawali Devi	
20.	Bijali Devi	
21.	Mani Devi	
22.	Kanta Kumari	
23.	Chandika Kumari	
24.	Leela Devi	
25.	Sunari Devi	
26.	Laburi Devi	
27.	Kaali Devi	
28.	Ruji Devi	
29.	Peepali Devi	
30.	Masari Devi	
31.	Lashmi Devi	
32.	Leela Devi	
33.	Bhoori Devi	

Participants: Men

S. No.	Name	
1.	Shankar Lal	
2.	Govind Kumar	
3.	Dhula Ram	
4.	Anda Bhai	
5.	Bhana	
6.	Heera Ram	
7.	Madhu Ram	
8.	Bhawara Ram	
9.	Sarada Ram	
10.	Heera Ram	
11.	Nana Ram	
12.	Jhuma Ram	
13.	Pinta Ram	
14.	Suka Ram	
15.	Ramesh Kumar	
16.	Kaali	
17.	Kola	
18.	Ramesh Kumar	
19.	Babu Lal	
20.	Nava Ram	
21.	Chatra Ram	
22.	Bhera Ram	
23.	Sakuram	
24.	Roopa Ram	
25.	Nana Ram	
26.	Sawala Ram	
27.	Surama Ram	
28.	Shankar Lal	
29.	Gujari Bai	
30.	Bela Ram	
31.	Kala Ram	
32.	Bhaga Ram	
33.	Saaja Ram	
34.	Ranasa Ram	
35.	Satish	
36.	Sardar Khan	
37.	Ganpat Singh	
38.	Mohan Lal	
39.	Kush	
40.	Dharma Ram	
41.	Moti Ram	

Six Month Tracking Report on NREGA work in Badgaon Block

Month Village	Sept '06	Oct '06	Nov '06	Dec '06	Jan '07	Feb '07
Chamunda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Type of work – Plantation * • 15 males employed, no females • Wate rate – Rs. 55/per day • Work timings: 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. • Payment made after 15 days • Facilities available: only drinking water. • Average distance to worksite: 1 km 	No work	No work	No work	No work	No work
Jhantalburh	No work	No work	No work	No work	No work	No work

* Note: There was no certainty whether this work was actually done under the NREGA and paid with for earmarked funds. There was no board designating this as NREGA work on the worksite. Some villagers said that the work had been undertaken by the Soil Conservation Department.

Additional information:

No work was undertaken in these villages in the months of March and April (when the survey was conducted). In June, no work was done in Chamunda, but some work was undertaken in Jhantalburh, details of which are given below:

Nature of NREGA work	: Village road construction
Date of starting of work	: 21.05.2007
Proposed date of completion	: 04.06.2007
No. of workers at work place	: Female 8 + Male 10 = 18
Nature of work	: Earth work (Road Construction)
Rate of wage	: Rs.52/- per day (Both for male and female)
If any payment has been made	: Yes (After 5 days of starting of work)
Hours of work per day	: 8 hrs.
Facilities at place of work	: Drinking water
Average distance between residence and workplace	: 3 km.

* Note: Again, for the villagers, there was no certainty or clarity about whether this work was actually done under the NREGA and paid with for earmarked funds. At a focus group discussion held on August 4 in the village, attended by 40 people, villagers asserted that no work had been done under NREGA.

Information received from the Badgaon and Hemgir Block Offices about NREGA:

BADGAON:

No.of BPL villages covered under NREGA	16,303
Total no. of families registered under NREGS	14, 580
Breakup of families registered	S.T.- 9858 S.C.-1522 Others - 3200
No of job cards issued	14, 580
NREGA funds received in the year of 2006-2007	Rs. 2 crores and 38 lakhs
NREGA funds received in the year of 2007-2008	Rs. 52 lakhs and 28 thousand.

HEMGIR:

Total no. of families registered under NREGS	13,771
Breakup of families registered	ST – 7539 SC – 1826 Others - 4406
No of job cards issued	11, 431
NREGA funds received in the year of 2006-2007	Rs. One crore 12 lakhs

NREGA funds received in the year of 2007-2008	Rs. 69 lakhs 82 thousand
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