MIGRATION IN KORAPUT

"In Search of a Less Grim Set of Possibilities"

A Study in Four Blocks of Tribal-Dominated Koraput District, Orissa

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STUDY CONDUCTED AND SUPPORTED BY:

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Bidyut Mohanty

Secretary

SPREAD

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SUMMARY

0.0 Overview

Migration in Koraput District is increasing with a sharp upward curve, in fact doubling from 2006 to 2007 and rising another 25% by 2008, an alarming trend.

In the tribal areas of Koraput District, migration is an involuntary survival tactic, not a voluntary strategy for advancement, caused by the following inter-related factors:

- Inadequate food security
- Lack of local work, low wages or late payment of wages
- Landlessness and displacement
- Deforestation
- Poor agricultural production, lack of irrigation and drought
- Indebtedness

Although the civil rights of migrant workers are protected by numerous laws, poor enforcement of existing legislation allows them to be denied these rights on regular basis. Issues of particular concern include:

- Wages that do not meet minimum standards or are not commensurate with hours and days worked, late payment of wages and failure to pay wages at all
- Exploitation of vulnerable and often illiterate tribals and Dalits by contractors, agents and other middlemen
- Physical and psychological abuse
- Deplorable working conditions, especially for women
- Child labour, particularly among female children

In spite of the risks and suffering endured, migration does not currently prove to be an effective means to change the impoverished circumstances of the workers but merely buys them a brief reprieve.

0.2 What Does Migration Look Like?

The typical migrant worker in Koraput's tribal areas is a married adivasi man supporting a family of 5, who has minimal or no land holdings and is facing hunger or debt. His family has an average spending power of fewer than 28 rupees a day – well below the poverty line - and this is the lean time of the year when agricultural work is not available and his resources are depleted. He is illiterate and if he has heard about the 100 days of local work in the NREGA program he is entitled to, he knows little or nothing about how to apply for the program or his rights under it. He is eligible for other food security schemes but may not be receiving them. He is ill-informed about how to receive entitlements or redress grievances. He sees migration as an opportunity because he has assurances from a

middleman whom he may know and trust that he will receive fair wages under decent working conditions. Thus, the opportunity to escape his dire situation seems worth the uncertainty, discomfort and separation from home and family.

The reality of his migration experience will likely be quite different. He will work under difficult, and often dangerous, conditions and live in cramped housing without adequate security. If he becomes ill he may not receive medical care and if he's injured on the job he will not have first aid supplies available. He will be isolated because of lack of contact with his family as well as being far from home without money, unable to understand the local language and without knowledge of his whereabouts. He will rightfully feel quite powerless because he will not be paid for his work until he returns home and then probably not all that he is owed. He will work many more hours and days than he agreed to or is compensated for, and deductions for promised benefits such as food and transportation will reduce his meager pay even further. Once home, his earnings will go to pay off his debts or purchase food, agricultural supplies and other household expenses, but he will have succeeded only in surviving another season and not in achieving financial stability or having materially changed his lot.

0.3 How Do We Stem the Tide of Distressed Migration?

Two broad approaches should be pursued:

- Support and development of community based organizations to inform tribals and Dalits of their rights and the avenues for them to receive entitlements, as well as to spread awareness of migration issues.
- Improvements in governance in order to effectively implement existing programs and uphold the labour laws designed to protect workers, especially in the unofficial sector.

0.4 Support and Development of Community Based Organizations

Gram Sabhas are the prime institutions for planning at the panchayat level but these meetings are often held "on paper" only, by elected officials rather than as community forums, and do not involve the community members in the identification of issues, root cause analysis and planning. Broad programs such as NREGA will never be effectively implemented without knowledge of the "ground realities" that these groups can provide, and corruption will continue to thrive without the transparency that community involvement enforces.

Community organizations serve as a critical means to disseminate information and build awareness among the isolated communities of Koraput district. A well-informed public is necessary for the government to be able to deliver services as mandated, and indeed can make government's job easier by facilitating registration and application processes and providing data that government needs to plan.

0.5 Governance

Three kinds of interventions within the sphere of governance are urgently needed to stem the tide of distress migration in Koraput District and increase the safety and security of those who are currently compelled to migrate for work:

1. Life-sustaining schemes already mandated, such as NREGA and PDS, must be fully and fairly implemented in order to address the immediate needs of families.
    - Awareness of rights to work needs to be increased, but even so, NREGA entitlements are not being consistently delivered and compensation is not being paid, or paid late, for days worked.
    - The PDS system and other food security schemes need better supervision and protections from corruption. Supporting and enabling activities needed to fairly administer the PDS system, such as validating the BPL census, need to be addressed.
2. Long-term solutions to increase opportunities for livelihood and address the drivers of poverty, such as ensuring entitlements to land, water and forest, and the creation of productive assets such as irrigation systems, must be accelerated.
    - Irrigation and other agricultural investments should be funded.
    - Alternative livelihood options should be promoted.
    - The Forest Rights Act should be fully implemented.
    - Forest and other environmentally sensitive areas should be protected from further degradation.
    - Non-Timber Forest Products should be better, and more fairly, marketed.
3. The safety net for current migrants needs to be strengthened, including the effective implementation of the Interstate Migrant Workmen Act and the addition of a state act protecting the rights of those migrating to districts within Orissa.
    - Current mandates such as first aid boxes, toilets, drinking water and separate accommodations for men and women should be enforced with appropriate consequences levied upon employers/contractors who do not comply.
    - Contractors, agents and middlemen should all be registered in order to hold them accountable for false promises and fair payment of wages, as well as all the other provisions of the Interstate Migrant Workmen Act for which they are responsible.
    - Social security provisions should be made mandatory for the migrant labourers provided by the employer or the contractor.
    - All migrants should be covered either by life or health insurance during their migration period, provided by the employer/contractor.

Putting an end to migration is impractical in the short term, and may even be undesirable in some cases. The voluntary relocation to seek better pay, more and different work experiences and the opportunity to see the world may be attractive and beneficial. However, where migration is due to poverty and distress, it can be reduced, better local alternatives can be developed and the rights of the migrants can be protected. We need

a thorough and thoughtful policy with the will to make needed changes in order to change impoverishment to empowerment.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Defining Migration

Migration has taken a pivotal place in the present development discourse. Many economists view it as an integral part of demographic transformation having greater potential for poverty reduction and economic growth. It has different dimensions and these dimensions could be analysed in terms of "WHO" migrates and "WHY".

Migration can be defined as the movement of a group of people from one place to other. It has a watertight link with the avenues of income available at the destination. It can be permanent or semi-permanent. Sometimes migration is voluntary, but many times people are forced to migrate because they do not have any other choices. Labour migration is a part of semi-permanent migration also called seasonal migration.

The word migration has been defined by many authors. Dr. S. N. Tripathy writes, "Labour migration is a form of labour mobility towards district or state or outside where industry and employment are expanding. In other words, migration may be the phenomenon of the flow of the people over shorter or longer distance from one origin to a destination either for temporary or permanent settlement."

1.2 Reasons for Migration

Labourers migrate for various reasons, which vary from region to region. In the state of Orissa and especially in the Koraput-Bolangir-Kalahandi (KBK) region, migration is frequent and involves millions of families and individuals. This is because of underdevelopment and the degree of poverty. The area is mostly rain-fed and villagers have very limited sources of income and employment during the lean season. Without alternate sources of local employment the impoverished villagers are left with two options: migrate or starve.

Some villagers migrate in order to supplement income during seasons when local work is unavailable. However, among the landless, small and marginal farmers belonging to Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste and Other Backward Communities, migration as a survival strategy is far more common.

1.3 Perspectives on Migration

Some workers migrate from rural to urban areas because of the availability of higher income at the destination. However, migration from the rural/tribal areas is due more to distress in terms of livelihood than the pull of opportunities in the cities.

Standing (1981), following the Marxist framework, has provided a materialistic interpretation of rural/urban migration. According to him the conditions of migration are as follows.

A. The decision to migrate is considered to be an acceptable response to adversity and frustrated aspiration.
B. The villagers deem their exploitation as being unjust and *not* inevitable, which means in practice that some reciprocal relationship must have been violated to cause a sense of deprivation.
C. A revolt must appear to have minimal chance of success, or the class solidarity of the oppressed must have been undeveloped or have given way to disjointed anomie.
D. The potential migrant must have had cause to reject customary forms of oppression and exploitation because of a sense of deprivation or inability to satisfy his traditional level of subsistence.

Thus, a variety of reasons have been adduced for rural/urban migration. Many empirical studies have also been undertaken to analyse the motives for migration and the impact of rural/urban migration on destination areas (Berman, 1985, 1996).

Ravenstein in the 1980s first proposed his "laws of migration" according to which migrants move from areas of low opportunity to areas of high opportunity. The choice of destination is regulated by distance, with migrants tending to move to nearby places.

Amin (1974) argues that the choice of the migrant himself is nothing but the immediate and apparent cause; the root cause lies in the overall development strategy of the state, which causes unequal allocation of factors of production. The conventional economic theory of migration is purely tautological and applies an individualistic functionalist approach which ignores the relationship between migration and production. The transformation of the socio-economic organization in the rural areas that cause exodus of a part of its population needs to be examined carefully to provide meaningful explanations of migration.

It is also seen that the theory of social networking works as an enabler for migration. Prevalent in the tribal areas, this theory illustrates how people who are already migrating became a link for additional migrants within kinship groups.

1.4 Types of Migration

There are different scales of migration, from interregional to intracontinental to intercontinental. Although the terms "emigration" and "immigration" are used interchangeably with the word migration, emigration and immigration typically refer to situations in which people are migrating from one country to another.

The present study focuses on distressed seasonal migration in particular: the process whereby labourers move to another place within the district, within the state or to other states because of the seasonal unavailability of income opportunities at their native places.

Distressed seasonal migration has deep rooted causes and far reaching consequences. According to Amartya Sen, "The distressed seasonal migration itself is really an attempt to

cope with those terrible things, through the only way available to the poor and the underprivileged to deal with local deprivation, to wit, going elsewhere in search of a less grim set of possibilities." Thus, it is very difficult to stop this kind of migration unless the root causes are properly identified and addressed on a continuous basis. Addressing the root causes is a long-term agenda and needs an approach that integrates development and proactive governance.

1.5 Factors of Migration

Migration is driven by a number of factors. The National Commission on Rural Labour (1991) indicates that the most significant driver of seasonal migration is uneven development, along with interregional disparity, disparity between different socio-economic classes and the development policy adopted since independence. In the tribal regions, intrusion of outsiders, the pattern of settlement, displacement and deforestation have all played significant roles.

Factors behind distressed seasonal migration can be classified under two broad categories: push and pull factors. The push factors include lack of income and employment, natural calamities, indebtedness, and loss of agriculture at the native places. Pull factors include availability of high income opportunities, better facilities and the urge to see new places. However, Dr. S.N. Tripathy in his book 'Dynamics of Tribal Migration' (2006) writes, "The push factors are real and more important in explaining migration. It is assumed that man is sedentary and risk averse by nature and unless forced by adverse circumstances, man does not want to leave his native place."

Table 1.1 Push and Pull Factors of Migration in Koraput

Push Factors	Pull Factors
Non availability of work at the native places	Work opportunities
Fewer opportunities for income	Comparatively better wages than the native places
Lower wages for physical labour and late payment of wages	Enjoyment
Landlessness and low agricultural productivity	
Drought and natural calamities	
Indebtedness	
Ineffective local governance	

Push and pull migration factors do not function in isolation of one another. Labourers migrate when there is lack of suitable options for employment in their native areas with an expectation of availability of work and better income at the destination. However, the push factor plays a vital role in distressed seasonal migration.

1.6 Globalization and Migration

It is difficult to establish a cause and effect relationship between globalization and the migration of labourers from rural/tribal areas, but many researchers take the view that there is a strong link between them. Globalization focuses on rapid economic growth and unhindered flow of goods, resources and capital across countries, based on market efficiency and optimum utilization of world resources. This causes the rapid growth of cities and infrastructure. In India after 1992, when the process of globalization became apparent, there was a sharp increase in construction, which is labour intensive and opened up opportunities for labourers.

On the other hand, globalization adversely affected the livelihood of people in rural/tribal areas in terms of land alienation and displacement for the purpose of mining and industrial uses. Ineffective local governance has exacerbated this. Loss of livelihood in the rural/tribal areas forces the labourers to migrate to other areas and their distressed condition puts them more at risk of being exploited by contractors and employers.

1.7 Consequences of Migration

Migration has far reaching consequences, affecting not only the life of the labourers but also the family members who are left behind. The social, cultural and political effects of migration take place both in the native places and in the destination. Some of the major consequences are as follows.

Social Life—loss of community identity; detachment from family and social relationships; adverse conditions of the elderly, children and women; vulnerability to the vicious cycle of poverty and deprivation; rise in female-headed households.

Cultural Life—loss of culture in terms of change in beliefs and behaviours; little or no participation in religious functions.

Political Life—little or no participation in local governance; little contribution to preparation and implementation of village development plan; inability to access benefits of government programmes.

1.8 Gender and Migration

Gender issues are interwoven with migration in terms of causes and consequences as well as type of work available for men and women. When the whole family migrates, it is the men who decide where to migrate and what to do. At the destination, women are more vulnerable to physical as well as mental harassment. Women form a substantial part of distressed seasonal migration but their issues are not given appropriate due. In a study (2007) conducted by Sansristi, an Orissa based organization, Prof. Asha Hansh, writes that "Despite the rising number of female migrants, women are not given equal importance as

compared to men in migration, since they are still not received as equal actors worthy of being accounted for."

1.9 Migration and Basic Rights Issues

Distressed migrants are sufferers of exploitation and denied their basic human rights. The Labour Directorate, Government of Orissa, in its document 'Migrant Workmen of Bolangir District,' states that:

> *"There is apparently nothing wrong or objectionable in migration, which is a social and economic phenomenon occurring as a normal and natural process. Such migration is only objectionable when it leads to exploitation culminating in human misery and denial of the barest minimum to which every workman as human being is entitled. It is also objectionable when it denies dignity, equity, and justice and humane treatment of certain unprivileged and downtrodden working classes who are in need of them most."*

Exploitation of migrants is commonplace. Migrants are frequently denied their rights to fair and equal compensation, a seven-hour work day and freedom to come and go from the worksite. There are hundreds of instances where migrants suffer bondage by the contractors, overwork, unfair wages, delays in wage payments, or no wages at all. Dr. S. N. Tripathy writes that "…hence, migration does not become economically beneficial to the migrants. Rather, they face culture shock, social isolation and totally a situation of powerlessness, meaninglessness and identity crises." Along with this, their civil and political rights, access to justice, rights of association, right to work, minimum wage and right to health are denied. Indeed, they are denied their basic right to live a life with dignity, as guaranteed by Article 21 of the Indian Constitution.

1.10 Background of the Present Study

In recent decades, distressed seasonal migration has become a major problem in Orissa and the trend is on the rise. Compared to other southern and western districts (e.g. Ganjam, Bolangir, Nuapada, Kalahandi), migration from the tribal district of Koraput has been minimal, but in the last couple of years, Koraput's impoverished tribals and dalits have increasingly turned to migration as a survival strategy. The present study focuses on understanding the trends of this migration in different pockets of the district.

For the purpose of this study, the word migrant has been defined as "a person who moves from his/her native villages in search of employment, within the state or outside the state, with or without sufficient knowledge of destination or working conditions."

1.11 Migration in Orissa

The state of Orissa stands on the lowest rung of the poverty ladder among other Indian states, despite its rich natural endowments. The census of 2001 indicates that 47.15% of the

rural population (or 17.35 million people) are living below the poverty line. This situation is most prevalent in the western and southern districts of the state. There are various factors playing pivotal roles in creating this impoverished state of affairs among the rural and tribal populations. The draft report of the "People's Commission on Hunger and Public Policy in Orissa" (2008) which was coordinated by the Supreme Courts Commissioners on Right to Food states that, "Rural Orissa (particularly the southern part) is largely underdeveloped and has limited livelihood opportunities. Villages have limited labour absorption capacity, especially during the lean agricultural season, and therefore large numbers of households rely on temporary migration outside the districts to access employment opportunities. The most common destinations are brick kilns in Andhra Pradesh and the coastal districts of Orissa, irrigated areas within the state where a second crop (winter) is grown, and large cities across the country where migrants can access a number of employment opportunities in activities such as construction, manufacturing, transport and services." Migration is the only way out for many impoverished families in the rural and tribal pockets of Orissa. It has a strong relationship with desperate poverty, landlessness, unavailability of work and timely wage payment from government sources.

Displacement is also one of the important causes of distress migration in many parts of Orissa. The rich natural resources in the tribal pockets of the state make it a destination for corporations and mining companies. The establishment of these big businesses, including large dams and irrigation projects, causes large-scale displacement without proper rehabilitation. Displacement separates poor rural people and tribals from their productive land and natural resources, which results in the need to migrate to survive. But unfortunately the promise of increased income from migration is seldom fulfilled; rather, migrants again fall into the same vicious circle of poverty and deprivation.

Indebtedness is another factor for distressed migration in the rural/tribal areas. In his book 'Dynamics of Tribal Migration,' Dr. S. N. Tripathy writes that the "social customs and obligations like births, marriages, death in the family and drinking habits play an important role in forcing the poor to resort to borrowing."

It is also said that the observation of religious functions, including festivals, proves to be too expensive for the poor in tribal areas, but there are no grounds behind this argument. Although festivals play a major role in the life of tribals, the festival season is linked to agricultural production; thus, during festival time, they have agricultural products in hand. Only in rare cases do they need to borrow. The above table shows the major festivals that the tribals celebrate in Koraput region and the average expenditure of a family. The amount tribals spend on festivals is very little and it is not generally a burden for them.

Table 1.2 Major Festivals and Average Spending by Tribals

Name of the Festival	Month	Average Amount Spent by a Family
Pus Parab	early January	Rs. 500 to 1,000
Magha Parab	February	Rs. 500 to 700

Name of the Festival	Month	Average Amount Spent by a Family
Chaita Parab	April	Rs. 500 to 1,000
Bandapan Parab	August	Rs. 500 to 700
Dasara Parab	October	Rs. 500 to 700
Diali Parab	November	Rs. 300 to 500

Another argument brought up by many researchers is that the tradition of drinking creates economic deprivation, which is also a cause for migration. This argument is only partially true. Tribals usually drink handia (country liquor prepared from rice), pendam (country liquor prepared from mandia), and salap, which are prepared or collected by themselves. There is little cost for these preparations and they are traditionally used only during festivals and celebrations. On the other hand, these traditions are slowly changing because of the market economy. There is a heavy decline of local brewing while, at the same time, foreign liquor is easily available in their vicinity. In addition, due to government excise policy and revenue collection, many country liquor breweries operated for a profit by outsiders are found in the tribal areas. These liquors are much more expensive than the ones prepared by tribals. When drinking becomes a habit, the tribal spend whatever they earn on liquor. Thus, handia and other self-prepared liquor should not be seen as a cause for economic deterioration resulting in migration, but rather the cultural changes in liquor consumption.

Migration in Orissa is deep rooted. The Royal Commission on Labour (1929-31) observed that Orissa labourers had been going to Rangoon, Assam, Bengal and Bombay since 1803 in order to work in plantations, earth works, dams, roads, railways, jute mills and textile mills. It is also said that labourers from Orissa and especially from the tribal areas are hardworking and honest; because of that, they are the first choice of the contractors and agents.

1.12 Distressed Migration in KBK Region and in Koraput

With the coming of winter (harvesting of paddy), the state of Orissa and especially its underdeveloped KBK region (Koraput-Bolangir-Kalahandi) starts sending thousands of migrants to different cities including Hyderabad, Bangalore and the urban areas within the state. Other backward districts have their share but the incidence of migration is highest from the eight undivided KBK districts. The workforce who migrates from these areas is mainly made up of tribals and dalits living in poverty because of landlessness, low agricultural productivity, indebtedness and other factors.

In Orissa, the districts of Nuapada, Kalahandi, Bolangir and Ganjam are famous for distressed seasonal migration. Other districts, i.e. Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Malkanagiri, and Raygada, are not far behind in terms of sending labour out. In the last ten to twelve years, the district of Koraput has sent an increasing number of distress migrants to other areas and this trend is rapidly increasing. However, the trend of migration of the whole family, as in Nuapada and Bolangir districts, is not prevalent in Koraput. Most migrants are individual labourers who migrate during non-agricultural season because of non-availability of work in the villages.

