

**A Research Study
On
“Impact of increasing
migration on Women in
Orissa”**

By

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Migration

Migration denotes any movement of groups of people from one locality to another and takes different forms. In this movement of people, women's location and spaces are defined by their positioning within the society and state. The process is not simple as it seems as migration itself is varied – ranging from 'permanent', 'semi-permanent' and 'temporary'. Where people move for a few months in a year, the migrants are also known as 'short duration' migrants, 'seasonal' migrants or 'circulatory' migrants. It can also be termed as voluntary or forced, legal or illegal.

Survival Migration

In survival migration, economic gains are minimal; there is little improvement in the economic status of both men and women. Besides, there is a reinforcement of traditional gender roles, and an increasing subordination of women. Lack of livelihood, non accessibility to governmental programmes etc lead to survival migration.

The process of migration thus has a constraining effect not only in structural terms, of the choices made available, or cultural terms, but also in the sense in which it may include abuse and exploitation, and emotional and psychological distress. Poverty and search for employment have been the predominant propellants of survival migration of people.

Migration in Orissa

Orissa is one of the poorest states of India¹. The economy of Orissa is predominantly agricultural and the performance in this sector is crucial to the development of the state. The prevalence of small farmers having small sized land holdings², seasonal unemployment, the non-application of modern technology in agriculture in Orissa had forced the people to search for alternate sources of livelihood. People of the rural areas migrate to urban areas within and outside their districts and also to the neighboring states.

¹ 47.15% people are Below Poverty Line as the 1999-2000 estimates of the Planning Commission. The rural poverty is 48.01% while that in the urban it is 42.83%. (Economic Survey of Orissa, 2005-06)

² 50% of the total operated area falls under marginal (less than 1 hectare) and small (1-2 hectare) category. (Economic Survey of Orissa, 2005-06)

Migration is an outcome due to the repeated disasters that strike Orissa at regular intervals³. Cyclones, floods, droughts and famines hit the state at different times in different regions. There have been more than 30 natural disasters during the period 1963 to 1999. The coastal region is more prone to cyclones, floods where as the western districts and southern region are vulnerable to droughts and famines and have created a vacuum in livelihoods. The manifestations of disasters are seen in the poverty, malnutrition, distress sale of paddy, property and even children. Landlessness, indebtedness and lack of livelihood force the people to seek survival options in other far way places.

Displacement is another major cause of migration in Orissa. Endowed with natural resources, Orissa is the hot destination of the multi nations and transnational companies for mining leases and industry based on them. Mostly located in the adivasi districts, these so called developmental projects have caused large-scale displacement of the indigenous population⁴. The protests too have been strong and successful in many cases where by the project have been stopped or stalled. Only negligible affected persons are absorbed in the established projects, the other thousands displaced migrate out in search of livelihood. Already shelters less, the displaced persons have no other option but migrate out.

The non availability of work in their own village either governmental or otherwise is a condition which prompts migration. The non relevance of the programmes, which are specially implemented to stop migration from the region, is also responsible for migration. As in the case of some dairy development programmes which failed in the Nuapada district in Orissa which made the people more vulnerable as they lost their livestock and more importantly they were not interested in dairy programmes⁵. Finally the only resort for livelihood was migration.

Migration is a survival strategy in Orissa. For the landless and marginal farmers who are in constant debt, migration is the only choice for livelihood. The push arising out of lack

³ Since 1965 Orissa has experienced floods for 17 years, droughts for 19 years, cyclone for 7 years. (Orissa Human Development Report 2004)

⁴ According to estimates of Walter Fernandes, 5.5 lakhs persons have been displaced due to different types of projects in Orissa during the period 1951 to 1995 out of which only 35% are rehabilitated.

⁵ Every one loves a good drought, P Sainath

of livelihood options in the village and indebtedness and crop loss leads to the pull factors such as the attraction of livelihood in the lean seasons. However it has been established that migration enables one just enough earning to tide over the distress in the lean season and in no way helps to accumulate capital. There is a deep linkage between migration and poverty especially of survival migration where women are found at the bottom of the pyramidal structure of poverty.

Seasonal migration of Orissa

Each winter season in the state of Orissa, starts a process of migration. The populace of the western districts of the state of Orissa is the ones who migrate particularly of undivided Bolangir, Koraput, Kalahandi districts (now known as the KBK districts). The phenomenon of migration is believed to have taken roots in the aftermath of severe drought of the 1960s. Today every year thousands of people across the length and breadth of the region leave their native village in search of food and employment and flock the brick kilns in the neighbouring state of Andhra Pradesh, the construction sites of the cities and also to the towns of the state. After the harvest there is no more work and Nuakhai or harvest related festivals bring in their own expenses for which loans are acquired and are difficult to repay. Most end up as bonded labourers being paid minimal daily wages. Alienation of land, labour and produce is the driving force for migration. Today there is no work for more than 80 days in some parts of the region. Hence there is no other option but seek work in the brick kilns of Andhra or pull rickshaws in Raipur.

Long term migration

Nearly hundred thousand labourers go to Surat (Gujrat). This is a long term migration, mostly in the textile-weaving (powerloom) and diamond-polishing businesses. Though this migration has its problems, it is overall a long trend migration, with a more stable income.

Migration types

Within the state (from one district to another district)

Outside the state- Orissa to AP, Surat, Raipur

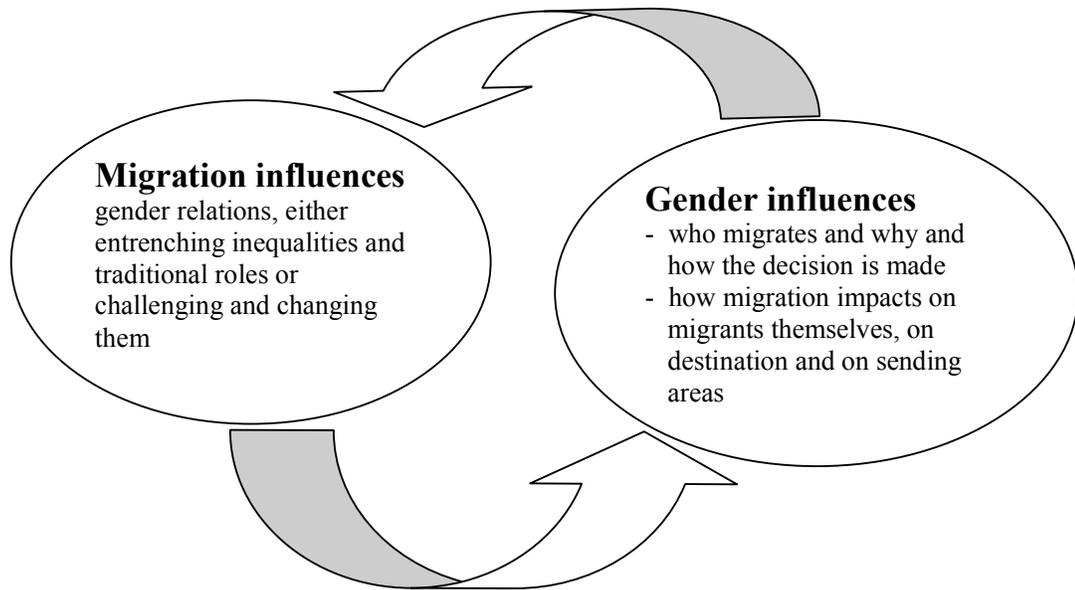
Distress migration in Orissa can be categorized on the basis of the destination i.e. canal labour (agricultural wage employment in the irrigated fields of districts of Bargarh) and dadan shramika (work in the brick kilns for wage employment for 6 – 8 months).

Gender and migration

Looking at migration through the lens of gender can show how futile it is to try to divide up experiences of migration as forced or voluntary, positive or negative. One has to answer the queries – do gender roles stay as they were when people were “at home” or do they change? What employment opportunities are open to which gender? What specific needs or vulnerabilities may women face when coping with new environment and communities? Migration entrenches restrictive gender stereotypes of women’s dependency and lack of decision making powers. The gendered division of labour in destination results in women’s skills being under utilized or lead women into sex work. Health, education and employment protection services are hard to obtain in the destination areas particularly if the migration is illegal and informal.

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. Thus while viewing women migrants as dependants, we may often ignore their individual economic contributions, and an analysis based solely on official figures would give an inadequate account of the actual migration flow pertaining to women.

The decisions of women to migrate are informed by the twin forces of opportunities and constraints and are taken primarily by the family, and when taken independently, familial and cultural and societal considerations have a greater influence.



Migration and women in Orissa

Female migrant workers in this period of globalization and rapid industrialization have increased. A study conducted by the National Commission for Rural Labour (1996) stated that the number of decadal inter-state migration is about 11 million, which includes 5.2 million males and 5.8 million females. Females migrating for economic reasons were 27.9% as compared to males. The state wise out migration for economic reasons was very high for Bihar (48.7%) followed by Orissa (41.6%).

Orissa has a large number of migrant female labourers who leave their villages in search of livelihood. The underdeveloped agricultural economy of the state which makes its population unemployed in lean season creates a deficit household economy, which gets further accentuated due to persistent natural disasters such as droughts and reduction of forest resources in tribal areas. Along with this, globalization has resulted in reduced market facilities and lack of employment opportunities for people. So more and more women are forced to migrate periodically to urban areas or to other states in search of work. They migrate with family members, relatives and friends. Earlier only the male members used to migrate but now a days the whole family migrates in search of employment.

Migration leading to trafficking of women and children is an issue of the state, which requires urgent and concerned responses. A comprehensive approach is essential to address the political, social, economic, legal and institutional dimensions of trafficking.

The process of migration has a differential impact on women- whether they are left behind in the village in case their husbands migrate or in case they too migrate along with the males. In case of the former, the female-headed households are faced with the multiple tasks of not only running the household but also looking after the family, children and the aged. Exploitation of the women by the money lenders and other powerful and dominant persons lead to a situation where the women are most vulnerable. In case of the situation where the women too migrate along with their husbands, the new area of habitation is an alien one with no established social nets. The women are faced with the problem of child care, hostile host community, difficult working environment, lack of benefits etc.

In many cases women migrate several times to several destinations, which leave them with no social security and network.

Survival migration which is seasonal in nature and occurs under distress conditions are the unique characteristics of migration in Orissa.

This type of survival migration in Orissa is found mostly in Adivasi areas. Some empirical studies have identified that, women migrants are on the rise from Orissa. Though illiterates, they have developed an urge to be economically independent. Thus women are no longer just associational migrants (along with their husbands and family) but independent migrants. However the labour contractor and the employer at the site of migration are the key persons who are often seen to exploit women in some specific ways such as trafficking. Unmarried women migrating in search of work is a new face of migration from the region. Overall the female migrant workers are mostly illiterates from poor landless families who have no work in their own village and have to migrate out for survival. The migration pattern of these women is irregular who are not registered. Distress migration is a regular feature.

Female Headed Households

It is estimated that in Orissa 9.15% of the total number of households are headed by females. It is 9.91% for STs and 9.70% for SCs (Pandey, 1999). Migration of male members from the families in search of work and wages to destinations away from native villages has led to situations where women are in charge of households taking care of the young as well as the aged. Illiteracy, poverty, landlessness and high incidence of disasters make these women very vulnerable to exploitation even in their native village. The female headed households are usually the poorest in the village.

Other Vulnerable

In the instances when the whole family migrates, the old are left behind. These old and aged both men and women grapple for basic survival.

Another vulnerable group is the children. Whether they migrate with the parents or stay back in the village, children are exposed to all hardships and deprivation from educational and health facilities. They end up as child labourers in many cases.

Issues -

In the context of short term migration/ seasonal and distress migration, the related problems are -

In the workplace of the migrants

- Low wages- in brick kilns with a rate of payment about Rs 80 for 1,000 bricks made. The work is heavy and the hours of work are long for instance 12 to 15 hours, sometimes 18 hours a day to get the wage (around Rs 70 per day).
- Hostile host community
- Inadequate working condition

At home

- Access to PDS is low.
- Food for work is inadequate to ensure food security.
- Frequent droughts make agricultural productivity low.
- Availability of work throughout the year is low.

Migration affects women in different aspects depending on the category to which the women belong such as -

- married women who migrate along with their husbands
- unmarried women who migrate alone or with other unmarried girls
- married women who stay back while the husbands migrate (both short term or long term)
- women who have migrated in the past but are back now to their own village
- old women

Issues that affect women in the context of migration

- low wages
- non payment of wages
- gender disparity in wages
- forced sex work & trafficking
- violence, domestic violence
- exploitation of single women
- lack of education & neglect of children's education
- lack of health services for self as well as children
- reproductive health issues
- lack of identity papers
- breakdown of social network such as self help groups in the destination
- social exclusion
- non application of registration of birth and marriages
- food insecurity & malnutrition
- no legal mechanism for protection
- no awareness on rights and facilities of protection

Orissa

Socio economic condition of Orissa

- The per capita income of Orissa in 1981-82 was 71.67% of all India which has declined to 52% in 1999-2000. The per capita income of Orissa is one third that of Punjab⁶.
- The growth of agriculture in the state is low at 2.38%.⁷
- There has been a general decline in the share of regular employment for all workers during the second half of the 1990s. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of main workers has declined from 10.38 million to 9.57 million where as the number of marginal workers has increased from 1.51 million to 4.70 million.⁸
- During the period of 2000 to 2004, the number of vacancies notified through the Employment Exchanges fell from 3171 to 1760 (a decline of 44%).⁹
- The total organized sector employment during the period of 2000 to 2004 shows a decline from 798 thousands to 746 thousands (7% decline). Employment in the public sector has decreased from 6.80 lakh in 2003 to 6.57 lakh in 2004 registering a decline of 3.4%. Organised private sector employment, on the other hand, has increased by 2000 in number over the period 2000 to 2004. “It is expected that private sector will provide more employment in the coming years”.¹⁰
- State’s unstable economy and debt burden is estimated at Rs 13,230 crores due to natural calamities and inappropriate development policies. More than 90% of the state plan outlay is being financed from borrowings.
- The decline in poverty ratio between 1973-74 and 1999-20 was 0.81 % annually for Orissa while it was 1.10 for India. The poverty gap in coastal region is 10.21 and in southern region it is 18.78. The highest Poverty Ratio is found in the district of Koraput (Southern and Tribal) at 78.65 in contrast to 27.98 in the district of Cuttack (Coastal). The wide disparities between coastal and southern regions, is

⁶ Orissa Human Development Report 2004

⁷ Orissa Human Development Report 2004

⁸ Census 2001 & Orissa Human Development Report 2004

⁹ Economic Survey of Orissa, 2005-06

¹⁰ Economic Survey of Orissa, 2005-06

because of high concentration of Scheduled Tribe population in the southern region. Scheduled Tribe population in coastal area is 7.2% as against 39.7% in the southern region. So, poverty ratio in coastal region is 64.0% as against 85.5% in the southern region¹¹.

- BPL or the proportion of people below the poverty line which is highest in Orissa is estimated at 47.15% compared with 26.1% in the whole of India.
- Closing of PSUs and private industrial enterprises such as Konark TV, Birla Orient Paper Mill has lead to retrenchment.
- The Adivasis are in a "low-level equilibrium" trap: too little food, too little energy, too little work, too little income, hence too little food. Adivasis have no food security.
- Infant mortality rate is high amongst all the states in the country¹²
- As per NFHS III, there is high anemia amongst the children and pregnant women (74.2% and 68.1% respectively).
- Failure of FWP programme: The Food for Work Programmes (FWP) was started in 2000 as part of the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) in Orissa. Later this programme was expanded to form a part of any wage employment scheme of the State Government. It was being implemented in the notified districts during periods of natural calamities, such as drought, flood or cyclone. This programme also helps for generation of wage employment for BPL and APL families. The state's food for work programme is still badly timed, beginning only when work on the fields has started. Work on government projects for few months is never enough for the farmers of Orissa.
- NREGA has been unsuccessful as recent reports by civil society organizations such as PRIA, CEFS reveal.¹³

¹¹ Orissa Human Development Report 2004

¹² IMR of Orissa is 75 as per SRS 2005 while that of India is 58 and the lowest is that in Kerala at 14.

