FROM *PARIVAAR* TO *PATHURIA*: A STUDY ON WOMEN MIGRATING FROM ODISHA TO BRICK KILNS OF HYDERABAD

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in partial fulfillment of the award of Ph.D degree in
Centre for Women's Studies, School of Social Sciences**

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **"From *Parivaar* to *Pathuria*: A Study on Women Migrating from Odisha to Brick Kilns of Hyderabad"** submitted by **Bagmi Priyadarshani** bearing **Regd. No. 11CWPG09** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in **Gender Studies** is a bonafide work carried out by her under my supervision and guidance which is a plagiarism free thesis.

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DECLARATION

I, **Bagmi Priyadarshani,** hereby declare that this thesis entitled *"From Parivaar to Pathuria***: A Study on Women Migrating from Odisha to Brick Kilns of Hyderabad"** submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of **Prof. K. Suneetha Rani** is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/ INFLIBNET.

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DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS

Smt. NIVEDITA BEHERA
&
Shri. BHAGABAN BEHERA

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The present thesis focuses on women who migrate to work in the brick kilns and aim to achieve better lives. An attempt is made to comprehend migrant women's struggles, challenges and impact of migration on their lives. Migrant women workers come out of their homes to find employment but even at the worksite they are overwhelmingly funnelled into domestic chores with lack of protection, and low wages. Having to juggle between their work which they need to survive and their household responsibilities, migrant women struggle during their phase of migration to get recognised as workers.

1.1 Context of the Study

Migration is associated with the process of movement of people. Migration results in a shift of population from one place to another and from one work to the other. There are various kinds of migration depending on the flow, number of people involved and the reasons for their movement. Migration is usually regarded a male phenomenon and is therefore considered to be gender neutral. However, the fact remains that migration is always associated with gender and the effects of migration are different for men and women.[1]

Migration has increased the participation of women in the labour force and their mobility has increased on par with men. Migrant women contribute immensely to the growth and improvement at the destination while the source village also benefits greatly from the migrant women's financial transactions, skills and exposure to new culture,

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[1] International Organisation for Migration, "Migration and Gender," Section 2.10, accessed on January 10, 2016, http://www.rcmvs.org/documentos/IOM_EMM/v2/V2S10_CM.pdf .

beliefs and ideas. However, women whether they migrate or stay behind are confronted with many challenges and obstacles. Women are subjected to exploitation, vulnerability, increased responsibilities and uncertainty. Migrant women encounter many changes with respect to their gender roles and responsibilities, decision making, mothering and socialisation challenges, assimilation into new cultures and practices etc.

The present study attempts to understand the condition of women in migration in the context of seasonal brick kiln migration. Women migrant labourers working in brick kilns are drawn from the most backward districts of the country from the state of Odisha.[2] Majority of these women are from marginalised communities.

This study would contribute towards understanding migrant women's challenges, their decision making capacities, role reversal, issues of domesticity and child care, their participation in work and their contribution to family etc. The study will also contribute to the existing literature on brick kiln migrants in India from a gender perspective and can also act as a reference point for any future initiatives taken up in this area.

The title of this thesis chooses to focus on *parivaar* and *pathuria* as most migrant brick kiln workers migrate with their families and mediators/owners make contracts/ agreements with migrant families so that men, women and children in a family migrate and are employed in different capacities with different kinds of work allotted to them. Also, the migrant site constructs family spaces that are constricted and monitored. Although there are a few instances of single women migrating, majority of women migrate as part of a family. This thesis discusses pre-migration, during migration and

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[2] Aide et Action, "Incidence of Child Migration in Western Odisha," Migration Information and Resource Centre, (2009): 4.

post-migration status of women, especially in terms of gender roles. In the context of brick kiln migration, *parivaar* refers to family at the origin villages and *pathuria* refers to a work unit or a family unit recruited at the destination to work in the kilns. So, *parivaar* and *pathuria* interwoven in migrant lives become nuanced metaphors to discuss women migrant brick kiln workers.

1.2 Defining Migration

Migration is largely associated with movement of people for livelihood and better life. Migration is also recognised as one possible adaptation strategy wherein people migrate during the time of distress and need. Migration has been a historical phenomenon which involves movement between two cultures that is migrants' culture of origin and their culture at the destination. This assimilation leads to the enrichment of culture, diversity and the emergence of vibrant cross cultural landscapes.

In order to recognise the magnitude of migration and the repercussions it might have for both the sending as well as receiving countries, the Human Development Report, 2009 chose the theme "Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development". The report has explored how better policies towards mobility can enhance human development. It also explored the reasons for migration and the impact of migration not just on the host community but also on the migrants themselves and the extent to which better policies at the local and national level can yield large results for people at either ends.[3] According to the International Organisation of Migration, "migration" is the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across

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[3] Human Development Report, "Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development," (2009), accessed May 4, 2013, http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2009_EN_Complete.pdf .

an administrative or political border, with the intention of settling indefinitely or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin. Added to it, the motivation to migrate can include both push (land fragmentation, environmental degradation, loss of livelihoods, political situations etc.) and pull (better employment opportunities, globalisation, development etc.) factors. Migration can also be categorised as temporary and permanent defined by the duration of stay at the destination.[4]

1.3 Defining Migrants

A migrant is a person who moves from one place to another in order to find work or better living conditions. According to Article 2 of the UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants, a migrant worker is defined as:

> A person, who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national. The definition also goes on to state that the term migrant can be used to describe a person only where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of 'personal convenience' and without intervention of an external compelling factor.[5]

1.4 Internal Migration

Internal migration is the movement of people from one place to another within a particular country. Alternatively, it can be defined as "A population shift occurring within national or territorial boundaries, often characterised by persons seeking labour opportunities in more advantageous areas". No doubt the phenomenon of internal migration is in fact growing by leaps and bounds in developing countries and India is no

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[4] International Organisation of Migration, "Essentials of Migration Management for Policy Makers and Practitioners," accessed May 4, 2015, http://www.rcmvs.org/documentos/IOM_EMM/resources/glossary.html.
[5] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, "Migrant/Migration," accessed December 12, 2010, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/socialandhumansciences/themes/socialtransformations/international-migration/glossary/migrant/.

exception to it.[6] According to Srivastava and Sasikumar (2003), internal migration numbers in India run into millions, while international migration is only a fraction of this. Internal mobility is critical to the livelihoods of many people, especially tribal people, socially deprived groups and people from resource-poor areas.[7]

The National Commission on Rural Labour (NCRL) puts the number of circular migrants in rural areas at around 10 million (including roughly 4.5 million inter-state migrants and 6 million intra-state migrants).[8] However unofficial figures put the total migration in India as 30 million. In addition to this, according to the NSSO 55th round 1999-2000, there were nearly 10.87 million short-term migrants of whom 8.45 million were residents of rural areas, of whom 3.06 million were women and 5.39 million were men.[9] However, the Census of 2001[10] provides several interesting records on the complex nature and pattern of migration in India. During the decade of 1991-2001, the number of migrants in India (excluding Jammu & Kashmir) rose by 32.9% and the total number of migrants by place of last residence in India (excluding Jammu & Kashmir) grew by 34.7% during 1991-2001. Some of the details that are reported by the Census of 2001 are:

a) High growth (53.6%) of interstate migrants.

[6] "Internal Migration," *Eionet Gemet Thesaurus*, accessed July 5, 2012, http://www.eionet.europa.eu/gemet/concept?ns=1&cp=13325

[7] R. Srivastava and S. K. Sasikumar, "An Overview of Migration in India, its Impacts and Key Issues," Paper Presented at Regional Conference on Migration, Development and Pro Poor Policy Choices in Asia, (2003), quoted in Priya Deshingkar and Sven Grimm, "Voluntary Internal Migration: An Update*,"* ODI, UK, (2004): 7.

[8] National Commission on Rural Labour, "Report of the Study Group on Migrant Labour*,"* Government of India, Ministry of Labour, Vol. II, Part. II, New Delhi, (1991), quoted in Narendra Kumar Behera, "Circular Migration: A Reflection from KBK Districts, Odisha," *Political Economy Journal of India,* (2015).

[9] R. Srivastava and S. K. Sasikumar, "An Overview of Migration in India, its Impacts and Key Issues," Paper Presented at Regional Conference on Migration, Development and Pro Poor Policy Choices in Asia, (2003): 4.

[10] The Census 2011 data on migration is not available in detail to supplement the 2001 Census data on migration.

b) 43.8% moved due to marriage, 21.0% moved with their families, 14.7% migrated due to work, 6.7% moved after their birth, 3% for educational purposes, 1.2% for business and 9.7% specified other reasons.

c) About 42.4 million migrants out of total 65.4 million women migrants cited marriage as the reason for migration. The most important reason behind migration for 12.3 million out of 32.8 million total men migrants was work/employment.

d) During the decade of 1991-2001, out of the urban growth of 30.3%, 6.6% was accounted for by migration to urban areas.

e) Migration streams during the last decade: i, Rural to rural migration within the country is 53.3 million ii, Rural to urban migration is 20.5 million iii, Urban to rural migration is 6.2 million iv, Urban to urban migration is 14.3 million.[11] The world migration report 2008 puts the number of internal migrants in India at 42 million.[12]

1.5 Unorganised Sector and Legal Entitlements

Migration is associated with the informality of work that migrants do. Before moving on to the legal entitlements that migrants can avail, it is essential to discuss the informal sector in which most of the migrants work. The growth of formal employment in the country has always been less than that of total employment, indicating a faster growth of employment in the informal sector.

For instance, NSSO Employment Data for 55th and 61st rounds (for 1999-2000 and 2004-05 respectively) and the NCEUS (2007) explain that the country is currently in a state of "informalisation of the formal sector" where the entire increase in the

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[11] Census of India, "Census 2001," accessed April 11, 2013, http://censusindia.gov.in/Tables_Published/D-Series/Tables_on_Migration_Census_of_India_2001.aspx.
[12] Aide et Action, "Children in Brick Kilns: A Multi-Location Study in Five States," Migration Information and Resource Centre, (2011): 1-35.

employment in the organised sector over this period has been informal in nature. The informal sector has become a competitive and low cost device to absorb cheap labour. Poor human capital base of the labour force in terms of education, skill and training has resulted in lower mobilisation and bargaining strength of the workforce. This has led to vulnerability and exploitation of the workforce. Informal sector is characterised by lower wages, poor working and living conditions, excessive seasonality of employment, casual and contractual employment, informality, atypical production organisations and work relations, absence of social security measures and welfare legislations, negation of social standards and worker rights, denial of minimum wages and so on. It is observed that any attempts to regulate and legalise the informal sector have led to the low absorbing capacity of the sector.[13]

A large section of unskilled and seasonal workers get accommodated in the informal sector and it is imperative that these workers should be covered under social security benefits to improve their working conditions. The International Labour Organisation's concept of social security is based on the recognition of the fundamental social rights guaranteed by law to all human beings. The International Labour Organisation defines social security as "the need and protection of workers against sickness, disease and injury arising out of their employment, pension for old age and protection of the interests of the workers".[14] Many laws have been put in place in India to provide social security measures to workers and to safeguard their rights. India is a founder member of the ILO and has ratified 37 of the 181 conventions. Trade Union Act

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[13] "The Unorganised Sector in India," accessed on April 17, 2014, http://www.fedina.org/777/2011/10/unorganised-sector-in-India.doc.

[14] International Labour Organisation, "Constitution of the International Labour Organisation," accessed on April 10, 2013, http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/leg/download/constitution.pdf.

of 1926, The Minimum Wages Act of 1948, Employees State Insurance Act of 1948, Bonded Labour Systems (Abolition Act) of 1976, Equal Remuneration Act of 1976, the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986, Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Services) Act of 1979 etc. are some of the laws that were made to protect rights of the workers.

Considering the type of work migrants are engaged in, it is more essential to discuss social security schemes because the migrant workers are not only deprived of social security measures but also fail to get access to other protection measures like pension schemes, public distribution system, BPL card benefits etc. This is because of the nature of work they are engaged in, which is unorganised in nature. Moreover, the benefits of the PDS and BPL card can be availed of only when the migrants have stability of residence and proof of social relations as the defining factors to back upon which is not possible in case of migrants who move far to earn a livelihood. In addition to all the policies and acts discussed above, the Government of India provides for protection of migrants under many other existing legislations and policies.

1.6 Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Services) Act of 1979 (ISMW Act,'79)

The system of employment of inter-state migrant labour also known as *dadan* labour/ *sramik* is in vogue in Odisha and in some other states. This system is operated by sardars and khatadars who recruit labour from various parts of the state and labourers are sent to far off places to work in construction industry and brick kilns. At the time of recruitment, it is promised by the sardars that wages will be calculated on the basis of piece rate and

the wages would be settled every month. In contrary once the workers come under the clutches of the sardars they are in fact forced to work without having any fixed working hours, and under harsh conditions. Workers are subjected to severe malpractices and harassment. It was only in 1976 that the question of protection and welfare of Dadan labour was considered by the twenty-eighth session of the Labour Ministers' Conference held on 26th October, 1976 at New Delhi. However, it was only in 1979 that the Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Services) bill, 1979 was introduced in the Parliament.