The migrant labourers are called "dadan" in the local dialect in KBK region. The factors behind distress migration in Koraput are the same as in other backward areas of the state. However displacement plays a major role for land alienation in undivided Koraput district which in turn results in distress migration of the villagers residing here. Bidyut Mohanty, in his article "Rehabilitation and Resettlement", published in the book of Cultural Heritage of Koraput District, Vol. XI, writes that:

> *"There are four major dam projects—Machkund, Kolab, Balimela and Indravat—and two major industries—Nalco and HAL—in the district. In addition to these, railway lines—the Kotavasla Kirondul line and the Koraput Raygada line—have caused displacement and transfer of tribal land. Though it brought benefits to certain sections of the society, the dark side of the story is that it brought misery to the lives of the displaced oustees. The displaced persons are mostly STs and SCs. In the absence of an effective R & R policy oustees have been impoverished."*

Table 1.3 Dams and Industries in Koraput District

Large Dams in Undivided Koraput	Industries Established in Koraput Region
Jalaput – 1957	Dandakaranya, Malkangiri – 1958
Bhaskel – 1966	Railway Line Koraput – 1963
Kodigam – 1969	Mixed Farm Koraput – 1964
Damsal – 1975	HAL, Sunabeda – 1966
Balimela – 1977	Naval Armament Depot – 1975
Satiguda – 1980	OUAT Koraput – 1979
Malkanagiri – 1981	NALCO, Damanjodi – 1981
Laxmipur – 1982	NALCO, Mines –
Damanahapur – 1982	Utkal Alumina –
Bhaluguda – 1982	Railway Line Rayagada – 1982
Pratappur – 1983	Railway Line Koraput-Rayagada –
Upper Kolab – 1985	HIDALCO, Similiguda – 2006
Bhagrijhala – 1986	
Satiguda – 1986	
Konheimunda – 1991	
Badanala – 1992	
Indrabati – 1996	
Kaput – 1996	
Muran – 1996	
Podagada – 1996	

Source: Cultural Heritage of Koraput District, Vol. XI/ Development induced displacement and rehabilitation in 1951-1995;

Large scale displacement from land caused severe impoverishment in many parts of Koraput, of which the distress migration of the people is an outcome.

1.13 The Governance Factor

Governance has a major role to play in decreasing migration, in terms of creating opportunities for the people at their native areas. But it seems that governance in the whole of KBK region and especially in Koraput district is inadequate. As one of the KBK districts, Koraput gets crores of rupees under special plans and programmes such as the KBK plan, the Revised Long Term Action Plan (RLTAP) and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA). In view of this, why is it that the impoverished tribals and dalits of the district are migrating in the lean seasons to other areas? In particular, why is it that this trend has increased so sharply in the last few years since NREGA has been in force? Clearly, a failure of governance to provide adequate opportunities in the native place is a cause.

There are numerous examples of failure of governance. Every year, as the rain comes, people in the interior villages suffer from cholera because there are no clean drinking water facilities. The health centres are far away and it is very difficult to get to the hospital because of poor transportation and communication. Even if they manage to come to the hospital, the medical expenses are so high that they can seldom pay them. The only choice is to visit the local quack, who will take their money but not provide a cure.

In addition, livestock plays an important role in the traditional agricultural economy. Without veterinary care, the cattle are vulnerable to diseases and epidemics. There are rarely resources in an interior village to treat the livestock; where there is veterinary care, it is too expensive.

Joblessness is a major cause of poverty and deprivation. Many village people are entitled to job cards but have not received them. For those who have them, there is little or no work in the villages.

1.14 Food Security

Food security implies, "a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and health life." (FAO, 2002) This definition from the Food and Agricultural Organization indicates three broad elements of food security—availability, accessibility and adequacy. The primary responsibility of this lies with the government, which should ensure food security of the people through different means including land distribution, natural resource management and the "entitlement approach" (Amartya Sen, 1981)

In the state of Orissa and especially in Koraput district, land distribution is of particular concern. There was, and still is, large scale displacement and alienation of the agricultural lands through the establishment of industries and reservoirs. In large part, the displaced villages have not been rehabilitated; this landlessness is a major cause of food insecurity among the farmers. Also, the rapid loss of forest resources has affected the food security of forest dependant tribals. In addition, the entitlement approach, which includes

government schemes such as the Public Distribution System (PDS), Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), Midday Meal Program (MDM), National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS) and NREGA are not implemented effectively. The level of corruption is high in these programmes; as a result, the intended beneficiaries lose their entitlements and fall prey to food insecurity. The lack of food insecurity of many families in this district is one of the important causes of distress migration.

CHAPTER 2 ABOUT THE STUDY

2.1 Conceptual Framework of the Study

Moving in search of work is not a new phenomenon in Koraput. However, the district has experienced a substantial increase in the number of distress seasonal migrants in the last ten to twelve years and a sharp rise since 2007. In the present study, efforts were made to understand the trends of migration as well as its positive and negative consequences.

Labourers who migrated and then returned to their native villages in the last two to four years were interviewed for this study. Along with this, a list of all the migrant labourers who were away during the survey was collected, so as to know the current scope of migration.

This study is carried out by SPREAD, a voluntary organization working in Koraput district of Orissa. The study focuses on the trends of migration in four blocks of Koraput district where SPREAD is also working on the issues of rights and development.

2.2 Objectives of the Study

The present study has the following objectives:

- To understand migration trends in the action areas of SPREAD
- To understand the underlying causes of migration
- To determine the consequences of migration
- To make the people aware of their legal rights and entitlements
- To research future courses of action that could check forced migration

2.3 Methodology

This study is based on the issue of migration in specific locations, i.e. in Nandapur, Lamtaput, Damantpur and Boipariguda blocks of Koraput district. These four blocks have been selected because they represent the action areas of SPREAD and because the rate of migration is high and is increasing. These blocks have also been selected because of the concentration of tribal population. It was decided that a total number of five hundred thirty migrant respondents would be interviewed in order to understand the underlying causes and consequences of migration in the area. Keeping in mind the frequency and average rate of migration from each block, the number of sample respondents was finalized.

Table 2.1 Distribution of Respondents by Block

Block	Number	Percentage
Nandapur	229	43.21
Lamtaput	203	38.30
Dasmantpur	50	9.43
Boipariguda	48	9.06
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 2.1 shows the total number of respondents (migrants) interviewed for this study from four blocks, i.e. Nandapur, Lamtaput, Dasmantpur and Boipariguda. Most interviews were performed in Nandapur and Lamtaput.

In each block, gram panchayats were selected from where people are migrating regularly. The fixed number of samples for the particular block was equally divided among the number of gram panchayats. From each gram panchayat, 25-30 respondents were interviewed, two to three on average from each village.

Table 2.2 Number of Sample Panchayats

Blocks	Total GPs	Sample GPs
Nandapur	22	11
Lamtaput	15	7
Dasmantpur	16	3
Boipariguda	16	3
Total	**69**	**24**

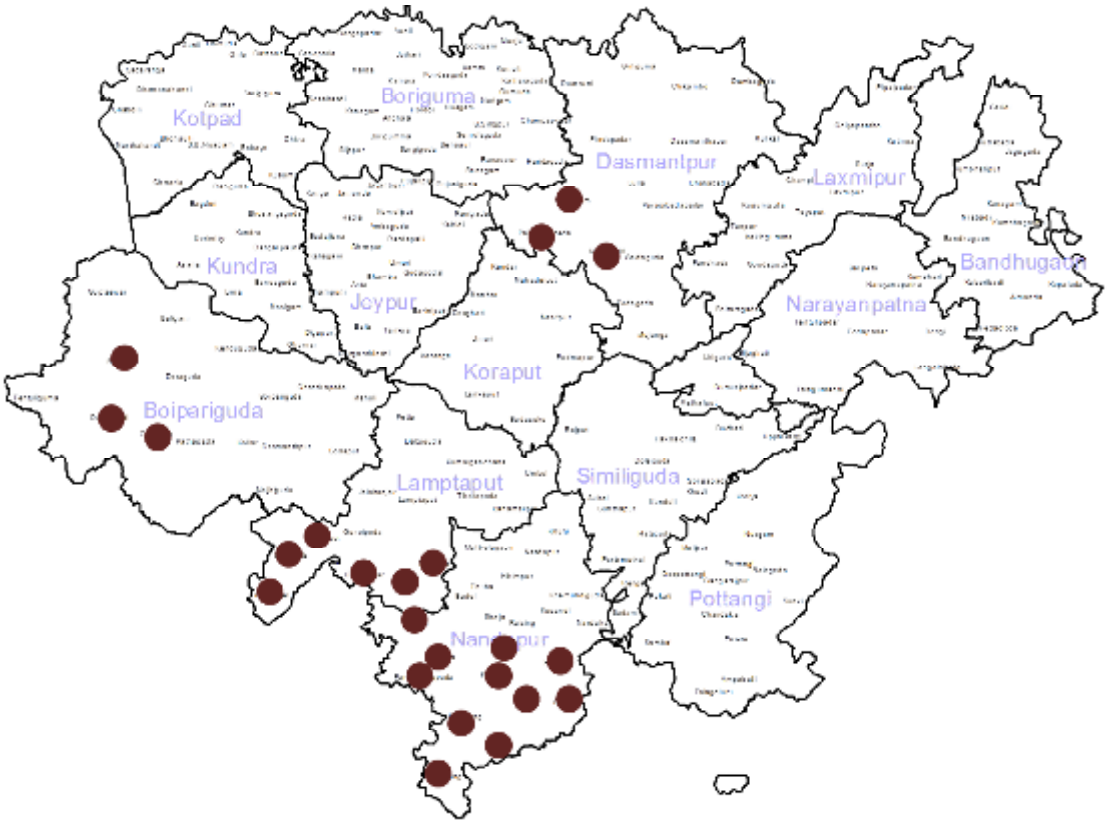
This approach resulted in the selection of a total of 530 migrant labourers as respondents. Table 2.2 indicates that there are total 69 panchayats in four blocks, out of which 24 are taken as the sample for the study. Table 2.3 shows the number of respondents in each gram panchayat.

Table 2.3 Number of Migrant Respondents in Each GP

Block	GP	Respondents
Nandapur	Chatua	20
	Hatibari	20
	Goluru	20
	Bilaput	37
	Parja Badpada	23
	Atanda	21
	Padua	20
	Kulabiri	12
	Balda	23
	Partulung	13
	Kularsingh	20
Lamtaput	Thusuba	16
	Chikenput	36
	Guneipada	30
	Balel	29
	Badigada	30
	Onakadelli	30
	Godihanjar	32
Dasmantpur	Paikaphulbeda	36

Block	GP	Respondents
	Malkangiri	6
	Nandigam	8
Boipariguda	Ramagiri	18
	Dandabadi	15
	Chipakur	15

Figure 2.1 GPs of Respondents



In order to achieve the objectives of this study, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected from various secondary sources, including the research reports of renowned scholars, the Human Development Report, the Economic Survey, the District Gazetteer and the census, as well as from primary sources, including the migrant labourers, government officials and some elected representatives.

The following persons were interviewed for the collection of primary data.

- Migrant labourers
- Households whose members are at destination during the survey period
- Gram panchayat representatives
- Labour contractors
- Local administration
- Persons features in case studies

The migrant labourers interviewed were selected on a random basis. In cases of family migration, the head of the household was interviewed. Focus was also given to covering women migrants, in order to understand gender dynamics. All the migrants were interviewed through a structured questionnaire covering the family background, socio-economic background, causes and consequences of their migration. Before the questionnaire was finalized, it was field tested. Along with this, a village form was completed for each village in the surveyed gram panchayats containing the details of those migrants who were working at their migration destinations during the survey work.

The study also looked at the role of government in protecting the rights of the migrant labourers. For this purpose, gram panchayat representatives were contacted. District officials including the district collector and the district labour officer were interviewed.

Because NREGA is specifically aimed at checking rural urban migration, both secondary and primary data were collected and analysed in order to see the efficacy and effectiveness of the implementation of the act.

The survey was conducted during the period of 15 November to 20 December. This interval was selected because this is the time when migrant labourers are expected at home. Data collection was performed by volunteers with SPREAD who have sufficient understanding of migration to perform effectively. The survey process was coordinated by experienced social science researchers.

The data was analysed and arranged in tabular form. The conclusions and suggestions were made by following a percentage method, case study analysis and taking the views and suggestions of the migrants themselves.

CHAPTER 3 PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

3.1 The State of Orissa

The state of Orissa is situated on the eastern coast of India. It is surrounded by West Bengal to the northeast, Chhattisgarh to the west, Jharkhand to the northeast and Andhra Pradesh to the southeast. The state has 30 districts, 58 sub divisions, 171 tahsils and 314 blocks. There are 3 revenue divisions and 6,234 gram panchayats with approximately 1,02,698 inhabited and uninhabited villages.

The population of Orissa constitutes 3.6% of the population of the country. As per the census of 2001, the total population of the state is 3,68,04,660 with 1,86,60,570 males and 1,81,44,090 females. The population growth rate of the state is approximately 16.25%. The gender ratio in the state is 927 females per thousand males. Orissa is one of the low-literacy states, ranking 13th among the 16 major states in the country. 63.08% of the people of the state are literate as per the data provided by the 2001 census.

The state of Orissa has a relatively large component of tribal population, 22.13% as per the 2001 census. Similarly, Scheduled Castes constitute 16.53% of the state. The state has remained one of the poorest in the country in terms of social and economic aspects. The 2001 census also reveals alarming facts about of the people in the state. It says that in the state only 25.46% of the total residential census houses are good, 64.41% are just liveable and 9.95% are dilapidated. More than 47% of the state's population lives below the official poverty line; this is particularly true among the tribal and dalit populations mainly residing in the western and southern districts of the state.

3.2 Koraput District

Koraput district has a deeply rooted history that goes back to the 3rd century B.C. According to the district website, the district originally belonged to the valiant and dreaded Atvika people who fought the Kalinga war to restore the empire's glory. There are different folklores about the origin of the name Koraput. According to Mr. R.S. Bell, a former district collector, "the name Koraput has derived from the word 'Kora-Putti,' meaning the hamlet of the 'nuxvomica,' a tree that was once prevalent in the region." Another version holds that the name of the place was based on the name of Khora Naiko, who was a valiant warrior of Nandapur kingdom.

General Features of the District

Koraput is a tribal-dominated district in the Eastern Ghat region of southern Orissa. The present district extends from 18° 13' to 19° 10' north latitude and 82° 5' to 83° 23' east longitude covering an area of 8,379 sq. km. It is surrounded by the districts of Bastar (Chhattisgarh) in the west, Malkangiri (Andhra Pradesh) in the southwest, Visakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh) to the south, Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh) in the southeast, Kalahandi and Rayagada (Orissa) in the northeast and Nabarangpur (Orissa) in the north. The district

is geographically delineated by the natural frontiers of the valleys of the Vansadhara and the Nagavali on the Rayagada side, the Bastar Plateau at the western side and the hills and valleys of Malkanagiri to the south.

Table 3.1 Administrative Set-up of Koraput

Administrative Division	Number	Names
Sub Divisions	2	Koraput, Jeypore
Tahasils	7	Pottangi, Koraput, Kotpad, Boipariguda, Jeypore, Machhkund and Narayanpatna
Blocks	14	Koraput, Bandhugaon, Laxmipur, Kundra, Nandapur, Pottangi, Semliguda, Jeypore, Boipariguda, Kotpad, Lamtaput
Town	5	Koraput, Jeypore, Sunabeda, Kotpad, Damanjodi
Municipality	1	Jeypore
N.A.C	3	Koraput, Kotpad, Sunabeda
Assembly	4	Pottangi , Koraput, Jeypore Constituency, Kotpad
Inhabited Village	1,922	
Uninhabited Village	106	
Gram Panchayat	226	

Source: District Gazetteer, Koraput Demographic Pattern

Koraput is one of the major districts of the famous KBK (Kalahandi-Bolangir-Koraput) region. As per the 2001 census, the total population of the district is 11,80,637, out of which 5,90,743 are males and 5,89,894 are females. The rural population is high in the district, 9,82,188. Demographic data of the district is depicted in the following table.

Table 3.2 Demographic Pattern of Koraput

Type	HH	Population	Male	Female	ST	SC
Urban	44,582	1,98,449	1,01,768	96,681	31,276	27,043
Rural	2,40,294	9,82,188	4,88,975	4,93,213	5,54,554	1,26,889
Total	2,84,876	11,80,637	5,90,743	5,89,894	5,85,830	1,53,932

Source: Census of India, 2001, Final Population Totals: at a Glance, Orissa

The district is tribal-dominated; tribals constitute 49.62% of the population. In the rural areas of the district, the proportion of the tribals is more than 56%. The literacy rate in Koraput is very low and is only 24.26% at the district level. The census data also reveals that the literacy rate in the urban areas is 65.93%, but in the rural areas it is only 15.61%.

Land and Soil

Koraput is a hilly district of uplands, which have no irrigation. The soils of the district are mostly red mixed, yellow alluvial and red and black. The texture is sandy loam to sandy

clay loam. As per soil test the soils are acidic and poor in fertility. They are highly eroded, rich in iron and aluminium and are usually deficient in boron and zinc. Soil acidity and iron toxicity are problems in most of the blocks of the district.

Rainfall

The normal rainfall of the Koraput district is 1,521.8 mm over 82 rainy days against the state average of 1,502.6 mm over 73 rainy days. June to September are the monsoon months; 79% of rainfall is recorded in about 61 days. The rainfall during the month of June and October is found to be more than the evaporation from open pan.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the primary occupation of the people living in Koraput district and plays a vital role in its economy. It is the primary occupation for more than 64% of people who belong to the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste communities. Rice is the major crop of the district; it occupies 39% of cropped area during Kharif (the summer harvest) and 8% during Rabi, the winter harvest. The other important crops of the district are ragi, suan, mandia, small millets, maize, vegetables and horse-gram. Though cultivated in smaller areas, crops such as cotton, sugarcane, ginger, pipala, coffee and turmeric are counted among the cash crops produced in the district. Agricultural production in the district depends completely on the amount and timing of rainfall.

Forest/Deforestation

The undivided Koraput district was famous for its dense forest resources and steep hills. The forest in the region is a part of the famous "Dandaka Aranya." This part of the state was remote with poor communications. Construction of roads to the district started only after the British government took over the administration in 1863. This area was under the Madras presidency and the forest areas of the district were ruled by the Madras Forest Act. The forest area was under Jeypore zamindari (estate). These estate forests were classified into three categories, i.e. Reserved Forest, Protected Forest and Unprotected Forest. In 1952, after the abolition of the zamindari system, the government forest department became the authority over the forest lands of the district.

Agricultural Products from Koraput

- Dhana (Rice)
- Suan
- Mandia
- Kandula
- Aalasi
- Biri
- Kolath
- Dongrani

Forests were one of the important sources of livelihood of the people residing in the area, but as the years passed, many new industries developed and dams were constructed which caused a severe loss of forest resources. This continues today and has directly affected the livelihood of the people, push them into further impoverished conditions.

Table 3.3 Deforestation Trend

Year	Forest Coverage (Percentage)
1939-40	70.77
1961-62	70.00
1970-71	54.77
1974-75	54.77
1978-79	56.29
1990-91	32.89
2003	29.33

Source: Cultural heritage of Orissa, Vol. XI, Koraput district

In Koraput prior to independence, forest coverage was more than 70%. Due to deforestation, the forest area of undivided Koraput district has decreased gradually to 29.33% by 2003 (as per forest survey). The pattern of decrease is given in table 2.3. The main causes of loss are the large reservoirs, industrialization, railway lines, and hydro-electric projects. These projects caused not only the loss of forest resources, but also large-scale displacement and alienation of the villages from agricultural land.

3.3 Sample Blocks

The four blocks of Koraput district that comprise the study area, i.e. Nandapur, Lamtaput, Dasmantpur and Boipariguda, are tribal-populated. Migration is increasing due to poverty and lack of other opportunities in the non-agricultural season.

Demography

The households, population and literacy rate in four sample blocks are given in table 3.4, as per the census data of 2001. It shows that the Scheduled Tribe population is high in all the blocks. Similarly, in almost all blocks the literacy level is low; it is particularly low among females.

Table 3.4 Demography of Sample Blocks

numbers in lakhs

	Total			
Block	**HH**	**Total**	**M**	**F**
Nandapur	20.6	81.7	40.5	41.1
Lamtaput	14.3	54.8	27.1	27.5
Dasmantpur	18.3	70.9	35.0	35.9
Boipariguda	22.8	91.6	45.5	46.1

Source: Census of India, 2001, Final Population Totals: at a Glance, Orissa

Occupation

Agriculture is the main occupation of the families residing in the four sample blocks. People also do unskilled labour, market non-timber forest products and do small business. Table 3.5 indicates the work force engaged in different occupations by block.

Table 3.5 Workforce by Block

Block	Agriculture Workers (Cultivators)	Agriculture Labourers	Other Workers	Total
Nandapur	17,753	7,961	13,399	39,113
Lamtaput	13,033	4,419	8,814	26,266
Dasmantpur	17,899	7,712	6,802	32,413
Boipariguda	20,446	13,805	13,197	47,448

Land Pattern

Dasmantpur, Nandapur and Lamtaput blocks are within the Eastern Ghat highlands, whereas Boipariguda is in the southeast ghat area. The land available in all these four blocks is hilly. The agricultural land in these blocks is non-irrigated despite the presence of reservoirs in three of the blocks. The following table indicates the land use pattern in Koraput district.

Table 3.6 Land Utilization Pattern of Sample Blocks

numbers in acres

Block	Forest Area	Tree Crops	Permanent Pasture	Cultivatable Waste Land / Grazing	Non-Agricultural Use Barren & non-cultivatable	Currently fallow	Other fallow	Net
Nandapur	140	1,582	688	3,665	3,665	10,004	12,414	628	**18,885**
Lamtaput	157	122	534	3,323	3,323	19,833	10,565	541	**16,181**
Dasmantpur	928	3,293	1,116	7,562	7,562	18,466	8,098	3,360	**12,814**
Boipariguda	19,190	1,041	491	6,568	6,568	13,024	7,209	1,773	**24,574**

Source: Cultural Heritage of Orissa, Vol. XI, Koraput

Irrigation

Irrigation potential by block is as follows. The table clearly shows that there is significant opportunity to improve irrigation.