¹³ Delhi- based CEFS has carried out a survey in 100 villages of Orissa and found that out of Rs 733 crore spent under NREGS during 2006-7, over Rs 500 crore has been siphoned off and misappropriated by the government officials of executing agencies. Moreover, as against the claims of Orissa Government that no needy household in 19 NREGA districts of the state was denied wage employment and each needy household was given an average 57 days of wage employment under NREGS, CEFS study has revealed that large number of needy households were

- Revised Long Term Action Plan (RLTAP) for the KBK districts namely, Koraput, Malkangiri, Nawarangpur, Rayagada, Bolangir, Sonepur, Kalahandi and Nuapada with the core objectives of drought proofing, development saturation, poverty alleviation and improved quality of life of the people is in operation. In 2005-06, Rs 250 crores was sanctioned under this scheme. Impact assessment is not conclusive.¹⁴

Legal mechanisms

- The only law by which people can access justice is through the Inter State Migrant Workman (Regulation of Employment & Conditions of Service) Act, 1979, formulated with particular attention to Western Orissa, but this applies only to people who cross state boundaries.
- Moreover, the migrant labourers don't qualify as migrants under the Inter-State Migrant Workmen's Act of 1979, since they migrate on their own volition.
- The labour machinery of a host state can't act against the contractors since the deals are struck in Orissa.
- There is an increase in contractors earning large amounts from migration on which taxes are rarely paid.
- No law can be implemented as the local police, the Railway Police Force, the office of Labour commissioner, and many more high profile officials get their kickbacks.

denied not only jobs but even job cards, and not more than 5 days of average wage employment has been given to each needy family in these 19 NREGA districts

¹⁴ Annual Report, Planning & Coordination Dept, Govt of Orissa, 2005-06

Indicators on the status of women in Orissa

The status of women in Orissa is a mixed bag. While the female literacy rate of the state as a whole has increased phenomenally during the last 2 decades (from 20.60% in 1981 Census to 50.97% in 2001 Census), there are pockets of very low female literacy. Districts of Malkangiri, Rayagada, Nuapada and Kalahandi have a female literacy rate of less than 30%. There is gender disparity in primary school enrollment and drop out. Girls are lagging behind¹⁵. The Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), i.e. the number of maternal deaths in the age group 15-49 years per one-lakh live births, has gone up from 361 in 1997 to 367 in 1998 in the state. (Human development report 2004, GoO) The MMR of India has declined from 408 to 407 in the same period. Orissa has a very high proportion of women (41%) with a body mass index of less than 18.5, which is indicative of chronic energy deficiency. Overall 63 % of the women in reproductive age group (15 – 49 years) have some degree of anemia (NFHS – 3). Fertility continues to decline in Orissa. At current fertility levels, women will have an average of 2.37 children each through out their childbearing years (NFHS – 3) down from 2.9 children per woman as per NFHS –1. Crimes against women in Orissa have recorded an increasing trend and accounts for a rising percentage (5 %) in the overall crime scenario, which is a cause for concern¹⁶.

¹⁵ Less than 50% of girls are in the primary schools and about 60% of the boys are enrolled. Gender disparity of 10% in attendance for children between the age ranges 6-10 years is also reported in the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS, 2000). The GER (Gross Enrolment Ratio) of the boys is higher than that of the girls with 106.96 and 87.31 respectively (OPEPA, 2002). Gender disparity in education is further accentuated with only 31% girls as compared to 51% boys completing primary schooling (NFHS-2, 1998-99).

¹⁶ Hans, Asha; Amrita Patel & Minakshi Das, Violence against women in Orissa, School of Women's Studies, Utkal University, 2003

Chapter 2

Study back ground

Review of literature - Studies on Female Migration: An Over-view

Over the years the literature on migration has grown in volume and variety in response to the unfolding complexities of migratory processes. Though women's employment oriented migration is on the increase, only few studies discuss the movement of women in detail especially in relation to poverty.

Fernandez-Kelly (1983) and Khoo (1984) concentrate on women and work both migrant and non-migrant in the world's labour force. They discuss the problem in the wider context of problem of feminisation of the work force, de-skilling and devaluation of manufacturing work. In recent literature female migration is linked to gender specific patterns of labour demand in cities. It has been established that women are no longer mere passive movers who followed the household head (Fawcett et al 1984, Rao 1986). In fact daughters are sent to towns to work as domestic servants (Arizpe 1981). From an early age girls become economically independent living on their own in the cities and sending remittances home. This kind of move has been characterised by Veena Thadani and Michael Todaro (1984) as 'autonomous female migration' and has resulted in Thadani-Todaro model of migration.

Kabeer (2000) in her study finds Bangladeshi women (with a long tradition of female seclusion) taking up jobs in garment factories and joining the labour markets of Middle East and South East Asian Countries. Recent migration research shows that female migrants constitute roughly half of all internal migrants in developing countries. In some regions they even predominate men. (Hugo 1993)

In India with the entry of more and more young women in the export processing zones, market segmentation is being accentuated; female dominant jobs are being devalued, degraded and least paid. Though this does not augur well with women development it has not deterred women from contributing to family survival and studies highlight that it is women who settle down in the labour market as flower/fruit vendors, domestic

servants and allow the men to find a suitable job leisurely or improve their skill. (Shanthi K,1993) Case studies indicate that it is the males who were 'associational migrants' and not the women. Families had migrated in response to female economic opportunity (as domestic servants, as vegetable vendors, flower vendors in front of the temple etc etc.) and they are the primary or equal earners, male employment often being irregular and uncertain. While entry barriers are many in male jobs (in the form of 'informal property rights) and the waiting period is long, it is not so in the case of female jobs where they have easy entry and exit in domestic service and personalized services. (Premi 2001, Meher 1994, Shanthi.K. 1993,1991) Their earnings may be low but crucial for family survival. They get paid in 'kind' as well, which help to combat malnutrition especially among infants.

Objectives & Methodology of present study

Aim:

Focus on migration and its impact on women and the importance of 'engendering' male-centered migration policy and research.

Goal:

The study is to concentrate on gender and the migration patterns and transformation processes in an adivasi dominated and poverty afflicted region in India.

General Objective:

Women's needs must constitute an important aspect of development and specifically policy-making.

Specific Objectives:

- i. Define survival migration in the context of women
- ii. To investigate migration and its causes in the study area – inter state or intra state

- iii. To assess the impact of migration on women's security in the context of work, food, health, violence
- iv. To investigate the condition of the female headed households created due to migration
- v. To study the changes in women's work due to migration
- vi. To assess the access of women to Government schemes on poverty alleviation implemented to stop migration
- vii. To undertake a critique of the existing laws and mechanisms to prevent migration
- viii. To provide recommendations on the subject

Policy Aim:

- Reduction in overall migration
- Elimination or reduction in distress migration
- Elimination of the ill effects of migration on older women, female headed households and adolescent girls
- Empowerment of migrant women in a rights based approach

Methodology & Rationale for Project:

A research study on migration can be location based or time based. This study is location based. It is also based on the hypothesis that women who migrate are mostly destitutes, land-less, and belong to marginal households. Also that women who are left behind when husbands migrate belong to the poor, land less and distressed section of the society.

A multi-methodological approach has been followed where the main emphasis is on a qualitative approach (in tandem with statistical analysis of the questionnaire data). In particular the approach focuses on examining detailed semi-structured qualitative interviews with women to ascertain perceptions of their knowledge and awareness.

Data Collection and Survey:

- a. Secondary data from Census, Economic Survey, Human Development report, NGO material
- b. Primary Source Material:
 - i. Semi structured questionnaire: 40 each from the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada. Due attention has been given to women whose male family members have migrated; women themselves who had migrated; women headed households affected by migration especially widows and old women.
 - ii. Focus Group Discussions: With women SHG members, Old women, Migrant women
 - iii. Key Informant interviews: with PRI members, Teachers, Shop keepers, Railway station master, Ward member (PRI member), Labour contractor, CSO.
 - iv. Data collected from Government offices at State, District and local headquarters.
 - v. Case studies of appropriate nature highlighting the impact of migration on women, old women and children.

The whole work was done in two phases-

Phase -I	Collection of Secondary Data
Phase-II	Collection of Field data and its Analysis

Limitations

The study on the impact of migration on women has been done in some of the selected blocks of the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada. One of the major limitations was that during the field study in the month of November 2006, migration had already set in and thereby the women had already moved to the brick kilns. Thus the women who have migrated in the current year were not available as respondents for the study. This lacuna was addressed when a part of the field study was done in Barang, where many families from the study districts migrate to work in the brick kilns. Another limitation of the study was been the dearth of review of literature on the topic in the context of Orissa.

Study area profile

The qualitative and quantitative data collection has been done in the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada in the state of Orissa. (Annexure A). The present district of Bolangir is a part of the undivided Bolangir which also included Sonapur district. On the other hand, Nuapada district was a part of undivided Kalahandi district.

PROFILE OF BOLANGIR AND NUAPADA DISTRICT

Orissa, one of the states of the India has a population of 36.80 million (2001 Census) and as the State with the third lowest population density (236 persons per sq km in 2001) among the major states of India its communities are spread over small villages and hamlets making it difficult for them to access many of the important resources such as education, health services etc.

The indicators of the district of Bolangir and Nuapada are given in Annexure B.

Geographical area and Population

Bolangir district, located in the northern division of the state of Orissa, occupies 6575 sq.km of area. There are 14 CD blocks and 4 towns in the district. According to Census 2001, the total population of the district is 13, 37,194, out of which 6,73,985 (50.40%) are males and 6,63,209 (49.60%) females. Nuapada district is a smaller one situated in the southern division of the state of Orissa, covering only 3852 sq km of area constituting 2.47 percent of state's area. However the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada are adjoining. Nuapada has 5 CD blocks and 2 towns. According to Census 2001, the total population of the district is 5,30,690 out of them 2,64,396 (49.82%) are males and 2,66,294 (50.18%) are females.

Sex ratio

The 2001 Census gives the sex ratio of Bolangir district at 984 which is higher than of the aggregate sex ratio of the state (972), but in case of Nuapada district it is much higher at 1007 females per 1000 males. While observing the sex ratio of children (0 – 6 years), it is found that, in Bolangir, it is 967 while in Nuapada district, it is 969.

Social group

The Census figure reveals that the Bolangir district is dominated by the General caste and other caste population. The share of SC population is only 16.9 % whereas the ST population is 20.6%. But in case of Nuapada district, 13.6% of population is SCs and 34.7% belong to the ST. Better sex ratio along with high ST population in Nuapada district reveal that there is better social value attached to the women folk.

Rate of population growth

The rate of growth of the population of Bolangir district during the decade 1991-2001 was 8.6% as against 16.3% for all Orissa but the decadal growth rate was lower in Nuapada district (13.0%).

Population density

In case of population density, the statistical information gives an idea that in Bolangir district, the population density is 203 while it is 138 persons per sq km in the Nuapada district in 2001.

Literacy rate

As per the 2001 Census, the literacy rate of the state was 63.1% comprising of 75.3% for males and 50.5% for females. In Bolangir district, the total literacy rate is 55.7% which is lower than overall literacy rate of the state where the males and female literacy rates are 71.7% and 39.5% respectively. It is revealed that the male literacy rate in the district is 1.8 times higher than the female rate. Similarly, in case of Nuapada district, the total literacy rate of the district is only 42.0%, which is much lower than Bolangir and overall rate of the state. It is also observed that male literacy rate (58.5 %) is 2.3 times more than the female (25.8 %) literacy rate.

Reproductive health status

From the source of Rapid Household Survey (RHS) on RCH (Reproductive Child Health) in 1998, it is revealed that the percentage of girls marrying below 18 years was 57.7% in Bolangir district and 42.5% in Nuapada district which was much higher than the State's (30%). As a result of the early marriage of girls, there may be high infant mortality and pregnancy complications of women. Based on the RCH composite index, Bolangir district stands as 345 rank among 590 districts of India and 28 among 30 districts in Orissa. Similarly, the rank of Nuapada district is 406 in India and 26 in Orissa.

Work Force participation

From the employment point of view, the work participation rate of the females is very low i.e. only 28.4% in comparison to male (55.4%) in the Bolangir district and also low at 35.8% in comparison to male (55.2%) in Nuapada district.

Rainfall

The state of Orissa receives an average rainfall of the order of 1,500mm but there is wide variation from year to year (1500mm to less than 1100mm). As a result, Orissa has faced drought in most of the years in the latter half of the 1990s (continuously from 1996-97 to 2000-01). In 2000-01, the drought was so severe that 99.22% of the total villages of Bolangir and 82.02% of total villages of Nuapada district had crop loss of more than 50 percent. (Human Development Report 2004, Orissa, Govt of Orissa)

Food productivity

In both districts, agriculture is the mainstay of the district economy and kharif paddy is the principal means of livelihood. As drought causes considerable reduction of kharif paddy production, it does not provide adequate livelihood to the majority of the agricultural labourers or cultivating households. According to Census 2001, in Bolangir district, the per capita output of food grain is 71 kg per annum whereas it is 69 kg in Nuapada district. As a result of the chronic drought condition, high level of food insecurity and chronic income poverty in both the districts, there is hunger and regular distress migration.

Poverty

The undivided districts of Bolangir and Kalahandi (including Nuapada) have an estimated poverty ratio of 48.79 and 83.76 respectively. (Human Development Report 2004, Orissa, Govt of Orissa). The Planning Commission estimates that 47.15 people of the state are BPL.

Human & Gender Development Index

In case of Human Development Index (HDI) and Gender Development Index (GDI), the rank of Bolangir district is 21 in HDI and 16 in GDI while Nuapada district stands as 14 in HDI rank and 9 in GDI rank. The two districts under study i.e. Bolangir and Nuapada are in the medium range of districts of HDI and GDI value.

Chapter 3

Study Findings & Analysis

Secondary data

It is obvious that national level large scale surveys are unable to capture the reality with regard to women. With the result, women are treated still as secondary earners, invisible in the official data system, and consequently no policy measures are directed to alleviate the sufferings of women and specifically woman migrants who lack basic human rights in the destination area. For example the Census does capture out migration from a site but gendered data is not available. Why large scale national surveys underscore female migration is attributed to certain reasons. The respondents are required to give only one reason for migration and in the case of women invariably the reason for migration is identified with marriage. The woman may be working prior to marriage and intend to get married with an urbanite to enhance her potential for employment but it does not get captured. Moreover in the Indian cultural setting it is inappropriate for a woman to emphasise her economic role especially if the interviewer is a stranger and a male. When male members answer the question, women's employment is underplayed. Moreover the emphasis is on primary and full time work and longer reference period often lead to underestimation of female employment. If women's jobs are extensions of domestic jobs then they are not even acknowledged as 'jobs'. Depending on the respondent's and enumerator's perception and gender sensitivity, women's work force participation and economic contribution get captured or not. Questions as to who migrated first, whether the male or the female and in associational migration whether women's employment opportunity was reckoned or not at the time of migration etc are not posed to the sample population and hence it is difficult to identify 'autonomous female migrants'. Despite these shortcomings, in the absence of any other data on migration, one has to necessarily depend on the Census and the NSSO, the two sources of data for migration.

NSSO

The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) of Government of India carried out an all-India survey on the situation of employment and unemployment in India during the period July 1999-June 2000. This 55th Round Data was published in August 2001. In this survey, data was collected on migrants as well and the results of the same had been published as Report 470. This report defines migrants as 'a member of the sample household if he/she had stayed continuously for at least six months or more in a place (village/town) other than the village/town where he/she was enumerated'. These long term migrants were identified through Column 13 of Block 4 of Schedule 10 of the Household Slips if the answer is 'yes' for the question 'whether the place of enumeration differs from last usual place of residence'. Once the migrant households had been identified based on the reasons for migration the percentage of employment oriented migration was calculated.

The broad conclusions arrived at are as follows:

- (a) In Southern states males and females are almost equal in number (50:50) in both rural and urban migration except for Tamil Nadu where the ratio is 60:40 and urban female migration is slightly lower than rural female migration. But when compared to the rest of the states in India southern states in general exhibit higher rural and urban migration among females.
- (b) The predominantly male migration States as far as rural migration is concerned are Rajasthan (79:21) and Bihar (76:24). Such predominant male migration is witnessed in the case of Orissa in urban migration (81:19).
- (c) In Rajasthan females are almost in equal number (only slightly less) in urban migration (57:43) while they constitute only 21% in rural migration. Among the less developed states Orissa is on the other extreme with least female participation in urban migration (81:19)
- (d) In West Bengal urban female migrants are one and half times higher than rural female migrants the ratio being 54:46 while it is only 72:28 for rural migrants. U.P also joins this list.
- (e) In the rest of the states females dominate in rural migration. The overall conclusion is female migrants are more in number in rural migration in the least developed states while they are more in number in southern region both in rural and urban migration.