Some of the key provisions of the act are listed below:

a) The proposed legislation will apply to every establishment in which five or more inter-state migrant workmen are employed or were employed on any day of the preceding twelve months. It will also apply to every contractor who employs or employed five or more inter-state migrant workmen on any day of the preceding twelve months.

b) Registration of all principal employers/contractors employing migrant labour.

c) No contractor can recruit any migrant labour without obtaining license from the appropriate government.

d) Issue of passbook affixed with a passport sized photograph of the workman indicating the name and the place of the establishment where the workman is employed. The period of employment, rates of wages etc. for every inter-state migrant workman have to be mentioned in that passbook.

e) Payment of minimum wages fixed under the Minimum Wages Act 1948 guarantees payment of equal wages for inter-state migrant workmen performing similar nature of

work along with the local labourers, payment of journey allowance including payment of wages during the period of journey, payment of displacement allowance.

f) Provision for suitable residential accommodation, free medical facilities, protective clothing etc.

g) Appointment of inspectors by the appropriate government to ensure that the provisions of the legislation are being complied with.

h) Provisions regarding industrial disputes in relation to inter-State migrant workmen.

i) Deterrent punishment has been proposed for the contravention of the provision of the legislation.

These provisions are to be complied with for the protection of rights and welfare of inter-state migrants or Dadan sramiks.[15] However, the existing act is fraught with gaps. There is no mention of any specific labour code for informal workers. Moreover, seasonal migration does not help the labourers to learn more about their rights and entitlements. Migrants' lack of communication and interaction with people at the destination hinders them from participating actively in any trade unions. Migrants are not part of any labour unions that can provide them support and negotiate for their rights. There is sheer absence of systemic effort and prevalent laws are also ineffective. The Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 is in place to provide safeguards and security to seasonal migrants but the existing Act does not make any references to prevalent legislations of our country and as a result of this migrants are broadly covered under the

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[15] Labour Department Haryana, "Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979," accessed on January 15, 2014,
http://hrylabour.gov.in/docs/labourActpdfdocs/Inter_State_Migrant_Act.pdf.

Migrant Act but fail to avail of any protection provided by the laws of the land. Seasonal migrants are not covered under the purview of Payment of Wages Act, 1936, Maternity Benefit Act, 1961, Minimum Wages Act, 1948 and Factories Act, 1948.

1.6.1 Loopholes in the application of the ISMW Act, 1979

The above discussion reflects the importance of Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 and the various provisions enshrined in it. However, there are loopholes in the application of the ISMW Act, 1979 which prevent the law from protecting seasonal migrants who migrate in large numbers to brick kilns.

For effective implementation of the Act, a machine operated manufacturing unit has to employ at least 10 people to be called as a factory and a manually operated manufacturing unit has to employ at least 20 people to be called as a factory. An existing and operating factory should follow these standard rules prior to registration under the Act. However, the supervisors always bring people less than the specified number so that their unit is not eligible for registration under the Factories Act and other regulations. A factory should be registered under the Factories Act, 1948 to be eligible for coverage under the provisions listed in ISMW Act, 1979.

The major stumbling block here is that the Factories Act, 1948 is not applicable to the seasonal establishments or enterprises. Hence, brick kiln establishments are not registered under the Factories Act, 1948 and are left outside the purview of ISMW Act, 1979. In such operating units the role of a trade or labour union is extremely important but migrants find it difficult to access or discuss with any such organisations. Migrants do not find time to engage in labour union activities. Supervisors prevent seasonal migrants

from forming labour unions or groups to discuss about issues related to wages and basic facilities. Moreover, because of poverty and increasing debts people are forced to take advance and are even forced to work under crammed conditions. Migrants are strictly monitored in brick kilns and are restricted from forming unions.

A major blow to this form of migration is that the brick kiln workers do not fall under the category of bonded labourers nor are they made to work forcibly. In this form of work there is an element of choice and willingness. However, the conditions under which kiln workers are made to work are similar to bonded labourers. Work in the brick kilns provides a new paradigm where there is an element of choice and an existing contract. In addition to this, one of the highlighting points is that labour laws have no place for family members who work in the kilns. They talk about each individual worker only. This is considered a dilemma because if the man, woman and the child are considered as separate workers, their minimum wages would be more in comparison to the total amount taken as advance.

In case of brick kiln migration, the relationship between workers and owners are not governed by law at all. The owner can only deduct a specific amount of money towards repayment of advance and not more than that. However, it is not similar in all the kilns. In case of registration also supervisors tend to escape from the legal procedures. For example, if 20 workers are needed for the registration of the kiln and the workers, the contractor purposefully would take one person less than the specified number so that the group does not get registered under the law.

Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 has been a huge failure in case of seasonal migration. ISMW Act, 1979 does not work like the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976. There are no rescue or rehabilitation provisions enshrined under the Act. Integration of legislation is missing in the case of this Act as this does not tie up with other legal Acts. ISMW Act, 1979 calls for an intensive handling of the law by the state. The state should enquire whether kilns are registered or not. Sarpanches at the village level should be mobilised so that proper enquiry and registration of the workers can be done. This could prevent the missing of workers. Minimum Wages Act, 1948 can be used in collaboration with the ISMW Act, 1979. Engagement of workers in brick kilns should be done on the basis of Minimum Wages Act. Payment of advance to the workers has to be done against the setup of a proper wage strategy.

Having discussed the concepts that come under the broad area of migration, I will now zero down on the specific area that has to be understood and analysed. Brick kiln migration is a seasonal form of migration that usually is undertaken during the times of distress as a "coping strategy" for people who are suffering from the pangs of indebtedness, poverty, hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy and ignorance. This study focuses on the migration from some of the most backward and underdeveloped districts of Odisha where governmental initiatives and willingness have failed people. It is important to understand the situation of migration in Odisha to begin with.

1.7 Area of the Study

Koraput-Balangir-Kalahandi (KBK) region of Odisha is considered to be one of the poorest regions in the country. As per 55th NSS survey conducted in 1999-2000, poverty in this area is exorbitantly high at 87.14%. This part of the region is mostly inhabited by

Dalits and tribals. A cursory glance at this region's development initiative has hoodwinked the policy planners and has even defied the mandate to improve. The three undivided districts of KBK were divided into eight districts in the year 1992. Despite mammoth attempts made by the state and the central government, the social and human development indicators suggest that the situation has not improved remarkably.[16]

Even after the implementation of many flagship programmes like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), Long Term Action Plan (LTAP), Biju KBK (2006) etc., the state's response and people's access to these programmes and their benefits have been static over the years. The prevailing situation of government's failure in effective execution of plans and the precarious poverty force one to ponder over the efficacy of such schemes. In addition to the above factors there are other natural factors which have triggered migration in western Odisha.

Migration from the western part of Odisha has drawn attention because of the effects of climate change on the state. Odisha, located in the eastern coast of India has been a victim of erratic changes in the climatic conditions over the years, being at the receiving end with several cyclones, droughts and floods owing to global warming. The particular vulnerability of Odisha to climate change has been attributed to its location at the head of the Bay of Bengal where weather is usually formed. In addition, the western part of the state is mostly drought prone and highly inhabited by tribals and Dalits who lack the sophisticated technology to improve their agricultural produce. Moreover, the area has been witnessing bouts of small and severe droughts in last five decades. The

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[16] Aide et Action. "Vulnerability Assessment of Migrant Families: A Study in the Balangir, Kalahandi and Nuapada Districts of Odisha." Migration Information and Resource Centre, (2012): 4.

famine of 1899 was known as *Chhapan Salar Durbhikshya*. The famine left a terrible socio-economic gloom in this area. After 1899 there were recurrent droughts and famine after every few years and this condition crippled the socio-economic condition of people. Therefore, people in Balangir, Nuapada and Kalahandi districts have adopted the option of migrating out as a coping mechanism to the prevailing food and employment insecurity in their villages. In addition to this, failure of agriculture resulting due to drought, uneven land distribution, loss of forest, caste discrimination, lack of proper implementation of government employment and food security have forced people into debt trap due to which they have started migrating to other places as wage labourers.

1.8 Migration in Odisha

The total population of Odisha is 4.2 crores (Census 2011). The percentage of ST population is 22% and SC population is 16% of the total population. It has highly tribal dominated pockets and difficult terrains in western, northern and southern Odisha. As per government data, 47% are below poverty line (BPL Survey, 1997). But Tendulkar Committee Report puts it at 57.2% and N. C. Saxena calculates that poor people in the state amount to 84.5%. The latest poverty figures of Odisha have been estimated at 37% as per the Planning Commission in 2012. The 2002 BPL survey which has failed in its attempt to cover all the seasonal migrants who were away from home during the survey has actually indicated higher percentage of rural migration in Odisha as 50%. The 2001 census reports 1 million migrants in Odisha.[17] In Odisha, high incidence of seasonal migration is mostly from all districts of Koraput-Balangir-Kalahandi followed by Gajapathi, Boudh, Phulbani, Sundergarh, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, mainly due to high

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[17] Aide et Action. "Vulnerability Assessment of Migrant Families: A Study in the Balangir, Kalahandi and Nuapada Districts of Odisha." Migration Information and Resource Centre, (2012): 8.

levels of food insecurity, chronic hunger, unemployment, indebtedness, fragmentation and alienation of land, failure of governmental anti-poverty programmes, erosion of customary rights, depletion of agricultural produce and natural resources. These insights bear testimony to the large scale governmental failure in policy making, disbursement of funds and people's inaccessibility to various schemes.

1.9 Brick Kiln Industry

Indian brick kiln industry is the second largest brick producer in the world, second to China and has more than 10,000 operating units producing about 14 billion bricks annually. Brick kilns in India employ migrant families from poorer regions who primarily belong to Dalit and other marginalised communities. Brick making, being seasonal in nature and function, operates during the dry seasons of the year and prior to the onset of the monsoon (usually during the end of May and the first week of June), the furnaces in the brick kilns close down production.[18]

Generally, brick kilns require manual labour for moulding, stacking, head loading, firing and transporting. A large number of migrant families including women and children are recruited by labour agents and are employed in the brick kilns by paying some amount in advance. Poor people, due to abject poverty and distress, move with their families and live as bonded labourers for six to eight months to produce bricks. Migrant women and men workers receive a meagre income and live under testing conditions. The conditions are harsh and women migrants in particular struggle to access bare minimum facilities for human survival as they have to take care of the household and work for

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[18] Aide et Action. "Children in Brick Kilns: A Multi-Location Study in Five States." *Migration Information and Resource Centre,* (2011): 1.

livelihood. Women and children are forced to work in the kilns as part of family labour and are subjected to abuse and exploitation. Migrant families in brick kilns are far from the ambit of accessing nutritious food, school facilities for children, drinking water, sanitation and other social security in the worksites. However, migrant women workers in the brick kilns are yet to draw the attention of the policy makers to access and benefit from different programmes and schemes.

1.10 Reasons behind Brick Kiln Migration

Apart from the reasons discussed above, migration to brick kilns is most importantly related to structural factors wherein caste plays a dominant role. In order to break free from the hassles of caste system, people belonging to scheduled castes (Satnami, Harijan, Ganda, Domal, Kaibarta, Majhi and Sunani) started migrating out to Andhra Pradesh for making bricks.

There are three important reasons behind this migration. Firstly, this form of migration was a way out to escape from the web of caste discrimination that the SC community has been facing in the villages. Secondly, most of the people were small, landless or marginal farmers and at times their choice of occupation or access to employment schemes was denied or restricted due to the prevalence of caste discrimination. Thirdly, the process involved in making bricks did not consider untouchability and over the years the skills adopted by Dalits and tribals provided them with an open market economic space wherein their cheap labour capacity was sought after. This form of employment was an eye opener for people from other strata in the

village and they have even embraced this opportunity with open arms.[19] Moreover, over the years, due to the increasing demand for bricks, movement of labourers from these regions has increased and a number of families have considered it an alternative livelihood opportunity as well. People go with families or individually to work in brick kilns, in agricultural fields, in construction sites, to pull rickshaws, work in some companies, work as security guards etc.

Survey results indicate that in Balangir and Nuapada districts the major source of migration was going to brick kilns in Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Bhubaneswar and Cuttack in Odisha etc. From Balangir and Nuapada about 85% people migrated to work in brick kilns. From Kalahandi, people mostly go to work in construction sector. People also migrate to other adjacent states like Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Jharkhand to work in other sectors.[20]

1.11 Hyderabad: Negotiating Diverse Realities

Hyderabad, the capital of Telangana, hosts diverse cultures. The iconic architectural structures and monuments are testaments to the city's glorious history. The presence of information technology has made Hyderabad one of India's primary IT cities and the centre of India's scientific and technological development. The city's cosmopolitan outlook and modernization have resulted in the negotiation between multiple realities and have attracted people of different ethnicities, religions and lifestyles. The mushrooming of IT ventures has led to the boom in construction industry and real estate sector and has led to the demand for cheap and easily available labour. Iyer, Kulkarni and

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[19] Aide et Action, "Vulnerability Assessment of Migrant Families: A Study in the Balangir, Kalahandi and Nuapada Districts of Odisha," Migration Information and Resource Centre, (2012): 14.
[20] Aide et Action, "Vulnerability Assessment of Migrant Families: A Study in the Balangir, Kalahandi and Nuapada Districts of Odisha," Migration Information and Resource Centre, (2012): 14.

Raghavaswamy (2007)[21] in their article "Economy, Population and Urban Sprawl: A Comparative Study of Urban Agglomerations of Bangalore and Hyderabad, India using Remote Sensing and GIS Techniques" are of the view that the total number of migrants to the Hyderabad urban agglomeration has trebled from 3 lakhs to 9 lakhs during the period 1991-2001. The study also stated that migration from Odisha and Bihar to Hyderabad during the last decade was extremely dominated by men workers.