Table 3.7 Irrigation Potential in Sample Blocks

Block	Major Sources	Minor Sources (Flow & Lift)	Wells	Other	Total	%
Nandapur	-	0.49	0.17	3.12	3.78	20.0
Lamtaput	-	0.05	0.33	2.72	3.10	19.1

Block	Major Sources	Minor Sources (Flow & Lift)	Wells	Other	Total	%
Dasmantpur	-	0.35	0.04	3.77	4.16	32.0
Boipariguda	-	0.75	0.14	0.75	1.65	6.7

Socio-Economic and Development Issues of the Sample Blocks

Koraput district is a part of the KBK region and counted among one of the most backward districts not only in the state, but in the country. The people residing in the sample blocks, especially the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste households, live in deplorable conditions. Many of the families in these blocks are landless or have only small patches of land which are not large enough to feed the family throughout the year. Health has not improved since the launch of the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM). There are problems not only in availability of proper health services but also in access to them. The process of development is very slow and there is improper implementation of the government-sponsored programmes in many gram panchayats of these blocks. Loss of land resources because of displacement, loss of forest resources and unavailability of work at the village level creates food insecurity among the people, which is increasing day by day. The worsening situation is pushing many family members to migrate to sustain their lives.

CHAPTER 4 TRENDS OF MIGRATION IN KORAPUT

"Banchbar kaie ta aba ari bhai deshke jibar padsi', sab baras?" (To live, my father and brother are migrating every year, so what about my life?). This is the voice of Bhagbati Pangi, a seventeen-year-old girl. Bhagbati is a tribal girl, residing alone in Badput village of Bilaput panchayat in Koraput district. Bhagbati is alone because her father and brother have migrated to Andhra Pradesh to work in construction sites and her mother died one year back. She reports that her father and brother migrated to different places from September to December for the last two to three years and that she was migrating with them prior to her mother's death.

Bhagbati says that their family has less than two acres of land. In order to farm it, her father took out a loan and purchased a bullock. Then, due to low production and unavailability of work in the village, they could not manage to repay the loan. During 2006, Bhagbati's mother died and again the family had to borrow in order to pay for burial costs. Now they have a debt of more than 8,000 rupees to repay to the local money lender. Thus, her family is forced to migrate. Bhagbati shows her job card. This guarantees her at least 100 days of work provided by the government, but she says it as a false promise. Her family has only gotten seven days of work in last three years.

Bhagbati remembers her migration period and reports that she endured much suffering. Her father and brother are facing similar kinds of harassment every year. Nevertheless, when winter comes they again have to pack their bags, because they do not have any other choice.

Bhagbati's father and brother are only two out of thousands of poor tribals and dalits who are migrating every year. The time has come to assess why this is happening in spite of acts like NREGA, the Forest Rights Act (FRA) and others that would make life sustainable in the villages.

What factors are contributing to migration? The most influential factors are multidimensional in nature. Most people who migrate possess a few patches of dangar (uplands) which are not irrigated, but strictly rain fed. As a result, these lands produce minimal food, insufficient to feed all the family members throughout the year. Typical production from these lands results in only a four to six month supply. During other months, unskilled labour is the only choice of livelihood. Also, the displacement caused by the mega-dam projects without proper and appropriate rehabilitation and compensation has pushed the poor people of this area to the brink of destitution. Added to this, different schemes and provisions implemented by the government provide promise, but are shown to be ineffective without proper monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. In addition, huge losses of forest resources have resulted in the decrease of NTFP collection and marketing as a source of income. Moreover the deliberate exploitative activities of traders, touts and other local vested interest groups to exploit the paltry assets of the communities have made the situation more grave. As a result of these factors, the poor are becoming more

helpless and hopeless day by day. Thus, when contractors lure them into migrating for good wages, they are naturally attracted.

4.1 About the Migrants

Table 4.1 Gender of Respondents

Gender	Number	Percentage
Male	486	91.70
Female	44	8.30
Total	**530**	**100**

The number of males migrating is significantly higher than number of females. Table 4.1 shows the division of the respondents according to gender. 486 are male and 44 are female, or 91.70% male and 8.30% female. However, female migration has increased in the last two to three years, which suggests that deprivation among families is getting worse, forcing the number of females migrating with their family to increase.

Table 4.2 Social Status of Respondents

Social Status	Number	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	100	18.87
Scheduled Tribe	326	61.51
General	104	19.62
Total	**530**	**100**

Chart 4.1 Social Status of Respondents

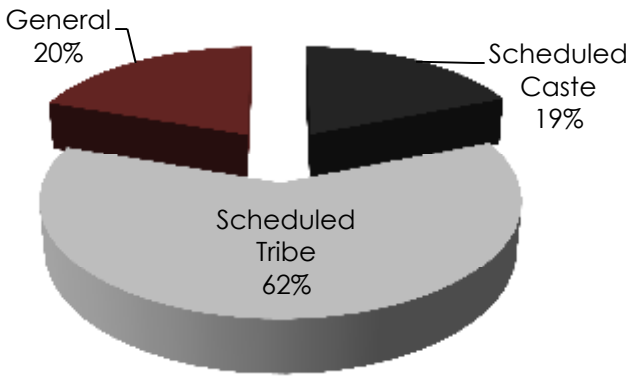


Table 4.2 and Chart 4.1 deal with the social status of the respondents. Out of 530 respondents, 326 belong to the Scheduled Tribe communities and 100 are from the Scheduled Caste communities. Others, including the Other Backward Castes (OBCs) and General totalled 104. The table shows that the number of migrants among the Scheduled Tribe households (61.51%) is much higher than those among the Scheduled Caste (18.87%) and general (19.62%) households. Table 4.3 lists the sub-groups from each category residing in the survey areas.

Table 4.3 Sub-groups by Caste

Scheduled Tribes	Scheduled Castes	Other Backward Castes
Gaadwa	Damba	Rana
Paraja	Ghasi	Mali
Paranga	Leri	Kumbhar
Jhodia	Kupia	Gauda
Kanda	Gadua	Dora
Khalai	Barika	Kamar

Table 4.4 Family Size of Respondents

Family Size	Numbers	Percentage
1-2	68	12.83
3-5	335	63.21
6-8	126	23.77
9+	1	0.19
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.4 shows the family size of the respondents. The size of a family plays an important role in terms of the income and expenditure of the households, as the bigger families spend more than the smaller families. In tribal areas this becomes important where the family income is minimal. The above table shows that out of 530 respondents, 335 have three to five members in their family. There are 126 such respondents having six to eight members in their family. 68 respondents reported that they live either alone or with one other member in their family. Thus, most respondents have a five member family, with three to four adults and two children. It has also been observed that the average family size of the migrant household is larger than the non-migrant households.

It is also important to know the age group of the migrant labourers. Although the majority of migrants are adults, there are significant numbers of the elderly and children among the migrants. They suffer perhaps more at the worksite and are often paid less, if at all.

Table 4.5 Age of Respondents

Age Group	Number	Percentage
< 14	5	0.94
15-25	189	35.66
26-35	181	34.15
36-45	99	18.68
46-55	40	7.55
55+	16	3.02
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.5 indicates the distribution of the respondents by age. Out of 530 migrant labourers, 189 (35.66%) were in the age group of 15-25 and 181 (34.15%) were in the age group of 26-35. The table shows that 40 (7.55%) persons were in the age group of 46-55 and 16 (3.02%) were 55 and above. Out of the 16 respondents who fell under the category of 55 and

above, 10 were more than sixty years old. Similarly, the table shows that children below the age of 14 are also migrating in search of work, though their number is minimal.

Table 4.6 Age of Female Respondents

Age Group	Number	Percentage
< 14	3	6.82
15-25	14	31.82
26-35	13	29.55
36-45	8	18.18
46-55	1	2.27
55+	5	11.36
Total	**44**	**100**

Table 4.6 indicates that out of 44 female respondents, 6.82% are below the age of 14. Among the female respondents, 31 (82%) are in the age group of 15-25 and 13 (29.55%) are in the group of 26 to 35. The table shows that 11.36% of female migrants are over 55. Since children and the elderly are more vulnerable at the worksites, this indicates a disproportionate burden upon female migrants.

Table 4.7 Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status	Number	Percentage
Married Male	430	81.13
Unmarried Male	56	10.57
Married Female	28	5.28
Unmarried Female	14	2.64
Single Female (head of household)	2	0.38
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.7 indicates the marital status of the respondents interviewed during the survey. 430 are married males. Among the 44 female respondents, 28 are married and 14 are unmarried. Two female respondents are single (i.e. formerly married but now heads of household). The survey revealed that the unmarried females are typically below the age of 18. They usually migrate with their families and friends before getting married. It has also been observed that the unmarried female respondents often suffer harassments and violence.

Tables 4.6 and 4.7 both indicate the migration of children below the age of 14 which is a violation of child labour laws as well as the ILO Conventions on Child Rights.

Tables 4.8 and 4.9 show the educational status of the respondents. Being illiterate and having little education are not direct causes of migration in the way that food insecurity is, but there is a correlation. Agents, contractors and other middlemen take advantage of this state of affairs among the tribals and dalits because these communities are isolated and have little access to information outside their native areas. They are often unaware of their rights under Indian law and have little knowledge about how to file grievances.

Table 4.8 Education Status of All Respondents

Education Status	Number	Percentage
Illiterate	374	70.57
Class I to V	107	20.19
Class VI to X	48	9.06
Above Class X	1	0.19
Total	**530**	**100**

Chart 4.2 Education Status of All Respondents

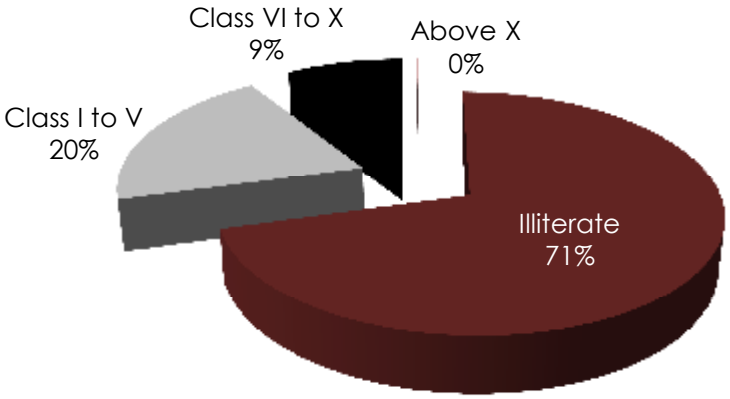


Table 4.8 and Chart 4.2 show that more that 70% of the respondents are illiterate. Only 20.19% have attended up to Classes, I, II, III, IV, or V. Similarly 9.06% of respondents fall into Classes VI to X. Only one respondent was found who has completed Class X.

Table 4.9 Education Status of Female Respondents

Education Status	Number	Percentage
Illiterate	42	95.45
Class I to V	2	4.55
Class VI to X	0	0
Above Class X	0	0
Total	**44**	**100**

Among female respondents the literacy rate is very low. 95.45% are illiterate and only 4.55 % have attended Classes I to V.

Why are there such low literacy rates among the migrant workers, despite programmes such as literacy campaigns, adult education and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan? It is the inadequate education system which does not have the capacity to help the impoverished tribal and dalit children to read and understand things in their own way. It has also been observed that food insecurity among the families leads to drop outs and thus illiteracy in many impoverished villages. Many families do not send their children to schools, but use them instead to contribute to the family income.

Most development programmes target the people who are living below the poverty line (BPL). In the year 1997, the government of India introduced the BPL census in order to identify the actual poor households and to frame programmes accordingly. Since then, the methodologies of the BPL census have been criticized.

As per the provision, this census needs to be completed every five years. In 2002, the BPL census was carried out for the second time. However, in 2007, there was no BPL census. Further, it was only in 2008 that the central and state governments accepted the number of BPL households as per 2002 BPL census. Although this is a macro level issue, it has deep impact at the micro level. It is a common complaint at the village level that the actual poor families have never been counted and listed under this official poverty list. Many poor families are still left out and are not getting government entitlements.

Table 4.10 Poverty of Respondents by Caste

Social Status	Numbers of Respondents	BPL Respondents	Percentage
Scheduled Caste	100	65	65.00
Scheduled Tribe	326	216	66.26
General	104	65	62.50
Total	**530**	**346**	**65.28**

Chart 4.3 Poverty of Respondents

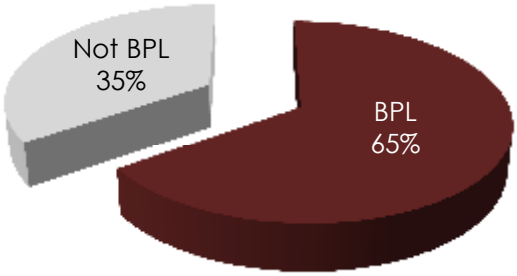


Table 4.10 and Chart 4.3 show that among 530 respondents, 346 (65.28%) come under the category of BPL. Of this number, 64 are found to have APL (above poverty line) cards and 123 do not have any card. The above table shows the poverty ratios of different social statuses of the respondents. 65.00% of the Scheduled Caste respondents, 66.26% of the Scheduled Tribes respondents and 62.50% of the other respondents come under the BPL category. About 35% respondents are either classified as APL or have no cards, but the fact that they are still migrating in search of work demonstrates that their economic condition is difficult.

Table 4.11 House Type of Respondents

Type of House	Number	Percentage
Kacha (mud)	319	60.19

Type of House	Number	Percentage
Pacca (brick)	53	10.00
Kachha/Pacca	69	13.02
IAY (pacca)	89	16.79
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.11 reveals that out of 530 respondents, 319 (60.19%) have kaccha houses, 53 (10.00%) have pacca houses and 69 (13.02%) have houses of mixed kaccha and pacca materials. 89 (16.79%) received their pacca house under Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY).

Table 4.12 Land Ownership of Respondents

Ownership	Number	Percentage
Owned	189	35.66
Not Owned	341	64.34
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.12 indicates that out of 530 respondents, 341 (64.34%) do not own the land that they occupy. It is government land that they are using, though the families have been residing there for many generations. Many of the respondents reported that because they do not have a land patta, they have to pay encroachment fees to the revenue and forest officials, which further reduces their circumstances.

4.2 Migrant Livelihood

Livelihood was one of the major issues observed during the field survey. In Koraput region and especially in the study areas, it was found that agriculture is the primary source of livelihood. Respondents' agricultural livelihood depends on their land holding patterns as well as the type of land they have. In Koraput district, there is less availability of land that is considered good for agricultural purposes. Displacement is also a major cause of loss of fertile land for poor people. Out of four blocks studied, villagers from two blocks have been directly affected by displacement and have lost their agricultural lands without proper rehabilitation. There are also villages in these blocks where the households have been displaced twice or more, either for industrial or dam construction purposes.

Declining forest resources is another loss of livelihood. Anyone can observe the growing forest loss in the tribal areas, even though the forest department claims that generation of new forest is occurring under programmes such as Joint Forest Management (JFM), funded by the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC). In Koraput and especially in these four blocks, paper and plywood factories are promoting eucalyptus plantation. These plantings negatively impact the district through the loss of forest, land productivity and groundwater availability.

Table 4.13 Agricultural Land Ownership of Respondents

Agricultural Patta Land	Number	Percentage

Agricultural Patta Land	Number	Percentage
Having	396	74.72
Not Having	134	25.28
Total	**530**	**100**

There are two types of land found in tribal areas. Some land is patta land; some is non-patta, or encroached, land. Table 4.13 indicates the distribution of respondents according to their agriculture patta land holdings. It shows that out of 530 respondents, 396 (74.72%) have patta land and 134 (25.72%) do not have patta land. The information provided in the table is not encouraging, even though it reveals that around 74% have patta land. This is because land is a quantitative issue. Without sufficient land to produce a family's food needs, holding the patta does not make a positive difference to their food security.

Table 4.14 Agricultural Patta Land of Respondents

Land Holdings	Number	Percentage
Landless	134	25.28
<2 Acres	214	40.38
2-4 Acres	107	20.19
4-6 Acres	35	6.60
6+ Acres	40	7.55
Total	**530**	**100**

Chart 4.4 Agricultural Land Holdings of Respondents

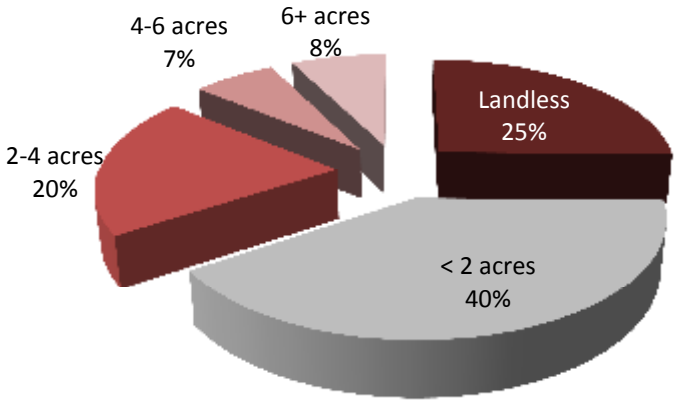


Table 4.14 shows that, out of 530 respondents, 25.28% are landless and 214 (40.38%) have less than two acres of land. 107 (20.19%) of respondents have two to four acres of land, 35 (6.60%) have four to six acres of land and only 40 (7.55%) have more than six acres of land. It is clear from the above tables and chart that the number of small and marginal farmers is high in the study areas.

Along with agricultural patta land, many households also have agricultural non-patta land. These lands are mainly dangar jami (upland), beda jami and bada jami. These lands have

been cultivated by the households for many years, but are considered as encroachments in government records. However, these lands are the main sources of production of ragi, paddy, niger and pulses which contribute to the family larder. The survey found that people have to pay government fees to farm these encroached lands and although the fees themselves are not large, it is common for people to have to pay high bribes to the revenue officials in addition to the fees.

Table 4.15 Agricultural Non-patta Land of Respondents

Agricultural Non-Patta Land	Number	Percentage
Having	393	74.15
Not having	137	25.85
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.16 Amount of Agricultural Non-patta Land of Respondents

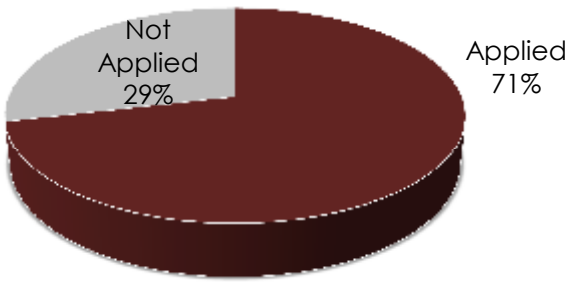
Land Holdings	Number	Percentage
<2 Acres	230	58.52
2-4 Acres	91	23.16
4-6 Acres	39	9.92
6+ Acres	33	8.40
Total	**393**	**100**

Tables 4.15 and 4.16 show the distribution of the respondents having agricultural non-patta land. 393 (74.15%) of people have this encroached land. 137 respondents do not even have any encroachments. Among the respondents having non-patta land, more than 58% possess less than two acres.

Table 4.17 Applications for Land under FRA

Status	Number	Percentage
Applied	378	71.32
Not Applied	152	28.68
Total	**530**	**100**

Chart 4.4 Applications for Land under FRA



The Forest Rights Act 2006 gives land rights to people residing in the forest areas. This act is important for the tribals and dalits having few or no sources of livelihood. Table 4.17 and

Chart 4.4 reflect the importance of the act for the people of the surveyed areas. It shows that out of 530 respondents, 378 (71.32%) have applied for land rights under FRA. During the survey, it was observed that the local administration had not played a vital role in filling out application formats from the people. Rather it was the non-government organizations and the activists who have facilitated the process of application submission. Even though the table shows a good percentage of applications, the results of the applications are yet to come. Almost all the respondents applied for land rights under the act are unaware of the progress of their application; some say that their application has gone to the sub-divisional committee, but that they are not clear about the status. There is delay in the process of verification of the applications. The local administration is creating this delay in this process and as a result people are deprived of their rights over the land.

Table 4.18 Sources of Livelihood of the Respondents

Source	Numbers	Percentage
Agriculture	404	76.23
Daily Labour	480	90.56
Share Crop	18	3.40
NTFP Collection	64	12.08
Caste-Based Occupation	7	1.32
Petty Business	76	14.34
Others	20	3.77

Table 4.18 reveals the sources of livelihood of the respondents at their native village. Among the respondents, many have more than one source of livelihood. Out of 530 respondents, the highest number of respondents, 480 (90.56%) have reported that they perform daily labour, followed by 404 (76.23%) who reported that at least one source of livelihood is agriculture. Only 7 respondents depend on their caste-based occupations. They are from the Kamar and Kumbhar communities. Similarly, 76 respondents do some small business for their livelihood.

It is clear from the above table that agriculture and daily labour are the main sources of livelihood of all the respondents. Failure of either of these sources leads to deprivation at the family level and creates the need to migrate. It is also clear that most respondents depend on daily wages, from both private and government work. The private work includes agricultural labour work as well as household daily work, but the availability is limited and is mainly available during agriculture seasons. The government work includes the work carried out by the gram panchayat, blocks and other government agencies, including NREGA.

The wage rate received by a family is an integral part of the annual family income and of course depends upon on the availability of regular work. However, work, especially government work, is not regularly available during the non-agriculture season, resulting in economic deprivation for many families.