On rural –urban migration for both males and females other research studies have come to the conclusion that in the developed states of Maharashtra and Gujarat rural to urban movers are higher than rural to rural movers. Except Kerala urban bound movement is important in the southern states reflecting generally their higher levels of urbanization (Tim Dyson & Visaria, 2004) Punjab and Haryana show high urban to urban migration because of its proximity to Delhi. Because of low levels of urbanization, states like Bihar, U.P, and Orissa witness high rural to rural when compared to urban to urban migration. The migration streams from Bihar, U.P and Orissa are predominantly male and this is attributed to cultural or economic reasons. But in Maharashtra and Gujarat the migrants move with their families including the womenfolk. (Srivastava 1998).

2001 Census

For the first time, Census 2001 has prepared and tabulated data on migration of Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) to understand the mobility of the persons belonging to these two special groups.

According to 2001 Census, the total population of Scheduled Castes in the country is about 166.6 million, constituting 16.2% of the total population. Scheduled Tribe population, on the other hand, is about 84.3 million constituting 8.2% of the total population. Both these groups, together, form about 24.4% of the population.

Out of 166.6 million Scheduled Castes population, 42.1 million (or 25.3%) have been enumerated as migrants. Similarly of the total Scheduled Tribes population of 84.3 million, about 21.4 million (or 25.4%) were migrants. Proportion of females among both SCs and STs intra-state migrants are higher than among 'Others', signifying greater mobility among SCs/STs due to marriage than other reasons. Specifically the proportion of females to the total migrants has been more than 70% in all categories of SCs, STs and others.

It is seen that rural to rural migration among the states is highest in Bihar with 86.6% total SC migrants moving from one village to another. The other states in order are Jharkhand (80.4%) and Himachal Pradesh (79.0%).

The proportion of SC migrants moving into urban areas from the rural areas is highest in Kerala (12.1%), followed by Tamil Nadu (11.4%) and Maharashtra (9.2%). Urban to rural migration is highest in Gujarat (24.5%) followed by Maharashtra (24.2%). This includes persons returning to their ancestral place after retirement and on account of marriage. Urban to urban migration among Scheduled Castes was found to be highest in Gujarat (14.8%) followed by Maharashtra (13.8%).

Among Scheduled Tribes, West Bengal (88.0%) has reported highest rural to rural migration during the decade in percentage terms, followed by Rajasthan (85.0%) and Orissa (84.3%). All these states have very large ST population living in rural areas, which may be the reason for such a high proportion of migrants in rural-rural stream.

Out of total 12.1 million SC migrants, 6.8 million (56.6%), comprising mostly females, have cited marriage as the chief reason. Among the Scheduled Tribes the corresponding proportion is 67.8%. 'Work/Employment' has been uniformly cited as the next most important reason for migration by the male population. About 30.8% of the male migrants have cited this reason for migration, while in case of SCs and STs the percentage is 28.6 and 28.3 respectively. Movement with household in which the members of the households move when the head migrates to a new place, is also a reason for incidental migration. For the female migrants, only 2.7% of the total has cited work/employment as the reason though for the ST female migrants, this option has a high 4.3% response.

Labour data

Data available from the office of the Labour Commissioner of Orissa gives a district break up of the migrants though gender disaggregated data is unavailable. (Annexure C) There has been an overall increase in the number of migrants by 20% during the period of 2003 to 2005. The total number of migrants in the year 2005 was 39,268. The district break up shows that the district of Khurda has the highest number of migrants followed by Bolangir district. The next highest outflow of migrants has been from the district of Ganjam including Chhatrapur. It has to be borne in mind that the basis of this data is the registered cases which would be a very small percentage of the migration that is mostly informal and unregistered.

As per a survey conducted by Lok drushti, Khariar, in 125 villages of Nuapada district in the blocks of Khariar, Komna, Boden, Sinapalli and Nuapada, a total of 10131 persons have migrated in the year 2004. Out of these 4853 (47.9%) are women. The total also includes 1422 (14%) children.

The survey of Vikalpa, Kantabanji, reveals that migration after the year 1996, which had one of the most severe droughts, has increased about 4 times. While earlier it was the landless that used migrate, today, families with over 5 acres of land holding are forced to migrate. Their survey of 2003 shows that in 250 villages of Bolangir district, 34867 persons have made up their minds to migrate out of which 16.5% are children and 33.5% are women.

Free lance journalist Rupashree Nanda's report mentions that about 60,000 persons migrated in 1999 from two regular exit points i.e. Kantabanji & Titlagarh railway station.

A study by NAWO on Female migration in Orissa conducted in 2005 reveals that women migrant labour are basically illiterate and belong to the age group of 19 – 29 years. The rate of migration of female workers is increasing since the last 5 years. These women migrants are in short term seasonal work without any benefits.

Migration Regulation data

Inter State Migrant Workman (ISMW) (Regulation of Employment & Conditions of Service) Act, 1979, is the only instrument by virtue of which migration is regulated and monitored. It is seen that the Labour department of Government of Orissa has identified the following measures to curb the problems emerging out of migration-

1. Awareness generation programme at different levels so as to make the illiterate migrant workers conscious of their rights and entitlements.
2. Stringent prosecution measures against the defaulting labour agents, Criminal Cases under ISMW Act, 1979 in the concerned Court of Law whenever, any instance of unauthorised drafting is brought to the notice,

3. Claim cases instituted under Payment of Wages Act, 1936 for realisation of unpaid dues accruing to the concerned migrant workers in case of denial of wages and other statutory dues,
4. Measures for rescue and release of concerned migrant workers, in rapport with the concerned out State Labour Machinery in case of harassment
5. Assistance under the Workmen Compensation Act, 1923

However prosecution under the ISMW Act is low as seen from the data of the Labour department, Government of Orissa. In the years 2000-01 and 2001-02, only 95 and 53 cases have been filed out of which 7 and 13 cases have been disposed respectively.

Primary data analysis

Quantitative data analysis

The survey on the impact of migration on women in Orissa was conducted in the poorest part of the state, in the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada and it is imperative to mention that natural disasters like drought and famine are regular phenomena in this locality. Most of the people of this area are marginal farmers or agricultural labourers and this is not enough to provide them food security for the entire year, which has been compelling them to migrate for work to support themselves and their families.

The details of the study area is as follows –

Name of the village	Name of the panchayat	Block	District
Sanbahali	Agrean	Komana	Nuapada
Chhata	Jhagrahi		
Mallikmunda	Rajana		
Kunjalpada			
Belanga			
Khamtari	Deojhar	Khariar	Bolangir
Gudgudbahal	Badabanki	Tureikela	
Muribahal	Ghunesh		
Hial	Hial		
Domurchhuan			
Ghanamohul	Gurumal		
Puibahal	Puibahal		
Jamutjuri	Chaulsukha		

A detailed questionnaire was prepared. (Annexure D)

During the study, 100 women from both the districts on the following categories were covered through questionnaire:-

Sl no	Categories of women	No of women		Total
		Bolangir	Nuapada	
1	Migrated including widows	38	35	73
2	Migrated unmarried	02	05	07
3	Women Heading Households whose husbands have migrated	10	10	20
	Total	50	50	100

Out of the 100 women respondents, the number of migrant women is 80 (80%). This included married women and widows as well as unmarried women. 20% of the women respondents whose husbands have migrated were also been covered in the study.

In addition to the above, old parents whose sons and daughters have migrated to other places were interviewed. The purpose of the interview was to identify their problems in the absence of their children in old age.

Questionnaire analysis

Demographic Profile of the migrated households

The study covered 100 women out of which 50% belonged to the STs, SCs 14%, OBCs 12% and others 24% respectively (Table 1). Following the ST women, the number of other caste women is more as due to caste feelings in the villages, the women of the dominant caste groups are shy to go to other villages for wage labour, and instead prefer to migrate outside to avoid such embarrassment. The table shows that the number of unmarried women migrants is low in comparison to married women as they are not allowed to go alone without the support of family members. On the other hand the work provider is also reluctant to employ unmarried women.

Table 1- Demography status of the Migrant women

Name of the district	Social Category	Marital status of women Migrants				Total
		Married		Unmarried	Widow	
		Migrant	WHHs*			
Bolangir& Nuapada	ST	27	18	4	1	50
	SC	12	1	0	1	14
	OBC	11	1	0	0	12
	Others	20	0	3	1	24
	Total	70(70%)	20 (20%)	7 (7%)	3(3%)	100(100%)

WHH- Women Headed Households
Source- Primary data

Population under survey

The total population of the migrant households under survey was 602 in which males accounted for 46.3%, the females 39.5% and the old 14.1% in both the districts. Of the total population, the ST constituted 52.8% in the districts (54.7% in Bolangir and 50.9% in Nuapada), SC 10.9%, OBC 12.1% and others 24.1%. (Table 2).

Table 2- Population status of the migrant households

Sl.no	Name of the District	Social Category	Migrant Women			
			Male	Female	Old	Total
1	BOLANGIR	ST	77	63	23	163
		SC	19	19	1	39
		OBC	20	19	2	41
		Others	26	19	10	55
		Total	142	120	36	298
2	NUAPADA	ST	71	58	26	155
		SC	13	10	4	27
		OBC	11	15	6	32
		Others	42	35	13	90
		Total	137	118	49	304
		Grand total	279	238	85	602

Source- Primary data

Family type

As found from Table 3, the number of single families (59 %) is more in comparison to joint families (41%) in both the districts. The percent of single families is more in Bolangir district (31%) whereas the number of joint families is more in Nuapada district. This is because the migrant households (mostly other caste households) prefer to live jointly in order to keep their children at home for education at the time of migration.

Table 3- Category of Migrant Households

Sl no	Districts	Single					Joint					Grand Total
		ST	SC	OBC	Other	Total	ST	SC	OBC	Other	Total	
1	Bolangir	13	7	4	7	31	11	2	3	3	19	50
2	Nuapada	17	4	3	4	28	9	1	2	10	22	50
	G.Total	30	11	7	11	59	20	3	5	13	41	100

Source- Primary data

Age of respondents

Age is an important aspect of women for migration. Table 4 depicts that 80% of the women of the age group of 26 to 40 years are migrating to different places. Between the age group of 21 to 25 years and above 40 years, few women (8 to 10%) migrate. This implies that migrant women who are newly married with very small children are less in numbers while due to financial urgency only 10% women migrate even above the age of 40 years.

Table 4- Age range of Migrant women

Name of the districts	Social category	Frequency of Age of Migrant women (years)						Total
		15 to 20	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	Above 40	
Bolangir & Nuapada	ST	2	4	11	12	14	7	50
	SC	0	2	6	5	1	0	14
	OBC	0	2	3	3	4	0	12
	Others	0	0	8	6	7	3	24
	Total (%)	2(2%)	8(8%)	26(26%)	28(28%)	26(26%)	10(10%)	100

Source- Primary data

Educational status of the respondents

If one looks the educational level of the migrant women in the study, it is revealed that almost 80% women are illiterate. Only the other caste and other backward class women are just about literate which means being able to sign only.

Land holding status of the migrant households

The land holding status of the migrant households indicates that 28% of the migrant households are landless and they depend on agricultural and non-agricultural wage labour. (Table 5)

Table 5- Land holding of Migrant women

Name of the districts	Social category	No of women (In percent)						Total
		Landless	Upto 1.00 ac	1.01 to 2 ac	2.01 to 3 ac	3.01 to 4 ac	4.01 ac above	
Bolangir & Nuapada	ST	13	16	12	2	1	6	50
	SC	8	4	1	1	0	0	14
	OBC	2	7	3	0	0	0	12
	Others	5	9	8	0	0	2	24
	Total	28(28%)	36(36%)	24(24%)	3(3%)	1(1%)	8(8%)	100%

Source- Primary data

Due to drought in both the districts under study, there is low agricultural production and once there is crop loss, the marginal farmers and small farmers resort to selling or mortgaging their land to the money lenders. In this process a large number of marginal and small farmers become landless agricultural labourers.

In the study 36% of the migrant households possess 1 to 2 acres of land and 24% of migrant households have 2 to 3 acres of cultivated land. In spite of the above quantity of land, half of the land is unsuitable for cultivation due to it being high land, or due to low rainfall etc. So the food grains produced from their own land possession cannot meet the food requirement of the households throughout the year.

Occupational pattern of the migrant households

During the study, it is observed that cultivation and wage labour is the main occupation of the migrant households. But due to the declining production, agricultural wage labour in the villages has become difficult to come by. If any work is available, then the males are given priority. The females are deprived to get any wage labour in the villages. In case of non-agricultural wage labour, there is very limited opportunity in the nearby areas. Collection of forest produces is another source of income of the migrant households. Though the forest produces are limited, still many of the families collect mahula, tula, kendu leaves etc.

Annual income of the migrant households

The field study reveals that the annual income of the migrant women is more in comparison to the women headed households. (Table 6) In case of migrant women, the annual income varies from Rs1500/- to Rs 8000/- in Bolangir district whereas it is less at Rs.1500/- to Rs 6750/- in Nuapada district.

But in case of Women Headed Households (WHH), it is within Rs 1500 to Rs 4000 only, as the women who are in the villages do not get wage work except in agricultural work in rainy season which is not very remunerative. Some of them are also engaged in Matibuha work (earth lifting work) but in a limited way. Table 6 also depicts that the women from other caste and very few women (only 1%) from SC and OBC have income and the others have no income due to social restriction. In case of SC women, the practice of untouchability in the village hampers the possibility of wage activities. Similarly, in case of OBC and other caste women, due to social prestige, they do not go outside the village for wage work.

Table 6- Income of the Migrant Households

Name of the Districts	Social category	Income of migrant Women(Rs)				Income of WHH (Rs)				Total
		0-2000	2001-4000	4001-6000	6001-8000	0-2000	2001-4000	4001-6000	6001-8000	
Bolangir & Nuapada	ST	0	4	23	5	5	13	0	0	50
	SC	1	7	4	1	0	1	0	0	14
	OBC	0	4	4	3	0	1	0	0	12
	Others	1	6	13	4	0	0	0	0	24
	Total	2 (2%)	21 (21%)	44 (44%)	13 (13%)	5 (5%)	15 (15%)	0	0	100

Source- Primary data

Place of Migration

In Bolangir and Nuapada district, frequent droughts have resulted in temporary displacement of large number of females from their traditional work-base. The present study covered 80 women (40 from Bolangir and 40 from Nuapada district) who have migrated to different places within and outside the state of Orissa. (Table 7).

Table 7- Place of Migration of the respondents

Sl. No.	Place of migration	From Bolangir district	From Nuapada district	Total	Percent
1	Andhra Pradesh	22	24	46	57.5
2	Hyderabad	16	9	25	31.3
3	Vishakhapatanam	0	1	1	1.25
4	Madras	0	1	1	1.25
5	Kalinga nagar, Orissa	0	5	5	6.25
6	Barang, Orissa	2	0	2	2.5
	Total	40	40	80	100

Source- Primary data

The above information is as per people's version of the place as the respondents do not know the actual place of migration.

The Table 7 indicates that 90% of women migrate to Andhra Pradesh. They go to different areas of Hyderabad (31.3%), Secunderabad, Visakhapatanum (1.25%), Vijayanagaram and Karimnagar. For the 20 women from the WWH, AP and Raipur is the destination of their husbands. The table also shows that women migrating to various places within Orissa (Kalinga nagar and Barang) to work in the brick kiln factories are less i.e. 6.25% and 2.5% respectively.

It is clear that, Andhra Pradesh is the most attractive place for migration for the migrant labourers of both the districts because there are a large number of brick kiln factories and crores of bricks are manufactured each year. In order to fulfill the worker requirement, the middlemen in the villages motivate the villagers to go to Andhra Pradesh by giving them advance loan. Secondly as the migrant households are acquainted with these factories being regular workers, they feel comfortable to migrate there.

Timing of Migration

Short term migration appears to be a major livelihood strategy for both males and females in Bolangir and Nuapada districts.