According to Action Aid Report (2005), there is a large scale migration from western Odisha to Andhra Pradesh for work in the brick kilns. The migrants are mostly from the tribal districts of Balangir, Kalahandi, Nuapada, Bargarh, Koraput and Sonepur. It estimates that approximately 2 million people migrate from these districts. From Balangir district alone 100,000 to 150,000 people migrate every year to the peripheries of Hyderabad.[22]

India is the world's largest developing country with economic growth rate averaging 8% for the last 5 years. As per the 2009 estimates, brick production is increasing by 5 to 10% annually due to the emergence of various developmental sectors, mainly housing, urbanisation and infrastructure. India is estimated to have more than 1,45,000 registered/unregistered brick kilns producing more than 236 billion bricks. As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, India is the second largest producer of bricks

[21] N. K. Iyer, Sumati Kulkarni and V. Raghavaswamy, "Economy, Population and Urban Sprawl: A Comparative Study of Urban Agglomerations of Bangalore and Hyderabad, India using Remote Sensing and GIS Techniques," Paper Presented at a Workshop on Urban Population Development and Environment Dynamics in Developing Countries, Kenya, (2007): 11-13.
[22] Action Aid, "From Hunger to Suffering … a Journey: Migrant Workers in the Brick Kilns – Interventions Report," Secunderabad: Action Aid, (2005), quoted in Smita, "Distress Seasonal Migration and its Impact on Children's Education," Project Report. Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (2008): 11.

in the world after China.[23] The growing demand for building materials and bricks has led to the establishment of more and more brick kilns in Hyderabad. The kilns are located on the semi-urban outskirts of the city. Dundigal, Tukkuguda, Peddapalli, Nalgonda and Medak are some of the places in Telangana where brick kilns are largely located. Rough estimates indicate that there are thousands of operating brick kilns in the city. Brick kilns in Hyderabad follow the advance payment system which drains the labourers of their hard earned wages. Recruitment of the labourers comprising men, women and children is done by middlemen who work in close nexus with the supervisors and the local sardars. These workers are brought from the districts of western Odisha and are forced to work under conditions of bondage and semi-bondage. The labourers are not registered under the labour departments of the concerned states to avoid legal hassles for the brick kiln owners. Most of the kilns operating in Hyderabad are not legally registered.

1.12 Conceptual Framework of the Study

As discussed above, migration is and always has been an integral part of the interaction of humans with their environment. However, Agrawal (2006)[24] has mentioned that labour migration or migration for work has been the predominant reason, though certainly not the only one, for large scale population movements. One of the most significant changes in migration patterns in the last half century is that more women are migrating than ever before. Women now constitute half the international migrant population, and in some countries, as much as 70 to 80 percent. According to the 2001 Census, of 309 million migrants, based on place of last residence, women migrants constitute 218 million while

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[23] "Brick-Punjab State Council for Science and Technology," accessed April 27, 2016, http://pscst.gov.in/pscstHTML/brick.html.
[24] Anuja Agrawal, *Migrant Women and Work*, Women and Migration in Asia Series, Vol.4. (New Delhi: Sage publications, 2006).

men constitute 91 million. The migrants constitute around 30 percent of the total population, whereas men and women migrants constitute 18 and 45 percent of their population respectively.[25] Women constitute a significant part of the workforce but they lag behind men in terms of level and quality of employment that they could access. Work participation rate of women in India has increased from 14.22 percent in 1971 to 19.67 percent in 1981 and further to 22.73 percent in 1991. Majority of women workers continue to be employed in rural areas where 87 percent are involved in agriculture as labourers and cultivators. Among the women workers in urban areas, about 80 percent are employed in the unorganised sectors like household industries, petty trade, service and construction (P. C. L. R. A).[26]

On the other hand, Grieco and Boyd (1998) suggest that the focus upon labour migration has obscured the gender dimension of population movements. Men have dominated such migration flows and the equation between men and migration was deeply entrenched in the migration literature. This also finds expression in treatment of men's migration as natural as opposed to women's migration being considered a problem.[27]

Agrawal (2006) has further argued that significance of a gendered analysis in migration studies is evident from the fact that even when data have made obvious the large presence of women among migrants, patriarchal ideology has often retarded the

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[25] Sandhya Rani Mahapatro, "Patterns and Determinants of Female Migration in India: Insights from Census," Working Paper 246, The Institute for Social and Economic Change (2010): 1.

[26] P.C.L.R.A, "Migrant Labour at Brick Kiln in Andhra Pradesh: A Human Right Perspective," accessed on December 11th, 2015, http://www.shram.org/CMS/uploadFiles/document/190214123843.pdf.

[27] E. M. Grieco and M. Boyd, "Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory," Centre for the Study of Population, Florida State University, Working Paper, (1998): 98-139, quoted in Anuja Agrawal, *Migrant Women and Work*, Women and Migration in Asia Series, Vol. 4 (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), 26.

interpretation of facts. Thus, for long, women migrants were seen only as family followers, tied or associational migrants. Women, therefore, found a place in migration literature to the extent that family and marriage were taken into account.[28] Apart from this, Karlekar (1995) has added that the conceptualisation of women as familial migrants not only ignores the possibility of women migrating alone, a possibility that has increasingly been recognised as a fact, but also has little room for the significant economic contributions made by women even when they do not migrate alone. However, even the most relied upon census studies have taken women's migration to be a form of marriage migration.[29]

The phenomena of migration have been analysed taking into account different parameters, but it is only since very recent years that attempts have been made to understand this process of movement from a gender perspective. Sundari (2005) is of the view that women nearly constitute 82% of the informal sector urban labour which itself remains a grim indicator of their disadvantaged position.[30]

In addition, as quoted by Sundari, Morokvasic (1983:13) defines the condition of migrant women as a form of fourfold oppression at the levels of working class, gender, migrant, minority group. As women migrants, they accept oppression as their fate.[31] Women migrants even after claiming a substantial position in the migration process

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[28] Anuja Agrawal, *Migrant Women and Work*, Women and Migration in Asia Series, Vol. 4. (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006).

[29] Malavika Karlekar, "Gender Dimensions in Labour Migration: An Overview," in *Women and Seasonal Labour Migration*, ed. Loes Schenk-Sandbergen (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995), 23.

[30] S. Sundari, "Migration as a Livelihood Strategy: A Gender Perspective," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40 (22-23) (2005): 2295-2303.

[31] Mirjana Morokvasic, "Women in Migration Beyond the Reductionist Outlook," in *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour,* ed. Annie Phizacklea (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul,1983), quoted in S. Sundari, "Migration as a Livelihood Strategy: A Gender Perspective," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40 (22-23) (2005): 2295-2303.

undergo severe exploitation and alienation. As explained above, complex identities of women migrants are subjected to four-fold challenges as lower class, migrant, minority women. However, the context that I have chosen for the present study adds the fifth dimension that is caste. It has rightly been said by Rolfhs et al (2003) that men and women in a historically and socially established unequal power structure assume their roles to be different and this forms the basis for understanding gender. When analysed from a gender perspective it is found that men and women operate in a historically configured relationship of subordination which influences all aspects of their lives, rendering them differentially vulnerable. Differences between men and women arise from unequal social and economic valuation of productive work (gainful employment) and reproductive work (unpaid work, such as household tasks and care giving). This sexual division of labour causes men and women to assume different roles and responsibilities that involve differential health risks.[32]

Rolfhs has further added that gender differences occur in all cultures, though they vary in intensity depending on the time and place. They are of fundamental importance in the migratory process and are the basis for other relationships of subordination. The migratory process itself affects gender relations dialectically, modifying them in the places of origin and destination, at times in a way that is contradictory.[33] Boyd and

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[32] I. Rolfhs, L. Mazarrasa, Genero Y Salud et al, *Salud Publica y Enfermeria Comunitaria*, (eds) (2nd ed), Madrid: McGraw-Hill Interamericana 2003: 533–553.553, quoted in Alicia Llacer, Maria Victoria Zunzunegui et al, "The Contribution of a Gender Perspective to the Understanding of Migrants' Health," *J Epidemiol Community Health,* 61(Suppl 2) (2007) : ii4.
[33] I. Rolfhs, C. Borrell, M. Fonseca do C, "Gender Inequalities and Public Health: Awarenesses and Ignorances," *Gac Sanit* 2000, 14 (Suppl 3): 60–71.71, quoted in Alicia Llacer, Maria Victoria Zunzunegui et al, "The Contribution of a Gender Perspective to the Understanding of Migrants' Health," *J Epidemiol Community Health,* 2007 Dec, 61(Suppl 2): ii4.

Grieco (2003)[34] state that it is critically important to understand how migration may change patriarchal relations and how it serves to reinforce or rupture them. Now it is imperative to understand gender relations in the context of migration because the nature of gender relations differs across cultures. However, the culture of migration for labour is characterised by invisibility of contribution by women migrants; relationship between men and women operating under the domain of subordination and patriarchal ideologies, undervaluation of productive and reproductive work by women and strict division of labour between the sexes which render women to be at a more subservient position.

Despite constituting a large part of the work force, women labourers are not considered equal with men workers. Women workers face hardships and violence not only in terms of wages and social security measures but also at the personal front. It has been argued by Nalini Kant (2006)[35] that men and boys as well as women and girls are the victims of violence, but women much more than men suffer sexual abuse and violence. Women experience violence because they are women and often because they do not have the same rights that men do. It is true that not much has been officially documented about the condition of women working in brick kilns but the condition of women workers in kilns claims urgent and specific attention. Working condition of women workers in unorganised sector ruefully reveals that gender divides are widely persisting and prostrating and women workers severely suffer because of gender and

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[34] M. Boyd and E. Grieco, "Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory," *Migration Information Source*, Migration Policy Institute (2003), quoted in Alicia Llacer, Maria Victoria Zunzunegui et al, "The Contribution of a Gender Perspective to the Understanding of Migrants' Health," *J Epidemiol Community Health*, 61(Suppl 2) (2007): ii4-ii10.

[35] Nalini Kant, "Human Cost of Making Bricks," eSS Working Paper/Labour, 2006, accessed on February 11, 2013, file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/Document12592006590.165951%20(2).pdf.

women centric issues like lack of crèche or toilets that are utterly overlooked in the working place.

For instance, the Shramashakti report (1988) with 1.5 lakh women respondents in unorganised sector from all over India reported that the survival struggle dragged women to multiple employments. More than half of the respondents received wages that were far below subsistence level. Non-payment of wages on time, signatures for false amount, commission coerced by intermediaries for arranging employment, exploitation and harassment by family members and contractors were not definitely sporadic. Women's earnings were also merrily misused by family/ husband and women were debarred from access to their own earning. Lack of maternity benefits, medical facilities, insurance and other similar facilities were found to be conspicuous by their absence.[36]

Seasonal nature of work in kilns and the demand for less skilled labourers have prompted people from the marginalised sections to migrate. Lower caste people comprising SC, ST and OBC sections form a perceptible part of the village population wherein marginal landless people are in majority. The proportion of upper caste people in the entire village is less as compared to other caste people. The evident scenario indicates that people having few acres of land usually migrate.

Migration is a constructed mechanism which usually functions with the combined efforts of the local agents, the local sardar and the supervisor at the destination, added to it are the socio-economic conditions of the people including poverty, lack of agricultural prospects, negligence of the government in reaching out to people with MGNREGA

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[36] A. B. Saran and A. N. Sandhwar, *Problems of Women Workers in Unorganised Sectors*, (Northern Book Centre: New Delhi, 1990), quoted in Amal Mandal, *Women Workers in Brick Factory: Sordid Saga from a District of West Bengal,* (Northern Book Centre: New Delhi, 2005): 36-37.

works, delayed disbursement of agricultural wages, developmental projects and displacement, depletion of forest resources, increasing size of the households and mounting expenses. The amount paid by the local agents to the villagers to meet expenses like marriage, death, illness etc. forms the backdrop against which migration takes place. People get fascinated by the advance amount given to them and to repay the stated amount they are ready to migrate for a period of six months to nine months during which they are forced to work under inhuman conditions.

Moreover, people migrate to brick kilns because this form of migration is seasonal in nature and people even claim that in villages they do not get work during non-agricultural season because of caste disparities wherein people from the upper castes get work to do. People also perceive that this form of migration would be a survival strategy from grim poverty and hunger. Thus, this migration is not for accumulation but is marked by powerlessness and compulsions of bare survival.

Now, I would like to throw light on the pattern of brick kiln migration which is mostly a form of family migration where the decision is taken by men of the family and women accompany them as work in kilns demands for more and more physical labour. In the western part of Odisha, Kantabanji is the source station from where people migrate as other means of transportation are inaccessible in the remote parts of the villages. During the period of migration, big crowds congregate at the station from where they migrate in groups formed by the sardars to a particular host destination. Such crowds include men, women and children between 10-12 years of age group. Some of the migrating children go to school at the host destination and the rest of them work with their parents as supporting hands. Old and infirm people are usually left behind as work in brick kilns

involves strenuous physical labour. In some cases, younger children are left behind with the grandparents and relatives but in all those cases a particular child's food, health, medicine and proper grooming are neglected. There is no schooling available at the destination except at some sites where bridge school facilities are initiated by the nongovernmental stake holders in consolidation with the governmental organisations.

The women migrants form a substantial part of the work force along with men and children. It is well understood that extreme poverty has rendered them with no option but to join in brick factory work. Migrated women in the kilns prepare mud, cut clay, mould raw bricks and carry bricks to the furnace for firing. Women are not allowed to leave the kilns for any reason whatsoever before the complete closure of the kilns. Women and children are held hostage if they try to flee from the kilns unable to bear the torture and hardship. Kiln supervisors usually manipulate women's wage earning accounts and pay them less. In terms of housing and accommodation the space is utterly inadequate for keeping women's privacy. No facilities are provided to nursing mothers. Even during the working hours, rebuke, beating, threatening and sexual abuse are very frequent for women. These activities leave deep imprints of hostility and violence on women's psyche. Young girls and women fail to resist sexual violence because they are threatened to death.