Table 4.19 Average Daily Wages of the Respondents

Type of Work	Male	Female
Agriculture Work	Rs. 30-40	Rs. 25-35
Private Work	Rs. 30-40	Rs. 15-25
Government Work/NREGA	Rs. 70	Rs. 70

Table 4.19 indicates the average wage rate the labourers are paid. There are differences in the wage rate among male and female labourers. In agriculture, male workers are paid Rs. 30-40 and females are paid Rs. 25-35. Similarly, in private household work, male labourers are paid Rs. 30-40 and females are paid Rs. 15-25. Worse, these are *average* figures; in some cases, female labourers are only paid Rs. 10 for a day of work. Almost all of the labourers reported that they received Rs. 70 if they worked under NREGA (the rate increased in 2009 to Rs. 100). However, the work under NREGA is not available regularly, even though there is drastic need in the villages. It was also observed that NREGA workers are often not paid within the mandatory seven days' time frame; because of that, they are less willing to work NREGA jobs.

Table 4.20 Annual Family Income of Respondents by Caste

Annual Income	SC	ST	Others	Total	%age
Rs. 0-10,000	63	250	79	392	73.96
Rs. 10,000-20,000	34	70	22	126	23.77
Rs. 20,000-30,000	2	7	2	11	2.08
Rs. 30,000+	0	0	1	1	0.19
Total	**99**	**327**	**104**	**530**	**100**

Table 4.20 shows the annual family income as a whole as well as the distribution by caste. Out of 530 respondents, 392 (73.96%) earn Rs. 0-10,000 in income and 126 (23.77%) earn Rs. 10,000-20,000. There are only 11 (2.08%) and 2 (0.19%) respondents in the income categories of Rs. 20,000-30,000 and Rs. 30,000+ respectively. This also reveals that there are a high number and percentage of Scheduled Tribe respondents in the income category of Rs. 0-10,000. The average annual income of all respondents was found to be Rs. 5,000-6,000. This figure includes earnings from the migration.

Table 4.21 Key Loan Sources of Respondents

Key Source	Number	Percentage
Friends and Relatives	108	20.38
Local Money Lender	162	30.57
Villagers	251	47.36
Others	9	1.70
Total	**530**	**100**

Indebtedness is a major factor of tribal migration. Table 4.21 indicates the distribution of the migrant households according to their key loan sources. Out of 530 respondents, 162 (30.57%) reported that they depend on the local money lender for accessing loans. 108 (20.38 %) respondents access loans from their friends and relatives. 251 (47.36 %) reported

that they accept the help of other villagers for getting loans. Self-help groups (SHGs) are included in this category.

Almost all respondents reported that they have to return the loan with some sort of interest. 94% of respondents borrow with the promise to return cash with interest. Around 3% of the respondents report that they mortgage either land or gold in order to get a loan and 3% report that they take a work advance.

The rate of interest varies according to the sources of loan. Respondents have reported that in cases of loans taken from the local money lenders, the rate of interest is high and in cases of loans taken from SHGs the rate of interest is low.

Table 4.22 Monthly Interest Paid by Respondents

Interest Rate	Number	Percentage
0%	6	1.13
1-3%	106	20.00
4-6%	377	71.13
7% or more	41	7.74
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.22 indicates the average monthly rate of interest paid by the respondent. 71.13% of respondents report that they repay their loans with an interest rate of 4-6% per month. When loans are taken from SHGs, the rate of interest is usually 1-3%. There are 41 respondents (7.74%) who reported that they have to pay more than 7% monthly interest for their loan. The average rate of monthly interest across all loans was 5%.

Table 4.23 Current Loan Amounts of Respondents by Caste

Loan Amount	Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	General	Total
<Rs.1,000	28	66	29	123
Rs. 1,000-5,000	48	124	29	201
Rs. 5,000-10,000	5	7	1	13
Rs. 10,000-15,000	3	2	0	5
Rs. 15,000+	0	1	0	1
Total	**84**	**200**	**59**	**343**

Effort was made to identify the total amount of outstanding loans, separated by social category. Table 4.23 shows that 343 respondents had loans at the time of the survey. Indebtedness is higher among the Scheduled Tribes compared to the Scheduled Castes and general respondents. The average loan amount was found to be between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000.

If tables 4.22 and 4.23 are viewed together, it shows that a family with a Rs. 3,000 loan with 5% monthly interest rate would have to pay interest of Rs. 1,800 (60% per annum) along with the original loan amount of Rs. 3,000, amounting to Rs. 4,800.

It is important to know *why* people need to borrow money. There are many factors pushing the rural poor to require loans, even when they must pay high rates of interest. The following table indicates different factors and key indicators.

Table 4.24 Reasons for Loans

Reason	Number	Percentage
For Daily Maintenance	390	73.58
For Purchasing PDS and Other Foods	176	33.20
Marriage	158	29.81
Religious Functions and Festivals	255	48.11
Death Rituals	105	19.81
Medical/Health Expenses	278	52.45
Others	15	2.83

Table 4.24 shows the distribution of respondents according to the use of loaned money. It reveals that household daily expenses and medical expenses are the most common reasons to take out loans. The household daily expense also includes expenses for agriculture. Out of 530 respondents, 73.58% borrow for this purpose. 52.45% report that they borrow money in order to meet health expenses. Here, it is important to understand why health expenses are so high when there are Public Health Centres (PHC), Community Health Centres (CHC), district hospitals and other medical facilities provided through NRHM. People in interior areas are often not able to access the medical facilities or even the special medical vans under RLTAP and KBK programmes, because they live in remote locations and the vans are often not available. Purchase of PDS rice, death rituals, marriage and religious functions are among the other reasons that migrants fall into debt.

During the survey, it was found that when people borrow for religious functions, the amount is small enough that they can repay the loan, even with their limited resources, but in the case of borrowing for medical expenses, the amount is high and it is difficult for them to repay. Thus, health costs are a significant driver of the need to migrate.

4.3 Migration Data

Table 4.25 Migrant Number by Year

Year	Number
2005	93
2006	116
2007	226
2008	287

Along with the causes of migration, it is important to know its trends. Table 4.25 shows the growth in the number of migrant labourers over the last four years. Out of 530 respondents, only 95 migrated during 2005. Migration subsequently increased to 116 in 2006, 226 in 2007 and 287 in 2008. Alarmingly, the number of migrants doubled from 2006 to 2007, the year that NREGA came into force; it increased yet again, by 25%, in the following year.

Table 4.26 Frequency of Migration in the Last Four Years

Frequency	Number
Once	289
Twice	104
Thrice	33
Four times (continuous)	19

In order to understand the growth of migration over the last four years, it is important to understand the frequency of migration. Table 4.26 shows that out of 530 labourers, 289 have migrated once during last four years, 104 respondents migrated twice during the same period. 33 and 19 respondents reported that they migrated three and four times respectively in the last four years.

Table 4.27 Migrants at Destination During Survey

Block	No. of Sample GPs	No. of Villages	No. of Persons at Migration Site
Nandapur	11	231	728
Lamtaput	7	113	782
Dasmantpur	3	63	102
Boipariguda	3	146	168
Total	**24**	**553**	**1780**

For this study, a list of those labourers who were not in the villages, but at their migration destination was prepared in order to establish the exact numbers of migrants. Table 4.27 shows the number of workers who were at the destination during the survey by block. It reveals that in the 24 sample gram panchayats, a total number of 1,780 labourers were absent from the villages and at worksites. Combined with the 287 who migrated in 2008 but were in the village and part of the survey, an estimated minimum of 2,067 workers participated in migration in 2008 in these four blocks.

Table 4.28 Demographics of Workers at Migration Destination

Block	Total Migrants	Males <18	%	Females <18	%	Males 18 and above	%	Females 18 and above	%
Nandapur	728	21	2.88	6	0.82	623	85.58	78	10.71
Lamtaput	782	36	4.60	49	6.27	532	68.03	165	21.10
Dasmantpur	102	9	8.82	1	0.98	72	70.59	20	19.61
Boipariguda	168	17	10.12	6	3.57	133	79.17	12	7.14
Total	**1,780**	**83**	4.66	**62**	3.48	**1,360**	76.40	**275**	15.45

Table 4.28 classifies those labourers who were at worksites during the survey according to gender and age. The table shows that out of 1,780 migrants at worksites, 1,443 are male and 337 are female. It is clear that there are a substantial number of child labourers. 145 are below the age of eighteen, 83 males and 62 females. Child labour is still in practice and

the provisions of child labour laws as well as the ISM Act not been enforced properly. The table also shows that the trend of migration is high in Lamtaput and Nandapur blocks; this is because reservoirs and dams have resulted in issues of displacement and landlessness.

While analysing migration, it is important to understand the impact on families. Many sources show that, although in Nuapada and Bolangir districts the labourers usually migrate as families, family migration is not as prevalent in Koraput, though it is increasing.

Table 4.29 Family Migration Status of Respondents

Category	Number	Percentage
Migrated with Family/Relatives	183	34.53
Migrated Alone	347	65.47
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.29 shows the distribution of respondents that migrated with other family members. Out of 530 respondents, 183 (34.53%) reported that they migrated with their family members and 347 (65.47%) migrated alone. In the case of family migrations, it was not necessarily all the members of a family who migrated. In many cases the male members of a family migrated, leaving behind the women, elderly and children.

Table 4.30 Economic Status of Migrants Who Migrated As a Family

Annual Income	Numbers	Percentage
Rs. 0-10,000	135	73.77
Rs. 10,000-20,000	43	23.50
Rs. 20,000-30,000	4	2.19
Rs. 30,000+	1	0.55
Total	**183**	**100**

Table 4.30 reveals that out of the 183 respondents who migrated with their family members, 135 (73.77%) fall into the lowest income category (Rs. 0-10, 000). Out of these 135 respondents, most are either landless or have only small patches of land with very limited production.

Table 4.31 Factors / Causes of Migration

Factors	Frequency	Percentage
Unavailability of Work at the Village	477	90.00
Repayment of Loans	300	56.10
Additional Income	246	46.41
To See the Outside World	94	17.73

Migration occurs because of multiple causes. Landlessness, low productivity, unavailability of work at the villages and repayment of loans are major causes. These causes are not unrelated, but rather inter-connected. Table 4.31 indicates the major factors of migration. Out of 530 respondents, 477 (90.00 %) have reported that non-availability of work at the

village level is a factor of their migration. 300 labourers (56.10 %) reported that they migrated in order to repay their loans. Additional income (46.41 %) and the chance to visit an outside area (17.73 %) were two other factors reported by the respondents.

The causes and consequences of migration are often interchangeable. Poverty can be seen as the root and at the same time is also the result. The below diagram deals with some of the important causes and consequences of distress migration.

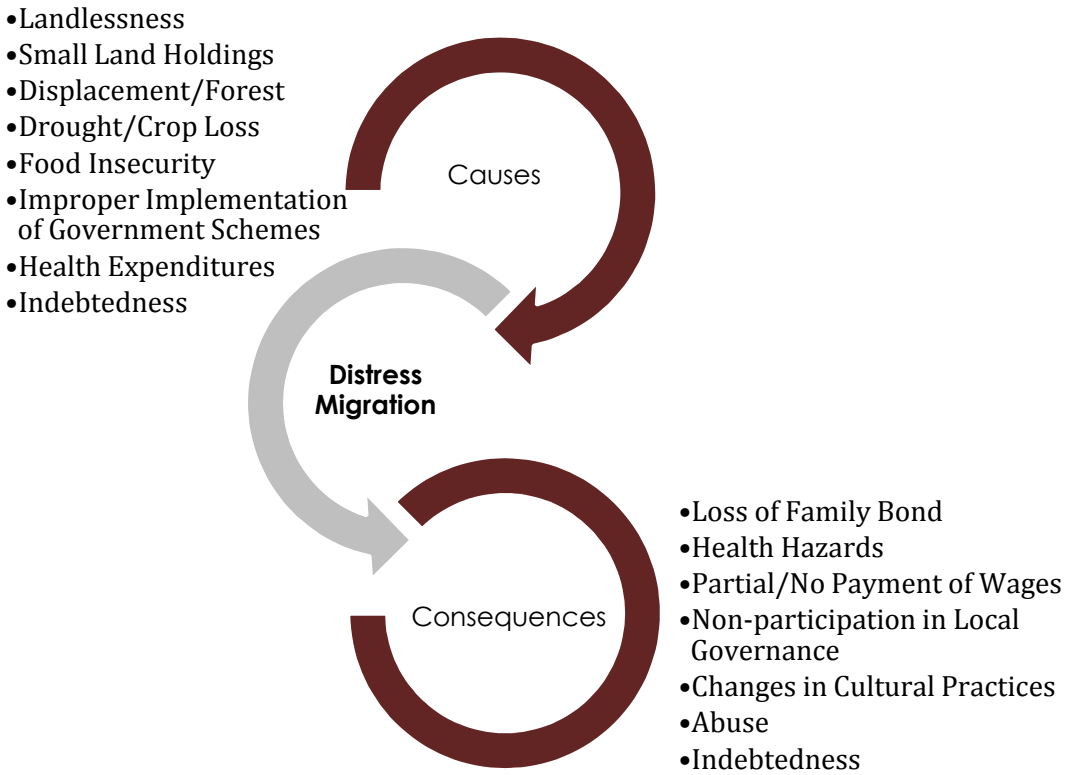


Table 4.32 shows the factors that are responsible for migration. But along with these causes, there are also motivational factors. Many of the migrant workers and their family members reported that the contractor and agents promised them a good wage as well as other benefits. Especially under distressed conditions, villagers are inclined to be persuaded by promises of better opportunities, although these promises are mostly not fulfilled.

Table 4.32 Promises Motivating Respondents to Migrate

Promises	Frequency	Percentage
Accommodations	332	62.65
Wages and Advance	254	47.93
Medical Facility	234	44.16
Three Meals per Day	197	37.16
Holiday on Weekends	190	33.84
Weekly Payment	146	27.54
Clothes	24	4.52

Table 4.32 shows the promises made by the contractors and agents in order to motivate migrants. Provision for accommodations at the worksite (62.65%) is at the top of the list, followed by high wages and payment of advances (47.93%). Medical facilities (44.16 %), three meals a day (37.16 %) and weekend leave (33.84 %) also rank highly. Some migrants reported that they are given promises of weekly wage payments and clothes. Unfortunately, labourers are often falsely motivated by the contractors and agents with promises that are rarely fulfilled.

It has also been observed that, in those cases of migration where there is no direct involvement of the contractor, it is the agent or other middleman (unregistered agents, often co-workers who have migrated before) who motivate others to migrate. The involvement of co-workers and fellow villagers as informal agents who motivate others to migrate is increasing, because these are trusted people who can easily convince others and there is significant financial incentive to do so. As experienced migrants move into the role of recruiting others, they can garner a fee per head in addition to their own wages.

Middlemen: A Growing Phenomenon

In many panchayats, becoming a labour agent is a developing trend because it provides easy money. A labourer who has been migrating for a few years has developed expertise and uses his village connections to serve as middleman between villagers and contractors. He benefits from a percentage of the wages of all the workers he recruits. Mukund Khirsani, age 27, from Chikenput gram panchayat of Lamtaput block, is one such labour agent. He works for the contractor Subash Chandra Lahera and sends labourers to different districts inside and outside the state. Mukund reports that, "It is a good income and many are doing this." Mukund gets a commission of Rs. 10 per day per labourer.

Table 4.33 Sources of Information About Outside Work

Sources	Numbers	Percentage
Villagers	116	21.89
Friends and Relatives	105	19.81
Agents/Middlemen	91	17.17
Contractors	218	41.13
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.33 explains sources of information regarding the availability of work. It is clear from the table that contractors, agents and other middlemen play a vital role in informing as well as motivating the labourers to migrate. Out of 530 respondents, the source of information for 218 (41.13%) is contractors. Second are co-villagers (21.89%) and third are friends and relatives (19.81%), followed by agents (17.17%).

Contractors, agents and other middlemen can easily exploit the village communities' lack of exposure to the wider world. It is difficult for impoverished tribals and dalits to research work opportunities outside their native places and when conditions are distressed, they

don't have the option of choosing where they work. They must take whatever opportunity is presented to them. However, agents can also be exploited by contractors.

Caught in the Middle

In the process of migration, the local middlemen play a pivotal role between the contractor and the migrant labourers. Such a middleman was 22-year-old Damodar Nirki of the village of Surumi in Billaput gram panchayat of Koraput block.

Damodar's family consisted of his wife and three year-old daughter. He had 2 acres of agricultural land, which were uncultivated as Damodar didn't have bullocks. Damodar used to migrate to different places in Andhra Pradesh in search of work. After a couple of years, Damodar thought he would be able to earn more if he took labourers from his local area and provided them work in Andhra Pradesh by negotiating with the contractors there. In order to materialize his plan, Damodar talked to different people who wanted to go outside for work. In this way, he succeeded in organising 20 labourers. In September 2006, Damodar, along with the 20 labourers, started their journey to Visakhapatnam. There, Damodar established contact with a contractor and engaged these 20 labourers in work. For commission, Damodar was getting Rs. 100 (Rs. 5 per person) each day from the contractor. He himself was also working as a labourer, getting Rs. 120 per day. Thus, Damodar could earn Rs. 220 every day.

On the other hand, the labourers were only being paid Rs. 90 per day for their 9 to 10 hours' labour. From this Rs. 90, the contractor deducted Rs. 40 towards food charges (as he provided meals three times a day) and paid only the remaining Rs. 50 to the labourers. This was unsatisfactory to the labourers, and 7 of the 20 escaped and went back to the village. For this, Damodar was penalized by the contractor. Towards the food and labour costs of those 7 labourers, the contractor deducted Rs. 3,600 from the Damodar's wages and commission, which was a huge penalty for him.

After this incident, Damodar stopped doing the job of middleman and has never taken any labourers on migration journeys.

Distress migration is also called seasonal migration because it occurs in rhythm with the agricultural calendar, when agricultural work and other work opportunities are not available.

Table 4.34 Agricultural Seasons

Month	Type of Work
June to August	Buna/Ropa work
November to December	Amala (Harvesting)
January to February	Buna/Ropa Work
May	Amala (Harvesting)

There are two periods when migration is common. The first period is during the months of September to December and the second period is from February to April. Most migration happens in the October to December period when the agricultural work has concluded. However, it has also been seen that the members of the landless families migrate earlier, in September, as less work is available to them at home. The labourers depart during September or October and return to their native places in the last week of November or within the first two weeks of December in order to participate in the harvest, thus spending two to three months at destination. The other period of migration starts in February and continues until April or May. The causes of migration are similar for these two periods.

4.4 Work and Facilities

The following tables discuss the work done by the migrant labourers and facilities availed by them at the worksites. They are characterized as "invisibles" because when they are migrating, their role in local governance is nil and their isolation from family is extreme.

Table 4.35 indicates the distribution of the respondents according to their destination in different districts and states.

Table 4.35 Migration Destination

States	Number	Percentage	Major Places
Andhra Pradesh	361	68.11	Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam, Paderu, Bhadrachalam, Kakinada, Ongalu, etc.
Karnataka	20	3.77	Bangalore
Tamil Nadu	11	2.08	Chennai
Maharashtra	6	1.13	Mumbai, Pune
Kerala	5	0.94	—
Gujarat	4	0.75	—
Chhattisgarh	1	0.19	—
Madhya Pradesh	1	0.19	—
Within Orissa	121	22.83	Khurda, Ganjam, Rayagada
Total	**530**	**100**	

This table reveals that the most common destination of the migrants is Andhra Pradesh. Out of 530 respondents, 361 (68.11%) reported that they migrated to the cities there. 20 (3.77%) migrated to Karnataka, 11 (2.08%) to Tamil Nadu, 6 (1.13%) to Maharashtra, 5 (0.94%) to Kerala and 4 (0.75%) to Gujarat. The table also reveals that labourers are migrating to Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh, although the number is minimal. 121 labourers reported that they have been to different districts within Orissa during their last migration.

The labourers who migrate to other states are called interstate migrant labourers and their rights are protected under the Interstate Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Services) Act 1979 (ISM Act). The broad provisions under this act are listed below.

Broad Provisions under ISM

- Payment of minimum wages by the employer in a weekly basis
- Equal wages to both male and female workers
- Provision of journey allowance
- Provision of displacement allowance to the labourers
- Arrangement of separate accommodations for male and female workers at the worksite
- Issue of a passbook to the labourers
- License for the contractors
- Reporting of fatal accidents by the contractor

However, the observations and the data generated from the survey give a different view altogether and it is clear that the provisions of this act have never been effectively implemented.

Migration distances are long, 100 to 800 km on average, even for those migrants who stay within Orissa, so establishing who bears the cost of the journey is important.

Table 4.36 Who Bears Travel Costs

	Number	Percentage
Self	208	39.25
Contractor	322	60.75
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.36 shows the bearer of travel costs during migration. Out of 530 respondents, 322 (60.75%) reported that the contractor provided the travel cost and 208 (39.25%) reported that they paid for the travel cost by themselves. It was observed that in cases where the travel cost was paid by the labourers, they often got that amount as a loan from other villagers, causing them to fall into indebtedness even before their migration.

Most of the work migrants engage in is labour intensive. Table 4.37 shows the types of work carried out by the migrant respondents during their last migration.