In all the villages, the period of migration starts in the month of October-November (after Dussehera / paddy cutting) and continues till May-June (before Raja festival or the

monsoon). After the festival Nuakhai (eating of new paddy) in August/ September, the advance money (baina) is given to the migrant labourers by the Sardars (labour contractors/ middleman). The families who have completed the paddy cutting and harvesting earlier, migrate early. The migrant households migrate group wise on the basis of the advance money taken from a particular Sardar. In this way, the families including the women migrate to the destination between October to December each year. Our study revealed that the flow of migration is at the peak in the month of October and November and it comes down in the month of December. In Bolangir district, 46.25% of migrant households have migrated in the month of October whereas maximum 48.75% of households migrated in the month of November in Nuapada district. During this period, as there is no other agricultural activity after harvesting or any other alternative work in the village, migration for wage labour takes place.

Table 8- Timing of migration

Districts	Time of Migration from village			Total	Return time to village			Total
	October	November	December		April	May	June	
Bolangir	37	2	1	40	5	24	11	40
Nuapada	1	39	0	40	0	37	3	40
G.Total	38 (47.5%)	41 (51.25%)	1 (1.25%)	80	5 (6.25%)	61 (76.25)	14 (17.5%)	80

Source- Primary data

All the migrant households come back to their respective places during the months of April to June before the starting of monsoon to initiate their agricultural activities in their own village. In both the districts 76.25% of women come back to the village in the last week of May.

Employment Guarantee (NREGA)

It is found that 42.5% of women remarked that the NREGA scheme is being implemented in their villages out of which 30% women are from Bolangir district. (Refer to Table-9). The study also reveals that 57.5% women denied regarding the implementation of scheme where majority are from Nuapada district. According to 34 women (42.5%), the NREGA is being implemented in their respective villages in both districts.

Table 9- Implementation of NREGA

Districts	Implementation of NREGA in the villages (percent of women)		Total
	Yes	No	
Bolangir	24 (30%)	16(20%)	40
Nuapada	10 (12.5%)	30(37.5%)	40
	34 (42.5%)	46 (57.5%)	80 (100%)

Source- Primary data

Qualitative data analysis

Destination

- To the brick kilns in Andhra Pradesh
- To the brick kilns within Orissa- Barang, Berhampur, Kalinganagar
- To the irrigated areas of Orissa – Hirakud irrigated area such as Bargarh, Sambalpur, Barpalli
- To the towns and cities of Orissa such as Cuttack, Bhubaneswar, Berhampur and Ganjam in Orissa.
- To metros such as Mumbai, Surat, Nagpur, Raipur, Bangalore, Bhillai for construction work, rickshaw pulling etc

It is only to the brick kilns of AP and within Orissa, that the whole family migrates where as the other destinations attract only male migration.

Process of migration

All the migrant women with the family members are taken to the worksites by the Sardars or Dalals (labour contractors). There are Dalals in different levels who are engaged in the migration process as given below:-

Table 10- Levels of agents involved in the migration process

SI.No	Levels of Dalals	Supply Capacity	Monetary benefit (in Rs)
1	Dalal who is the main supplier of the labour in the	Overall labour	4 to 5 lakhs
2	Sub-Dalal in district-wise	100 to 120 families	80 to 1 lakh
3	Sub-sub Dalal in few villages	30 to 40 families	50,000
4	Village level Dalal	8 to 10 families	7000

Source- VIKALPA, Kantabanji, Bolangir

From the discussions, it is observed that the labour supply to one brick kiln factory is a transaction of approximately Rs 60 crores. There is a systematic process where one level feeds on to the next level which ensures that the migrant labourers proceed to the destination on schedule and the money transaction for the Dalals is on time. The village level Dalals are directly in touch with the migrant households in the village. Before the migration period, they motivate the households to take loan and go for wage work in the brick kiln factories. As the households need money, they are ready to take money in advance from the Dalals.

The Dalals give third class train tickets to the migrant households who go outside Orissa and for within Orissa, bus tickets are provided. The Dalals collect the migrant families in their own vehicles and take them to the nearest railway station/ bus stop. Those households who live in the interior areas come to the station by foot with small children and stay over night in the railway station. The Dalal gives only a few rupees for fooding or other expenditure during the journey. Most of the households/families rarely take food during the journey as the money they have in hand is quite insufficient to spend in the 2 to 3 days of journey.

Extent of Migration

(Observations at Kantabanji railway station)

Kantabanji station is the main railway station from where thousands of both male and female migrants go to Hyderabad and Raipur for wage labour. The station was graded as 'C' about 6 years back but today it has achieved 'B' level on the basis of excess ticket selling in the station. On the basis of the discussion with the Railway Station Master, the following aspects emerged-

- Migration takes place from November to January every year.
- The migrants normally travel by the following 5 trains -

Train No	Train Name
8517	Korba- Vishakhapatanam Exp
229	Durg- Vishakhapatanam Exp
227	Raipur- Vishakhapatanam Exp
2807	Vishakhapatanam- Nizamuddin Exp
7481	Bilaspur- Tirupati Exp

- The ticket selling in normal days is 100 to 200 whereas it exceeds to 1100 to 1700 during November to January.
- All the migrants travel in the general compartment and the tickets are purchased by the Local Agent (Sardar).
- There is no special general compartment attached to the above trains during the heavy rush period.

Basically, the women migrant workers face many difficulties during the journey. Setting out from their homes with cloths and utensils on their head, they have to walk on foot for several kilometers from their village to the railway station. As there is no direct train to the destination, the migrants have to change 2 or 3 trains which it is very difficult and they have to wait on the platforms with luggage and children. At that time, they are treated like beggars. Even if the Dalal purchases the tickets and food for them, the money spent on this ground is deducted from the wages of the workers. As there are limited numbers of general compartments in the train, these get over crowded with the migrants women, men and children. There is absolutely no space left. Often the other passengers harass the women in the train and platform. On arrival, the women start work in the morning just the day after.

Economic impact of migration on trade

During the migration period, the railway station is overcrowded by the migrant workers and their family members. The business of the shops nearby increases 5 to 6 times. In this regard, an old woman stated:

I am selling murhi, badam since 20 years in this Kantabanji station. In the normal days, the income by selling murhi varies from Rs 50/- to Rs 60/- per day but during the migration period, it increases to Rs 400/- to Rs 500/- per day and at that time I cannot supply enough.

The migration period is the crucial period for the shop keepers, traders etc to earn more. Similarly, the hotel and lodges of Kantabanji are overcrowded due to the accommodation of the agents during the months of November to January each year.

Increasing migration

There has been an increase in the migration of families from the region. It is evident from the rising ticket sales from the departing railway station of Kantabanji and Titlagarh. In discussions with the personnel with a local NGO, it was revealed that one of the indicators that migration is increasing is the rising demand for hotel rooms in Kantabanji. The number of labour contractors camping in the town during the recruitment season is rising manifold. The local economy gains out of such a scenario in terms of hotel bookings, sales in grocery stores, car hiring etc.

The drop out of children from the school also rises during a particular period i.e. lean agricultural season, when the children go out along with their parents. In general people are unavailable for any kind of survey and the population of a particular village is much less than Census during the migration season.

The Interstate Migrant Workman Act stipulates that all labour contractors are to be registered. In Kantabanji block of Bolangir district, only 12 contractors are registered which enables them for about 4000 labourers. In reality more than one lakh of people have migrated.

Reasons of Migration

Family Maintenance

It is observed that most of the respondent households are landless and a few have the minimum land holding, which can barely manage the households for two or three months in a year. So migration is the best alternative for income for the households. They get food to eat at least for six months of migration with some amount of advance money. If lucky, the families are able to save some pittance at the end of the migration period. So through migration, the migrant households are assured of food for six months in a year and another six months can be managed from the local available sources and/or own land in the village.

Unavailability of wage labour

The work availability is very limited in the two sources i.e. agricultural activities and non-agricultural activities like construction work by panchayats or brick making, private

house construction etc. The respondents informed that as there is lack of labour work in most of the nearby villages of Kantabanji area in Bolangir district and Raj Khariar in Nuapada district, the villagers come daily to the district head quarters in search of work and most of the time they fail to get work and return to their villages without work and money. The situation is even worse for the women labourers. The average wage for the above works are Rs 25/- to Rs30/- in both the districts. It is low and irregular. In this regard, one woman from Nuapada viewed that:-

We do not get any work in the village except agricultural work, which is also limited because the villagers have small quantity of land, their family members are sufficient to manage it. So the requirement of wage labour in the agricultural field is very limited except during the time of transplanting and harvesting. In case of the non-agricultural works i.e construction work and matibuha work, the male persons are dominant in this ground. On the other hand, these are not always available in our village but in the nearby villages. Due to caste feelings (Gopal), we feel ashamed to go out of the village for wage work. Even if we go, the work provider does not give the full payment even after requesting him frequently. As women, we feel shy to visit him frequently to get money. We are hopeless to get work here. It is better to migrate rather than to stay here searching for work.

Irregular Government facilities

Work allotment under NREGA is still not fully operational in the villages. Some villagers have got job cards and some households have applied but have not received the card yet. According to the women, the availability of work through job card is quite irregular and not in proper time. They also face problems for getting work. Whatever opportunities are available in the village, it is first given to the men, and very few females get chance to work.

No facilities are available from the Govt. side to give work during the lean period. All the BPL households do not have the BPL cards and hence are not able to get rice regularly. The households', whose members migrate, are cheated and exploited by the Panchayat officials in distribution of facilities. The woman headed households are denied basic benefits as they are unable to go the Panchayat office even. Ignorance and low information level are also hindrances.

Exploitation by Landlords

To meet the family expenditure of the households during the lean period, the households take loans from the landlords and the Jamindars in the villages. Mostly, they give land as mortgage for taking loan. The loans are taken to meet the expenditure on fooding, clothing, marriages, cultivation, and expenses for relatives & festivals, funeral ceremony, medical expenses, repayment of old loans, education etc. The landlords and Jamindars charge high rate of interest which is an overburden to repay.

The rate of interest varies on the types of loans as described (Table 11) below-

Table 11- Types of Loans and its interest

Loan types	Quantity of loan	Repayment	Rate of interest
Money	Rs100.00	Rs125.00	25%
Paddy	1 quintal	1.5 quintal	50%
Pulses	1 quintal	2 quintals	100%

Source- Focus Group Discussions

By repaying in this system, the loan increases day to day for which it is extremely difficult for the households to be debt free.

Drought

Drought is another reason for migration in both the districts. Drought is seen to be the underlying cause of a number of related severe problems including debt, impoverishment, starvation and migration. The marginal farmers and landless agricultural workers faced with low agricultural yields and lack of alternative employment opportunities within the villages are forced to look for alternatives elsewhere. Their position is further compromised by loans from the exploitive, non-institutional money lending system. The conditions of these loans are stringent and non-negotiable. If drought takes place in a particular year, then the households are bound to take loan in order to meet the basic necessities of the households. In order to repay the loans and to avoid the wrath of the moneylenders, they take advance from the Dalals or labour contractors. It makes them more vulnerable as they sink further into the vicious cycle of debt. Finally they are forced to migrate to repay the Dalal. In the process they lose their bargaining power both in terms of official wage rates and better working conditions at the worksites.

Influenced by the village level middlemen

The village level middle men are the main actors in the migration process. During the lean period, they contact the poor households and give small amount of money to tackle the problems according to their requirements. In lieu, they motivate them to migrate. As the households are already in debt, they migrate to repay the loan and advances.

The Focus group discussions held, reveal that the households are in contact with the village level contractors during financial crisis. Marriages, deaths, festivals etc require money which is readily given by the contractors.

Facilities for advance money

In both the districts, advance payment given by the Dalals is main cause for the households to migrate, keeping in view the low production, scarcity of work, irregular work, low and irregular payment and heavy debt burden, repayment of loan. The provision of advance money varies from Rs3000/- to Rs10,000/- depending on the number of working family members, and the households can not get such a big amount of money at a time from any other sources. The informal money lending system is too heavy for repayment and there is no provision for the villagers to avail loan from any formal sector for personal consumption needs. In this situation, the Dalals of the brick kiln factories give them chance to take advance money before work. This appears as a great opportunity for repaying the loan taken from the money lenders, releasing the mortgaged land, purchasing bullocks, and to sustain their families. The households then migrate to repay the advance.

Food availability

Another reason for migration is food availability of the migrants for 6 to 7 months in a year. As the households get advance money, they are assured that food for all the family members would be available during the migration period. As there is provision to get weekly payment (varying from Rs80/- to Rs100/-) per member for food, they can manage to survive which they may or may not get in the village due to lack of wage labour.

Non availability of employment

The reasons cited by the villagers as the cause of not getting works under the NREGA are as follows -

- Most of the families have no job cards
- Work is not provided inspite of the jobcards
- The work provided is only for a short period (10 to 15 days)
- No satisfactory payment
- The work is provided when they have already set out for migration or any other work, and hence they can not do the work at home.

The scheme is not helpful to the migrant women, and they are bound to go migrating in search of work. They suggested that if the work is provided to them in the village and nearby villages for six months regularly during the lean period, they will not migrate to other places for work.

Reality bites - NREGA

Many people still have not got their job cards. And in villages where the people have got the job cards, all the households have not been covered. Also instead of Rs 55 people have got Rs 50. The contractors claim that they have not got any money from the Govt. and hence how can they pay the labour. The block officials are keeping 30% of the total amount. But according to the Office Secretary of the Komana panchayat, only 10% people are getting work and the rest of the people do not get any work.

NREGA is not being implemented properly in the villages. If the people need a large amount of money at a time they will have to migrate as they will be taking a loan from the money lender/ contractor.

Issues in the context of migration

Registration of Name of the migrant women

All the women respondents are not aware about the registration of their names in the District Labour office (DLO). Neither the Dalal nor the DLO or the Panchayat take the responsibility for the registration. Even the DLO has no records of the numbers of migrant households, where they go, what type of work they do, how much they get paid in the working place. Very few migrant labourers are registered in any case (Annexure C).

Types of Work and working hours

All the migrant families interviewed are engaged as chhanchua or pathuria (brick making) work in the brick kilns. In this work, the whole family (minimum three members) is engaged as a team. If a family has only two members, then the family takes one of their relatives to complete the team. The older children accompany their parents in this work so that one family can make a team by itself. In brick making work, there is division of labour among the males, females and children. The male person is engaged in digging the clay, shifting the clay to the working place, mixing the clay and making bricks with the help of brick frames. The women are involved in making the clay dough. Both women and children shift the raw bricks to dry under the sun and then keep it in the raw brick bhati.

There is no specific work timing for chhanchua families- if the family makes more bricks then they can get more money. So the chhanchua families try to make as many bricks by working 12 to 13 hrs (from 6AM to 12AM – 3 to 10 PM at night) in a day. In some cases the migrant women who take more money as advance, work for 16 hrs in a day to complete the target. As an illustrative case, the work schedule of the women and men in AP is as follows –

Table 12- Daily schedule of migrants

	Work of the Male	Work of the Female
4 am	Mixing of sand and mud	Arranging the bricks
5 am		
6 am		
7 am		
8 am	Eat	Cleaning of house, cook, arrange the bricks
9 am	Digging of mud	
10 am		
11 am		
12 noon		
1 pm	Lunch & rest	Lunch & rest
2 pm	Brick making	Brick making
3 pm		
4 pm		
5 pm		
6 pm		
7 pm		
8 pm		
9 pm		
10 pm	Eat & sleep	Cook, eat & sleep
After 10 pm		

Source- Focus Group Discussions

Wages

The wages are paid after the completion of work. In case of brick making or chhanchua work, the wages are given to the family head i.e. male household head. There is no individual payment to the working members of the family. In Barang, Orissa, for making 1000 bricks, the family gets Rs 150/- in a week, whereas in Andhra Pradesh, one can get Rs 60/- to Rs80/- for making 1000 bricks.

Wage payment.

Before moving out of the village, some migrants agree with the Dalals on wage per 1000 bricks. But at the work site, one chhanchua family gets Rs100/- per working adult and Rs 70/- for working children in a week. So one family can get Rs 270/- to Rs 370/- per week depending on the number of working members of the family. As the brick counting and payment is made in the weekend, the payment of the advance is made accordingly. The final counting is done in the end of the season when deductions of all previous advances are made. After the deductions, the chhanchua families is left with an amount of Rs1000/- to Rs 3000/- as savings. In some cases, because of health or other related expenditures, they return home without any saving at all.