In addition, Mandal (2005) is of the view that subjugation of women and their constricted position in the labour market can be attributed to existing societal perception, relations between men and women and structure of the economy. Women have been trained and socialised to carry the burden of household tasks along with the role of reproduction and this prohibits women to contribute their time for employment or better

occupation. Additional engagement in domestic and unpaid tasks also reduces women's capacities for skill attainment and this results in acquiring low skilled or unskilled occupations. Women's work contributions are either invisible or undermining. However, in case of brick kiln women workers it is found that the survival of the poorest household also depends on the economic contribution of women. Women are quintessential part of brick making. Moreover, women in kilns suffer from the malady of contested womanhood where they fail to draw a line between their human and economic reproduction. Women undergo role reversal and their decision making rights are also at stake.[37]

Now, we need to contextualise and understand women and their work through the lens of different theoretical approaches. The Marxist interpretation has been able to bring out the sufferings and exploitation of migrants. The Marxist interpretation (Breman, 1996[38]; Olsen, 1996) focuses on the wider structures perpetuating the exploitation of migrants by capitalists and intermediaries. Some authors have portrayed migrants as no more than bonded labourers who are powerless, poor and perpetually in debt. Moreover, Olsen (1996)[39] has suggested that exploitation is both direct and indirect for migrant labourers, wages are much lower than the market rate and there is extraction of overtime and child labour. The terms of the contract however resemble those of co-existing and pre-existing bonded labour relationships. In addition, intermediaries also use traditional

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[37] Amal Mandal, *Women Workers in Brick Factory: Sordid Saga from a District of West Bengal*, (Northern Book Centre: New Delhi, 2005).
[38] Jan Breman, *Footloose Labour: Working in the Indian Informal Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[39] W. K. Olsen, "Marxist and Neo-Classical Approaches to Unfree Labour in India," (1996), in *Free and Unfree Labour: The Debate Continues*, eds. T. Brass and M. Van der Linden, 379-404, (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1998), quoted in Priya Deshingkar and Daniel Start, "Seasonal Migration for Livelihoods in India: Coping, Accumulation and Exclusion," Published by Overseas Development Institute , (2003): 1-37.

caste based and patriarchal modes of oppression to maintain their exploitative labour relations.

Engels (1942) in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* explains that during the existence of communal forms of production and matrilineal family organisations the status of women was originally equal to, if not more powerful than, men. However, with the emergence of private property as a mode of production women lost their power over community and family forms of production. Men's control over private property and their ability to produce surplus have changed the form of family to a patriarchal one where women are considered as property of the father and husband. The rise of capitalism and separation from commodity production have rendered women as economic dependents on men. This form of separation of women from commodity production further solidifies the control of men over women.[40]

This form of control has different manifestations. It gets more intensified when women contribute to the family in the form of the work she does but her contribution goes unrecognised. In the Indian context, not only in reproduction, care, household maintenance and provisioning but also in other economic activities women's work goes unnoticed or is rendered invisible by societal perception. Most of the work that women perform goes unnoticed, underpaid, unpaid or not paid at all because women are considered dependents. However, a very substantial amount of women's time is devoted to unpaid labour, often at the cost of leisure and rest. The condition is worse for women

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[40] Friedrich Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, in the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan,* (New York: International Publishers, 1942, 1972), quoted in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, "Feminist Perspectives on Class and Work," (October, 2004).

who are from poor families and are engaged in outside work as well and cannot afford to hire others to perform the household tasks. In such cases most often this entire workload is passed on to the young girls and elderly women within the household or else becomes a double burden of work for these women who are forced to work outside for survival as well as perform all the household tasks.

Floro and Meurs (2009)[41] have pointed out that women's work and employment and related issues are dissimilar when compared to those relating to men workers and rightly so. In a globalised era, increasing paid employment need not always be a beneficial engagement in its entirety contributing to amelioration of the conditions of women workers, since it can lead to a double burden upon women who find it extremely difficult to fulfil all their household responsibilities. Hence there arises a demand in developing countries to also focus on the conditions under which women work along with quality, recognition and remuneration for their work. Coupled with the patriarchal mode of production in which housewives are the producing class who are expropriated by another class of people comprising their husbands, this pattern is characterised by extraction of absolute and relative surplus labour. It clearly points a finger towards the capitalist practices where women's labour, be it at home or in the market, is inevitable for the accumulation process.

Floro and Meurs[42] have further added that men and women are overtaxed when they have to care for their households alongside their pursuit for jobs and their participation in the labour market. Rather than sharing the household responsibilities with

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[41] Maria S. Floro and Mieke Meurs, "Global Trends in Women's Access to Decent Work," Occasional Papers by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, (2009): 1-48.
[42] Ibid

men, women seem to increase their total work time to strike a balance with the slowly evolving norms regarding the traditional household division of labour. Though patterns may alter slightly from each other across nation and social class boundaries, women members of the family are held responsible for the care and well being of the family. This dominating ideology which reinstates that the responsibility towards household activities is solely invested with women lays hurdles for women who also participate in labour market. Mies (1996) has also said that the housewife ideology sees a woman's wages only as a supplement to the man's earnings. Women coming from impoverished rural or urban households accept appalling conditions working up to 12 hours a day at an inhuman speed. Women lack bargaining power and are vulnerable to sexual harassment and health risks.[43]

The above discussion clearly indicates that the dominating patriarchal ideology has restrained women's active participation in the labour market but to some extent women have tried to break through the shackles of patriarchal capitalism. However, women have failed in terms of their possession and accessibility to natural resources and communal forms of production because the system of production is no longer based on community and collective effort; rather it is capital and surplus oriented. This idea gets reflected in the work of Vandana Shiva, who explains that women's deprivation and subjugation is related to development and exploitation of tribal, poor and peasant women.

Vandana Shiva (1988) in her work *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India* is of the view that development as a term and a process has been an off-shoot of

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[43] Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation: Women in the International Division of Labour,* 4th ed, (London: Zed Books, 1991), quoted in Maria Mies, "Women and Work in a Sustainable Society," *The Ecumenical Review*, Vol.48 (3) (1996): 354-368.

capitalism and colonisation. Development aims at capital accumulation and the commercialisation of the economy for the generation of surplus and profit. This process of development has led to reproduction of wealth. The residues of the on-going process of development are creation of poverty and dispossession. Shiva explains that newly independent countries promote commercialisation of resources initially used for commodity production and in turn this creates wide disparity and colonisation. She has further opined that development was thus reduced to a continuation of the process of colonisation; it became an extension of the project of wealth creation in modern western patriarchal economic vision, which includes exploitation or exclusion of women, exploitation and degradation of nature, and exploitation and erasure of other cultures. Development according to Shiva involves destruction for women, nature and subjugated cultures. The outcomes of development have intensified the struggle for women, peasants and tribals as they are struggling for liberation from development and capitalistic colonisation.

For Shiva this patriarchal economic vision of development and creation of wealth intensifies the exclusion and violence against women by displacing women from their livelihood opportunities and alienating them from the natural resources (land, forests, water, biodiversity) on which women's livelihood depends. Powerful capitalists aim at grabbing the resources of women and other subjugated communities and render them marginalised. This form of deprivation and social marginalisation in turn give vent to migration.[44] Migration of women for work has increased over the years but the systemic constraints restricting her active participation in employment are only a reiteration of the

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[44] Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1988).

existing patriarchal dominance of men in each sector of work and the continual allegory that men are the bread winners and women are the dependents. Ignoring women's work potentialities has only pushed them to the peripheries of informal sector, unpaid and invisible work.

This discussion has provided us with a clear picture as to how the different manifestations of the capitalistic system have undermined the value of work done by women and how the dominance of patriarchal mentality has ruled out any changes of egalitarian establishment. It is also essential to know how women are placed in the field of brick kiln migration and how migration in turn has lead to formation of new gender identity in the process.

1.13 Rationale of the Study

Seasonal and distress migration in Odisha and particularly from western part of the state has been a major concern over a decade or so. The other side of the spectrum indicates that due to insatiable hunger of construction and real estate boom there has been a burgeoning demand for labour. The demands for production of bricks and establishment of brick kilns on the outskirts of the city have increased drastically. For the operation and functioning of these kilns cheap wage labour is sought after from the adjoining states and in addition failure of agriculture and climatic conditions also forced people to move out. People under distress situation have been moving to various states to work in brick kilns. Incidence of large scale migration of poor and vulnerable people who often move with their families migrate to various brick kilns located in and around Andhra Pradesh. Most forms of migration are intra and interstate in nature. Migrants and their families who migrate undergo untold human miseries and live without basic rights and entitlements.

Poor implementation of labour enforcement and protection mechanism has resulted in increasing vulnerability of poor and marginalised people to get excluded from accessing social security, protection, decent wage and working conditions, grievance redressal both at the source and destination. Relocation at the destination has forced women migrants to negotiate multiple identities and practices. Binding and dividing factors like traditions, customs, caste, religion and region have also culminated in migrant women's role reversal to some extent and have questioned the issues related to domesticity.

1.14 Statement of the Problem

Migration to brick kilns is by and large a form of family migration. Increase in the labour migration and demand for cheap labour have resulted in the movement of more and more women who are migrating for low wages into uncongenial work conditions. Since brick making is seasonal in nature, this form of work is a source of livelihood for thousands of unskilled labourers from across states. Migration to brick kilns includes men, women and children as part of the workforce. Landless farmers and people belonging to disadvantaged social communities form the major part of the migrating population. This seasonal migration is a result of intermittent drought, unequal distribution of land, lack of adequate irrigation facilities, low livelihood opportunities and half hearted execution of government schemes. Migrants work under strenuous and unhealthy conditions. Like it is in other forms of migration, in this form also women's migration is influenced by the twin forces of opportunities and constraints and the decision is taken primarily by the family where women hardly have any say. Even when the decision is taken independently by women, it is not free from familial, social, cultural and patriarchal influences. Working at the destination involves gendered division of labour wherein women's skills

are either underutilised or undermined. In addition to this, health, education and employment protection, social security services are hard to obtain if the migration is not legal and formal. Moreover, women are faced with the problems of child care, hostile host community, difficult working environment, lack of benefits, lack of decision making as the new area of habitation is an alien one and there are no established social networks to help the migrants.

The present study is an attempt to capture the migrant life in brick kilns, focusing on women within the migrant community and to analyse the lives and conditions of migrating women. After formulating the statement of the problem, I would like to discuss the objectives of the study.

1.15 Objectives of the Study

1. An extensive profiling of migrant women workers in brick kilns regarding

 a) Their access to basic facilities such as shelter, education, health facilities, financial services etc.

 b) The terms of employment.

2. The pattern of migration cycles for women and men in terms of seasonality, kinship network and recruitment method.

3. The effects (psychological and physical) of migration on women and children.

4. Questions of identity beginning to acquire new meanings for women and men vis-à-vis the "other" in an urban space.

1.16 Research Questions

Women are often in a disadvantaged position in migration due to their already challenged and subjugated role in the society. Without a proper understanding of women's situation in the context of migration, it is difficult to eliminate old prejudices, notions of deprivation and discrimination surrounding women's migration. This thesis will examine the impact of brick kiln migration on women at individual and collective community level. In particular, it will study why women migrate and how they manage to construct a new identity for themselves at the host destination vis-a-vis the local community. In addition, it will examine the social, familial, educational, economic and cultural conditions that trigger migration. The present study attempts to address and answer the following research questions: -

a) How and why does migration affect men and women differently?

b) What problems do migrant women and men encounter in adjusting to the new location?

c) Do migrant women and men face social discrimination in the new milieu?

d) How do migrants adjust to the problems of housing or access to basic amenities?

e) Does migration lead to the improved status of women migrants? And how is migrant women's status at the destination related to social, economic and political factors?

f) What are the effects of migration on migrant women's gender roles with regard to their decision making, mothering and issues of domesticity etc?

1.17 Methodology and Selection of the Sample

Mixed method approach was used for the purpose of data collection and data analysis which included both qualitative and quantitative methods. Methodology of the study comprised conduct of unstructured interviews and focused group discussions.

For conducting interviews, unstructured interview schedule was used which included both open ended and close ended questions. Newspapers, internet sources, scholarly articles, census reports, BPL survey reports, Gazetteer of India reports etc. were referred to for the purpose of collecting secondary data. The study was by and large qualitative in nature but quantitative scheme of presentation was also used to supplement the numerical representation of the population. In addition to this the framework of the study was exploratory in nature which helped in gaining insights and deep understanding of the issues involved. Purposive random sampling was used for identifying samples and this form of sampling was effective in maintaining heterogeneity of social and spatial group (research methodology explained in detail in chapter 2).

1.18 Challenges Faced by the Researcher

a) Reaching out to the women in some villages was also difficult because of poor road connectivity and isolation from the mainstream society.

b) During the field visits to Dundigal and Nuapada, many a time the researcher encountered a lot of suspicion from the migrant families and they were not willing to share the details of their family members who had migrated. Their suspicion and hostility could also be reflective of the fatigue of being at the receiving end of research and surveys and not witnessing any positive or concrete outcomes thereafter.

c) In a couple of locations it was also observed that respondents hesitated to portray a true picture of their lives as they were apprehensive in the presence of their neighbours and relatives. Some of the migrants were also reluctant to participate in the interviews because their fellow migrants who doubled as their contractors and middlemen were present during the interviews.

d) During the field visits, attempts were made to gauge the level of awareness among women migrants regarding ISMA, other related social security measures and MGNREGA work opportunities but time and situational constraints prevented the researcher from doing so.

e) Security of a woman researcher was a vital issue because during one of the field visits the researcher had to face intimidation and verbal sexual abuse from the brick owners and their henchmen.

1.19 Chapterisation

The thesis is organised into six chapters.