Table 4.37 Type of Work at Destination

Types	Numbers	Percentage
Construction	244	46.04
Railway Work	143	26.98
Metal Work	38	7.17
Brick Work	23	4.34
Bamboo Cutting and Wood Work	28	5.28
Gardening	12	2.26
Others	42	7.92
Total	**530**	**100**

Out of 530 respondents, 244 (46.04%) were engaged in construction work during their last migration. Construction mainly includes multi-story buildings, houses and shopping malls in urban centres. 143 (26.98%) respondents engaged in railway work. These labourers generally engaged in the work of track repair, fitting the rail lines and constructing new railway tracks. 38 respondents reported that they do metal work during their migration period. Many of these metal workers used to migrate to Khurda and Ganjam districts in Orissa and work in stone crushing. The table also shows that out of 530 respondents, 23 (4.34%) were engaged in brick making, 28 (5.28%) in bamboo cutting and 12 (2.26%) in gardening. There are also 42 workers who reported that they engaged in other miscellaneous work such as digging ditches, canal works and other manual labour.

Many researchers have made the observation that the migrant labourers work very long hours and this study corroborates that view. Many migrant respondents have reported that they work a much longer day when migrating than they are accustomed to in their villages. The survey uncovered cases in which labourers worked twelve hour days.

Table 4.38 Hours Worked per Day

Hours	Number	Percentage
6-7	53	10.00
8-9	382	72.08
10-11	51	9.62
12+	44	8.30
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.38 shows the average hours of work done by the migrant respondents at the worksite. Out of 530 respondents, only 53 (10%) have reported that the average period of work is six to seven hours. 382 (72.08%) have reported that the average period of work at the worksite is eight to nine hours in a day. 51 (9.62%) reported that the average working hour is 10-11 hours and 44 respondents (8.30%) reported that the average period of work is more than 12 hours per day. It is clear from the data that most migrants' work day is a violation of labour acts that dictate no more than a seven-hour work day.

Table 4.39 Respondents Taking Advances

	Number	Percentage
Advance Taken	194	36.60
Advance Not Taken	336	63.40
Total	**530**	**100**

Advances play a vital role in the period before migration by fostering debt. In the survey areas, it has been seen that a good proportion of the labourers are given some amount of advance before they go for work outside. However, this amount is very little and mainly given to motivate the new labourers. Table 4.39 shows the number of respondents who have taken advance before their last migration. It shows that out of 530 respondents, 194 (36.60%) received an advance before their last migration.

Table 4.40 Amount of Advance Taken by Respondents

Amount	Number	Percentage
< Rs.100	57	29.38
Rs. 100-1,000	96	49.48
Rs. 1,000-2,000	19	9.79
Rs. 2,000-3,000	11	5.67
Rs. 3,000-4,000	10	5.15
Rs. 4,000+	1	0.52
Total	**194**	**100**

Table 4.40 shows the distribution of the respondents according to the advance taken by them. It is clear from the above table that the majority of respondents are given less than Rs. 1,000 as an advance. Out of 194 respondents, 57 (29.38%) reported that the advance they received before their migration was less than Rs. 100, 96 respondents (49.48%) reported that they received an advance amount between Rs. 100 and Rs. 1,000. The other 41 respondents reported that they received more than Rs. 1,000 as the advance amount before their migration.

In the study area, the practice of migration is not very old, so becoming entrapped by advances taken is not very common. Advances in the study areas were typically small and given only to motivate new migrants. Many times the advance is so little that the labourers still have to borrow for their travel. Other times, the contractors and agents promise to provide good payment and bear travel costs, so they do not offer advances. Only those families whose financial condition is the very worst ask for and are given advances.

4.5 Worksite Facilities

Facilities are an important part of any worksite. According to the provisions under ISM, the contractor or employer must provide minimum facilities at the worksite, including separate accommodations and toilet facilities for male and female labourers, clean drinking water and a rest shed. Along with this, the contractor or employer should also ensure the availability of a first aid box at the worksite and maintain a sanitary workplace to prevent any kind of epidemic. The following tables deal with different facilities provided for and availed by the migrant respondents at the worksites.

Food

Table 4.41 Food Provisions at the Worksite

	Number	Percentage
Provided by the Employer for a Fee	72	13.58
Provided by the Employer Free of Cost	11	2.08
Prepared by Self/Group	447	84.34
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.41 shows the availability of food to the migrant labourers at the worksite. 447 (84.34%) prepare food by themselves at the worksite. In these cases, they are usually given a small amount of money (Rs. 100 per week is common) as advance for food by the employer. This advance amount is then deducted from their final payment. Other labourers 72 (13.58%) have reported that they were given food by the employer but were obliged to pay for it. Only 11 (2.08%) respondents reported that they had been provided free food by the employer at the worksite. The commitment by the contractor for providing three meals a day is not typically fulfilled.

When it comes to food, quality matters. The food should contain all the required vitamins and calories that the body needs. Although it is difficult to assess the quality of food provided, the survey sought to determine the migrant's perspective on the palatability of the food.

Table 4.42 Food Quality

Quality	Number	Percentage
Good	312	58.87
Bad	203	38.30
Average	15	2.83
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.42 indicates that out of 530 respondents, 312 (58.87%) are satisfied with the quality of food and view it as good. 203 (38.30%) respondents mark the quality of food as bad and only 15 (2.83%) reported that the quality of food was average. The respondents reported that, because they have to manage with limited money for food, it is difficult to arrange good food within that budget. Another report is that even though the food is good, it lacks nutrition, ultimately affecting the health of the labourers.

Accommodations

Table 4.43 Accommodations at the Worksite

Places	Number	Percentage
Asbestos/Tin Roofed Room Near Worksite	257	48.49
Hut	45	8.49
Forest	14	2.64
Tambu	161	30.38
Open Space Station	44	8.30
Others	9	1.70
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.43 describes the types of accommodations available at the worksite during migration of the labourers, some of which are secure and others of which are not adequately secure. Out of 530 respondents, 257 (48.49%) reported that they stay nearby the worksite, mainly in asbestos or tin roofed small houses. 161 respondents (30.38 %)

reported that they stay in the tambu near by the worksites. Labourers engaged in bamboo cutting work reported that they were obliged to stay in the forest (2.64%) during the entire migration period without any safety or security measures. Railway workers reported that they stayed in the stations (8.30%). The place of stay differs from worksite to worksite and some labourers reported that they engaged in longer work days because they stayed near the worksite.

Table 4.44 Condition of Accommodations

Conditions	Number	Percentage
Good	193	36.42
Manageable	110	20.75
Bad	161	30.38
Very Bad	66	12.45
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.44 indicates the distribution of the respondents according to their evaluation of the accommodations. The table shows that only 193 respondents (36.42%) viewed the place of stay as good and others reported that it was either bad or just manageable. 110 respondents (20.75%) reported that although accommodations are not good, they are manageable. 161 respondents (30.38%) reported that the accommodations at the worksite were bad and 66 respondents (12.45%) viewed them as very bad. Many labourers reported that the accommodations are not up to the mark because the size of the rooms is very small. In the case of forest work and in some railway work, labourers are obliged to stay in the open without protection from cold, rain or assault during the night.

Health

Health is a major issue and a basic right of an individual. For migrant labourers, provision of health facilities is absolutely necessary. As per ISM, the contractor or the employer should ensure proper health facilities at the worksite for the labourers such as a first aid box. The following tables deal with different health related facilities and issues at the worksite, as reported by the migrant respondents.

Table 4.45 Availability of First Aid Box at Worksite

	Number	Percentage
Available	183	34.53
Not Available	347	65.47
Total	**530**	**100**

The first issue concerns the availability of a first aid box. Out of 530 respondents, 347 (65.47%) deny that a first aid box is available and only 183 respondents (34.53%) have confirmed the availability of this important facility at the worksite.

Table 4.46 Health Service Provider

Source	Numbers	Percentage
Company	301	56.79
Friends	38	7.17
Government	0	0.00
Self	148	27.92
Others	43	8.11
Total	**530**	**100**

Many labourers fall ill during their migration. Effort has been made to understand who bears the cost of health services and medicines. Table 4.46 indicates that it is primarily the company which provides support if there is a need for health services. Out of 530 respondents, 301 (56.79%) reported that the company/employer provides some amount of money in case of emergencies. 148 respondents (27.92%) reported that they bear the medical expenses themselves. It was found that in some cases the employer deducts the money given to the labourer for health or medicinal purposes, so although the employer may cover these expenses at the time, ultimately they are borne by the labourers themselves.

Table 4.47 Amount of Health Expenses

Amount	Number
< Rs. 100	46
Rs. 100-2,000	197
Rs. 2,000-4,000	5
Rs. 4,000+	2
Total	**250**

Table 4.47 indicates the amount spent on health by the labourers during their last migration. 250 respondents reported that they have spent money from their own pockets on health, mostly between Rs. 100 and Rs. 2,000. Common health problems among the labourers were insomnia, weakness, mental imbalance, fever and bronchitis. All of these health problems occur because of heavy work in a bad environment; it is clear that the working environment for the migrants is not conducive to good health.

Other Facilities

Table 4.48 Availability of Clean Drinking Water at the Worksite

	Number	Percentage
Available	396	74.72
Not available	134	25.28
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.48 shows the availability of clean drinking water at the worksite. In 74.72% of cases, drinking water was made available.

Table 4.49 Availability of Rest Shed At Worksite

	Number	Percentage
Available	258	48.68
Not available	272	51.32
Total	**530**	**100**

Provision of a rest shed at the worksite is much needed. There is a provision under ISM for this. Even the NREGA specifies that rest sheds should be available at the worksite. Table 4.49 shows that 51.32% of the respondents denied that rest sheds were available at the worksite. Although 48.68% respondents reported that rest sheds were available, the "rest sheds" were actually the same as their accommodations.

Table 4.50 Availability of Toilet Facilities at Worksite

	Number	Percentage
Available	75	14.15
Not Available	455	85.85
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.50 deals with the availability of toilet facilities at the worksite. Of the 530 respondents, 455 (85.85%) deny the availability of toilet facilities at the worksite.

Chart 4.5 aggregates the availability of mandates worksite provisions. It is clear that many provisions under the ISM Act are not followed at the vast majority of worksites, showing that the safety and hygiene of migrants at the worksites are not of concern to the employers or contractors.

Chart 4.5 Availability of Mandated Provisions at Worksite

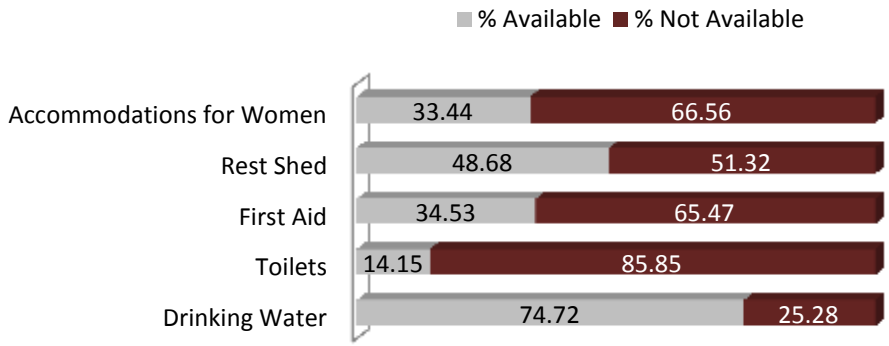


Table 4.51 Avenues of Entertainment at the Worksite

Heads	Number	Percentage
Films/Movies	55	10.38
Music	112	21.13
Others	21	3.96
No Avenues	342	64.53
Total	**530**	**100**

Effort was made to identify avenues of entertainment at the worksite. Table 4.51 shows that most respondents denied the availability of entertainment facilities at the worksite. Some of the respondents reported that radio is the main source of entertainment for them at the worksite.

Issues of Women and Children

Women play a vital role in the work force but they have never been treated equally to men. In the case of migration, the numbers of women migrants are increasing year by year and they have special issues and needs. The present study looks at these special needs, whether it be migrant workers or local women on the worksite.

Table 4.52 Engagement of Women Workers at the Worksites

	Number	Percentage
Engaged	302	56.98
Not Engaged	228	43.02
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.52 shows the engagement of women workers at the worksites. Out of 530 respondents, 302 (56.98%) reported that women workers were engaged at the worksite. 228 respondents (43.02%) reported that no women workers were engaged at the worksite during their last migration.

Table 4.53 Separate Accommodations for Women at Worksite

Separate Arrangements	Number	Percentage
Yes	101	33.44
No	201	66.56
Total	**302**	**100**

Table 4.53 shows that separate accommodations for women workers at the worksite are more often than not unavailable. Out of 302 respondents, 66.56% have reported that there were no separate accommodations. Only 33.44% workers have reported that separate accommodation was available, even though this is a provision of ISM.

Table 4.54 Attitude toward Women by Employer at Worksite

Heads	Number	Percentage
Normal	215	71.19
Bad	87	28.81
Can't Say/Don't Know	15	4.97
Total	**302**	**100**

Table 4.54 indicates the general attitude toward women at the worksites. 71.19% of respondents reported that the attitude towards women was normal, though not very respectful. 28.81% reported that the attitude towards women labourers was bad.

Still Waiting…

Padma has been missing since April 2007. No one has any information about her, neither her parents nor the local police administration. The following is the story of her disappearance.

Padma Disari, a 35 year-old woman of Ambaguda had gotten married to Chitaram Badanayak, a native of Chilliput village in Bheja gram panchayat, 12 years before. After marriage, Padma's life was shattered by mental and physical torture from her husband. Eventually, Padma left her husband and returned to her parent's house in 2005. Her parent's financial condition was not good and they had to struggle to manage their livelihood. Padma worked as a daily labourer and made friends with a female migrant, Brunda Khara of Nandaguda village in the neighboring gram panchayat. Brunda used to migrate to Madipeli, a village 20 km away from Salur of Andhra Pradesh, to work on a banana farm.

Brunda asked Padma to migrate with her. Although Padma's parents did not agree with the idea, they had no other choice. Padma thought that she would have a better income from migration and that their condition would improve. Padma went with Brunda to work in the banana field and returned home without incident.

In April 2007, Brunda and Padma left for Madipeli again, but this time, after one month, Brunda came home alone. When Padma's parents asked about Padma, Brunda said "I asked Padma to come with me, but she told me that she would come back in another month." When Padma did not return the following month, her anxious parents went to the owner of the farm at Madipeli and asked about Padma's whereabouts. The owner reported "Padma left for home a week ago after receiving all her wages and dues. I do not know why she didn't arrive there."

Helpless, Padma's parents searched the area in vain. Padma is still missing. When asked why they did not inform the police about Padma's disappearance, her parents lamented, "We do not know what to do; we are still waiting for her."

Table 4.55 Violence toward Women at the Worksite

	Number	Percentage
Yes	81	26.82
No	221	73.18
Total	**302**	**100**

There are many acts and rules advocating protection of women from abuse and all forms of violence. However, these acts and rules are not followed in the case of migrant women.

There are several instances where women workers suffered both abuse and violence. Table 4.55 indicates the respondents' views on the issue of abuse and violence on women at the worksite. Out of 302 respondents who reported that women workers were engaged at their worksites, 81 (26.82%) reported that women are physically and mentally abused at the worksite during migration. The respondents reported that the women workers are often scolded and sometimes harassed sexually. There are also cases where the women labourers are raped. In addition to lack of separate sleeping and toilet facilities, mistreatment contributes to the poor working conditions for women.

Preying on Young Girls

In October 2007, a man named Okil Nayak of Tansing village in Kularsing gram panchayat succeeded in convincing four 17-year-old girls, named Devaki Pangi, Malki Pangi, Danumati Pangi and Punima Badanayak, that they would get better wages if they went to Andhra Pradesh. The girls, along with two boys, left their village secretly, fearing the resistance of their parents, and reached the railway station. They were joined by another female labourer, Railu Majhi, and then all seven labourers travelled to Visakhapatnam.

After reaching Visakhapatnam, Okil took the seven to a railway contractor, who engaged them in railway track construction work. There was no separate place for the male and female labourers to sleep, so they had no other option besides staying together in a single tent. They had to work from 7 in the morning to 6 in the evening. As the humidity was high during the day, it was very difficult to work the long hours. And whenever they were exhausted and sought a little rest, the contractor abused and beat them. Devaki Pangi was severely beaten.

At the same time, Okil Nayak seduced Railu Majhi into a sexual relationship and a few months later, Railu was found to be pregnant. Helpless now, Railu requested that Okil Nayak marry her but Okil did not agree and instead beat her and took her to a hospital, where he forced her to have an abortion. Okil then sent her home to her village. The girls who were accompanied by the boys of their villages were not exploited in this way, which suggests that for women who migrate alone the risks are higher.

Before leaving the villages, Okil assured the laborers that they would be paid Rs. 100 per day, but after they had worked for seven days, Okil instead said that they would be paid Rs. 60. When two of the boys demanded the rest of their wages, the contractor refused to pay and beat them. As a result, the boys escaped to their village and disclosed everything.

The villagers sought the help of SPREAD, which immediately intervened and brought the matter to the notice of the District Labour Officer, District Collector, and police. As a result, the four girls were returned home within a couple of days.

Table 4.56 Migration with Children below Fourteen

	Number	Percentage
Yes	39	7.36
No	491	92.64
Total	**530**	**100.00**

Chart 4.6 Child Migrants

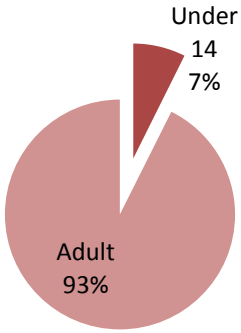


Table 4.56 and Chart 4.6 reflect the migration of children below the age of fourteen with their parents. It is clear from the above table that there are small children migrating from the sample areas, even though their number is few. Migration of the children is a very serious issue, as when a child migrates there is not only the violation of his/her rights but also his/her future is put at risk.

Table 4.57 Age of Migrant Children

Age	Number
10	3
11	4
12	9
13	13
14	10
Total	**39**

The children who migrate with their parents also engage in the work. They are considered to be extra hands for their parents. Table 4.57 shows the age distribution of migrant children. Of 39 respondents, 21 reported that their children are engaged in the work. Out of the working children, 16 were given a separate payment, though this amount was very small. Others reported that even though their children performed work, they were not paid. The respondents have also reported that there were no schooling facilities at the worksite for the children. At the worksites, there is clear violation of children's rights.

4.6 Payment to Migrants

Many scholars see labour migration as a positive phenomenon contributing to the process of economic development at the destination as well as at the native places because of

the income made by the migrant labourers. However, distress migration does not turn out to be a benefit.

The economics of migration needs to be looked at from different angles including the economic condition of labourers when they choose to migrate, the situation during migration and the consequences afterwards. For instance, when a family migrates, its financial condition needs to be analysed, including the financial benefits during and after the migration period. The question of whether the households benefited from the income earned during migration in order to repay loans and meet daily household needs must also be answered.

Before delving into the economics of migration, the average income of the migrant labourers should be assessed. The following table indicates the distribution of the respondents according to their average income during their last migration.

Table 4.58 Income during Last Migration

Income	Number	Percentage
Not Paid	45	8.49
Rs. <500	31	5.85
Rs. 500 to 1,000	53	10.00
Rs. 1,000 to 2,000	172	32.45
Rs. 2,000 to 3,000	101	19.06
Rs. 3,000 to 4,000	38	7.17
Rs. 4,000 to 5,000	29	5.47
Rs. 5,000+	61	11.51
Total	**530**	**100**

Chart 4.7 Income during Last Migration

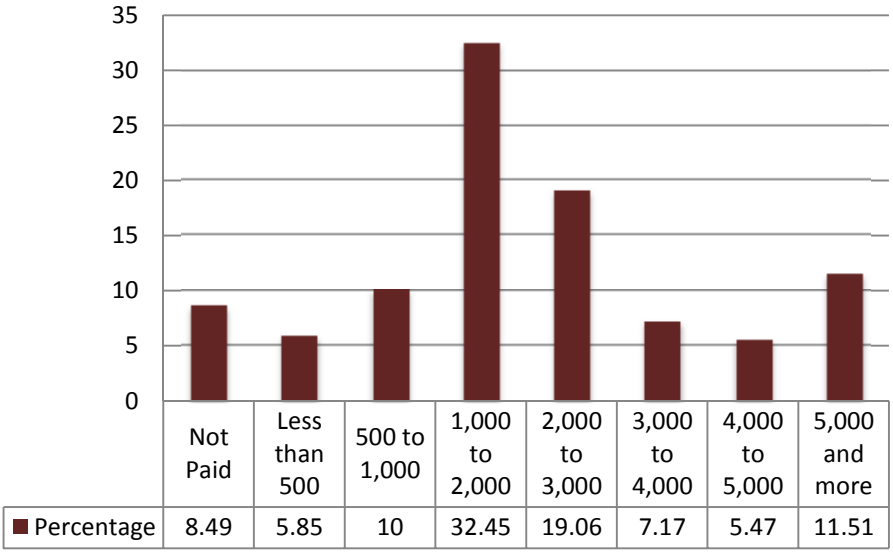


Table 4.58 and Chart 4.7 show the income of the migrant respondents. It shows that out of

530 respondents, 172 (32.45%) were paid between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 during their last migration. 101 (19.06%) were paid between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000. Only 61 (11.51%) respondents were paid more than Rs. 5,000 during their last migration. The table clearly reveals that the cases of little or no payment are high. 53 respondents (10.00%) were paid less than Rs. 1,000 and 31 (5.85%) respondents reported that they were paid less than Rs. 500 for the whole period they worked at the destination. Surprisingly, the table reveals that 45 (8.49%) respondents were not paid at all.