Exploitation of women

In the work-site, though the owner of the brick kiln factory and the other staff do not directly give the women any physical torture, but indirectly they are responsible for the following woes:-

- Compulsory work for 12 to 16 hrs everyday
- Hard work resulting in frequent fever and poor health condition
- Working under the sun resulting in fatigue
- Language abuse while taking rest in case of illness or during pregnancy

However, while traveling to and back from the site of work, women have been subjected to molestation, rape and even kidnapping (Refer to case study no 3). Very rarely do these come into the knowledge of public domain primarily due to stigma, ignorance and pressure from the dalals. In the cases where NGOs and CBOs intervene, police investigation and rehabilitation has been attempted. Overall, such instances are totally obliterated from public knowledge as the dalals fear that women would not accompany the husbands and families to the work sites, otherwise.

Social condition

Basic facilities available at the worksite

Housing

In Barang, Orissa (brick kiln work site of migrants), the chhanchua families live in the workplace according to their wish. The houses are spread out in different directions of the workplace. A particular space is given to the chhanchua family for brick making, drying and for accommodation. In AP, the chhanchua group first makes the raw bricks, which are used for the construction of temporary low-roofed and thatched houses in the worksite where they stay. One chhanchua household stays in one house, which basically comprises of one room.

Food

The migrant households purchase the daily provisions from the nearby market once a week as in case of Barang. As the rate of rice is high, they purchase low grade rice and by its consumption, they suffer from dysentery and different nutritional deficiency diseases. In Andhra Pradesh, the migrant women face problems to consume food. From the discussions with the migrant women, it is revealed that they eat one type of

broken rice (the migrants call these Kanaki) which is available @Rs 5/- to Rs6/- per kg in the market. As they cannot afford to purchase good quality rice in the market, they purchase such type of rice meant for feeding hens in Hyderabad. Not being habituated with such type of food, most of the women suffer from diseases like diarrhea and dysentery. In the village, they are acquainted with water rice which keeps their body cool, but in the worksite, due to acute sun and low grade rice consumption, they constantly feel fatigued to work.

The migrants are provided with water facilities in the worksite which is used for making bricks but which is not suitable for drinking purposes. In AP, the brick-kiln factories use the polluted discharge water from the factories for making bricks and the migrant workers suffer from various skin diseases and colic by using such water.

Health status of the migrant women

The health status of the migrant women is generally weak due to their low economic status. In addition, in the changing environment at the migration site, the food habits, water, sanitation and the workload adversely affect the health of the migrants. They are affected by different diseases like diarrhea, dehydration and fever frequently. The factory manager provides medical treatment to them in case of sickness in the nearby hospitals but that is not adequate. The migrant women do not have money to purchase nutritious food and good medicines to recover early. In addition to this, in order to avoid the scolding of the manager and loss of wages, the women migrants start work even before fully recovering from any sickness as they have to complete the target within a due period. As this process is continued several times over and over again, they become chronic patients, which become severe after coming back from the migration place to their native village.

Availability of government facilities at the worksite

All the respondents of Bolangir and Nuapada told that no facilities from the government side are provided to the migrants at the work site. As they do not have any insurance or registration, on death, the owner of the brick kiln or the government gives no compensation to their family.

The PDS entitlements are not transferable from their native village to the worksite and hence they have to buy the provisions from the open market. The rate of rice, kerosene etc is high and the migrant families end up spending all the weekly earnings in the purchase of food items. Mother and child care facilities are also not available and the migrant families do not get any benefit under the ICDS in the host location.

Problems of migrant women

- Adjustment problems- The women go to other states or another district within Orissa, and have adjustment problems in the new surroundings. The women do not know Hindi and Telugu language and it is very difficult for them to communicate with others. Within Orissa, the women from the districts of Bolangir & Nuapada speak a dialect which is different from that of the Barang area. Language becomes a major hurdle. Climate and food habits change in the host area and the migrants are affected by the alien socio- cultural milieu.
- Loss of status - The migrant women are looked down upon in their own community and village. There is a perception of loss of status. On return to their own village after the migration season, these women do suffer from alienation and a decline in self esteem.
- Health hazards - Due to hard work and consumption of low grade rice, the migrant women suffer from stomach related ailments very frequently. It affects specially the pregnant women to a great extent. Hard work results in frequent fever and poor health condition, which increases the incidences of maternal mortality rate and low birth weight children. Even the pregnant women do not get any ANC facilities such as iron tablets and maternity care in the work place. Even after return to their village, the women feel fatigue and have ill health and hence are unable to work for about two months. Overall the health status declines as a result of migration and repeated migrations are a serious health hazard for the women.
- Exploitation- While traveling by train or at the brick-kiln factory, the migrant women are mentally and physically exploited. They cannot and donot express/ reveal anything in the new place due to the fear of loosing the

work for themselves and for other members. Back in the native village, the dalal forces them to suppress the issue. Instances of abuse and/or sexual exploitation do not get addressed in the host area or their native village.

- Lack of social net- As the dalals, who give advance money, are not available in the worksite later, there is nobody to whom the migrants can express their problems, sorrows and anxieties. They can not express these to the owner of the brick kiln due to language problem. So they keep silent and tolerate the physical and mental pain. Community neighbourhood feelings are preserved in case of migrants from one particular area living together in the host location. However in the absence of any elderly person or any priest on whom the villagers have faith, in case of any crisis, the migrant women are at a loss to tackle the situation. Taking care of small children is also a major problem as the mothers work in the brick kilns and there is no specific crèche facilities to take care of the young ones. The absence of family elders is also felt in this case.
- Child care – Child care at the work site is a major challenge for the migrant women. In the absence of any day care facilities, they normally keep their children under the trees under the custody of other children while working. They get abused and scolded when they have to leave work for a short time to feed the children. In the absence of any social networks such as family and friends, the children are left to fend for themselves while the mothers work.
- Government facilities- Government facilities are not transferable to the new location. PDS entitlements are not available. Reproductive health care and ICDS facilities for the children cannot be availed by the mothers in the migrated place. For the period of migration, all facilities are foregone by the women and children who migrate.

Women Headed Households

Out of the 100 women respondents, our study concentrated on 20 women (10 from each district) whose husbands have migrated to other places and these women have headed all responsibilities of the family in their native village.

In Bolangir district, the husbands of all 10 women have migrated to the brick kilns of Andhra Pradesh (Hydrabad) where as the husbands have gone to Raipur in case of the women headed households of Nuapada district. They leave in the month of October & November and come back in the month of April & May every year.

As their husbands are absent for 6 to 7 months, the women manage the house and family through their own production and wage labour. The production of rice is manageable for 2 to 3 months only. The only other alternative for the women is wage labour, but it is not available in the village after paddy harvesting season. On the other hand, in Matibuha work (NREGA), they hardly get 10 to 15 days work during the year in the Bolangir district but in Nuapada district, the women respondents have not got work at all. If work is available in the nearby areas, these women are unable to go. In addition to this, collection of forest products i.e. mahua flower and kendu leaves is another income source of the women from which they get about Rs 200/- to Rs 300/- annually. So, in the absence of the male members of the houses, the women face various economic and social problems some of which are as follows:-

1. In the absence of her husband, the woman/ wife manages the household with much difficulty. At the time of departure, their husbands normally give them Rs500/- to Rs1000/- for expenses which is highly insufficient to manage. After spending this money, she meets the economic needs in the following ways:
 - By selling paddy at the time of distress and again purchases the rice when necessary.
 - By taking loan from the landlords, which will be repaid by her husband on return, as shop keepers do not give credit.
2. She is dependant on others to fulfill the daily requirements of food etc but often gets cheated.
3. For schooling of the children, the expenditure on books and clothes is high, for which she has to take loan from others. But sometimes, due to delay in purchasing books, the education of the children is disturbed. There is drop out.
4. In all matters, she has to depend on others and it is not possible on the part of others always to give support. So there is a feeling of alienation and depression.
5. As the parents-in-law are old and dependent on her, she faces problems to take care of them in addition to the children.

6. For the health and education of her children, she has to face difficulties alone.
7. Overall she is faced with difficulties in the absence of her husband due to lack of money, lack of wage labour to support the family needs, lack of security etc.
8. At times of urgency, she faces difficulties to contact her husband, as the Dalal do not communicate the message. They cannot directly establish contact with their husbands.
9. Cheating and exploitation by the money lenders, labour contractors etc is very common.

According to Abani Panigrahi, Lok drushti, Nuapada, the SHG has been romantised. SHG may help in empowerment of women, social mobilization and collective productivity but not in poverty eradication. The Women headed households rarely are able to capitalize on the SHG as a social safety net.

Situation of old parents

In our study the total number of old parents covered are 85, which is 14.11% of the total population. The study reveals that it is very difficult for the old parents to live alone. In this stage every parent seeks the help, love and respect of their sons and daughter-in-laws. They are psychologically depressed in the absence of their sons and other family members. There is no communication with their migrant sons for 6 months or more. The old parents living alone have to face all the difficulties all by themselves. Their grieves are as follows:

- As the sons and daughter-in-laws have migrated, there is nobody in the household to take care of them. They have to depend on the neighbours even for preparing food, purchasing food items and other materials etc.
- At the time departure, their sons give them some amount (within Rs 500/-) for their maintenance for six months which is quite insufficient. Due to old age, they are neither able to do any work nor can they earn money for their sustenance.
- During sickness, they take the help of the neighbours by taking money from them.

- They are very anxious to know about their sons, but nobody can establish contact with their sons. Even the village agent who is only the contact person cheats them.
- Availing Old age pension also becomes a tedious task as there is nobody to take them to the Panchayat office or the Block office.
- Social communication is a major problem and the old persons are left on their own to fend for themselves.

Impact of migration on children

The children of the migrants are affected socially and emotionally. Overall there are two kinds of scenarios which have emerged in case of migration.

In one situation, the children migrate with their parents. In such a situation when their mothers work in the brick factories, they stay in the temporary home near the workplace. There is nobody to look after them and they wander here and there in the new place. The small babies are kept in the custody of the older children. Even the mothers are afraid to feed their small babies by stopping work. Both the mothers and the small children are physically and emotionally exploited. The children in the migrated location are not in a position to continue their education. The dropout of school children is a direct impact of migration. Those children, who migrate with their parents, discontinue their schooling for 6 months and after returning home, they continue in the same class. It is found that the children are continuing for three to four years in the same class. Language problem and non availability of schools at work site debars such children from continuing their schooling in the migrating location.

In Bolangir and Nuapada district, all the migrant households are engaged as chhanchuas, where the children are also included to make a team of 3 to 4 persons. In order to be able to make more bricks and thereby get more money, the families use their children in the brick making process. Child labour is found extensively in the brick kilns such as in Barang. Thus there are many children who accompany their parents to the brick kilns, end up working along with the family members. The payment is as per the output i.e. number of raw bricks laid out in a week and often the whole family including the children are in the job for more productivity.

The children suffer a lot at the time of sickness in the working place. Though the owner of the brick kiln gives medicine to the children, but does not allow leave to the mother, in case of children's sickness. So, the child is deprived of the mother's care at that time.

In spite of the difficulties, the women say,

“Here there is no work in the village. If we live here we cannot get food for surviving. How can we get food for our children? Secondly the contractor here is not paying us our money properly. We get only Rs Rs25 to Rs30/- per day or at times even less. So we prefer to migrate. Thirdly, if we have suffered any chronic disease or if we have taken loan for marriages, we need to migrate for the repayment of the loan.”

On the other hand only a lucky few have parents and relatives with some source of income, with whom the children are left behind when parents migrate. Gender discrimination is evident when it is seen that most often than not, it is the boys who are left behind in the native village to continue studies etc while the girls are taken to manage the house, cook etc. Also the safety of the girls without the parents around in the village is a matter of concern and hence they accompany the migrating parents.

Gross child rights violations is evident whether in education or health & nutrition or in work. Deprived of their childhood and education, the children of the migrating parents are in the same path as that of their parents.

Some initiatives such as the community managed residential schools are visible which is trying to ensure continuation of education of the children who donot migrate along with their parents. With part support from district administration, these schools are a boon for the children. (Refer Case study 5) In some instances, temporary schools have also been established in the migration site for the children accompanying the migrant parents.

Failure of legal measures

The different stages of migration from the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada violate the following laws and Acts –

- Interstate Migrant Workmen Act 1979
- The Child Labour Prohibition and Regulation Act 1986
- Workmen's compensation Act 1923

- The Bonded Labour System Abolition Act, 1976
- Minimum Wage Act 1948
- Contract Labour Act 1970

The awareness level on the Inter state Migrant Act is very poor. No Labour officials seem to be aware about it.

Some positive measures

Registration of labourers- In 2003- 04, a total of 234 migrant contractors have registered in Bolangir district.

Insurance - About 3500 migrants have been covered under Janata Personal Accident scheme (insurance).

Education of children - For the continuation of education of the children of the migrant families, 28 Migrant labourer Residential schools has been opened. Each school has an intake capacity of 40 students.

Labour societies- With the help of SHGs, 110 labour societies have been constituted.

Focus Group Discussion
Impact of migration on women in Bolangir and Nuapada district

During the field study, focus group discussions were conducted in 2 villages (Ghanmahul village of Bolangir and Khamtari village of Nuapada district) in which there were about 15 to 20 participants.

The participants were

- old women whose children have migrated
- young married and unmarried women who have migrated earlier
- women whose husbands have migrated
- general women

In the FGDs, the discussion matters concentrated on the impact of migration on women and children in their social and economic life.

The impact of migration on women is very critical. It is associated with irregular remittance; it tends to enhance the physical, financial and emotional burdens on the women. Rather than empowering them, it has led to food shortage, indebtedness, overwork and illness. In some cases it has also resulted in physical violence, kidnapping and prostitution.

Economic Impact

In the absence of the male members in the family, the women suffer economically in the Women Headed households. The advance money given to the migrant households is utilized to repay the loans, debts and a very small amount is given to the wife. It is the responsibility of the woman to maintain the family. There is no monthly remittance from the husbands and the women heading the households who stay back have to struggle for fooding, clothing, education, health expenses. Social obligations i.e. marriages, death, cultural functions of the family are fulfilled by these women in the absence of the male head for six to seven months annually. In dire straits, the women have to borrow money from relatives or others. Even, sometimes, due to lack of money, they have to

borrow money from others like a beggar. In such miserable financial condition, the children's education is mostly cut short; old parents are deprived of medicines etc.

To meet the family expenses, the women do go for wage work but it is not available after the cultivation period. Whatever work is available, it is predominantly done by the male members of the villages. The wages of the work is very low (Rs20/- to Rs25/-). Due to arid weather conditions, drought and lack of water facilities, kitchen garden, and livestock rearing or any other home based activity is rarely undertaken. Infact the women sell the goats, hens and utensils to meet the urgent needs of the family.

For the women who migrate, income generation is possible in the short run but it does not lead to economic independence or an improvement on the status of migrant women. They have no control over their own income. As family income is taken into calculation, individual income has no relevance. There is heavy workload at workplace and the work environment is stressed, living condition is not good. They also need to perform the domestic activities, childcare and health care after working in the brick kiln factory which doubles their workload.

Social Impact

For the women headed households, the absence of male members the women are alienated and feel a loss of identity. As the husbands are away, no body gives them any importance. For example, they are ignored while getting BPL rice, other items on time.

Dependency on others

In the absence of the husband or sons, the women and old parents depend on others in every matter. In case of purchasing basic necessities, health, education of children, they need the help of the others. But it is not always possible that the others are ready to do so each and every time. Frequent dependency on others has created bad social relations among the households. So the women are always alert about these issues and always try to do the work by themselves.

Health status

Due to continuous work in the sun and lack of sufficient food, the women migrants frequently become ill. The employer provides medicine to them, but does not give them chance to take rest. On the other hand, continuous work without rest during sickness leads to further ill-health and suppression. The pregnant women and small babies suffer much at the migration place. They are deprived of immunization, ANC and other facilities. Hard work during pregnancy make the women migrants very prone to complications or even still births. ICDS facilities are not transferable and there by the migrant women cannot avail any benefits.

Violence

The migrant women have been engaged in prostitution etc in some instances in Raipur. There have been cases of kidnapping, molestation of the women who travel in the over crowded trains to Hyderabad. The young girls who migrate are also at risk. The parents are constantly worried about their safety. In the event of the women staying back, the women headed households are in perpetual struggle emotionally, financially and also socially. The mental agony of managing the household single handedly takes a toll.