Chapter one deals with an introduction to the context of the study, defining migration and a migrant, defining internal migration, defining unorganised sector and legal entitlements, Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of services) Act of 1979, area of the study, migration in Odisha, background of brick kiln industry, reasons behind brick kiln migration, history of migration to Hyderabad, conceptual framework of the study, rationale of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, methodology and selection of the sample, challenges faced by the researcher and chapterisation.

Chapter two, "Review of Literature and Research Methodology" begins by laying out the theoretical dimensions of the research on gender and migration. It discusses in detail the review of literature and methodology used in the present study.

Chapter three, "Profiling the Migrant Women: The Deciding Factors" focuses on the profiling of the women migrants and other deciding factors that shape women's migration. This chapter provides an overview of the research area, geographical location of the study area, languages spoken, general structure of castes and tribes, classification of tribes, socio-economic conditions of Kalahandi, Balangir and Koraput districts, social customs and cultural practices, agricultural practices and economic conditions, importance of forest in the economy of the Kalahandi, Balangir and Koraput districts. This chapter also discusses about history of migration, seasonal distress migration and profiling of migrants, reasons that trigger migration, the informal sector, structure and agency and how it regulates working women's lives.

Chapter four titled "Profiling the Migrant Site: Mangled and Monitored" seeks to interpret and analyse the effects of migration on women during migration. This chapter focuses on the establishment of brick kilns and their operation, an introduction to brick kilns in India, work-life situation in brick kilns, social network and kinship ties, payment of advance and process of recruitment, brick making process, classification of bricks, nature of work and working conditions, issues of torture, cheating and abomination, working hours, payment of wages, access to basic facilities, housing, water/sanitation/personal hygiene, electricity, vulnerability and health issues, medical facilities, medium of cooking, food allowance/ food security and access to food, modes of

transportation, stay at the destination. This chapter mainly discusses the conditions monitoring migrant lives at the worksite.

Chapter five titled "Temporary Re-locations: Roles Transformed or Reiterated?" examines and analyses the role of migration in bringing about change in gender roles, relations, values, beliefs and practices. This chapter attempts to interpret and understand the lived experiences of the women migrating to the brick kilns. This chapter discusses emerging themes like impact of migration, construction of selfhood during migration, changing lives and identities, construction of family at worksite, decision to migrate, negotiating between the family and the workplace, women and children, children staying back, children migrating along with their parents, challenges of mothering, menstruation, motherhood, lactation and nurture, family planning, socialisation of girls and boys, safety of young girls, workplace as a site of change, caste practises, caste identity, religion, personal life and privacy, reviving old ties, role of men/middlemen in migration, weekly market and social interaction, people's attitudes and perceptions towards migrants and re-locating oneself post migration.

Chapter six "Conclusion" presents a summary of the main findings of the study and recommends additional questions and ideas for further investigation. It discusses the areas not covered in the present research and further possibilities of research in this area. It also discusses the migrant men's responses to the changing gender roles during migration.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature and Research Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of previous research on migration and migrating women. It introduces the framework for the study on brick kiln migration which is the main focus of the research. The main purpose of this chapter is to review previous studies on migration and brick kiln migration at international, national and local levels. This chapter also discusses the research methods used for collection and analysis of data on women and migration.

Invisibility of women in the migration process has scarcely been debated. Even the most relied upon census studies reveal women's migration to be a form of marriage migration. Jain and Choudhary (2007) pointed out that it is important to refer to Prof M.S.A Rao and others who have observed that "lifetime migrants to class-I cities in India constituted about 2/5ths of their population though the proportion being somewhat higher among women than men but due to lack of conceptual clarity the problems of women migrants have been neglected".[45]

There are early references where "Laws of Migration" propounded by social geographer Ernest George Ravenstein in 1885[46] had elaborated that women are more migratory than men. However, Ravenstein then modified this inclination to migrate as migration over short distances. Moreover, it is believed that this inclination to migrate is

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[45] J. N. Choudhary and Padma Jain, *Migrant Women: Their Structure and Problems of Adjustment*, (Jaipur: Ritu Publications, 2007), 4

[46] Helma Lutz, "Gender in the Migratory Process," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36 (10) (2010): 1647.

only a form of social migration in the form of marriages. Srinivas (1978) has called this standpoint an "androcentric bias in conventional migration".[47] However, much later in the twentieth century, Mirjana Morokvasic in her introduction to the first International Migration Review special issue on "Women in Migration" in 1984 made the following comment:

> Rather than ''discovering'' that female migration is an understudied phenomenon, it is more important to stress that the already existing literature has had little impact on policy making, on mass media representation of migrant women, but also on the main body of migration literature, where male bias has continued to persist ... in spite of growing evidence of women's overwhelming participation in migratory movements.[48]

Morokvasic clearly explains that the issue of female migration was not given the desired attention. Hence, it is vital to review the existing literature in the field of women and migration to understand the extent of work done in this field and the existing gaps that need to be filled.

2.2 Review of Literature

For the purpose of clarity, I have categorised the review of literature broadly under the following five categories:

1) Migration: An overview

Migration, has only recently been given its due recognition by the policy makers, as a driver of development. According to Skeldon (2008), development in areas of origin does not slow down out-migration, it often, initially at least, accelerates the out-movements

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[47] M. N. Srinivas, "The Changing Position of Indian Women", quoted in J. N. Choudhary and Padma Jain, *Migrant Women: Their Structure and Problems of Adjustment*, (Jaipur: Ritu Publications, 2007), 4.
[48] Mirjana Morokvasic, "Birds of Passage are also Women," *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 18 (4) (1984): 899, quoted in Helma Lutz, "Gender in the Migratory Process," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36 (10) (2010): 1647.

and he believes that not all the consequences of migration on areas of origin can be interpreted as negative. He believes that the vast majority of the migrants in the world are internal migrants and that they are often excluded from the debates on migration and development.[49] Sheng (2003), highlighting the positive aspects of rural to urban migration, states that people tend to migrate only if the expected economic benefits exceed the economic costs.[50]

Deshingkar (2006) through her work in the rural areas of Andhra Pradesh observes that temporary internal migration is more likely to involve the poor, lower caste, and less educated and thus has larger implications for poverty reduction.[51] Ellis (2003) in his article "A Livelihoods Approach to Migration and Poverty Reduction" has asserted that migration is not always attached with vulnerability and poverty and that in some cases it can also promote development and progress. The paper sets out to provide a livelihood platform for new policy thinking about national and international migration. The paper has tried to establish the connections between population mobility and livelihoods, and it affirms the crucial roles that migration can play in diminishing vulnerability and reducing poverty in low income countries.[52]

Deshingkar, Kumar et al. (2006), in their work on the out migration scenario in the state of Bihar, have suggested that economic conditions of a state can inevitably cause migration. According to them, while migration is helpful for those who are educated and

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[49] Ronald Skeldon, "Migration and Development," United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in Asia and the Pacific UN/POP/EGM-MIG/2008/4 (2008): 1-9.

[50] Yap Kioe Sheng, "Urbanisation and Internal Migration," Paper presented at Fifth Asian and Pacific Population Conference, (2003), accessed on October 5, 2010, http://www.unescap.org/esid/psis/population/popseries/apss158/part1_6.pdf .

[51] Priya Deshingkar, "Internal Migration, Poverty and Development in Asia," (2006), accessed on October 21, 2010, http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/29.pdf.

[52] Frank Ellis, "A Livelihoods Approach to Migration and Poverty Reduction," Paper Commissioned by the Department for International Development (2003): 1-23.

who are working in industries (for their remittances to be utilised to finance agriculture and accumulate assets back home), for the poorer migrants, migration is a helpful strategy but with additional risks—that are both financial (loss of money by not having a bank account) as well as social (loneliness, poverty, poor labour standards, exposure to hazards at work etc.).[53] Deshingkar and Start (2003) through their field work in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have attempted to bring to light as to how migration is a normal livelihood strategy of the poor. According to them, migration is both a coping (push factors) as well as an accumulative (pull factors) strategy for the poor. Seasonal migration for employment is growing both in terms of absolute numbers and also in relation to the size of the working population as a whole.[54]

Deshingkar (2006), in her article on "Internal Migration, Poverty and Development in Asia", has thrown light on the increase in temporary and circular migration streams throughout Asia. The core argument of this paper is that the potential benefits of internal migration are not being fully realised because of an inadequate understanding of migration patterns (especially temporary and circular migration), continuing policy barriers to population movement, urban middle class attitudes, social exclusion on the basis of ethnicity, caste, tribe and gender and poor enforcement of legislation meant to protect the rights of the poor.[55] In her article (2008), Smita highlights the impact of seasonal migration on children of migrants. Their education gets affected as

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[53] Priya Deshingkar, Sushil Kumar, Harendra Kumar Chobey and Dhananjay Kumar, "The Role of Migration and Remittances in Promoting Livelihoods in Bihar," (2006), accessed on October 21, 2010, http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/1603.pdf.

[54] Priya Deshingkar and Daniel Start, "Seasonal Migration for Livelihoods in India: Coping, Accumulation and Exclusion," (2003), accessed on September 5, 2010, http://www.odi.org.uk/work/projects/00-03-livelihood-options/papers/wp220web.pdf.

[55] Priya Deshingkar, "Internal Migration, Poverty and Development in Asia," (2006), accessed on October 21, 2010, http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/29.pdf.

they drop out of school to accompany their parents and fail to find anything suitable at the destination. The article highlights how a lot needs to be done still to create an environment wherein childhoods are not wasted and children can explore their potential to the best of their ability to learn and grow. In the recent past, the debates revolving around the issue of migration have shown it to be beneficial and development oriented for people. Migration has contributed to the progress and expansion of the sending areas and is seen as a positive economic indicator but it is also essential to identify and understand the accumulative role of migration in seizing poverty and providing long term sustenance.[56]

Department for International Development (2009) in its effort has produced an outstanding work entitled "Climate Change Induced Migration and its Security Implications for India's Neighbourhood" in which the core argument lies in its effort to highlight the different causes of migration. The reasons are sea-level increase, flash floods, glacial lake outbursts, loss of livelihood due to changing precipitation patterns etc. This form of migration has posed high security challenges to the host country in terms of its potential to exacerbate conflict and be stress multiplier by accentuating competition for land and water, ethnic tension, distrust or by adding to the existing socio-economic fault lines. This scarcity of resources has led to increase in tension and competition between insiders and outsiders which in turn has severe repercussions on both the host and the sender countries.[57] Human Development Report, Government of Punjab (2004) titled "Migrant Labour-Problems of the Invisible" focuses on the fact that labour

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[56] Smita, "Distress Seasonal Migration and its Impact on Children's Education," Project Report. *Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity* (2008): 1-43.
[57] Department for International Development, "Climate Change Induced Migration and its Security Implications for India's Neighbourhood," (2009), accessed on September 5, 2011, http://www.teriin.org/events/CoP15/CC_Migration.pdf.

migration is a two-way process wherein an individual makes a decision based on free will to migrate to centres where there is a demand for labour and on the other hand, migration is driven by capitalist development that needs cheap labour. This paper brings to the fore the significant issue of a migrant always being looked upon as an "outsider" through culture, language and class and the focus always being on the "migrant as a problem" rather than on "problems of the migrant." It also highlights the failure of the Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, '79 to register migrants at the source and destination, thereby compounding the problems of the migrants, in the long run.[58]

Black et al (2006) in their article "Migration and Inequality"[59] are of the view that international migration is a powerful symbol of global inequality in terms of wages, labour market opportunities or lifestyles, but on the other hand international migration is also an activity that carries significant risks and costs. This paper has made an attempt to explain that migration is rooted in income and inequalities between sending and receiving countries and regions. It demonstrates how the relationship between migration and inequality varies across both sending and receiving countries.

Deshingkar and Akter (2009) in their article "Migration and Human Development in India", critique the existing data on migration (NSS and Census) as not being representative of the true picture of migration in India. As a case in point, they cite how such datasets miss out on migration of women by asking about only one reason for migration, i.e. marriage and not livelihood. The authors point out that since most of the

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[58] Punjab Human Development Report, "Migrant Labour-Problems of the Invisible," (2004): 155-165, accessed November 21, 2013, http://www.im4change.org/docs/13608-Migrant.pdf.
[59] Richard Black, Claudia Natali and Jessica Skinner, "Migration and Inequality," Development Research Centre on Migration, World Development Report, (2006): 1-26.

literature studies are based on the facts presented in these datasets, the information tends to be skewed and not well represented. The paper highlights important aspects of migration and its role in the lives of individuals as a coping strategy. It looks at how industrial sectors hire large numbers of migrant labour, both formal and informal, as they are not unionised. A tabular representation on the Contribution of Migrant workers to each sector reveals that the economic contribution of migrant workers to the Indian economy is at least Rs 4834182 Million ($ 99,479 million). The paper drives home the point that migration is an important route out of poverty but to what extent it actually helps in alleviating conditions of poverty is a significant question that has been and will continue plaguing social scientists for years to come.[60]

R. Lusome in his paper "Labour Migration in India" explores the extent of employment oriented migration in India, in the context of the Census and NSSO data. The paper shows that although 38% of the total migrants are in the labour market, (comprising 70% men and 26% women), the numbers are dismal when it comes to its reflection in the NSSO data, thus revealing the vast gaps that exist in the reasons that are stated for migration and the actual labour participation in the different streams of migration. He suggests that a greater understanding of the situation and an extensive exploration of the available data are needed to arrive at a logical conclusion. Migration can have positive and negative effects on the sending and the receiving areas but the existing databases project migration as a grey area where the exact scenario of migration is not available. Migration is shown in good light as an indicator of development where remittances and skills received enrich the sending areas but the post effects of migration

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[60] Priya Deshingkar and Shaheen Akter, "Migration and Human Development in India," Human Development Research Paper (2009): 1-90.