The income of the migrant labourers needs to be seen against the duration of work. The average period of migration is sixty days, so the wages paid to them are clearly not meeting minimum wage standards as per Payment of Wages Act 1936.

During the survey, an effort was made to understand why there are cases of non-payment and under-payment, as well as at which worksites these cases are common. Cases of non-payment and under-payment mainly came from construction sites. The practice at construction sites was that various amounts are deducted from the total payment for food, shelter, medicines, travel advance and other items, making the final wages minimal. The workers engaged in other types of work, especially in railway work, were comparatively better off.

Since the final wages were not sufficient for work performed, the migrant labourers did not get economic benefits of migration, in most cases. Local government-sponsored work would be much more economically beneficial than migration work. For instance, sixty days work under NREGA would provide Rs. 4,200 or more in the case of piece work (by 2008 minimum wage standards), which is far more than most of the migrants earned.

A Migrant's Journey Ends in Tragedy

Dambarudhar Khara is a resident of Palam village of Ballel gram panchayat in Lamtaput block. Dambarudhar's family consists of his wife Subarna, son Dhanpati, daughter-in-law Sumitra, and sister-in-law Sabitri. The family lived on daily labour work and the agricultural produce availed from two acres of beda lands and one acre of upland.

In September 2007, Dhanpati and four friends went to Machhlipatnam of East Godabari district in Andhra Pradesh as migrant labourers. About 30 labourers of neighbouring villages were already working there. The five men worked there for 23 days, earning Rs. 70 per day. On the 24th day, Dhanpati's family members were devastated when an ambulance, carrying the dead body of Dhanpati, accompanied by his four friends, reached the village.

When asked about the tragedy, the friends said that while working on the railway track, Dhanpati died of a train accident. But when Dhanpati's family members tried to remove the white cloth from the dead body, these men prevented them and immediately took the dead body to be cremated. While throwing the dead body

into the funeral fire, family members saw that there were many mysterious injuries to Dhanpati's body.

After some time, the truth came out. At the end of the 23rd day, all five received their wages. When they were trying to distribute the total money among themselves, a misunderstanding arose that resulted in violence; in the end Dhanpati was beaten to death.

Knowing this, the family members of Dhanpati lodged an F.I.R. at the Machhakund police station. However, no action has yet been taken by the police. To pay for this tragedy, Dhanpati's family raised Rs. 30,000 by mortgaging their 2 acres of land. After losing the land, the family is unable to sustain itself. Finding no other way out, Dhanpati's parents have gone to Mahada, where they are depending upon their sister. Dhanpati's wife and daughter have left for her parent's house in village Sabun.

Table 4.59 Authority Who Paid Wages

	Number	Percentage
Company	166	31.32
Contractor	256	48.30
Agent	58	10.94
Others	5	0.94
Not Paid	45	8.49
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.59 indicates the distribution of the respondents according to the authorities who paid them the wages. Out of 530 respondents, 256 (48.30%) were given the payment by the contractor, 166 (31.32%) by the company and 58 (10.94%) by the agents. In 5 cases, the middleman from the villages gave the payment to the labourers.

Table 4.60 Timing of Payment

Heads	Number	Percentage
Daily Basis	7	1.32
Weekly	73	13.77
Fortnightly	16	3.02
At the Time of Return	357	67.36
Others	32	6.04
Not Paid	45	8.49
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.60 shows the timing of payment. Out of 530 respondents, 357 (67.36%) were given the payment at the end of their migration period, when they returned to their native place. 73 respondents (13.77%) were paid on a weekly basis by the employer and 16 (3.02%) were paid on a fortnightly basis. It is clear from the table that payment of wages was not done

on a weekly basis as per the commitment made by the contractors and provisions under ISM and the Payment of Wages Act 1936.

Table 4.61 Place of Payment

Place of Payment	Number	Percentage
Worksite	333	62.83
Rail Station (Destination)	45	8.49
Rail Station (Native Place)	84	15.85
Agent's/Contractor's House	19	3.58
Others	4	0.75
Not Paid	45	8.49
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.61 indicates the places where the migrant labourers are given their payment. The table shows that most (62.83%) are paid at the worksite. 84 respondents (15.85%) were given payment at the railway station near their villages. Similarly, 45 respondents (8.49%) received payment at the station near the destination. Many migrant labourers reported that they were purposely not paid until after the work was completed so that they were trapped and could not return home.

Table 4.62 Spending of Wages

	Number	Percentage
Household Daily Expenses	444	83.77
Loan Repayment	337	63.58
Religious and Social Function	31	5.84
Others	80	15.09

Table 4.62 shows how migrant workers spent wages earned. It shows that the highest number of respondents spent their wages fulfilling household daily needs and repaying loans. Out of 530 respondents, 444 (83.77%) reported that they primarily spent the money in order to meet the daily needs of their family. This includes the purchase of rice, salt, oil and clothes for the family. 337 respondents (63.58%) reported that they used wages to pay back loans. Only 31 (5.84%) respondents spent the money on religious and social functions. 80 (15.09%) spent their wages for other purposes, including expenditures on health and child education.

Table 4.63 Actual Wages Versus Promised Wages

Wages as Expected	Number	Percentage
Yes	202	38.11
No	283	53.40
Not Paid	45	8.49
Total	**530**	**100**

Chart 4.7 Actual Wages Versus Promised Wages

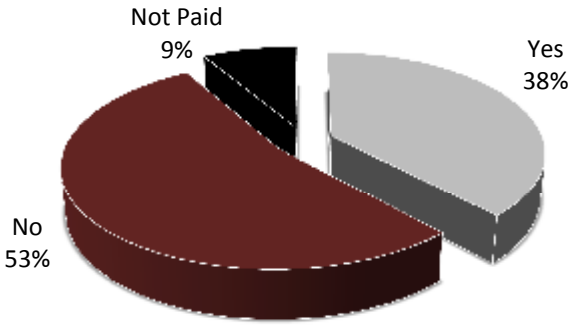


Table 4.63 and Chart 4.7 show whether respondents agree that payment was given in accordance with prior commitments. Most migrants are not satisfied with the wages received from their migration. Out of 530 respondents, 283 (53.40%) reported that they did not receive the amount of wages promised by the contractor or the agent before migration. Only 202 (38.11%) reported that they received the wages as promised to them before migration. Since 45 respondents (8.49%) did not receive any payment at all for their work, the number of dissatisfied labourers comes to 328.

The level of satisfaction of the work also relates to the actual duration of labour versus the promised duration.

Table 4.64 Whether Worked Longer Period Than Paid

	Number	Percentage
Yes	306	57.74
No	224	42.26
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.64 shows that, out of 530 respondents, 306 (57.74%) worked for a longer period than they were paid for.

4.7 Personal Well-being

Just after the month of Assa (October) and during the month of Dasara (October), the labourers from Koraput start their migration, leaving behind their family, their forest, their land and their cattle. They leave their village as well as their culture. They travel a long distance with great uncertainty, but with a hope to earn decent wages, come back home, feed their family and live a good life. At their worksites, they work hard from morning to evening, maybe with a half-full stomach. As time passes, they suffer and want to return home, but they continue to work because they have no other choice. Even though they look physically fit, many develop psychological insecurities. Do they keep in contact with their family members, do they have freedom of movement and do they face any kind of abuse from the employer?

Since migration in Koraput district involves more individuals than whole families, it is important to know how much contact the migrant labourer has with the family members who stay home.

Table 4.65 Contact with Family

Period	Number	Percentage
Weekly/Fortnightly	169	31.89
Monthly	124	23.40
Sometimes	81	15.28
Never	156	29.43
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.65 shows that, out of 530 respondents, 374 had contact with their family members and 156 did not. 31.89% had contact at least fortnightly with their family members and 23.40% had monthly contact. 15.28% reported that they had contact, but that it was not very regular. It was observed during the survey that in almost all the cases, telephone is the mode of contact, but in interstate migration, frequent calls are not cost effective.

Table 4.66 Rest during Work Day

	Number	Percentage
Yes	346	65.28
No	184	34.72
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.66 shows the distribution of the respondents according to whether they are provided time to rest during the work day. 346 (65.28%) respondents reported that they did get some time to rest during the workday, but 184 (34.72%) denied that any rest time was provided. The rest time that was given was the time for lunch which was only 45 minutes to one hour.

Table 4.67 Opportunity to Leave Worksite in Case of Emergency

	Number	Percentage
Allowed	319	60.19
Not Allowed	211	39.81
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.67 shows the opportunity given to the labourers to leave the worksite in the case of emergency at their native places. Although very few cases of emergencies have occurred, this table shows the opinions of the respondents if an emergency should occur. 319 respondents (60.19%) thought that there would be an opportunity to leave work in case of emergency, but 211 respondents (39.81%) did not think that such an opportunity would be granted.

The labourers who migrated from the study areas were mainly involved in construction and railway work. The construction sites include multi-floored buildings and big houses. Per the government provisions, minimum safety measures should be taken at the worksite. Here, effort has been made to understand whether the work done by the migrant respondents involved danger.

Table 4.68 Whether Work Involved Danger

	Number	Percentage
Yes	239	45.09
No	291	54.91
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.68 shows that 239 respondents (45.09%) indicate that their work involved danger. 291 (54.91%) reported that their work did not involve danger. It has also been reported by the labourers that in many worksites very few safety measures are followed. Respondents also noted instances where labourers (not within the study group) were involved in an accident and died while working at both construction and railway sites.

Table 4.69 Mental or Physical Abuse at Worksite

Abuse	Number	Percentage
Yes	42	7.92
No	488	92.08
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.69 shows the views of the respondents regarding physical or mental abuse at the worksite. 42 respondents (7.92%) did report being physically or mentally abused at the worksite during their stay at the destination. Abuse includes scolding and beating the worker who either disobeys or makes mistakes while working. Even though there are clear cases of physical and mental abuse, there are no instances where a police case has been filed against the contractor or the employer.

Promises, Promises …

Paikaphulbeda is a small village in Dasmantpur block of Koraput. The following incident shows the kind of exploitation that the labourers from this village faced at the worksite and how effort made by a non-government organization and media personnel helped to free workers from a worksite in Karnataka.

In July 2007, eight labourers (Ganga Surjiya, Maheswar Surjiya, Deba Pangi, Sada Khillo, Kabi Khillo, Rajhu Khillo, Rama Chandra Hantal, Alu Hantal) from Paikaphulbeda migrated with an unregistered agent named Madhava Hantal. The agent told them to go to Balugaon, which is not very far from Koraput. After reaching Balugaon, he asked them to go to another place further away. Although the labourers objected to this, the agent convinced them by saying that they would get higher payment, weekly holidays and other benefits if they worked with a

company called SNC in Karnataka. After a journey of two days by train, the labourers reached their destination.

When reaching at the worksite, the agent handed over all the labourers to the contractor there and departed. The labourers were confined by company walls. They worked from 6:30 a.m. to 11 p.m. without rest and were not given a chance to leave the worksite or use a phone. The food supplied was unhygienic and none of the facilities promised by the agent were provided.

After a few days, these labourers agreed that they did not want to continue work there. They shared their concerns to the contractors, Banu and Manu Patra. The contractors threatened them and told them that they had no choice but to work. The labourers escaped, but were caught by the company security guard and severely beaten by the contractors.

A few days later, Deba Pangi succeeded in fleeing from the worksite. He returned to the village with only a single towel in his possession and informed the villagers and SPREAD about the situation. SPREAD immediately intervened and informed the media as well as the district administration. With pressure from the media, the district administration consulted with the Karnataka state government and pressured the SNC company to release the other labourers. They all arrived home on 16 December 2007.

Table 4.70 Attempts to Flee Worksite

	Number	Percentage
Yes	45	8.49
No	485	91.51
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.70 identifies those workers who tried to flee from worksites during their last migration. 45 (8.49%) respondents tried to escape. Of this number, only six succeeded; the others were caught by the contractor or the employer. The respondents report that they were either scolded or beaten by the contractor in these cases.

Table 4.71 Feelings of Migrants During Stay

Feelings	Number	Percentage
Good	58	10.94
Bad	466	87.92
So-So	6	1.13
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 4.71 indicates the overall feelings of the migrant labourers at the worksites. 466 (87.92%) respondents do not feel good at the worksite. They miss their family members, do not have a social life and the working conditions are terrible.

CHAPTER 5 ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE

5.1 The Role of Governance in Migration

The role of governance is vital in terms of checking migration and protecting workers who migrate. Governance is defined as the way the state and its various institutions negotiate and mediate with people, markets and civil society, through laws, policies, regulation and finance. It implies different forms of power in different institutional arenas, including government and non-government organizations, which form and implement public policies.

When it is a matter of framing, legitimizing and implementing public policies, government and its agencies play a pivotal role, since their primary responsibility is welfare-development and empowerment of the people. Government is responsible to implement various programmes in a transparent and accountable manner for development of the people.

In terms of migration, government has two roles—first, reducing the need for impoverished people to migrate, and second, protecting them while they are engaged in labour in faraway places.

Why does governance matter in migration, especially in distress conditions? Governance is a process which primarily aims at solving the difficulties of the people as well as developing their conditions. As illustrated throughout this report, distress migration is a major problem. In Koraput region, distress conditions occur because of deep rooted impoverishment of the people residing there. The condition is such because of many interrelated factors; large-scale displacement, landlessness, loss of forest resources, rising costs and improper implementation of government-sponsored programmes result in food insecurity among people and contribute to impoverishment and involuntary migration. In this situation, the role of governance, especially of the government becomes important, as only government has the authority, resources and reach through which it can reduce the factors that create distress conditions.

The government, be it central or state, has a responsibility to address issues of poverty, but it is clear that they are not fulfilling their duties. In fact, it is their negligence that is *causing* issues like distress migration. Many policies implemented by the government are not "pro poor." For instance, the decision to establish large industries, large reservoirs and other developments caused displacement and alienated people from their land and forest without any proper rehabilitation. In the long run, this affected their food security and forced them to migrate for work.

On the other hand, government has implemented various programmes such as NREGA, under which there are direct provisions for employment. Other schemes such as PDS, ICDS, OAP and other special projects are also aimed at improving food security status at the family level. Unfortunately, these schemes are not properly implemented and there is a

high rate of misappropriation happening in these schemes. This situation is directly and indirectly contributing to the creation of a distress condition at the village level, leading to migration.

There is also the issue of protection of the migrants' rights after their migration. The rights of the migrant labourers including the payment of timely and equal wages, protection from violence and torture, provision of worksite facilities and other rights outlined in this report. There are various laws and legislations framed by the central and state governments to protect these rights, but the reality is something different. The present study reveals that protecting the rights of the migrant workers is rarely practiced by the contractors and the employers. It can be said that the fault lies with the government in terms of its failure to punish those who are violating these laws.

Role of Government in Migration

It is apparent that the government has a major role to play in distress migration. It is difficult to stop migration completely, but proper formulation and implementation of pro poor policies can reduce the negative impact to vulnerable peoples.

This chapter of the study deals with the status of different right to food and right to work schemes implemented in the sample areas and their relevance to the issue of migration. Along with this, different acts and government policies are analysed to identify gaps and suggest the needed measures. The chapter also highlights the structure of the government at both the state and district level that is primarily responsible for implementing different labour laws.

5.2 Implementation of Right to Food & Work Schemes in the Sample Areas

Table 5.1 Centrally-sponsored Labour Schemes Preceding NREGA

Name of the Scheme	Year
Rural Man Power (RMP)	1960-61
Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CRSE)	1971-72
Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Programme (PIREP)	1972
Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA)	Early Seventies
Marginal Farmers and Agriculture Labour Scheme (MFAL)	Early Seventies
Food For Work Programme (FWP)	1977
National Rural Employment Programme (NREP)	1980
Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP)	1983
Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS)	1993
Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY)	1993-1994
Jawahar Gram Samriddi Yojana (JGSY)	1999-2000
Sampoorn Grameen Rojgar Yojana (SGRY)	2001-2002
National Food For Work Programme (NFFWP)	2005
National Rural Employment Guarantee Act	2006

Source: NREGA, Two years 2006-08, MoRD, Government of India

There are many programmes and schemes implemented by the state and the central government with objectives of ensuring livelihood and food security of the people. However, these schemes are meant to be supplementary, not primary sources of livelihood. Some of the schemes are labour intensive, some have provisions for direct cash support and others provide essential commodities at a subsidized rate. The most vital schemes are the work scheme (NREGA) and the food schemes (PDS, ICDS, MDM and OAP). The status of these schemes is discussed in the following section.

Objectives of NREGA

- Enhancing livelihood security in rural areas
- Generating productive assets
- Protecting environment
- Empowering rural women
- Reducing rural-urban distress migration
- Fostering social equity
- Bringing child rights into the agenda

NREGA came into force on 2 February 2006, with an immediate objective of guaranteeing 100 days of employment per year to all households residing in the rural areas wishing to do unskilled physical work. The act has the broader objective of ensuring livelihood security of the people by generating productive assets and creating regular work at the village level. The act clearly states that this kind of approach shall reduce the rural-urban distress migration and foster social equity.

Though NREGA is three years old, there is not much change in the conditions in the rural/tribal areas. This is because the act is not being implemented well. Many social audits have revealed a high rate of corruption, the labourers are denied work and the payment of wages is often delayed or entirely unpaid. Understandably, the rural poor are losing their faith in this impressive and well-meaning act.

In the Koraput region and especially in the surveyed areas the situation is no different. Awareness of the programme is very low. In the study, awareness refers to whether the labour knows about the process of registration, attainment of job card, procedures of work application, receipt of work, types of work, payment of wages and unemployment allowance, worksite facilities and transparency measures as per the provision of the act. The survey found that some labourers are aware of all of the provisions of the act, but most are aware of very little.

Table 5.2 Respondents' Awareness of NREGA

	Number	Percentage
Fully Aware	25	4.72
Aware to Some Extent	168	31.70
Not Aware	337	63.58
Total	**530**	**100.00**

Chart 5.1 Respondents' Awareness of NREGA

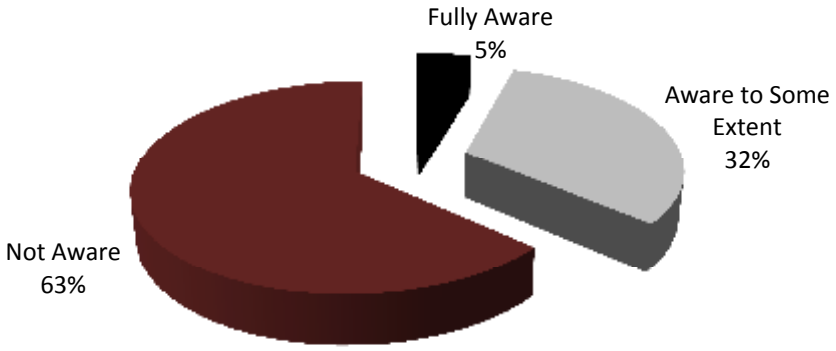


Table 5.2 and Chart 5.1 show the distribution of the respondents according to their level of awareness on NREGA. It shows that only 25 (4.72%) were fully informed about NREGA and 168 (31.70%) were aware to some extent. The vast majority of respondents (63.58%) were not aware of NREGA beyond the basic fact that NREGA is a provision of 100 days employment. Many respondents reported that no effort has been made by the panchayat to spread awareness about the act. The level of awareness is important, because successful implementation of it depends on the involvement of the people.

Table 5.3 Household Registration Under NREGA

Status	Number	Percentage
Registered	386	72.83
Not Registered	144	27.17
Total	**530**	**100.00**

The process of NREGA starts with registration of the households. Table 5.3 illustrates the distribution of the respondents according to their household registration under NREGA. Out of 530 respondents, 386 households (72.83%) are registered under NREGA, but 144 households (27.17%) are not registered. These households mainly do daily labour activities. They do wish to register and many of them have even approached the local panchayats several times, but no action has been taken to help them. Registration of households is the responsibility of the gram panchayat and should be open throughout the year. In all the surveyed gram panchayats, a Gram Rojgar Sevak has been appointed to deal with the situation, but it has not improved.

After registration, the gram panchayat is responsible to verify the applications and issue a job card to each household. The job card is very important, because without it, work cannot be provided.

Table 5.4 Job Card Status

Job Card Status	Numbers	Percentage
Received	323	83.68
Not Received	63	16.32

Job Card Status	Numbers	Percentage
Total	**386**	**100.00**

Table 5.4 indicates the distribution of respondents' households according to their job card status. Of the 386 households that have registered, 323 (83.68%) were provided with job cards. However, 63 households (16.32%) did not receive the cards and have not even been informed by the gram panchayat why the status of their application is still pending. In answer to this question, a few gram panchayat secretaries reported that unavailability of the job cards prevented them from providing them to the beneficiaries, but that they would be given soon.

Here the panchayat is creating a dilemma for the beneficiaries by not acting on its responsibility to issue job cards and on the other hand denying the opportunity to work if the household does not have the job card.

The job card is an important document. Details of the work application, days worked and wages received are recorded on the job card; it should always be with the card holder. The act strictly dictates that the job card should be with the household and not with anyone else. Records should be maintained properly by the panchayat officials and the card should be returned to the beneficiaries. But in the sample areas this practice is not followed. Even the strict instructions of the act have not been followed by government officials.