Case Studies

Case study-1 (Old woman in the village)

Dhana Jagat, Age-65, Village- Khamtari, GP- Deojhar, Block-Khariar and Dist-Nuapada

Dhana Jagat, aged 65 years widow lives in Khamtari village of Nuapada district. She has three sons, two daughter-in laws and 3 grand sons and daughters. She has 0.30 acres of paddy land from which the household produces 5 khandi paddy per annum. Her husband is dead since the last 6 years. When her husband was alive, she herself used to migrate to Raipur along with her husband for 5 to 6 years continuously. Due to continuous hard labour there, today she is suffering from backbone pain. At present, due to old age, the pain is acute and constant, and she is unable to work and move anywhere. At present, her two married sons, daughters-in-law with their children and one unmarried son have migrated to Raipur for working in the brick kiln from October. At the time of the migration, they had given Rs 500/- for maintaining the family for six months. She also gets Rs 200/- per month as widow pension from the Block office. So, she is managing the family, social functions with this amount at any cost and if necessary, she borrows money from others and that will be repaid by her sons after return from Raipur. For daily survival, she has to depend on neighbours for cooking, purchasing food items and other materials etc. The neighbours are busy with their own work, and sometimes she is unable to cook food and has to sleep without food during sickness. She is very depressed today but knows that her sons will leave her as it is a matter of livelihood for the household.

Migration is a matter of survival and has trans generational presence. Young women who had migrated in their youth are left behind today when old, as their children migrate. There is no social net for the old. Widows are especially vulnerable facing food insecurity, burdened with old age and its health problems.

Case study -2 (Women headed household)

Mangara Majhi, Age - 28 years, Village – Khamtari, Block- Khariar, District – Nuapada

Mangara is a widow living in Khamtari village of Khariar block of Nuapada district. She has only two sons aged 6 years and 4 years. She lost her husband, Tilichand Majhi, two years ago in Hyderabad. In the year 2005, Mangara had gone to Hydrabad with her

husband and two sons for brick shifting (buhali) in the month of November. The household had taken advance of Rs2200/- from Sardar. At that time, they were getting Rs 25/- for shifting of 1000 bricks and Rs80/- for food per week. Three weeks after coming to Hyderabad, her husband had fever and was unable to work. The brick kiln owner gave medicines to him and forced him to go for work. So her husband worked for 3 to 4 days continuously without any rest. When her husband was severely ill, Mangara asked the owner for advance for medical treatment of her husband in the hospital. But the owner denied. So she contacted the sardar at the village to collect money from the house. In the village, as the household had no money, the old parents sent Rs 7000/- by selling paddy land and collection from the neighbours. Mangara with the help of other Oriya workers shifted her husband to CT hospital at Hyderabad, but he succumbed within a week. The owner did not give any monetary help for returning back to the village. After the funeral ceremony of her husband at Hyderabad, she returned home with her two small children. At present she has two pura of agricultural land from which she is getting 8 khandi paddy per annum. She is with her old father-in-law and husband's elder brother. To maintain the family, she is doing wage labour for two months in a year and she has not got job card. She is also getting widow pension of Rs 200/- per month. Today she is confronted with an uphill task of raising her two children.

Women migrants have to face hardships all alone in the migration site and there is no provision for compensation to the widow/wife in case of loss/injury of husband or rehabilitation of the widow/ wife either by the employers or Government.

Case study -3 (Woman with Disabled Husband)

Sunaphuli Nial, Age- 22 years, Village – Kuibahal, District – Bolangir

Sunaphuli Nial, 22 years old, is an illiterate married woman of Kuibahal village of Bolangir district. She is living with her husband, Kalpania Nial, her mother-in-law and brother-in-law who has migrated to Hyderabad. Four years ago, just after marriage, Sunaphuli, had gone to Hyderabad with her husband and sister-in-law for brick making. Just after four months of staying there, due to some emergency, her sister-in-law had to come back home with Kalpania. After leaving the Hyderabad station, some anti social persons/gundas came to the compartment and tried to take her sister-in-law away. As Kalpania protested and tried to rescue his sister, the gundas threw him out of the

compartment and kidnapped his sister. He fell from the running train, and was senseless. Later Kalpania discovered himself in the hospital after some Oriya migrant workers rescued him. His legs were cut off by the running train. After staying for four months in the hospital, he came back to village with his wife. At present, Kalpania is using artificial legs which helps only for mobility. He is not able to work any more. He is receiving disable pension of Rs200/- per month. His sister is missing till date. Though he has registered a case with the police, there has not been any progress. Some local NGOs are trying to help him by engaging him in some income generating activities. Today Sunaphuli is trying very hard to cope with reality. Belonging to OBC caste, she is unable to work outside the village. She works in her husband's own field and also as a wage labour within the village at the time of transplanting and harvesting. In the summer season, she collects forest products. Her father and brother are forced her to leave her husband and return to her natal village, but she has stuck on with her disabled husband. The household has no BPL card. Today it is major struggle for survival. With all the dreams of a better future having crashed, Sunaphuli is managing her disabled husband, and her own life.

Migration has its dangerous accompaniments such as kidnapping, violence, disability. Women are affected the most due these impacts of migration. There is no insurance on loss of limb, no compensation and rehabilitation provision. There is sexual exploitation of women and no police action is taken on cases of kidnapping of migrant women.

Case study -4 (Family migration)

Agni Bag, aged 38 years women has come to Usha Brick kiln factory, Barang with her husband, two sons, daughter-in-law and grandson since November 2006 and will stay till April 2007. She has come from Sahipala panchayat of Nuapada district. This family is working as Chhanchua and all members are engaged in this work. According to her lack of wage labour in the local area and low wages in any type of work and that too irregular has forced the whole family to migrate to Barang from November. Regarding the benefits of migration, she said that advance money facilities, work for the all members of the family and possibility of savings. This household has come through a middleman from the village and was given Rs7,000/- as advance for the marriage of the elder son. So all the adult members of the household are working to repay the advance money and save something for future. The household has no agricultural land for their sustenance. There is no particular timing for work for the chhanchuas. They work from 6AM to 11AM and then again from 3PM to 10 PM at night. This family generates near

about 10,000 bricks in a week against which they get paid Rs 150/- per thousand including Rs 500/- (Rs 100/- per head). So the income of the family per week is Rs 1000/- and per month is Rs 4000/- only. As the family is staying for 6 months, the total amount that the family will get will be around Rs 24,000/- from which Rs 7000/- will be deducted as repayment of advance and the family will save the rest amount of Rs 17,000/- to meet the household subsistence in future. Regarding the problems facing in the migration site, she highlighted that due to the absence of Sardar (middlemen) who contacted them to come here for a long time, the migrants can not get any information of their native villages. The migrants are worried to go back to their places or to get the final payment of the rest amount from the owner of the brick kiln factory.

All members of a family – adults as well as young, are compelled to migrate after the harvesting season. Migrants suffer from psychological trauma. Net savings from the migration process is limited but it keeps them above the starvation levels and carry out some social activities. Women members are given due respect as another working hand on an equal standing for their earning capabilities.

Case study 5 (Children affected by migration)

Vikalpa run Residential Care Center (RCC) at Hial Village

Vikalpa runs 44 RCCS in the district of Bolangir. These operate during the months of October to April during the peak migration period. Supported by Sarva Siksha Abhijan, this center has a capacity of 25 students. Now there are 10 girls and 15 boys living in the age group of 6–14 years. The parents of all the children have migrated to Hyderabad brick kilns. The children go to the near by school in the village and live in the RCC. The children are happy here and at least there is continuation of education. There is no drop out in the event of the migration of the parents. This RCC has been running since the last 3 years and there has been over whelming response from the villagers. While the children are safe and happy here, the parents too are only too willing to leave them in the RCC.

Migration affects the children adversely and good initiatives are welcome to arrest school drop out of children in the event of parents migrating. Child labour can also be stopped.

Case study –6 (Migration of young unmarried girls)

Kamala Majhi, Age – 17 years, Chhata village

Kamala is an unmarried girl who is managing the house. With her father dead and mother slightly mentally deranged, she is finding it very hard to survive. She has no land. She is living with her sister and brother. She had gone to Andhra with other villagers in the month of November and returned in the month of June in 2005. She was paid mere Rs 1000 at the end of June along with the weekly food expenses. She was working more than 9 hours daily. She was totally at the mercy of the relatives and could not raise her voice in protest. Now she is back at home and working as a wage labourer but wanting to go again to Andhra during the lean season.

Many young girls migrate with their relatives for work. Afflicted by poverty they try to save the money earned for their own marriage and better future.

Case study 7 (Child migrant)

Jogeswar Salma (student), age 12 years

Jogeswar had gone to Kessonna (Rangareddy district of Andhra Pradesh) with his family in 2005. He used to work with his father in the brick kiln. However he was able to go a school from 10 am to 3 pm which was managed by the Manadal Parishad, Kessonna (AP); Action-aid and S.S.A. Now he is back in his own village Muribahal but able to get readmission in the local school on the basis of the certificate given in AP. In the later years he has not migrated with his family but is open to the idea of migration. He says on growing up, he may be doing the same work like his father

Child migration is a reality and disruption in schooling can be minimized to a large extent by schools in the migration location.

Voices

Laxmidhar Rath (Labour officer, Nuapada)

The migrant labourers are facing many problems outside the district and as well as outside the state. The migrant labourers don't know their rights. Also they don't register their names in the labour office.

Laka Mohapatra (Journalist, Samaj, Nuapada)

More than 1 lakh labourers from Nuapada are migrating every year.

Abani Panigrahi (Chief, Lokdrishti NGO, Nuapada)

As per the study done by Lok drushti, about the migrants labourers of Nuapada district (5 blocks), 10131 persons have migrated out of which 4853 are women.

A.V. Swamy (Director, VISWASS NGO, Nuapada)

Cottage industry should be emphasized to give employment to the locals. This will help to arrest migration.

Niladri Adbang, Panchayat Samiti member, Agrean Panchayat, Nuapada

We has motivation and wish to go to the meetings of the Panchayat in the first and the second year after being elected but now we don't want to go. Only politics of the contractors is being discussed. The Brahmins of the near by slums have their monopoly and intimidate us. The contractors of the village are exploiting our people at lower wages. When we need money for marriage or death ceremony, the contractor is paying us advance. That is why people prefer to migrate for better income to repay the loan.

Satyabati Sahu, Sarpanch, Rajana panchayat, Nuapada

More then 200 families had left from Rajana panchayat without any registration. The people don't want to register their names because they think that if they are registered then the panchayat will not allow them to go outside.

Basant Kumari, Sarpanch, Jhagrahi Panchayat, Nuapada

Many people of the village have gone outside to work and they don't want to do the work of the village because of low wages.

Bidyadhara of our village is a migrant labourer. We wanted to stop him but he did not agree and said that the money which he had borrowed due to her daughter's marriage cannot be repaid working here. He wanted Rs 15,000/-.

Ranendra Pratap had sent his two sons to Bhubaneswar for higher studies for which he borrowed a large amount of money and could not return. He wanted Rs 10,000/- so that he would not go out. As it was not possible to arrange such a large sum, he went as a migrant labour.

Jayaram Meher (Social Activist & President of the Sarvodaya, Nuapada)

There is no work in the village. Many people have no agricultural land. The people are able to arrange their food for 3-4 months only. They have to go outside for work in the other months.

Inspector of Police, Komana

Many people from the Komana Block are migrating. But we are not able to do anything because not a single case is registered.

BDO, Komana Block, Nuapada

Migration has become a tradition but now due to NREGA, the people will get work in the village and the programme has already started.

Saraswati Sagaria, Sarpanch, Ghunesh Panchayat, Bolangir

There is no employment here and so people are going outside for work. The BDO has asked to make a list of the persons who have gone outside and also compile a poster for awareness. People are taking loans for many reasons - for marriage of daughters, for Indira Awas etc. They do not have the capacity to repay. People have no land and hence agricultural productivity is absent. During drought, they have to go outside for labour.

Nityananda Sagaria, Tureikela Block, Bolangir

People are facing problems when they go outside. Others are not able to understand this. The contractors are not giving them proper money and the workload is more. But the people go outside as they receive a large sum at a time as advance. This is the only reason. One cannot stop them.

Gurubari Sabar, Sarpanch, Badabanki Panchayat, Tureikela block, Bolangir

Many people of the villages are going outside for work. We have been giving work to 20% of the people under NREGA. We are giving job cards to all in our panchayat. Some people are complaining before us that they are not receiving the wages on time. So the people prefer going outside.

Budu Hans, Activist, Tureikela block, Bolangir

The area is a drought prone one. If we get food for 6 months, for the next 6 months we have to live without food. Also there is scarcity of water. There is no bore well system. No drinking water is available. About 250 people depend on 2-3 tube wells. We have to go 2-3 kms for drinking water, for bathing we have to go 1km. From where do we bring water for cultivation? We have to depend upon the nature for all our needs. So if there is no rains, then we have no work, no food. Then the people are going outside for the work.

Tikeswar Behera (contractor), Muribahal

Binod Kumar is my main contractor. I had sent 40 members of 9 families to Andhra. I got Rs 300 per family from Binod Kumar. I don't know how much the main contractor received.

Labour commissioner (Bolangir)

People are searching for work and hence they migrate to places where they get slightly better wages.

Laba Mahananda, Dadan agent, Ward member of Ghana mahul (Bolangir)

I have registered as an agent on my own. I am eligible to take 20 migrants for 3 brick making owners in AP. But there is high under reporting.

Sanjay Mishra, Vikalpa, Kantabanjhi

Migration can be arrested only if there is a political will. As the migrants are not a political constituency, their agonies will not be solved. There is a lot to be done under NREGA for stopping distress migration.

List of the Interviewees (Nuapada)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Designation/ Occupation</i>
Laxmidhar Rath	Labour officer, Nuapada
Laka Mahapatra	Correspondent, Daily Newspaper “Samaj”
Abani Panigrahi	‘Lokdrusti’ (NGO)
A.V Swamy	Director “VISWASS” (NGO)
Niladri Adbang	P.S Member, Agrean Panchayat
Satyabrati Sahoo	Sarpanch, Rajana Panchayat
Dayaram Meher	Social Activist and President Utkal Sarvodaya Mandal
Police Inspector	Komana Police station
Basanta kumari	Sarpanch, Jhagrahi panchayat
Sanjay Mishra	Vikalpa, Kantabanji
	Kantabanji Railway Station master
Laba Mahananda	Ward member, Ghana mahul

List of the Interviewees (Bolangir)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Designation/ Occupation</i>
Gurubari Sabar	Sarpanch, Badabanki
Budu Hans	Medical practitioner and activist.
Saraswati Sagaria	Sarpanch, Ghunesh Panchayat
Nityananda Sagaria	Ex- chairman, Tureikela
Jogeswar Salma	Student
Tikeswar Behera	Contractor
	Labour commissioner, Bolangir

Chapter 4

Conclusion & Recommendations

In conclusion the findings of the study are as follows-

- ***Objective - Define survival migration in the context of women***
- ***Objective - To investigate migration and its causes in the study area – inter state or intra state***

Migration is a basic human right. Freedom in mobility, right to livelihood is enshrined in the Indian Constitution which enables the citizens of the country to move. However the migration from the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada in Orissa is characterised by the following features- distress migration and distress in migration. Here people migrate due to multifarious reasons but primarily as an escape mechanism from poverty, indebtedness, droughts, non availability of work etc. This migration occurs as a survival strategy and not a step for better livelihood options. There is distress in the migration too as the working conditions in the work site are no better. Long working hours, meager payment, no health care facilities, no PDS facilities affect the migrants negatively. But still migration is considered a better option as there is no work in the lean agricultural season back at home, labour contractors advance money needed for festivals etc, and the formal system does not have any scope for personal loans etc. Non payment of minimum wages, under payment and irregular payment has driven thousands of families into distress migration.

In the tribal belt, agriculture is dependent on nature and monsoons. If the rains are good one year then the agriculture productivity is also good. Some families have large agricultural land and some people have no land at all. Those who are land less become migrant labourers. Today the even landed families have become migrants in the aftermath of repeated droughts and no irrigation. There is no scope for employment in the village. Many people have taken loans for their daughters' marriage and some for their child's education or if there is a death in the family. Loan repayment is the main cause for migration. Building of the Indira Awas house is another main cause of people taking loans. For the health problems of the family, land is mortgaged and the families

have to go as migrant labourers. Those who work as wage laborers in the village get a meager Rs 25-30 per day with which they have to manage for the whole year. Due to poverty, they have to take loans from the money lenders to manage the deficit. In some cases, it is seen that the people go outside the state for labor to enhance their income to meet the children's' needs. The formal credit system has no scope for fulfilling the personal needs of the villagers. The Contractors and their agents in these circumstances dole out advances to the needy which is repaid through migration.