are hardly discussed. Invisibility of migrants' problems, inequality of wages and lack of representation in policy making and data bases are areas to be explored unavoidably. The issue of migration also lacks understanding with regard to mobility of women. Movement of women is ironically related to marriage and dependence but not to livelihood and economic contribution.[61]

2) Gender and migration

Oishi (2002) in her work "Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach" believes that there is an increase in women's international migration due to feminization of labour and this trend calls for investigation of cross-national patterns of migration. Oishi maintains that economic indicators are not exclusively responsible for migration of Asian women. For example, comparison between sending countries (Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia) and non-sending countries (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) indicates that migration is not always related to unemployment and deprivation. In addition, it is found that women's unemployment rate is remarkably higher than men in Pakistan as compared to Sri Lanka where men's unemployment is higher than women but the rate of migration is higher for women in the case of Sri Lanka. Oishi overtly explains the relationship between migration and other social, cultural and individual factors like tradition, autonomy, decision making etc. in inducing migration.[62]

Farris (2010) in her work "Interregional Migration: The Challenge for Gender and Development" argues that participation of women in international migration has increased dramatically and discusses the growth in women's migration by illustrating

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[61] R. Lusome, "Labour Migration in India," accessed on October 10, 2014, http://community.eldis.org/.59b6a372/Labour%20Migration%20in%20India.pdf .
[62] Nana Oishi, "Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach," The Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies Working Paper 49 (2002): 1-19.

examples from South Asian countries. However, Farris claims that discussion on participation of women in labour market is scarce and women's presence in receiving countries is associated with multiple challenges and impediments. Existing studies indicate that women are restricted to their roles in the "so-called" migratory chain. This study highlights that there is differential treatment between men and women in the receiving countries both in economic and socio-cultural terms.[63]

Sen (1999) in her work "At the Margins: Women Workers in the Bengal Jute Industry" explains the outcomes of industrial development. More importantly, industrial development exhibits greater challenges for women who look for work in industrial establishments. Massive industrialisation and demand for skilled and sturdy patriarchal labour forces have led to conspicuous negotiation between the industrialists and the patriarchal forces. This results in retention of women's labour at the lower echelons of wage economy. Existing perceptions force women to get engaged in labour-intensive work like picking leaves in the case of jute industries and that is connected to "feminine" skills of women labour force. This article clearly reflects on relative exclusion and marginalisation of women in terms of low payment and vexatious working conditions.[64]

Cortes (2007) in her work entitled "Children and Women Left Behind in Labour Sending Countries: An Appraisal of Social Risks" has explored and analysed how permanent international migration reduces or increases vulnerability and risk of children in left behind households. This article has made an attempt to portray the deep impact of migration on children who are left behind. Cortes concedes that migration has multiple

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[63] Sara R. Farris, "Interregional Migration: The Challenge for Gender and Development," *Development,* Vol. 53 (1) (2010): 98-104.

[64] Samita Sen, "At the Margins: Women Workers in the Bengal Jute Industry," *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* Vol. 33 (1-2) (1999): 239-269.

effects on children in terms of family disruption, lack of parental control, devoid of love and care, mother's absence affecting the process of socialisation, incompetent caregivers failing to provide care etc. Migration of parents assures remittances and financial stability back home but migration fails to alter the embedded gender roles wherein the domestic roles of an absent/migrant mother are transferred to the young girls staying back. It is also essential to understand the patterns of migration and its impact on underdeveloped or developing countries like India because the intensity of migration is high in India and most of the migrants migrate and work in informal sectors where social policy coverage and protection are minimal.[65]

Fan (2003) in her work "Rural-Urban Migration and Gender Division of Labour in Transitional China" acknowledges that socialist economies have encountered social and economic changes due to transition. However, Fan reports that transition has gendered consequences and differential implications for men and women in terms of their work participation. Transition has increased migration and work participation among women but there is gender division in labour which is sometimes marred by the existing social and age constraints in case of girls, specially. This work indicates that migration majorly encompasses youth and their single status is preferred in the case of women which indicate the prejudice that married women may divert their attention towards familial responsibilities which would prove fatal for employers.[66]

Brenner (1987) in her work "Feminist Political Discourses: Radical versus Liberal Approaches to the Feminization of Poverty and Comparable Worth" explains how the

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[65] R. Cortes, "Children and Women Left Behind in Labour Sending Countries: An Appraisal of Social Risks," Division of Policy and Practice, UNICEF, (2008): 1-58.
[66] C. Cindy Fan, "Rural-Urban Migration and Gender Division of Labour in Transitional China," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 27 (1) (2003): 24-47.

labour market perceives women and their contribution within the family. Brenner discusses about feminization of poverty and the comparable worth. Feminisation of poverty implies that women are poor because they fail to find an alternative to marriage and they are highly dependent on men for their sustenance. Moreover, women fail to challenge their dependence on the male bread winner. Feminisation of poverty implicates that the subordinate status of women and economic turmoil that women go through occurs when men fail to contribute to support women and children. In addition to this, women's work and activities are not evaluated systematically and this results in devaluation of their work efficiency.

Brenner also emphasises the concept of comparable worth that questions discrimination in women's wages and calls for radical change and possibilities of increasing the wage level of women. Brenner's point is that comparable worth is significant and effective in case of women who get unionised and demand for their rights.[67]

Reskin (1988) in her work "Bringing the Men Back in: Sex Differentiation and the Devaluation of Women's Work" has opined that the most enduring manifestations of sex inequality in industrial societies are the wage gap and the major causes of the wage gap are segregation of women and men into different kinds of work. Reskin has explained that women are often unable to claim that work in traditionally women's occupations is skilled. There are reasons explained like the devaluation of women's work leading to whatever work women do to be seen as unskilled; women's powerlessness

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[67] Johanna Brenner, "Feminist Political Discourses: Radical versus Liberal Approaches to the Feminization of Poverty and Comparable Worth," *Gender & Society*, Vol. 1 (4) (1987): 447–465.

preventing their work such as caring for children, entering data, assembling microelectronic circuits being recognised as skilled. Scarcity of training programmes to upgrade skills among women denies them a credential position in society.

Reskin is of the view that men in the labour force and other dominating groups maintain their hegemony by differentiating and subjugating the subordinate groups. Subordinate groups comprise women and children. They are considered inferior and are treated differentially. Reskin claims that implementing comparable worth will also not improve women's status and earnings because patriarchal mechanisms keep changing their strategies to demean women's earnings. One of the ways in which the wage gap can be reduced is to ensure women's access to traditionally male occupations.[68]

Kandiyoti (1988) in her work "Bargaining with Patriarchy" explains the strategies used by women to deal with different forms of patriarchy and oppression. The author has drawn from the concept of "patriarchal bargain" which implies that women formulate a set of tactics taking into account the prevalent constraints and hurdles they face. Patriarchal system can be understood by comparing the strategies and coping mechanisms devised by women to increase their security and life options than in an abstract and abrupt fashion.

Kandiyoti has drawn examples from sub-Saharan Africa, Muslim Middle East and East Asia. These strategies clearly point out the ways that women adopt to save themselves in the face of danger, oppression and freedom from polygyny. Interestingly, this article explains that providing no land and credit to women has resulted in protest

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[68] Barbara F. Reskin, "Bringing the Men Back in: Sex Differentiation and the Devaluation of Women's Work." *Gender and Society*, Vol. 2 (1) (1988): 58-81.

and denial to cooperate with men in carrying out various activities. Women have started bargaining and negotiating in exchange for their labour and services because women lose their position and autonomy when they are dependent on their husbands. In contrast to this, in other forms of patriarchy, women try to retain their control by subordinating younger women in the family. This article reveals that in case of poor and vulnerable people each member's contribution to survival is indispensable and therefore, it defies the myth that men provide for economic protection of women. Patriarchal bargain can go a long way to shape women's unrecognised contribution in society.[69]

Sandbergen (1995)[70] in her work *Women and Seasonal Labour Migration* is of the view that the existing literature shows clearly the under representation of women and migration in South Asian Studies. Most of the migration studies have been studies primarily from a men's perspective. This practice has led to the under representation of women's migration which is usually thought of as uninteresting. Because of the village practices and rule of exogamy most of the movement is considered as marriage migration. She also indicates that most of the adult women migration remains unanalysed and the migrant women are considered to be part of the domestic and private sphere rather than contributing to production or wider economy. This work discusses the seasonal survival migration and presents different categories of women who migrate; namely tribal women staying behind in forest areas while their men migrate, young unmarried girls and married women migrating in groups (Kerala) and migration of rural households from Maharashtra and Orissa.

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[69] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," *Gender and Society*, Vol. 2 (3), Special Issue to Honour Jessie Bernard, (1988): 274-290.
[70] Loes Schenk Sandbergen, *Women and Seasonal Labour Migration*. (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995).

Brown (1983) in her work "The Impact of Male Labour Migration on Women in Botswana" is of the view that researchers in recent years have focused more on the impact of social and economic development on women. It is also interesting to look at the role women play in society. The studies conducted on migration involve an element of dilemma because numerous scholars have analysed who migrates and what are the causes of migration but there is dearth of literature and there has been little in-depth study on the effects of this migration on women. The recent literature available shows that high rate of migration by men has led to a modification in the structure of family life and has transformed women's social and economic position to their detriment.[71]

Afsar (2011), in her "Contextualising Gender and Migration in South Asia: Critical Insights"[72], examines the existing empirical research on gender and migration from Bangladesh and Sri Lanka to the Arab states. Afsar observes that during migration, gender roles and responsibilities influence differential behaviour patterns of currently married and never married women and men. This work also emphasises the process in which migration enables women and men differently to challenge the existing patterns of formal and informal power and how their lives are moulded by the size of remittances and number of remitters.

Sotelo (1992) in her work "Overcoming Patriarchal Constraints: The Reconstruction of Gender Relations among Mexican Immigrant Women and Men" expounds how gender moulds and modifies the experiences relating to migration and

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[71] Barbara. B. Brown, "The Impact of Male Labour Migration on Women in Botswana," *African Affairs*, Vol. 82 (328) (1983): 367-388.
[72] Rita Afsar, "Contextualizing Gender and Migration in South Asia: Critical Insights," *Gender, Technology and Development*, 15(3) (2011): 389-410.

settlement of Mexican migrant women and men. This article examines the ways in which migration and patriarchy influence each other with patriarchal gender relations organising migration on the one hand and the process of migration reconstructing patriarchy on the other. Sotelo argues that prolonged spousal separation results in the alteration of the extant patterns of patriarchal authority and the traditional gendered household division of labour. Citing the scenario of the husbands preceding other members of the family in cases of family migration from Mexico to the United States, the article also enquires the organisation and reconstruction of migratory experience by patriarchy and patriarchal gender relations. Prolonged spousal separation has resulted in the reshaping of the status of women. As they shoulder those responsibilities which had either been gendered or previously shared between the spouses, a sense of social power and autonomy develop in the migrant women over the time. Thus the migrant separated women upset legitimate authority though they are not accorded legitimate authority nor are permitted to do so within their capacity.[73]

Banerjee and Raju (2009) in their article "Gendered Mobility: Women Migrants and Work in Urban India" discuss the impact of migration on the work participation rates of men and women labourers separately. The role of migration as an agent of cultural diffusion and social integration has been apparent and well stated, however the roles played by the traditional caste and social constructs in initiating and guiding through the course of migration cannot be neglected either. Two patterns of labour migration contribute to the overwhelming presence of women in the migrant population in which marriage continues to be the predominant factor and the other being the gender specific

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[73] Pierrette Hondagneu Sotelo, "Overcoming Patriarchal Constraints: The Reconstruction of Gender Relations among Mexican Immigrant Women and Men," *Gender and Society*, Vol. 6 (3) (1992): 393-415.

patterns of labour movement requiring low skilled women labourers. The main argument put forward in this study is the dwindling work participation of migrant women in labour sectors after they migrate from the rural to the urban. The study holds marriage and reproductive responsibilities as the chief reasons for the diminutive participation of women.[74]

Cooke and Bailey (1996) in their article "Family Migration and the Employment of Married Women and Men" focus on the stumbling blocks before married women in gaining geographic access to employment openings within urban labour markets. The term "tied movers" is used to represent married women as their mobility depends on their husbands. Migration is often found to have been affecting wife's economic benefits in a negative way because of the higher market earning power of men.[75]

LeClere and Mclaughlin (1997) in their article "Family Migration and Changes in Women's Earnings: A Decomposition Analysis" argue that after migration there is a relative loss in the earnings of married women labourers who are accompanied by their family. The factors correspond to the loss of earnings thus propounded are labour force participation, hours of work and wages.[76] Apart from migrant women's work participation, the two basic tenets that help us understand women's migration are the dynamics of gender relations in the family and the labour market. Women migrants are usually neglected and are relegated to the "secondary migrant status" which basically emanates from the assumption of the subsidiary income earning position of women.

[74] Arpita Banerjee and Saraswati Raju, "Gendered Mobility: Women Migrants and Work in Urban India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44 (28) (2009): 115-123.
[75] Thomas J. Cooke and Adrian J. Bailey, "Family Migration and the Employment of Married Women and Men," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 72 (1) (1996): 38-48.
[76] Felicia B. LeClere and Diane K. McLaughlin, "Family Migration and Changes in Women's Earnings: A Decomposition Analysis," *Population Research and Policy Review*, Vol. 16 (4) (1997): 315-335.

Women retain their traditional image of being tied to family and home but that is not always true for the working masses as they form a majority of the working population.