Table 5.5 Possession of the Job Card

Heads	Number	Percentage
With Self	248	76.78
With GP Office	51	15.79
With Line Departments	8	2.48
Don't Know/Can't Say	12	3.72
Lost	4	1.24
Total	**323**	**100.00**

Table 5.5 shows possession of the job cards. Out of the 323 respondents having a job card, 248 (76.78%) had the card in their possession. However, a significant number, 51 (15.79%), reported that their job cards were with the gram panchayat office and 8 (2.48%) respondents reported that their cards were with line departments (forest and soil conservation departments). 12 respondents (3.72%) did not know who had possession of their cards and 4 lost their cards. No new cards were issued to these respondents, so they were not allowed to work under NREGA.

Table 5.6 deals with the most important aspect of this rural employment guarantee scheme. It shows the number of applications for work and the resulting work. NREGA specifies that application for work must be made to the gram panchayat, which is in turn responsible to provide the work within 15 days. Such provision has been made to provide work when it is needed by the worker, so that factors leading to the distress situation can

be prevented. However, the information collected from the workers show that this provision was not followed.

Table 5.6 Work Applied for and Received

		Application Number	Application Percentage	Work Number	Work Percentage
Have Job Card	Applied for Work	143	26.98	113	79.02
	Did Not Apply for Work	180	33.96	17	9.44
Do Not Have Job Card	Applied for Work	10	1.89	4	40.00
	Did Not Apply for Work	197	37.17	0	0.00
	Total	**530**	**100.00**	**134**	**25.28**

The table shows that, out of 323 respondents with a job card, only 143 applied for work, out of which 113 were provided with work. 10 respondents filed their application for work, even though they did not have job cards. 4 of them were given work.

It is clear that a large number of respondents either did not apply for work or were not provided with work. The root causes of non-application are that people are not aware that NREGA is a demand-driven scheme and no campaign to generate awareness has been carried out by the local administration. A further problem is that no unemployment allowance was given to those applicants who were not provided work within the 15-day time frame. It can be strongly argued that the implementation of NREGA is not up to the mark and is a cause for the migration of the people from the surveyed areas.

Table 5.7 Days of Work Under NREGA

Days	2006-07	% of total respondents	2007-08	% of total respondents	2008-09	% of total respondents
<10	53	10.00	50	9.43	26	4.91
11-40	47	8.87	70	13.21	29	5.47
41-70	2	0.38	15	2.83	14	2.64
71-99	3	0.57	0	0.00	0	0.00
100+	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	**105**	**19.81**	**135**	**25.47**	**69**	**13.02**

Chart 5.2 Days of Work Under NREGA

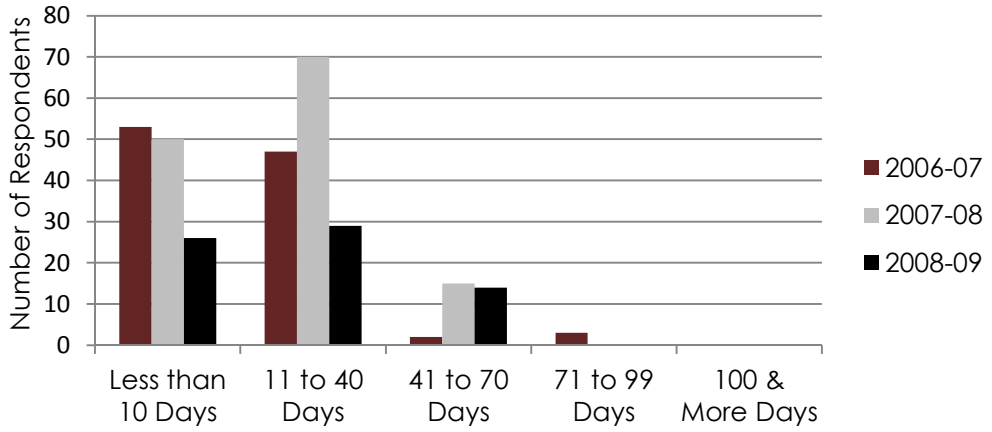


Table 5.7 and Chart 5.2 show the average days of work provided in the last three years, since NREGA was launched. Out of 530 respondents, only 105 (19.81%) worked in the 2006-07 season. In 2007-08, 135 respondents (25.47%) worked under NREGA and in 2008-09 (up to November 2008), only 69 respondents worked.

The table also shows that most respondents worked only one to fifteen days. Not a single respondent was found who did 100 days of work in a year, as per the provision of the act. Many respondents reported that the panchayat is not receiving, registering or properly maintaining the work applications and that even if they process the applications properly, they don't provide the work within 15 days. Further, if the respondents did manage to get work, they were rarely paid wages in a timely manner, according to the provisions of the act.

Table 5.8 Average Payment from NREGA

Amount	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
< Rs. 100	3	5	0
Rs. 100-1,000	67	70	21
Rs. 1,000-2,000	18	29	9
Rs. 2,000-3,000	6	10	5
Rs. 3,000+	4	19	15
Payment Not Given	7	2	19
Total	**105**	**135**	**69**

Chart 5.2 Average Payment from NREGA

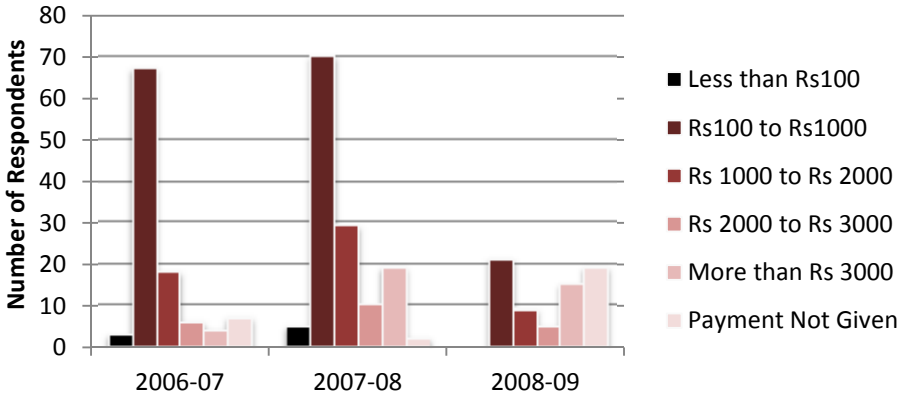


Table 5.8 and Chart 5.2 show the average income of labourers under NREGA, by year. Most respondents received between Rs. 100 and Rs. 1,000 from their work, in three consecutive years. These wages are clearly not enough to manage their livelihood. More importantly, the table shows that, in three years, a total of 28 respondents were been paid at all, even though they performed the work. Non-payment and delayed payment cases are rampant among labourers; this understandably causes them to lose confidence in the local government's ability to implement NREGA properly.

Table 5.9 Migration Decision if 100 Days NREGA was Available

	Number	Percentage
Yes	28	5.28
No	502	94.72
Total	**530**	**100**

Chart 5.3 Migration Decision if 100 Days NREGA was Available

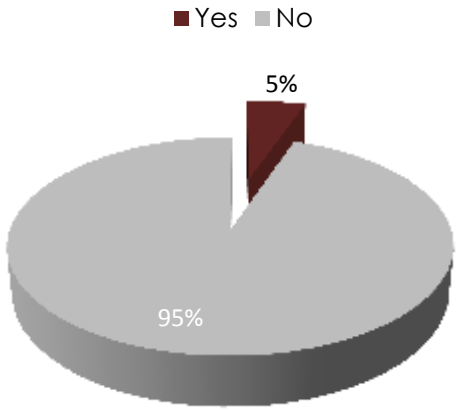


Table 5.9 and Chart 5.3 reflect the views of the respondents on the question of whether they would migrate if 100 days of work was available to them under NREGA. Out of 530 respondents, 502 (94.72%) would not migrate if they could work for 100 days under NREGA in a year. This means that NREGA has a lot of potential, if properly implemented, to reduce the intensity of distress migration. 28 respondents (5.28%) did say that they would continue

to migrate, even if they could work for 100 days, because of bigger families and landless status, having no other sources of income.

Other Schemes

Like NREGA, there are other schemes which have relevance to livelihood and food security. Since migration is a result of food insecurity at the village level, proper implementation of these schemes is critical. Although the other schemes do not have as much potential as NREGA to stem migration, taken together, they can improve family food security, which is a cause for distress migration. Among these schemes are the Public Distribution System (PDS), Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) and Mid-day Meal Programme (MDM). The Forest Rights Act (FRA) is also relevant, as it aims to solve the issue of land rights.

Public Distribution System

The public distribution system, known as PDS, is the main government food entitlement programme under which certain essential commodities are provided at a subsidized rate. In Orissa under this scheme, families with a BPL card are provided 25 kg of rice at the rate of two rupees per kg, along with other commodities like kerosene oil, wheat and sugar. In Koraput (and in all the KBK districts), families with an APL card can purchase 25 kg of rice, kerosene, and wheat at the same subsidized cost. There are also Antodaya card holders who can purchase 35 kg of rice at the rate of two rupees per kg and Annapurna card holders (over age 65 who meet certain requirements) who can receive 10 kg of rice at no cost.

Table 5.10 Type of Ration Cards with Respondents

Type of Card	Number	Percentage
BPL	265	50.00
APL	61	11.51
Antodaya	81	15.28
Annapurna	0	0.00
None	123	23.21
Total	**530**	**100**

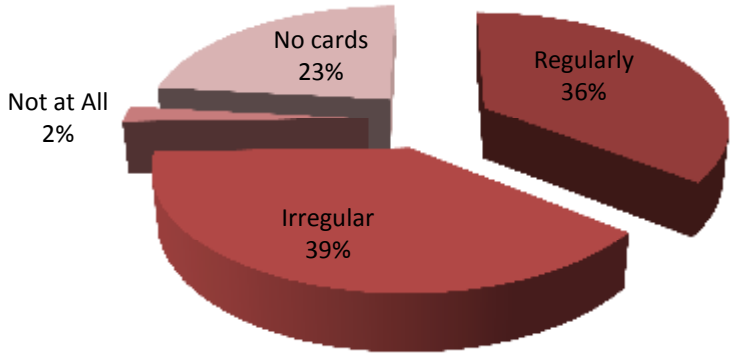
Table 5.10 shows which respondents hold which type of ration card. Out of 530 respondents, 265 (50.00 %) are BPL card holders and 61 (11.51%) are APL card holders. 81 (15.28%) have Antodaya cards and 123 (23.21%) have no cards at all.

Table 5.11 Availability of PDS Rice

	Number	Percentage
Regularly	189	35.66
Irregularly	206	38.87
Not at All	12	2.26

	Number	Percentage
No Cards	123	23.21
Total	**530**	**100**

Chart 5.4 Availability of PDS Rice



PDS is effective only if it is regularly available to the beneficiaries. Table 5.11 shows that only 189 respondents (35.66%) reported that the commodities were regularly available; 206 respondents (38.87%) reported irregularities. It was also reported that after the Orissa government launched the two rupees rice scheme, the situation improved. However, there are no fixed dates for the distribution of kerosene or other commodities.

Table 5.12 PDS Contributing to Food Security of Family

	Number	Percentage
Yes	266	50.19
No	141	26.60
No Cards	123	23.21
Total	**530**	**100**

Table 5.12 shows the views of respondents regarding whether PDS is contributing to their family food security or not. 266 (50.19%) reported that it is helpful to them, but 141 (26.60%) disagreed. Most important, 123 respondents do not have possession of any entitlement card, though they actually belong to the BPL category. Migration is rampant among the households where there is no access to PDS or other benefits.

Other Issues in PDS

During the survey process, another problem was observed during visits to the fair price shops (FPS) on rice distribution days. In Guneipada gram panchayat of Lamtaput block, it was observed that a number of card holders sell their rice to a shop near the gram panchayat office after they collect it. They sell each kg of rice for Rs. 6-7. The state government has banned any purchase of PDS rice by the shop keepers from the beneficiaries, but it is a common practice in many panchayats of Lamtaput and Nandapur and also in other blocks.

Some of the workers who sold their rice said that the government is providing boiled rice to them, which they don't eat. They eat par-boiled rice instead, so they sell the boiled rice that they get through PDS. The card holders sell 25 kg of rice to get a maximum of Rs. 175. Then they purchase par-boiled rice, which costs more than Rs. 10 per kg. In this way, a beneficiary is spending three rupees extra per kilogram of rice. This contributes to distress conditions at the household level.

Efforts were also made to understand who keeps the entitlement card during migration and the issue of mortgage of the entitlement cards. It was observed that in almost all cases, the entitlement cards are kept with other family members and are not mortgaged.

Integrated Child Development Services Scheme

Services of ICDS

- Supplementary Nutrition
- Non-formal and Pre-school Education
- Immunization
- Nutrition and Health Education
- Health Check-ups
- Referral Services

ICDS is one of the oldest community based programmes, aimed at a holistic development of children by addressing infant and maternal mortality, health and nutrition issues, early childhood education and protection of children's rights. ICDS services are provided to children below the age of six, adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women and other women with health problems. The scheme is important in terms of distress migration as well as right to food. Effort was made to know whether the respondent's households are getting the benefit of this scheme and whether it is helping in improving food security and providing its other intended benefits.

Table 5.13 Getting Benefits under ICDS

	Number	Percentage
Yes	254	47.92
No	276	52.08
Total	**530**	**100.00**

Table 5.13 shows the number of respondents' households receiving benefits under ICDS. Out of 530 respondents, approximately half (47.92%) are getting benefits under the scheme, typically India Mix (maize powder) for the children and iron and folic acid tablets for the adolescent and pregnant women.

Table 5.14 ICDS Contributing to Food Security of the Family

	Number	Percentages
Yes	174	68.50
No	80	31.50
Total	**254**	**100.00**

Table 5.14 shows the views of the respondents regarding whether ICDS is contributing to family food security. Of 254 migrants whose families are getting benefits under ICDS, 174 (68.85%) view ICDS as an addition to their family food security, but 80 (31.50%) reported that the programme is not contributing to their family's food security.

In the study blocks, although the services provided under ICDS were available, most people had little or no information about the scheme. They were not aware of what services were provided and in what amount. The lack of transparency leads to corruption and misappropriation in the implementation of the scheme.

Mid-day Meal Programme

The Mid-day Meal programme (MDM) is another food-based programme that aims to provide a cooked meal to all children attending government and government-aided primary schools. This programme covers children up through the 8th class. It is not a family-benefiting programme, but it provides the noon meal for the children and in this way contributes to the household as a whole.

Table 5.15 Beneficiaries and Benefits Under MDM

	Whether Scheme Contributes to Food Security		Getting Cooked Meal	
	Numbers	**Percentage**	**Numbers**	**Percentage**
Yes	169	31.89	166	98.22
No	361	68.11	3	1.78
Total	**530**	**100.00**	**169**	**100.00**

Table 5.15 shows the views of the respondents of MDM programme and whether they are receiving the benefits. Out of 530 respondents' households, the children of only 169 households (31.89%) are getting MDM benefits. Out of these, 166 (98.22%) are receiving regular cooked MDM at the school on all school days. It was observed that cooked MDM is very regular at the school level, but that there are other operational problems.

Table 5.16 Quantity of MDM Food

	Number	Percentage
Yes	143	84.62
No	26	15.38
Total	**169**	**100.00**

Table 5.16 shows views of the households on the quantity of the food. Quantity has been defined in terms of whether the child is satisfied with the portion and whether he/she is provided with an addition portion if it is requested. Most (84.62%) of the children and/or their parents were satisfied with the quantity of the food, but the problem is with the quality.

MDM is definitely contributing to the family food security, but the major problem in the surveyed area was the increased dropout rate and irregular attendance, which prevents the children from receiving the benefits of this scheme. Children are working rather than going to school for two main reasons: first, they are considered to be an additional income source; second, the education provided has failed to create interest among them and is not creating an obvious opportunity for improving their livelihood.

Table 5.17 Major Welfare / Development Programmes Implemented in Koraput

- NREGA
- Public Distribution System (PDS)
- Antodaya Anna Yojana (AAY)
- Annapurna Yojana (AY)
- Mid-day Meal (MDM)
- National Food Security Mission (NFSM)
- Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS)
- Emergency Feeding Programme (EFP)
- National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAP)
- Madhu Babu Pension Yojana (MBPY)
- National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS)
- Watershed Development Programmes
- NRHM/ Janani Surakshya Yojana (JSY)
- Agriculture and Horticulture Development Programmes
- Prime Minister Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY)
- Programmes under Biju KBK
- Rural Long Term Action Plan (RLTAP)
- Orissa Tribal Empowerment and Livelihood Program (OTELP)
- Programmes of Soil Conservation and Forest Department

5.3 Migrants' Legal Rights

In addition to the major schemes discussed, the state and central government have passed many other acts protecting the rights of the labourers. Some of the acts are specially framed and implemented for the migrant labourers and some of them, although not designed specifically for migrant labourers, are relevant to their situation. The provisions made under these acts prevent any form of prejudice or abuse of the migrant labourers at the time of recruitment or during work and also provide minimum standards for working conditions. The acts also fix responsibilities with the contractor/employer to provide welfare services to the migrant labourers. However, the reality is quite different, as has already been shown in the above chapters.

Labour laws are the subject of the table below. India is a member of the International Labour Organization; the ratified conventions under this group are shown in the left column. Laws relevant to Orissa are depicted in the right column.

Table 5.18 List of Relevant Conventions and Acts

Relevant ILO Conventions Ratified by India	Major Acts Relevant to Migrant Labourers in Orissa (India)
Hours of work (Industry) Convention, 1919	Minimum Wages Act, 1948
Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919	Inter-state Migrant Workmen
Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921	(Regulation of Employment & Conditions of Service) Act, 1979
Labour Inspection Convention, 1947	Equal Remuneration Act, 1976
Equal Remuneration Convention , 1951	Indigenous and Tribal Population Convention, 1957 Contract Labour (Regulation & Abolition) Act, 1970
	Child Labour (Prohibition & Abolition) Act, 1986
	The Immoral Trafficking (prevention) Act, 1956
	Bonded
	Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976

ILO Conventions and Migration in Koraput

The conventions are generally ratified by a country and then the country enacts specific laws and legislations to make them operational. India is a signatory to all the conventions cited above, which shows the commitment of the nation towards its labour forces and especially to those who are engaged in the unorganized sectors. Following the ratification of these conventions, the government of India instituted many acts in order to protect the rights of the labourers. Some of the acts are relevant to the entire unorganized sector, whereas some are specifically dealing with the issues of migrant labourers.

The challenge in India is that, although the government has enacted many laws that are designed to protect the migrant labourers, they are not properly implemented at the grassroots level. Thus, both the state and central government are failing in implementing the agreements made to the international community.

For instance, Hours of Work (Industry) Convention, 1919 (Article 2) states that "The working hours of persons employed in any public or private industrial undertaking or any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed, shall not exceed eight in the day and forty-eight in the week." But the present survey shows that more than 17% of the migrant workers work for more than eight hours per day. Similarly the convention on Minimum Age (Industry), 1919 makes provision under its article 2 that "Children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed or work in any public or private industrial undertakings, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed." But this study

reveals that child labour is not unusual, especially among female children. In addition, there are conventions on inspection of the labourers and equal remuneration which are hardly ever in practice at the ground, even after the formation of acts at the state and central levels.

Interstate Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment & Conditions of Service) Act, 1979

The Interstate Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment & Conditions of Service) Act (ISM Act) came into force in 1979 with the objective of regulating the employment of inter-state migrant workmen and providing for their conditions of service and for matters concerned therewith. This act pertains to more than 72% of the migrants from Koraput region, as illustrated in Chapter 2. Here, effort has been made to analyse this act critically and from the perspective of migrant labourers.

The ISM Act defines a migrant workman as "any person who is recruited by or through a contractor in one state under an agreement or other arrangement for employment in an establishment in another state whether with or without the knowledge of the principal employer." This definition is too limited to represent reality, because it concerns only those who migrate by means of a contractor or middleman. There are instances in this survey where there was no direct involvement of a contractor but rather migration with the help of friends and relatives. As per the definition of the act, these labourers are not covered even though their situation is the same.

The ISM Act is only applicable in the following cases:

- Every establishment in which five or more inter-state migrant workmen (whether or not in addition to other workmen) are employed or who were employed on any day of the preceding 12 months.
- To every contractor who employed five or more inter-state migrant workers (whether or not in addition to other workmen) on any day of the preceding twelve months.

Why is it that it pertains only to worksites with five workers or more and contractors who contract five workers or more? Although it is common to find five migrant labourers at the worksite, single individuals also migrate through middlemen to states like Madhya Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, where they engage in gardening activities. These migrant labourers are deprived of their rights, but they aren't covered under this act. This act also has no provision for the labourers who are migrating to districts inside the state.

Other main provisions include the following:

> ***Registration and Licensing of the Contractors:*** *As per the provision of the act, every principal employer/contractor of an establishment to which this act applies should be registered. All the registered employers/contractors should be issued a license by the appropriate government authority. The license holder is eligible to recruit any person in a state for the purpose of employing him in any establishment situated in*

another state, without obtaining a recruitment license issued by the licensing officer of the area where the recruitment is done. The license holder can also employ any interstate workers without obtaining an employment license received from the licensing officer of the area where the establishment is situated.