Land mortgaging is a common phenomena in this area. People do not hesitate to mortgage land to take care of marriages, health expenses, festivals such as Nuakhai, Bhai jiuantia etc. The formal money lending system does not take care of these personal provisions which force the people to go money lender and dalals for quick loans and advances. Migrating in the lean period enables them to repay as working in native village is not available then. The seasonal migration ensures that the families have food security for the 6 months that they are away as there is no other option but to starve if they stay back in the native village.

Earlier it was the landless and poorest of the poor who used to migrate but today even the families with land holding are forced to migrate. Irregular rainfall, repeated droughts, un availability of irrigation facilities, lack of incentives of improving land conditions and productivity are the causes due to which families with even 5 acres of land are found to migrate.

Families from the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada migrate to locations such as the brick kilns of AP and within Orissa such as Barang. The history of migration dates back to 1960s when the males from the villages of the district of undivided Bolangir migrated to Raipur to become rickshaw pullers. The 1980s saw the exodus towards the brick kilns. Today, mass migration of villages after villages where the whole family migrates is a reality which goes on unabated. AP is the destination from where the contractors have spread their tentacles into the remotest of the villages in the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada. Within Orissa, it is the brick kilns at Barang, Kalinganagar that attract the families. However poverty continues even with migration and the notion that migration alleviates poverty is a myth.

In the context of women, in the first place women migrate with their husbands or fathers reinforcing gender stereotyped roles and norms. Women continue to bear the double burden of household activities as well working in the migration site. In the event of women migrating alone with other women, the issues of exploitation and gender based discrimination is very high. Poor working conditions and wage disparity has its impact on women's health. For the women headed households, the impact of migration is immense as they have been forced to take on all responsibilities of the household in the absence of the migrating husband whereby they are also more vulnerable to further exploitation and marginalization in their local area. Thus for women who have migrated or who have stayed back heading their households, migration is due to vulnerable and marginal condition in their own area and its impact creates further gender disparity. Women may be in a position of earning equally like that of men in the case of migration, but still they are affected by gender prejudices, stereotyped roles and double burden.

- ***Objective- To assess the impact of migration on women's security in the context of work, food, health, violence***
- ***Objective- To investigate the condition of the female headed households created due to migration***
- ***Objective- To study the changes in women's work due to migration***

Women migrating for work are not unusual – mostly with husbands or other family members. The cause/ reasons of migration are the same.

The impact due to migration on women is specific to the contexts- economic, social and at times even physical. The impact of migration on women is very critical. It is associated with irregular remittance; it tends to enhance the physical, financial and emotional burdens on the women. Rather than empowering them, it has led to food shortage, indebtedness, overwork and illness. In some cases it has also resulted in physical violence, kidnapping and prostitution. Vulnerabilities of unmarried adolescent girls are high as they are prone to be trafficked.

80% of the women of the age group of 26 to 40 years are found to migrate to the different places. About one third of the migrant households are landless and they depend on agricultural and non-agricultural wage labour. For the households which have a sizeable amount of land, it is unsuitable for cultivation due to it being high land, or due to low rainfall etc.

The women are deprived to get any wage labour in the villages. In case of the non-agricultural wage labour, there is very limited opportunity in the nearby areas. Collection of forest produces is another source of income of the migrant households. Though the forest produces are limited, still many women are engaged in collecting mahula, tula, kendu leaves etc.

Overall the causes of migration of the women are same as that of the men but the context is subsumed within the family dynamics. The identity of women is within the household's identity and the decision of migration is one that is taken by the male head of the family, usually the husband and the wife has to follow.

The women migrant workers face many difficulties during the journey from the village to the work site whether within Orissa or outside. Setting out from their homes with cloths and utensils on their head, they have to walk on foot for several kilometers from their village to the railway station. As there is no direct train to the destination, the migrants have to travel by 2 or 3 trains for which it is very difficult for them to shift and they have to wait on the platforms with the luggage and the accompanying children. As there are limited numbers of general compartments in the train, these get over crowded with the migrants women, men and children. Often the other passengers harass the women in the train and platform.

All the women migrants are not aware about the registration of their names in the District Labour office (DLO). Neither the Dalal nor the DLO or the Panchayat take the responsibility for registration. Very few migrant labourers are registered in any case.

The working condition at the work site is no better. The wages are paid after the completion of work. In case of brick making, the wages are given to the family i.e. male household head. There is no individual payment to the working members of the family.

The woman contributes for the family making bricks but the remittances are accrued to the male head. The woman does not get a chance to get her part of the remittance. The migrant woman has no scope of ownership on the value of her labour input towards the family income.

Gender roles has a strong presence in the working condition in the brick kilns. Though the migrant woman is an essential and critical part of the chhanchua family, she still is not entitled to her own individual remittance. The productivity takes family as an unit and the woman's contribution gets absorbed within it.

In the work-site, though the owner of the brick kiln factory and the other staff do not directly give any physical torture to the women, but indirectly they are responsible for the following woes:-

- Compulsory work for 12 to 16 hrs everyday
- Hard work resulting in frequent fever and poor health condition
- Working under the sun resulting in fatigue
- Language abuse while taking rest in case of illness or during pregnancy

However, while traveling to and back from the site of work, women have been subjected to molestation, rape and even kidnapping.

The health status of the migrant women is usually weak due to lack of food and low economic status. In addition, in the changed environment, the food habits, water, sanitation and the workload badly affect the health of the migrants. They are affected by different diseases like diarrhea, dehydration and fever frequently. The pregnant women and small babies suffer much at the migration place. They are deprived of immunization and other nutritional benefits at the migration site.

The women headed households are confronted with many social, economic and psychological issues. In the absence of the male members in the family, the women headed households suffer economically. The advance money given by the agents is utilized to repay the loans, debts and a very small amount is given to the wife by the

husband before leaving. It is the responsibility of the women to maintain the family for the 6 long months when the husband would be away. There is no monthly remittance from the husbands. The women heading the households who stay back have to struggle for fooding, clothing, education, health expenses. In dire straits, the women have to borrow money from relatives or others. Even, sometimes, due to lack of money, they have to beg for money. In such miserable financial condition, the children's education is mostly cut short; old parents are deprived of medicines etc. To meet the family expenses, the women do go for wage work but it is not available after the cultivation period in any case. Whatever work is available, is predominantly done by the male members of the villages.

Social obligations i.e. marriages, death, cultural functions of the family are fulfilled by these women alone. The women heading the households in the absence of their husbands are faced with immense mental agency. They are socially marginalized. As the husbands are away, no body gives them any importance. For example, they are ignored while getting BPL rice, other items on time.

Overall migration affects women in a myriad of ways. Firstly the women migrants themselves are affected within the process of migration- economically, socially particularly in health aspect, psychologically and also in extreme instances physically and sexually. The women heading the household who stay back in the event of their husbands migrating have a different social and economical connotation. Left to fend for themselves, the children and old parents, the impact of migration on these women headed households are complex.

The impact of migration on children either of migrant families or of women headed house holds is a matter of great concern. Gross child rights violations is evident whether in education or health & nutrition or in work. Deprived of their childhood and education, the children of the migrating parents are in the same path as that of their parents. Child labour is found extensively in the brick kilns such as in Barang. The children who accompany their parents to the brick kilns are engaged in the work along with the family members as most of the families from Bolangir and Nuapada who migrate are chhanchuas and there is a need of many helping hands. The payment is as per the

output i.e. number of raw bricks laid out in a week and often the whole family including the children are in the job for more productivity. The dropout of school children is a direct impact of migration. Those children, who migrate with their parents, discontinue their schooling for 6 months and after returning home, they continue in the same class. It is found that the children are continuing for three to four years in the same class. Language problem and non availability of schools at work site debars them from continuing their schooling in the migrating location.

The impact of migration on old women is also deep. With the whole family migrating or only the sons, the old women left behind in the native village have to encounter many challenges both socially as well as economically. The old and the infirm are not in a position to take care of themselves and without the support of their sons and the families; their survival itself becomes a major problem. The old in the women headed households are still in a more disadvantaged situation.

- ***Objective- To assess the access of women to Government schemes on poverty alleviation implemented to stop migration***
- ***Objective- To undertake a critique of the existing laws and mechanisms to prevent migration***

There seems to be no political will to address the problems of the migrants. The migrants are not a political constituency and not potential voters and thus this does not make their issue attractive. There is no public policy with regard to migration either at point of origin or at destination.

The migrants loose their voting rights at the migration site and as such they have no political voice either in their native or in their work place. This is a very disempowering process which could lead to a political crisis.

No specific intervention has been done to provide work at their village itself. NREGA is still at a nascent stage of implementation. Infact the NREGA has been a non starter till date with only a small % of population having got job cards and even fewer who have been given jobs. Under NREGA (Nuapada), only 90 families have got job cards out of 180 families in Ghana mahul but not a single day's work has been done last year. In

Bolangir only 10 to 15 days work during the year has been done. If work is available in the nearby areas, these women are unable to go. In the study, 42.5% of the total women respondents have remarked that the scheme is being implemented in their villages. But in Nuapada district, only 10 out of 80 respondents replied that NREGA is being implemented. Overall, the coverage under NREGA is scarce and within it the women's participation is very negligible.

Migration prevention mechanism is non-existent. Panchayat functionaries seem to be apathetic. Registration of migrants is not done and only due to the intervention of some NGOs, mobility record keeping is done in the village level. None of the women respondents in the study are aware about the registration of their names in the District Labour office (DLO). Neither the Dalal nor the DLO or the Panchayat take the responsibility for the registration. Even the DLO has no records of the numbers of migrant households, where they go, what type of work they do, how much they get in the working place on gender-disaggregated data basis. Very few migrant labourers are registered in any case. A negligible number of the labour contractors are registered in the concerned DLO. The whole system of the labour movement is illegal and informal.

There is corruption involved also as admitting large scale migration from the districts would mean under-utilization of PDS items. As the PDS, ICDS facilities are non-transferable, the migrants do not get any facilities at the migration site and also lose the benefits in the native village for the 6 months that they have migrated. PDS is native residence based which debar the migrants from availing any benefits at the migration site.

As far as laws and Acts are concerned, the different stages of migration from the districts of Bolangir and Nuapada violate the following –

- Interstate Migrant Workmen Act 1979
- The Child Labour Prohibition and Regulation Act 1986
- Workmen's compensation Act 1923
- The Bonded Labour System Abolition Act, 1976
- Minimum Wage Act 1948
- Contract Labour Act 1970

The awareness level on the Inter state Migrant Workman Act is very poor. No Labour officials seem to be aware about it. Monitoring on the ISMW Act is very poor. There are very few cases filed and even fewer cases are prosecuted. In the year 2000-01 and 2001-02, only 95 and 53 cases have been filed out of which 7 and 13 cases have been disposed respectively.

The migrant men and women do not have any insurance or registration, and hence on death, the owner of the brick kiln or the government gives no compensation to the kith and kin left behind. Though expenses for medical treatment are given by the employers in some case, there is no system of medical expenses reimbursement. All such remittances are unorganized, sporadic and informal and case to case basis.

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Objective- To provide recommendations on the subject</i> |
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Recommendations have been given with a focus on two kinds of objectives. One is the basic objective of eliminating distress migration in the first place itself so that women are not compelled to migrate and are not marginalized and bear the dual vulnerability of being women as well migrants. The other objective is to empower the women migrants and make migration safer.

A. Recommendations to eliminate distress migration of women

Immediate Action

- NCW to take up a Public Hearing in the area which is affected by distress migration
- Dissemination at State and National level on study findings for advocacy with Policy makers, Government officials, Media, Academicians and People's Representatives.
- Building Networks of local NGOs/ CSOs, in the migration prone areas.

General Long term and Comprehensive at National Level

- A political will is required to tackle the problem of distress migration.
- Ensure sustainable livelihood at place of origin of migration/ native village.
- Supplementary source of income for women should be enhanced and strengthened.
- Policy at National Level and State level is required for the prevention of distress migration and a Law specific to migration with focus on women taking into consideration the emerging issues such as Women headed Households.
- Policies of Migration, Trafficking, labour and Employment guarantee to be interlinked.
- Policy based on Rights of women and justice.
- Structural Changes at National and State level down to block level: Inter departmental coordination: Labour; Women & child Development; Law, Rural Development.
- Task Forces: At National, Regional, State and District level.

Regional Strategy

- Coordination of policies and agencies linking sending and receiving states.
- Monitoring Committee composed of both states headed by a woman.
- Education credits for students be transferable.
- Name transfer in ICDS, PDS, Health, Education schemes/ programmes for availing facilities.

Action Plan for the State Government (Orissa)

- Set up a task force to monitor migration and also its prevention: Headed by woman with 50% members being women. CSO, NGO, academics, Government officials and legal aid service providers should be members in this Task Force.
- Implementation of registration of labour contractors at the DLO.
- State rules with regard to the Acts to be formed with inclusion of women's needs.
- New Executive statutory order for mandatory registration of labour contractors.
- Pilot project of registration of migrants on gender disaggregated basis at the Panchayat level.
- Enforcement of NREGA and monitoring by Task Force on gender disaggregated basis.
- Formulation of State Policy for Women.

Specific recommendations to prevent migration

Livelihood

- Sustained availability of work at the grass root level.
- Conservation of forest resources, revival of traditional water supply system should be taken up to increase the productivity.
- Irrigation facilities should be provided so that the production of 2 crops can be done.
- Minor and Micro Irrigation facilities along with renovation of traditional water harvesting systems should be taken up.
- Distress paddy selling should be avoided by giving correct price.
- Sukhbasis and marginal farmers should be included in the various labour works in the village.
- Employment opportunities should be created at village level to check migration.
- SHGs should be made sustainable and the members should be given intensive capacity building, marketing linkage facilities etc.
- Supplementary income facilities from NTFP to be strengthened.

Social

- Land reforms and Land rights for women should be implemented.
- SHGs should be a strong unit of social safety net.

Legal/ Administrative

- Amendment in Relief Code should be done to include drought in mandia, jhari etc. (production in aat land).
- There should be transparency and better PDS facilities.
- There should be transparency and improved system of identifying the BPL beneficiaries. Corruption should be eradicated in the preparation of BPL.

Social benefits

- Government facilities like PDS, IAY should be available regularly.

Wages

- Wage facilities should be available within the locality for 8 months. There should be no wage disparity on the basis of gender.
- Actual minimum wages should be provided irrespective of gender.

Credit

- The highly coercive and exploitative money lending system should be curbed.
- A system for addressing the personal money requirements of the poor women should be established at the Village level or Panchayat level
- Rural banking system should assess the personal needs for loans of the landless and marginal farmers and specifically the women and devise a system of advancing loans for personal needs with out collateral security.
- Thrift credit through the WSHGs should be made more secure.

Self employment

- Overall capacity building, marketing linkage, training of members etc of the Women SHGs should be done so that women are able to earn a sustainable amount through out the year from the SHG activities.

Structural

- A Nodal agency should be established/ identified at Block level, District, State and Regional level to monitor migration. There has to be specific mandatory periodic review.
- Task Force at the State, Regional level and State level to have a convergent approach with representatives from Govt departments such as Labour, Women & Child Development besides CSO, NGO, legal professional, academics.

B. Recommendations to empower migrant women and make migration safe

Awareness

- Legal rights awareness campaigns for the migrant women should be done by the administration, CSOs, academia for their capacity building to tackle discrimination, exploitation and violence
- Transportation system such as railways and trucks have should be made aware about illegal migration.
- Media should take a proactive role to make the women migrants aware about exploitation
- Exit points such as railway stations, bus stands should display the legal rights of migrants and risks of migration
- Pre migration sensitization / orientation of women migrants should be done by the Administration, CSOs, NGOs etc about legal rights, legal aid service, labour laws and complaint redressal mechanisms

Rights

- There should be special provisions to ensure continued voting rights.
- Women migrants should be given paid maternity and other reproductive health benefits.
- Paid leave should be given.

Facilities

- Special trains for migrant labourers and special compartments in trains for women migrants should be provided during migration season.
- Migrant women should have safety and security at Bus stops and Railway stations.
- Protection from violence should be provided for.