In her study "Making of Female Breadwinners: Migration and Social Networking of Women Domestics in Delhi", Neetha (2004) has found out that women labour migration has a dominant role to play in the structuring and negotiation of asymmetrical, intersecting relations pertaining to gender, caste and class. It is made apparent by the major economic changes which are considered significant in the mobility and structural position of women. The past few decades have recorded an increase in the intensity of female labour migration and the recent change in economic structure is one of the major stakeholders in this regard. However, women's remarkable participation in the economic sector and their contribution to paid and unpaid domestic work throughout the economy could not initiate a dialogue that would call for an inquiry into the relationship between women's living conditions, health and reproductive roles, working conditions and access to social security benefits etc.[77]

As Gupta's (1993) studies suggest, recent years have witnessed higher femininity ratio of migrant population when compared to that of the femininity ratio of non-migrant population. It is alarming that susceptibility to marginalisation and invisibility of labour and employment are very high in the case of migrant women when compared to their male counterparts.[78] Familial environment engages continuously in shaping the migrant women's position. The familial environment is a key player in the shaping of the migrant

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[77] N. Neetha, "Making of Female Breadwinners: Migration and Social Networking of Women Domestics in Delhi," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39 (17) (2004): 1681-1688.

[78] Kamla Gupta, "Women Migrants and their Economic Roles in Indian Metropolises", Paper Prepared for the CICRED meeting on Economic Roles of Migrant Women, Geneva, June 16-18, IIPS, Mumbai, (1993), quoted in K. C. Das and Arunananda Murmu, "Female Migration to Mega Cities of India," *Journal of History and Social Sciences*, Vol. (1) (I) (2010): 5.

woman's position as women's work space is closely linked with the familial environment.

On considering women who migrate alone, Sandbergen (1995)[79] has clearly mentioned about the absence of autonomy in decision making on the part of the solo migrant as the decision to migrate may well be part of a family strategy. Also the role of the extended family continues to be prominent in most forms of migration because of the family's close engagement and association in the woman's reproductive role as well as in sharing child care responsibilities. One usually observed pattern is that of the migrant couple leaving their new born or infant child behind at the origin as the in-laws and the extended family also stays back. Various instances relating to brick kiln migration have also recorded women's experiences caught up in such circumstances. Hazardous living conditions and poor access to medical care or onsite crèche facilities at the destination have forced most of the migrant couple to leave their children back at the origin. Analysing the other side of the family's association with the migrant women, two key aspects brought under consideration are migrant women's economic contribution toward the family and the family's perception about it.

One of the elemental discourses on migration, as Percot's (2006) view suggests, emanates from the comparison of the actual familial environment of the migrant women with that of the economic status of the family in the years following their migration. How a family perceives and accepts the migrant woman contribute to shaping of the roles played by the woman as a wife and a mother. The presence of other contributors in the

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[79] Loes Schenk Sandbergen, *Women and Seasonal Labour Migration*. (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995).

family like the husband and the in-laws serves to downgrade migrant women's value for their own contribution to the family but the situation worsens when the entire family is dependent on the remittances of one migrant. Thus there arises a tendency in the women concerned to consider themselves as being sacrificed and it also goes to the extent of feeling cheated. Adding to the hardships that a woman has to confront in providing sufficiently to the family, the trials and harassments she is vulnerable to at the work space cannot also be overlooked.[80]

Women who have migrated with their family face insularity from social spaces. As Ahn Nga Longva (1997) opines, such women have often expressed the impossibility of having a social life for themselves. Adding to these unfavourable conditions, there are numerous reports of police harassment and brutality against migrants especially against women.[81] Detailed studies show that effect of migration on familial environment and decision making of women is only one side of the coin, while migration has other effects which include role reversal of migrant mothers which thereby inhibits the "mothering roles" and hinders the development of children.

Sinha and Mishra (2012) in their article "Seasonal Migration and Children's Vulnerability: Case of Brick Kiln Migration from Ranchi District" discuss the increase in children's vulnerability due to migration. Most of the poor households from Ranchi district are observed to benefit the maximum from brick kiln migration as it offers a

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[80] Marie Percot, "Indian Nurses in the Gulf: From Job Opportunity to Life Strategy," in *Migrant Women and Work*, ed. Anuja Agrawal, Women and Migration in Asia, Vol. 4 (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), 170.

[81] Ahn Nga Longva, *Walls Built on Sand: Migration, Exclusion and Society in Koweit*, (Oxford: Westview Press, 1997), quoted in Marie Percot, "Indian Nurses in the Gulf: From Job Opportunity to Life Strategy," in *Migrant Women and Work*, ed. Anuja Agrawal, Women and Migration in Asia, Vol. 4 (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), 160.

plethora of work opportunities. The duration of brick kiln migration ranges from 4 to 6 months extending from November to June. Migration of people in groups usually takes place in agriculturally deficient season with the family and a sizable number of children below 14 years of age forming an integral part of it. However, these children who live under severe conditions are prey to physical and psychological suffering and torture. They undergo harsh experiences emanating from ghetto living, lack of education and health facilities. Emotional loss and care are very common in such children. The vulnerability level of girls is noticed to be higher than boys as they are invested with the added responsibility of nurturing their younger siblings and managing household chores apart from their work at the kilns.[82]

While dealing with children and migration in a similar context, Asis, Huang and Yeoh (2004) foreground gender identity and marital status of the migrants as the two chief agents that exert huge influence on their family. Regardless of the nature of profession as either professional or low skilled, married women migrants' mobility in pursuit of employment impacts the familial structure also because they are the pivotal points of social relationships in the family as mothers. Mother's separation from the family for an extended period of time adversely affects the adaptation process of the family and it testifies the critical role played by mothers in the familial sphere. Hence migration has severe repercussions on the family.[83] Identically, UNESCAP (2008) report indicates that migration for work has reordered family life but mother's migration had a

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[82] Himadri Sinha and Purnima Mishra, "Seasonal Migration and Children's Vulnerability: Case of Brick Kiln Migration from Ranchi District," *Journal of Economic and Social Development*, Vol. VIII (1) (2012): 37-48.

[83] Maruja Asis, Shirlena Huang, and Brenda S.A. Yeoh, "When the Light of the Home is Abroad: Unskilled Female Migration and the Filipino Family," *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 25 (2) (2004): 198-215, quoted in Theresa Devasahayam, "Implications of Migration on Family Structures in Southeast Asia," Bertelsmann Stiftung.

greater impact on family structure than father's migration. Migrant men rarely embrace the reproductive responsibilities of their wives. The practicable solution for women is to assign their child care responsibilities to other women, especially relatives. The report also indicates that the children of women migrants in the course of their separation from mothers feel neglected by their own mothers. Some of these children in a state of physical alienation from their mothers seem to develop social, emotional and psychological problems. Migration alters the patterns of childhood development for the worse taking a toll on the socialisation of children and their physical and mental growth.[84]

Ukwatta (2010)[85] in the article "Sri Lankan Female Domestic Workers Overseas: Mothering their Children from a Distance" discusses instances from Sri Lanka, one of the Asian countries where women migrants employed overseas as domestic workers constitute 60 to 70% of total legal migrants. A large number of such migrant population constitutes married women and mothers and the parental care provided to their children has increasingly been becoming an issue of discussion. Migration has been a challenging occupation for the migrant women as they have to leave their children behind though their families are invested with the responsibility of child care. Increased feminization of migration calls out for improved domestic care and the global demand for it has crossed all bounds as market forces began exerting influence over reproductive work which earlier was the sole responsibility of the respective household. These mothers who are

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[84] United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, "Key Trends and Challenges on International Migration and Development in Asia and the Pacific," Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in Asia and the Pacific, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Bangkok, Thailand, (2008), quoted in Theresa Devasahayam, "Implications of Migration on Family Structures in Southeast Asia," Bertelsmann Stiftung.

[85] Swarna Ukwatta, "Sri Lankan Female Domestic Workers Overseas: Mothering their Children from a Distance," *Journal of Population Research,* Vol. 27 (2) (2010): 107-131.

employed as domestic hands leave their children in the company of extended family members and go on to care for other children.

Similarly, Sobritchea (2007) discusses how migration results in a revamp of traditional form of raising families as the families adapt to follow altered forms such as long distance mothering in which left behind children come to terms with an absent mother. The challenges faced by married women migrants are tremendous. Even when the relatives or the extended family offers their support in child care, it only becomes harder for the mother to engage in the process of mothering. Qualities of good mothering demands their engagement in activities of multiple burden and sacrifice which include spending quality time during the brief span of time spent with the child, reaffirming mother's perpetual presence and influence through surrogate figures and proper communication with their children.[86]

Many migrant women have reported their disappointment after trying to engage in these activities and many share a sense of failure in this role, especially when the basic responsibility is handed over to other family members or relatives. Some also confessed their feeling of guilt for not being able to care for their own children while they are employed to care for the children of other women, according to Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002).[87] For the purpose of better understanding, after discussing the

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[86] Carolyn Sobritchea, "Constructions of Mothering: The Experience of Female Filipino Overseas Workers," In *Working and Mothering in Asia: Images, Ideologies and Identities,* eds. Theresa W. Devasahayam and Brenda S. A. Yeoh, 195-220. Singapore: NUS Press, 2007, quoted in Theresa Devasahayam, "Implications of Migration on Family Structures in Southeast Asia," Bertelsmann Stiftung.

[87] Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), quoted in Elspeth Graham, Lucy P. Jordan, Brenda S. A. Yeoh, Theodora Lam, Maruja Asis and Su-Kamdi, "Transnational Families and the Family Nexus: Perspectives of Indonesian and Filipino Children Left Behind by Migrant Parents," *Environment and Planning A,* Vol. 44 (4) (2012): 793-815.

influence of migration on migrating women and their children, it is also relevant to highlight the changing gender roles of migrating women.

On the same subject, Khalid (2011)[88] in the article "Changes in Perception of Gender Roles: Returned Migrants" discusses the consequences of migration on migrants succeeding repatriation. It is of enormous significance to know whether migrants stick to their traditional patterns of behaviour or take on a new track. According to Khalid, the most remarkable differences that permeate within and across cultures are related to the expectation of gender related tasks and power distribution roles. General social perception about gender role beliefs among men and women can be understood from the social roles performed by migrants at the destination. It also helps in understanding gender roles that have been made more flexible and permissive through the process of acculturation that migrants undergo and the social roles that they perform combined with the avenues opening up before them that offer an understanding of the lifestyles and values of the urban society. Enquiry on mode and extent of changes due to acculturation and its retention at the origin by repatriated migrants is ought to begin with an analysis of the shared responsibility of housework and childcare.

Transition in the traditional economic and livelihood patterns of the Santhal tribe leading to the forceful migration of Santhal women to enter labour market has been discussed by Rao and Rana (1997) in their article "Women's Labour and Migration: The Case of the Santhals". For the Santhals, alleviation of starvation demands mobility in search of labour and thus migration acts as a survival strategy. In their struggle to sustain

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[88] Ruhi Khalid, "Changes in Perception of Gender Roles: Returned Migrants*," Pakistan Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 9 (2011): 16-20.

the work offered at migratory destinations seems promising and essential. However, the visible negative influences call attention to the rather serious repercussions of migration. The process of development that has resulted in the displacement of indigenous tribal populations from their traditional locales and tribal hordes without ensuring secure and sustainable options locally is the prime factor leading to migration. To a great extent, women migrants bear the brunt of the process of displacement and migration. In addition to this are the woes of their children. Coping with poor work conditions, children comprise a significant part of the migratory population and are not provided education and proper care apart from the multiple instances of sexual abuse and deprivation that they are subjected to.[89]

First thing to remember from the above discussion is that migration has affected women and children enormously. However, it is equally challenging to identify and explore the severities that women face in the labour market. Keeping this in mind, attempts have been made to review the existing literature in this context.

Warrier (2001) in the article "Women at Work: Migrant Women in Fish Processing Industry" discusses the issues and concerns revolving around migrant women workforce in fish processing industry. There are instances of alarming deprivation of all kinds of welfare benefits meted out to the workforce as a result of casualization of labour in fish processing industry. This industry that contracts women labourers saves the fees to a large extent by underreporting its staff strength to the factories department. The guiding social factors that outnumber the economic factors leading to migration in a way compel

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[89] Nitya Rao and Kumar Rana, "Women's Labour and Migration: The Case of the Santhals," *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 32 (50) (1997): 3187-3189.

women to continue to work under vulnerable and fragile social situations. Women labourers with their origin in Kerala view migration as a liberating force that helped their way out of the everyday misery of domestic fights, drunkenness and hunger. Thus they prefer to continue working in uncongenial settings and oppressive situations.[90]

Perpetuation of labour markets in both developed and developing worlds is tremendously influenced by the migrants' social and kinship networks. Therefore, social networks play an intricate role in addition to women migrants' work patterns and familial roles. As an outcome of the possession of shared social capital and the constant interaction and reciprocal relationship between the people, social networks usually develop among the migrant labourers.