Wages and other payments: *As per the provision of the act, each migrant labourer is entitled to get the appropriate wages, displacement allowance and travel cost from the employer/contractor. It has been made clear in the act that the amount of wages should not be less than the minimum wages as fixed by the government and that if there is a difference between the native and destination minimum wages, the higher value should be given. The act also directs that payment of a displacement allowance equal to 50 percent of the monthly wages or Rs. 75, whichever is higher, should be given to each migrant labourer before their migration. This amount will not be refunded and is an additional benefit payable by the contractor. The act also fixes responsibility with the contractor to pay a journey allowance of a sum not less than the fare from the place of residence of the labourer to the place of work for both outward and return journeys. The labourers are also entitled to payment of wages during the period of such journeys as if he or she were on duty.*

The survey data clearly shows that all these provisions are not followed. The data reveals that more than 39% of labourers paid for travel costs themselves and did not received any reimbursement from the employer. Similarly, not a single case was found where the labourer received the displacement allowance. With regard to the payment of wages, the situation has also not been satisfactory. During their last migration, more than 8% of the labourers were not paid anything all paid by the employer. Even though most labourers received wages between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000, it was not the correct amount for the days worked.

Other Facilities

- *Provision of pass book and identity card to each migrant labourer by the contractor/employer.*
- *Arrangement of free accommodation at the worksite by the contractor/employer and the room should be at least 100 square feet.*
- *Arrangement of separate toilet for male and female workers, drinking water, rest shed and first aid box at the worksite.*
- *Provision of winter clothes in cases of the migrant labourers engaged in the worksites where the temperature is less than 20 degrees Celsius*

The provision of pass books under the act has not been followed at all at the grassroots level. Out of the 530 respondents interviewed, not a single respondent reported receiving a pass book. Only a single person reported that he was given an identity card from the company he worked for in Hyderabad. Most respondents reported that they stayed near the worksite, but the accommodations were unsatisfactory, with as many as ten people made to share a 100 sq. ft. room. Additionally, a first aid box was not available in more than

65% of worksites. Only two to three labourers were found to have received winter clothes from their employer.

The survey responses combined with field observations indicate that, even though there is an act protecting the rights of the interstate migrant labourers, it has failed to be successful at the ground level. The aforesaid provisions are not executed by the employer/contractor, because there are no negative consequences for failure to implement them. Also, no effort has been made to make the migrant labourers aware of their rights and to provide them legal services in cases of need.

Other acts relevant to the issues of migrant labourers

The Minimum Wage Act of 1948 specifies that payment of minimum wages shall be made to all workers engaged in both the public and private sector works. The Equal Remuneration Act of 1976 declares that equal wage payment shall be made to male and female labourers. The provisions of these acts have not been strictly followed in the case of migrant labourers.

The engagement of children below the age of 14 clearly shows that the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act of 1970 is being violated. The fact is that all these acts are not properly implemented by the employers/contractors and that the government and labour department are not taking active and regular steps for the strict implementation of these acts.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A review of the study indicates that the migration from the villages of Koraput is almost purely because of distress conditions and not at all voluntary. The distress condition is created because of many reasons, including landlessness, low agricultural productivity, deforestation, displacement and unavailability of government work opportunities at the village level. In these situations, migration has developed as a survival strategy or coping mechanism for thousands of families.

The study has also made clear that, in most cases, distress migration fails to improve the economic conditions of the migrants. The long hours of work, unhealthy and uncomfortable living conditions and psychological insecurity instead serve as causes for deteriorating health conditions which in turn directly affects the economic security of the migrant labourer.

Based on the findings, this chapter suggests a set of recommendations to check migration as well as protect the rights of the migrant labourers.

6.1 Major Findings

1. The number of female migrants is comparatively less than the male migrants. Out of the sample respondents, more than 91% were male. Though the percentage of female respondents is low, the number is growing year by year.
2. Most (61%) of the respondents belong to the Scheduled Tribe communities, followed by General (19%) and Scheduled Caste (18%).
3. 63% of the migrant respondents had a family size of three to five members. In the category of three to five family members, most had five members. More than 23% reported having a family size of six to eight members and only 12% had a family size of two to three members. It is clear that the persons who are migrating generally have a larger family size.
4. More than 86% of the migrant respondents reported their marital status as married and 14% as unmarried.
5. Most of the respondents were between the ages of 15 and 45. However, there were instances of child labourers below the age of 14 and elderly labourers above the age of 60.
6. The level of illiteracy is high among the migrant households. More than 70% of the respondents were illiterate. Among the female respondents more than 95% were illiterate. The highest level of education for nearly 20% of the respondents was between classes I to V; 9% finished up to class VI to X.
7. Most respondents (more than 65%) belong to the BPL category, though many haven't been classified and such and are therefore deprived of many benefits. Among the Scheduled Tribe respondents the level of poverty is comparatively high (66%), followed by the Scheduled Caste (65%) and others (62%).
8. More than 64% of the respondents did not have possession of the land where they are staying. Even though their family had been staying there from the time of their

forefathers, those lands were counted as encroachment and they had to pay fines for the land (and sometimes bribes) to the revenue officials on a regular basis.

9. Forest rights ensure the right of the forest dwellers on forest lands. More than 71% of the respondents had applied for land under the Forest Rights Act. This shows the importance of patta land for the poor tribal and dalit households. However, applicants were not aware of any progress made on their applications for pattas.
10. About 75% of the respondents had patta land whereas more than 25% had no patta land. Even though who had patta land had minimum acreage, insufficient to support their families. Nearly 55% of the respondents' households reported having less than two acres and 27% reported having two to four acres. Further, almost all of the land is upland, which is not irrigated, but only rain fed.
11. For the migrant respondents, agriculture (76%) and daily labour (90%) activities are the main sources of livelihood at the native places. Respondents also reported doing petty business (14%) and NTFP collection and marketing (12%).
12. There were various sources of loans for the migrant households. Co-villagers (47%) and the local money lenders (31%) were the key sources for providing loans. The main reasons for taking out loans was for meeting household daily expenses (73%), medical/health expenses (52%) and observing religious functions and rituals (48%). The average rate of interest across loans from all sources was very high, about 5% per month.
13. The trend of migration increasing substantially in last few years. In the year of 2008, it was highest. The rate of migration is high in Nandapur and Lamtaput blocks of the district where there was a huge scale of displacement and land alienation because of the construction of reservoirs.
14. The number of full-family migration was not found to be high. Respondents most often migrated alone (65%) or with *some* relatives (more than 34%).
15. Most respondents belonged to a low economic category. More than 73% made family annual income of less than Rs. 10,000 and 23% made between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000 per annum.
16. The direct causes of migration from Koraput were landlessness, small land holdings, loss of forest resources, repayment of loans, unavailability of government work, and indebtedness. There were also indirect causes, such as globalization.
17. Contractors and middlemen play a major role in the migration of the labourers. They give many commitments to the labourers and their family members in order to motivate them to migrate. Good accommodations (more than 62%), free medical facilities (more than 44%), regular payment of wages (more than 47%) and three meals a day (37%) are some of the important commitments made by the contractor to motivate the labourers. Contractors (41%) and middlemen (17%) are the sources of information about the availability of work outside the native places.
18. The study found out that there were two periods during which the labourers migrate from Koraput district. The first period is from September to December and the second is from February to April.
19. More than 78% of the respondents migrated outside of Orissa to the following states: Andhra Pradesh (more than 68%), Karnataka (more than 3%), and Tamil Nadu (more than 2%). About 22% reported migrating to districts inside the state of Orissa. Of all

the respondents, more than 39% reported that they covered their travel cost by themselves and were not given any travel amount by the contractor.

20. The study revealed that the migrants typically do construction work (46%), railway labour work (near 27%), metal work (about 7%), brick making (approximately 4%), bamboo cutting work (about 5%), gardening (about 2%) and other work (more than 7%). The period of work was eight to nine hours on average (72%), though there were instances where the labourers worked for 10-12 hours.
21. About 37% of the resondents were given advances by the contractor, on average between Rs. 100 and Rs. 1,000. 63% of the respondents were not given any advance before their migration.
22. Accommodations were unsatisfactory at the destination. More than 42% of the respondents viewed them as bad or very bad; only 36% said they were good and 20% reported them to be manageable. In 65% of cases, a first aid box was not available at the worksite.
23. In more than 56% of worksites, women workers were employed, but separate accommodations were made available only 33% of the time. Also, in 28% of cases, the attitude towards women workers was not acceptable. In 26% of cases women were either physically or mentally abused.
24. 7% of the migrants were children below the age of 14. Only some of them were given wages even though they provided labour.
25. Migration was not financially beneficial to the labourers surveyed. More than 32% of the labourers got paid between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000, which was less than the correct amount for days worked. Most important, more than 8% of labourers were not paid at all. In addition, the promise by the contractors to pay regularly was not kept. In more than 67% of cases, payment was given at the time of return and mainly in the railway stations. More than 53% of the respondents were not satisfied with the wages paid by the contractor and more than 57% labourers worked for longer periods than they were paid for.
26. In more than 83% of cases, the respondents spent the money they got from the migration on household daily expenses. They also repaid loans in 63% of cases.
27. 29% of the respondents had no contact with their family members during the period of migration. Also, in more than 7% of cases, the labourers faced physical or mental abuse at the worksite. More than 87% of the labourers reported negative emotions overall during their stay.
28. More than 63% of the respondents were not fully aware of the provisions and processes of NREGA. 72% had a job card; the 27% without a job card wanted one and were interested in doing NREGA work. It was also revealed that 17% of job cards were kept with either the gram panchayat officials or with the officials of the line departments.
29. The amount of work provided to the labourers under NREGA was inadequate. Not a single migrant labourer was found to have completed 100 days of entitled work in any of the last three years. The average amount paid from NREGA was between Rs. 100 and Rs. 1,000 per year for each of the last three years. 94% of respondents agreed that if they had local work they would choose not to migrate, further

illustrating the importance that respondents place in NREGA's ability to check migration from their areas.

30. Other schemes that could assist in checking migration (e.g. PDS, ICDS, MDM) are vulnerable to corruption and have not been effective in relieving food security issues.

6.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations are made to alleviate distress migration. The recommendations made here are twofold. On the one hand is the creation and strengthening of people's organizations and their capacity building so as to demand their rights; on the other hand are recommendations to improve governance so that these entitlements are fairly and properly delivered.

The People's Plan

Topics for the People's Plan:

- Irrigation and agriculture
- Resource management (land, water, forest)
- Right to work schemes (NREGA and others)
- Other welfare schemes
- Health
- Education
- Panchayat resource generation

Migration from Koraput district has been shown to be the result of distress conditions which are the result of impoverishment. Why is it that poverty in Koraput is so deep-rooted, especially in light of the amount of funds expended, development programmes and plans made for the district? No doubt there are numerous ways to answer this question, but the most fundamental answer would be that a "people's plan" has not been framed for the whole of the district. As per the rule of law, Gram Sabhas are the prime institutions for planning at the panchayat level, but the fact is that Gram Sabhas are not held in their true sense anywhere in Orissa and especially not in Koraput. The plans that have been prepared and executed are the plans of a few elected representatives and officials at the panchayat and at the block level. The needs of the people are not properly identified and accordingly appropriate plans have not been prepared. Thus, detailed plans should be prepared at the Gram Sabha based on the people's needs.

The "People's Plan" should be integrated and not programme or scheme specific. Each problem of the villages should be discussed and plans should be prepared accordingly. For the purpose of planning, the gram panchayats can use the help of experienced organizations and institutions. However, it should be ensured that any external agency plays the role of facilitator and not planner. While planning, the issue of "convergence"

should be given importance and special focus should be given to address the cross cutting themes like gender, exclusion and disability in every sphere.

Resource Distribution

Because migration occurs as a result of a continuous distress situation, it requires long-term sustainable action. The root cause of the migration is linked with productivity, income and facilities available at the local level. On the one hand, a variety of factors cause reduced agricultural productivity, leading to less income; on the other hand, unavailability of services pushes households into misery, resulting in migration. However this situation could be overcome with proper planning and execution of those plans.

Suggestions for Resource Distribution and Management:

- Focus on agricultural productivity
- Promotion of alternative livelihood options
- Proper implementation of Forest Rights Act
- Development of sustainable productive resources at the village level
- Protection and promotion of forest resources
- Collection of NTFP and marketing facilities
- Distribution of cashew land
- Proper implementation and follow up of watershed programmes.

In order to check migration and protect the migrant labourers from violation of their rights, effort should be made to work on the issues of livelihood at the village level. Land, water and forest are the natural sources of livelihood for these communities. The first action that needs to be taken is the distribution of lands among the landless households. Efforts should be made to redistribute the lands collected under the Bhoodan movement, which seeks to secure voluntary donations of land from wealthy landowners for distribution to the poor.

Land rights should also be given to the forest dwellers under the Forest Rights Act as soon as possible. Land development activities should be done under schemes like NREGA, to make the land more productive. Similarly, water harvesting structures should be developed in each village. These activities should be carried out during the non-agriculture season, to prevent people from migrating.

Protection of forest and generating new forest should also be given importance. The trend of eucalyptus plantation is increasing in Koraput district. People are motivated by the paper and plywood mills to lease their land for the plantation of eucalyptus. This has been done on a massive scale in Nandapur and Lamtaput blocks where the trend of migration is also increasing. The plantation of eucalyptus not only reduces the productivity of land, but also reduces the ground water level, which indirectly affects the livelihood of the households. Plantation of eucalyptus should be immediately stopped in order to protect livelihood at the village level and thus reduce distress migration. Similarly, fruit bearing

plantations should be given priority under plantation programmes and the communities should be given full authority to protect the forest resources, and collect and market NTFP.

Ensuring Entitlements

Along with distribution and management of resources, the entitlement approach has an important role to play in checking migration. There are schemes like NREGA, PDS, ICDS, MDM, NRHM, BKBK and RLTAP implemented in Koraput district, but the ground reality suggests that the schemes are not implemented effectively and many potential beneficiaries are left out. Among all of the schemes, NREGA has the most potential to provide work at the village level and develop sustainable resources that could have long-term impact on food security. However, this study shows that the labourers were not provided work for the 100 days they are entitled to in any of the last three years. The government and especially the district and block administration should ensure effective implementation of NREGA.

Suggestions for Ensuring Entitlements:

- Awareness generation on NREGA
- Timely payment of wages
- Setting of effective grievance redress mechanism for all the schemes
- Fixing accountability with the panchayat and block officials in case there is under-utilization of funds in NREGA
- Accountability for Panchayat officials in cases of distress migration
- Institutionalizing social audits

Along with NREGA, focus should be given to strict implementation of other department programmes and schemes. Regular social audits could be very effective in this regard. People should have direct participation in planning, implementation and evaluation of all the schemes. This will reduce corruption and improve accountability of the officials to implement the programmes.

Protecting Migrants' Rights

The aforesaid recommendations are meant to check or reduce the number of migrants. Along with that, protection of the rights of migrant labourers is also important. Efforts should be made to implement the ISM Act effectively. The act should be amended in terms of making strict provisions for any kinds of violations, either made by the contractor or the employer. As the ISM Act only applies to them who are migrating out of their native state, the government and especially the state government should frame a new act protecting the rights of those migrant labourers migrating to different districts inside the state.

Others

- Social security provisions should be made mandatory for the migrant labourers and the responsibility of this should be fixed with the employer or the company.

- All the migrant labourers should be covered either by life or health insurance during their migration period; it should be provided by the employer/contractor.
- Focus should be given to the development of alternative livelihood opportunities. The activities like creation of grain banks and seed banks at the community level should be carried out in a transparent manner. NGOs and other community based organizations should play an important role in this.

Fully eliminating migration would be very difficult. However, it can be checked to a great extent and the rights of the migrant labourers can be protected. The need is for a pro-people policy with a goal of changing the conditions of the people from impoverishment to empowerment.

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GLOSSARY

KBK: Kalahandi-Bolangir-Koraput districts of Orissa. These are the most backward districts in the state of Orissa where special development programmes are being implemented.

BPL: Below Poverty Line.

APL: Above Poverty Line

Handia: A type of country liquor prepared from rice by the people in rural tribal areas.

Pendam: A type of country liquor prepared from mandia, a crop harvested in tribal areas.

Salap: A type of juice from the salap tree used as liquor in tribal areas.

Dadan: The Labourers who migrate are called dadan in the local dialects.

RLTAP: Revised Long Term Action Plan. This is a special plan through which funds has been provided to KBK districts.

SSA: Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. This is the Government of India's programme for achievement of Universalization of Elementary Education, by opening new schools, improving existing facilities, and providing more teachers.

NREGA: National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. The act was passed by the government of India and is now implemented in all the districts throughout the country. The act ensures 100 days work to any labourer residing in rural areas and wishing to do unskilled labour works.

PDS: Public Distribution System. Under this scheme, the government provides essential commodities to BPL and APL households at a subsidized price.

ICDS: Integrated Child Development Services Scheme. This is one of the oldest schemes implemented in India, covering a package of services for children below six years, pregnant and lactating women and adolescent girls. The services are provided through the anganwadi centre at the village level.

MDM: Mid-day Meal. Under this programme, children studying in government or government-aided schools in class I to class VIII are provided a cooked noon meal on all school days.

NFBS: National Family Benefit Scheme. This scheme comes under the National Social Assistance Programme under which a support of Rs. 10, 000 is provided to BPL families if the primary bread earner of the family dies.

SPREAD: Society for Promoting Rural Education And Development is a local non-government organization working in Koraput district with a rights-based perspective.

FRA: Forest Rights Act. This is also called "The STs and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006" which provides rights over the land by the forest dwellers.

ILO: International Labour Organization is a unit of United Nations working on labour issues.

JFM: Joint Forest Management is a forest protection programme done by the community and government in partnership.

JBIC: Japan Bank of International Cooperation. The bank finances (as loan) the Orissa Forest Sector Development Programme.

PHC: Primary Health Centre. The government health centres at the village/panchayat level.

CHC: Community Health Centre. The government health centres at block level.

NRHM: National Rural Health Mission is an umbrella project on health lunched by the government of India

NGO: Non-government Organizations

LIST OF TABLES

ANNEXURE: LIST OF COMMUNITY RESEARCHERS

Name	GP	Block
Bimala Gadaba	Paikaphulbeda	Dasmantpur
Dhanapati Padal	Paikaphulbeda	Dasmantpur
Arjun Pujari	Paikaphulbeda	Dasmantpur
Tilotama Hantal	Paikaphulbeda	Dasmantpur
Mangala Gadawa	Paikaphulbeda	Dasmantpur
Banamali Pradhan	Paikaphulbeda	Dasmantpur
Surendra Santa	Dandabadi	Boipariguda
Dalia Khillo	Dandabadi	Boipariguda
Namita Sabar	Dandabadi	Boipariguda
Janaki Pujari	Dandabadi	Boipariguda
Bhanu Khemabadia	Dandabadi	Boipariguda
Rama Ch. Santa	Dandabadi	Boipariguda
Umesh Ku Challan	Dandabadi	Boipariguda
Manoj Kumar Satapathy	Dandabadi	Boipariguda
Gangadhar Golari	Chipakur	Boipariguda
Dhanapati Khillo	Chipakur	Boipariguda
Bikram Majhi	Chipakur	Boipariguda
Bhagaban Pangi	Chipakur	Boipariguda
Sania Lahara	Chipakur	Boipariguda
Makaradhwaja Nayak	Ramagiri	Boipariguda
Kamu Pujari	Ramagiri	Boipariguda
Chetam Mathpadia	Ramagiri	Boipariguda
Rasmita Dalai	Ramagiri	Boipariguda
Padmanavha Majh	Ramagiri	Boipariguda
Sunjukta Patnaik	Ramagiri	Boipariguda
Dhanurjaya Krisani	Ramagiri	Boipariguda
Rama Badanayak	Guneipada	Lamtaput
Daitari Dalai	Guneipada	Lamtaput
Jaganath Mandi	Guneipada	Lamtaput
Arjuna Dora	Guneipada	Lamtaput
Basudev Golori	Guneipada	Lamtaput
Harihara Hantal	Guneipada	Lamtaput
Sunadhar Khillo	Guneipada	Lamtaput
Rama Badanayak	Onkadil	Lamtaput
Rama Sisa	Onkadil	Lamtaput
Lakinath Sisa	Onkadil	Lamtaput
Adu Handal	Onkadil	Lamtaput
Kamu Khillo	Onkadil	Lamtaput
Jagabandhu Khilla	Onkadil	Lamtaput
Rama Chandra Badanayak	Badel	Lamtaput
Govinda Sethy Hatibari	Hatibari	Nandapur
Ramanath Pangi	Bilaput	Nandapur

Name	GP	Block
Rabi Sisa	Bilaput	Nandapur
Jayram Sisa	Bilaput	Nandapur
Nagaraj Khara Paraja	Badapada	Nandapur
Subeswar Khemundu Paraja	Badapada	Nandapur
Rama Chandra Gujel Paraja	Badapada	Nandapur
Chandrasen Khemundu Paraja	Badapada	Nandapur
Sunadhar Muduli	Attanda	Nandapur
Durjadhan Pangi	Kulabir	Nandapur
Raghunath Pelmal	Padwa	Nandapur
Dhaneswar Khara	Balda	Nandapur
Raghupati Bisoi	Kularsingh	Nandapur
Daskulam Peda	Golur	Nandapur