Administration

- Strict record keeping and monitoring of labour migration through the District labour office should be done on gender dis aggregated basis.
- Registration of labour contractors and elimination of informal labour contractor system should be done.
- Annual survey of migration & Census of labour migration on gender dis aggregated basis should be taken up
- PDS facilities should be transferred to the migration site
- Complaint redressal system/ mechanism to curb the exploitative system at the migration site should be established at migration site as well migration prone area.
- Temporary ration cards should be given at the migration site to meet their basic nutritional needs.

Legal

- Inter State Migrant Workman Act should be implemented.
- ISMWA should be suitably amended for efficient implementation in a gender sensitive perspective.
- Equal wages for equal work for both men and women should be enforced
- Labour laws and Acts should be enforced through monitoring by local agencies such as NGOs, Trade Unions and Labour Departments
- Set up special courts

Role of PRI

- Palli sabha and Gram rakhis should be involved in registration of migrants and mobility record keeping of the village. ASHAs, ANMs and AWWs should be involved in migration registration. Periodic compilation at district level of such records should be done.
- Identity card of the migrants to be issued by the Panchayats give full details of native village and emergency help address

Political

- The migrating families should be given facilities to cast their votes during elections at the migration site.

Social nets

- There should be a network with women's organizations and agencies among the supply and host states/districts for complaint redressal of women migrants
- At Migration site compensation should be provided to the family in the event of death/ injury etc
- Insurance coverage of the migrants should be done
- Health and education facilities for children whether formal or non formal at the migration site should be provided by the administration and /or CSOs
- Health care facilities for pregnant and lactating women migrants under ICDS at migration site should be provided
- Adult literacy programmes/ Night schools for women at migration site should be established so that the women have functional literacy levels
- Community kitchens at native village for the old and infirm left behind should be established
- Community schools for the children who donot migrate should be established in the cluster of villages affected by migration.
- Community social security networks should be provided for the protection and safe living of the Women headed households
- At native village WSHG activities for the Women headed households should be strengthened.
- Networks of women migrants should be established at the local village as well as the migration site for hand holding.
- Trade unions of migrants women should be formed.
- Share cropping among the women headed households should be promoted.

Areas of Further research

- Impact of NREGA on curbing migration in general and specifically of women
- Study on the status of women migrants in the migration site
- Inter linkages of distress migration of women and trafficking
- Issues and problems of the women headed households
- Migration of women and the laws of protection
- Impact of migration on the girl child
- Migration and its impact of old aged women

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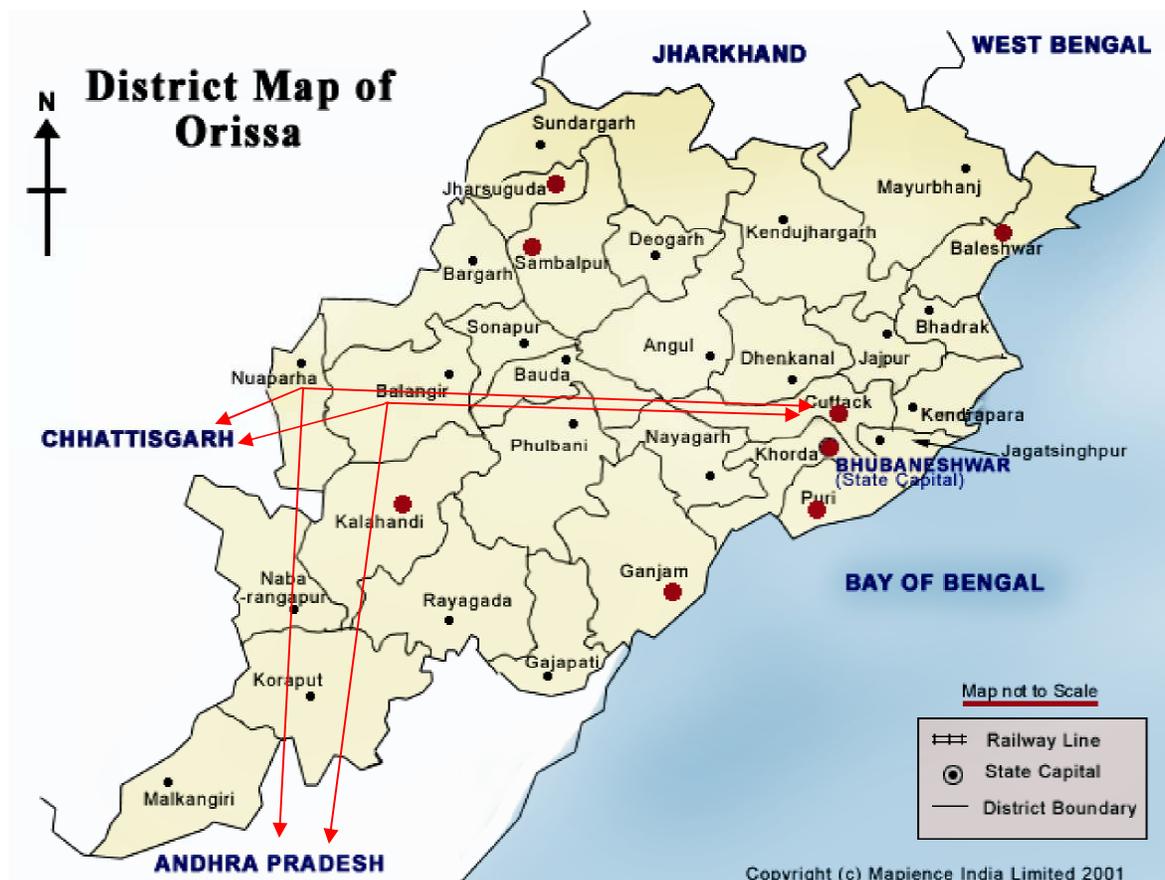
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Map 1- Orissa map



District Profile

	BOLANGIR	NUAPADA
General Information		
Area in Sq. Km	6575	3258
% of total population	4.22	2.47
CD Blocks	14	5
Towns	4	2
Demographic Particulars (Census 2001)		
Population		
Total	1337194	530690
Males	673985	264396
Females	663209	266294
% of Urban Population	11.5	5.7
% of SC population	16.9	13.6
% of ST Population	20.6	34.7
Population in the age group 0-6 years		
Total	191674	84521
Males	97431	42927
Females	94243	41594
% of 0-6 population to total population	14.3	15.9
Decadal Growth Rate		
1981-1991	15.94	19.56
1991-2001	8.6	13
Population Density		
1991	187	122
2001	203	138

Overall Sex ratio		
(Females per 1000 males)		
1991	981	1002
2001	984	1007
Child sex ratio		
1991	976	999
2001	967	969
Literacy Rate(7+), 2001 Census		
Combined	55.7	42.0
Males	71.7	58.5
Females	39.5	25.8
Female work participation rate 2001		
	28.4	36.8
% of girls marrying below 18 years	57.7	42.5
% of pregnant women with any ANC	68.6	79.5
% of Institutional delivery	13.3	7.2
Vital Demographic indicators		
Infant Mortality Rate 1991	101	108
Crude Birth Rate 1998	29	29.9
% of Rural population below poverty line 1993-1994	20.2	28.2
HDI (rank)	21	14
GDI	16	9

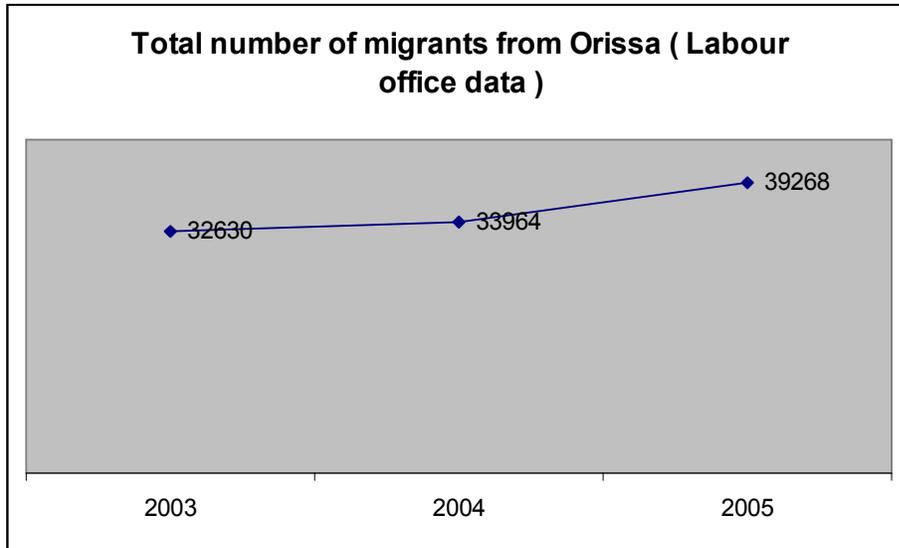
District migration data

SI No.	Name of the District	2003	%	2004	%	2005	%
1	Angul	20	0.06	44	0.13	99	0.25
2	Balasore	20	0.06	20	0.06	NA	NA
3	Baragarh	NA	NA	15	0.04	47	0.12
4	Bhadrak	210	0.64	375	1.10	387	0.99
5	Bolangir	10250	31.41	11345	33.40	12806	32.61
6	Boudh	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
7	Chatrapur*	NA	NA	NA	NA	4967	12.65
8	Cuttack	215	0.66	215	0.63	235	0.60
9	Debagarh	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
10	Dhenkanal	135	0.41	135	0.40	180	0.46
11	Gajapati	55	0.17	70	0.21	70	0.18
12	Ganjam	5064	15.52	5679	16.72	1988	5.06
13	Jagatsinghpur	285	0.87	15	0.04	15	0.04
14	Jajpur	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
15	Jharsuguda	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
16	Kalahandi	20	0.06	91	0.27	126	0.32
17	Kendrapada	140	0.43	140	0.41	170	0.43
18	Keonjhar	75	0.23	155	0.46	175	0.45
19	Khurda	13582	41.62	12854	37.85	14328	36.49
20	Koraput	100	0.31	100	0.29	100	0.25
21	Malkangiri	NA	NA	NA	NA	30	0.08
22	Mayurbhanj	NA	NA	50	0.15	100	0.25
23	Nabarangpur	390	1.20	470	1.38	540	1.38
24	Nayagarh	323	0.99	373	1.10	422	1.07
25	Nuapada	515	1.58	525	1.55	785	2.00
26	Phulbani	NA	NA	11	0.03	136	0.35
27	Puri	1086	3.33	1127	3.32	1307	3.33
28	Rayagada	85	0.26	85	0.25	60	0.15
29	Sambalpur	40	0.12	40	0.12	165	0.42
30	Sundargarh	20	0.06	30	0.09	30	0.08
31	Sonepur	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Total	32630	100.0	33964	100.00	39268	100.00

Source- State Labour Commission, BBSR

*- Chatrapur is not a district.

Graph 1



QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name :
2. Head of the household
3. Village - Panchayat Block District
4. Marital status : Married/ Unmarried/ Widow/ Divorce
5. Social Group : SC/ ST/ General
6. Religion : Hindu/ Muslim/ Christian/ Other
7. Land Holding : Own/ Share/ Landless
- 7a. Land holding (size):
8. Occupation :
9. Income (Rs) : Self Income monthly:
Husband Income monthly:
Annual Income:
Family Income:
10. Total Members of family : Male Female..... >60 Years.....
11. Type of Family : Joint / Nuclear

GENERAL

12. Have you ever gone outside for any work? Out of district/ out of state.
13. When did you go : Every year/ Frequently/ Present Year
14. From which month do you go out?
15. How do you know about availability of work outside?
16. How do you travel : Bus/ Train/ Others
17. Who pays for the Travel : self / Contractor
18. Through whom do you go : Contractor/ Village Agent/ Out-side agent
19. With whom do you go ?
20. Do you register your name in the nearest district labour officer when you go out? Yes/ No
- 20a. If no then why?
21. When do you return from work?
22. Why do you go outside for work : More Income/ No work in the Village/loan repayment
23. From have you taken any Loan : Contractor/ Village

WORK PLACE

24. What type of work you do in that place -
25. Is there any danger in the work place -
26. How many hours do you work in a day -
27. How much do you get on a daily basis -

28. How do reach your work place daily–
29. While you are working, do involve your children in the work –
30. If yes, do they get payment for that work.
31. At the work place do you face any type of Violence –
32. If faced, by whom & what type –

SOCIAL SITUATION

33. As a labourer, what type of facilities do you avail there?
Housing / toilet / Drinking water / others/ all/none
34. Do you get any facilities for health related problems at the working place?
From Company / From govt
35. In case of accident in the working place, do you get emergency treatment?
36. Do you avail any govt facilities at the work place?
37. Is the NREGA (National Rural Employment Guarantee Act) formulated in your village?
38. If yes, then why are you going outside rather than working in the village?
39. What provisions/ steps at village will stop you from going outside?
40. How do your children study there?

FOR THE WOMEN HEADED HOUSEHOLDS

41. Where is your husband working and what type of work?
42. Since when has he gone from the house?
43. How do you manage the house?
44. Do you have any income or do you depend on the husband' income?
45. What type of difficulties do you face in the absence of your husband?
46. Are you a member of any SHG?
47. When does your husband send money? Monthly/Quarterly/At the time of return
48. Have you got any work from the NREGA?
49. Have you got Indira Awas in the village?

UNMARRIED WOMEN MIGRANT

50. What type of work do you get outside?
51. Do you get equal wages with that of the male labourer?
52. Have you ever been compelled by the contractor/ Factory owner/any other male to do vulgar activities?
53. Is any of your village friend still working outside?
54. If yes, then why?
55. After returning, have you been affected by any HIV AIDS or any such diseases?
56. Do you take the consent your parents when you go outside for work?

OLD PERSONS LIVING IN THE VILLAGE

57. Who takes cares for you?
58. Do you get old age pension?
59. Have you got any work in NREGA ?
60. Do your children send you money?
61. If yes, then when? Monthly / Quarterly / Time of return

CONCLUSION

What are the difficulties that you face when you go outside for work?

Date:

Signature

PHOTOGRAPHS

1- Women migrants and their children with Sansristi team



2- Jegeswar and Salma – the migrant child labour



3- A migrant labour and her children of Sanbahal village



4- Migrant women working in the brick kilns of Barang



5- Housing sheds of the migrant families near the brick kilns in Barang



6- Children of the migrants roaming and working in the brick kiln area



7- Sunaphuli (migrant women with her disabled husband)



8- Children of the migrant families in a Residential Care Center



9- Participants of Focus Group Discussion at Ghana mahul



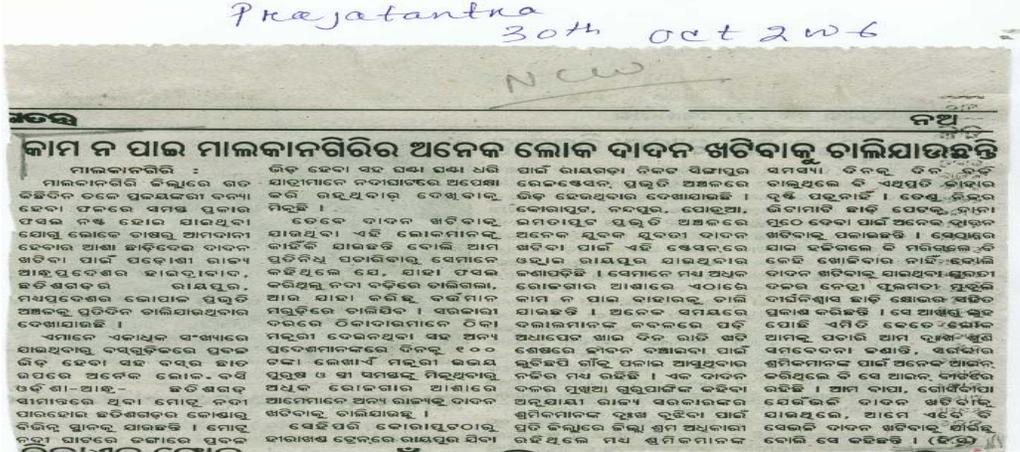
10- Participants of Focus Group Discussion at Khamtarai



11- Chhanchua family at work at Barang



3- Migration from the district of Malkangiri due to lack of work



4- Causes of migration.



5- Migrant labourers are rescued.