The term social capital as defined by Sundari (2005) refers to the institutions, kinship and standards that mould the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. People of the same kin or the same geographic origin who have already migrated to the city account for the social network which has resulted in the enhancement of investment in physical and human capital.[91]

Labour related movements may be initiated and triggered by economic factors yet, according to Gaur and Saxena, the force that acts as a catalyst between the demand for workforce and the supply of migrant labour is social factors including networks. Informal network and formal networks form the two integral divisions of social networks. Household, kinship, community members, co-relatives at the host destination cover the

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[90] M. V. Shobhana Warrier, "Women at Work: Migrant Women in Fish Processing Industry," *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 36 (37) (2001): 3554-3562.
[91] S. Sundari, "Migration as a Livelihood Strategy: A Gender Perspective," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40 (22-23) (2005): 2295-2303.

arena of informal network whereas labour suppliers hired by workers seeking business, professionals and also traffickers comprise the formal network. Those who stimulate forced migration and engage in human trafficking under disguise occupy the other side of the spectrum and are known under the umbrella term of traffickers. Social networks have the potential to facilitate in creating physical and psychological linkage between the workers and the destination through the support it offers in the form of help.[92]

Widgren and Martin (2002) have identified migrant networks as endowed with tremendous potential when operated effectively and in turn it bestows migrants with numerous benefits. As direct job search assistance provided to the migrant workers is supplied by fellow villagers within the migrant network among whom the relationship is more supportive and cordial, the meagre information costs reduce the probability of unemployment. The models of migration and the associated mechanism of social networking initiated at the destination by primary movers stand in stark contrast and across a wide line of demarcation when compared to the above mentioned pattern of migrant network.[93]

As the information is handed over in a linked fashion and is passed on among the migrants and their immediate chain of contacts leading to the migration of a large group, social networking has tremendous impact on family migration and serial migration. Banerjee (1983) explains that chain migration is the outcome of the communication among migrants and contacts acquired at the destination. Chain migration is an umbrella

[92] Seema Gaur and Prem C. Saxena, "Networks Perpetuating Labour Migration from India to Lebanon: A Comparative Study from the States of Punjab and Tamil Nadu," (2005), accessed December 17, 2014, http://iussp2005.princeton.edu/papers/52510.
[93] Jonas Widgren and Martin Philip, "Managing Migration: The Role of Economic Instruments," *International Migration,* Vol. 40 (5) (2002): 213-229.

term which can be broadly classified into delayed family migration and serial migration. The presence of an initial mover who migrates first is a characteristic feature of delayed family migration. The initial mover's establishment at the destination is succeeded by the movement of dependents or family members at the origin. The network of migration is rather big as it not only includes spouses and children but also parents, siblings and sometimes the extended families also. Therefore, the intention behind migration to enter in the labour force is apparent.

However, interactions between people of unrelated families and households come under serial migration. It largely depends on the interaction between unrelated persons or extra-familial relatives acquainted with each other at the destination. The reluctance among migrants living with their families at the destination to seek assistance from co-villagers can be understood from the categorical sub division of the patterns of migration. There are scholarly explanations testifying that migrants do not seek help from co villagers when relatives are present because of the caste integrity they strictly hold on to which prevents their free interaction with the members of another caste.[94]

Moreno (2002)[95] in her work "Approaches to International Migration, Immigrant Women and Identity" discusses how migrant groups construct the idea of culture. Migrants' ideas of culture and traditions differ from the perceived culture of the destination they cross over to. In such instance where the culture and practices contradict, it becomes difficult to understand migrants' portrayal of their cultural and gender identities.

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[94] Biswajit Banerjee, "Social Networks in the Migration Process: Empirical Evidence on Chain Migration in India," *The Journal of Developing Areas,* Vol. 17 (2) (1983): 185-189.
[95] Ana Bravo Moreno, "Approaches to International Migration, Immigrant Women and Identity," *Migraciones Internacionales*, Vol. 1 (2) (2002): 62-91.

Boyd (1989) in her work "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas" foregrounds the role of family, friendship and community networks in triggering migration to industrial nations. Boyd goes on to add the two basic principles in migration research, firstly, social ties created and maintained across distance acts as the basis for the sustenance of migration over time also in altered fashions and secondly these networks acting as powerful agents in providing strong potential for labour migration to change into family migration.[96]

The report titled "The Female Face of Migration" prepared by Caritas Internationalis (2010)[97] discusses the emergence and extensive use of the term "feminisation of migration". With a rise in the number of women migrants and the subsequent prominence given to the idea, use of this term has become a trend. This report lists out the periodical shift in the emergence of migration. The only pattern of migration existing throughout the decade extending from 1960-1970 had men as the migrants and women were placed at the secondary position as family dependents. However, a visible shift took over the prominent pattern which resulted in the labelling of the women folk as the bread winners of the households.

This article rightly intends to record the benefits of migration wherein the pooling of ideas, skills, attitudes and knowledge work hand in hand to bring in a new ray of hope. But women as migrants experience differently when compared to migrant men. The plethora of challenges before a woman includes abuses, exploitation and health risks. It is

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[96] Monica Boyd, "Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agenda," *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 23 (3) (1989): 638-670.
[97] Caritas Internationalis, "The Female Face of Migration," (2010), accessed on October 8, 2014, http://www.caritas.org/includes/pdf/backgroundmigration.pdf.

with this pattern of migration that concepts like care drain, brain drain, brain waste, grand mothering phenomenon and mobility orphans have emerged.

In the article titled "Power, Difference and Mobility: Feminist Advances in Migration Studies", Silvey (2004) provides an overview of the literature dealing with feminist migration with a special focus on four themes namely politics of scale, mobility as a political process, questions of subjectivity/identity and critical theorizations of space and place. One of the most preferred areas in feminist migration research is the analysis of social scales for gauging migration. Attentions have been drifting away from the cultural struggles of the migrants and its contribution towards moulding the meaning of spaces. However, the dominance of the economic perspective in the conceptualisation of migration research is highlighted and discussed. Similarly, the political angle in migration is hardly ever interrogated. Gender, race, religion, and class questions are raised and the variant perspectives are put under scrutiny by the feminist scholarship on migration. This article points out that most of the dominant studies do not shed light on migrant's identities and the focus has always been on the mobility behaviour.[98]

Horvat's (2013) article "Engendering Borders: Some Critical Thoughts on Theories of Borders and Migration" approaches the study of migration from the perspective of border theory. By dealing with educated women's migration and underprivileged women's migration separately, this work has contextualised and discussed the dual pattern of migration. This article puts the masculine approach to migration at stake by elucidating the role played by gender in it. Issues relating to

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[98] Rachel Silvey, "Power, Difference and Mobility: Feminist Advances in Migration Studies," *Progress in Human Geography,* 28 (4) (2004): 490-506.

women's space and migration are contested and debated throughout. A pattern exists visibly which exalts women's biological, cultural and symbolic roles and continues to enforce or be a mute spectator when it comes to restrictions on her movement and mobility. Private and the public spheres remain water tight compartments when women's movement is brought under scrutiny. The private sphere, strictly separated from any variants of political and other outside interventions, is composed of the natural, biological and emotional unit managed by women but led by men. In stark contrast, the public sphere has no room for women and is occupied exclusively by men. If ever women make any attempt to dismantle the prevalent forms and enter the public sphere, she fails to claim a position.[99]

The issue of migration is multifaceted as it covers themes and ideas from diverse corners. An attempt to review the scholarly works on migration has revealed that the concept of migration has crossed across disciplines to broaden its horizon of understanding. However, after reviewing the earlier works available it was found that the existing literature is fraught with gaps and there are many ideas to be deciphered extensively. The existing literature on women and migration has helped to trace the periodical emergence of migration. It was during the period of 1960-1970 that migration was identified as a movement undertaken by men followed by women as dependents, as tied migrants and marriage migrants. During this period, men were considered the bread winners and the contribution of women was either ignored or overlooked. Women were invisible in the migration process in spite of their numerical proportion in migration. The emergence of the phase of feminisation of migration has raised several concerns about

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[99] Ksenija Vidmar Horvat, "Engendering Borders: Some Critical Thoughts on Theories of Borders and Migration," *Klagenfurter Geographische Schriften*, 29 (2013): 106-113.

women's entry into the labour force and their economic contribution. Feminization of migration has defied the persisting myths about women and their movement. There has been a change in the pattern of migration. Feminisation of migration has given vent to voluntary migration where women irrespective of their age, caste, cultural and lingual affiliations prefer to migrate. No doubt women migrate to contribute economically but on the contrary migrating women are in a paradoxical situation. They send back remittances for the development of family and children but constantly face self criticism because of their failure at the familial level.

3) Migration and exclusion: Memorising fear, isolation, marginalisation and estrangement

Tsuda (2000) in the article "Migration and Alienation: Japanese-Brazilian Return Migrants and the Search for Homeland Abroad" discusses the sense of alienation and estrangement felt by migrants who return to their home country. The study has attempted to capture the views narrated by the migrants from Japan who migrated to Brazil in search of jobs or children who were born to migrant parents.[100]

Boswell (2007)[101] in her article "The Securitisation of Migration: A Risky Strategy for European States" highlights the issue of migration and the effectiveness with which states are able to link immigration policies with the defense of the national political community against external threats. This paper tries to characterise migration as one of the new security issues. The recent public debates on migration and immigration

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[100] Takeyuki Tsuda, "Migration and Alienation: Japanese-Brazilian Return Migrants and the Search for Homeland Abroad," (2000), accessed on September 5, 2011, http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/history/faculty/henryyu/Hist597/Takeyuki_Tsuda.pdf .
[101] Christina Boswell, "The Securitization of Migration: A Risky Strategy for European States," Danish Institute for International Studies, (2007): 1-7.

have always been correlated with problems of criminality, social unrest and inter-ethnic conflict and especially since 9/11 incident, Muslim immigrants have been associated with the threat of fundamental extremism. Boswell is of the view that migration is depicted as a security threat and the practice of securitization of migration would justify the approaches to migration control.

Pilar (2008) in the article "Journeys and Landscapes of Forced Migration: Memorialising Fear among Refugees and Internally Displaced Colombians" discusses the lives of the forced immigrants and refugees who live under the terror of fear, threats, massacre, rape and forced assassinations. This article examines forms and notions of memorialised fear that are inscribed in the narratives of displacement and exile of a group of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Colombia and Colombian refugees in Canada. Pilar further opines that fear is expressed as an embodied memory and narrative thread to remember the past, the journey of forced migration, the interactions with the forced migration regime and the arrival and experiences in another host society.[102]

4) Men, migration and masculinities: Interrelatedness and divergences

Sarti and Scrinzi (2010) in their article "Introduction to the Special issue: Men in a Woman's Job, Male Domestic Workers, International Migration and the Globalisation of Care"[103] discuss the presence of men in a field that is labelled as feminine. They trace the experiences of men domestic workers working under women employers. This work interrogates how the workers' sense of masculinity is constantly challenged in terms of

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[102] Riano Alcala Pilar, "Journeys and Landscapes of Forced Migration: Memorializing Fear among Refugees and Internally Displaced Colombians," *Social Anthropology,* Vol. 16 (1) (2008): 1-18.

[103] Raffaella Sarti and Francesca Scrinzi, "Introduction to the Special Issue: Men in a Woman's Job, Male Domestic Workers, International Migration and the Globalization of Care," *Men and Masculinities*, 13 (1) (2010): 4-15.

the work that they have to do and the authority that they have to obey. On the other hand, their gender roles in their own families are intact or sometimes more "masculine" as their masculinity is constantly snubbed in their workplace and in their work responsibilities. This article chooses illustrations from Europe, Africa and India.

5) People at the margins: Brick kilns and labour migration

Guerin Isabelle et al (2007) in their work "Labour in Brick Kilns: A Case Study in Chennai" aim to explain debt bondage in brick kilns which is the result of numerous factors coming both from supply (employers' constraints and motivations) and from the demand (workers' constraints and motivations). They have further argued that there are certain features which have resulted in the culmination of the entire system of bondage. Some of the features playing pivotal role are pyramidal structure of the labour force, absence of collective action, strict division of tasks and piecework system of payment.[104]

Gupta (2003) in her work "Informal Labour in Brick Kilns: Need for Regulation" talks about the mechanisms involved in the establishment and operation of brick kilns. Brick kilns in India are located in the informal sector and operate in a largely unregulated manner and remain outside the ambit of workplace laws and regulations. Brick kilns are mostly seasonal establishments and the labour laws are openly flouted by kiln owners. Brick kilns in India follow the demand and supply correlation principle and hence, the owners aim at recruiting maximum numbers of labourers to optimise production. On the other hand, marginal farmers toil hard during the lean season for livelihood and get easily lured by the advance money provided by the kiln owners. Only the adult males are

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[104] Guerin Isabelle, Bhukuth Augendra, Parthasarthy, and Venkatasubramanian G, "Labour in Brick Kilns: A Case Study in Chennai," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42 (7) (2007): 599-606.

registered in the muster rolls and the women and children are either underpaid or lowly paid for their labour. Gupta reminds us that intervention by the government and the unions only concentrates on issues related to adjustments and disputes in the kilns. As a result of this, there is less focus on issues related to low wages, inhuman living conditions, lack of social security benefits, health conditions and unsafe working conditions. Gupta draws our attention to the need for strict enforcement of the various provisions enshrined in the Factories Act as its implementation can help to provide better working conditions to kiln workers.[105]

Mandal (2010) in his work "Perpetually Toiling for Others: Women in Brick Factory Works" has argued that economic compulsions and social estrangement have resulted in debasing and discriminatory condition of women workers in brick production. The operative framework of the brick kilns indicate that men are not necessarily and exclusively confined to unskilled work but women are generally confined to inferior, unskilled tasks and their wage earning potentiality reduces over time which on the other hand makes them destitute and submissive.[106]

Singh (2005) in the article "Women Workers in the Brick Kiln Industry in Haryana, India" illustrates that women who seek casual employment are largely employed in brick production. Women are consistently involved in economic activities for survival and fulfilment of their social needs. However, in the process, women end up playing dual roles in both production and reproduction. Singh explains that women work untiringly in the brick kilns and are mostly engaged in semi-skilled activities like

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[105] Jayoti Gupta, "Informal Labour in Brick Kilns: Need for Regulation," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38 (31) (2003): 3282-3292.

[106] Amal Mandal, "Perpetually Toiling for Others: Women in Brick Factory Works," *Indian Journal of Gender Studies,* Vol. 17 (1) (2010): 135-150.

moulding, carrying and unloading. However, the payment that women receive is minimal because they are not registered workers.[107]

Highlighting a similar condition, Iqbal (2006) in his work "Bonded Labour in the Brick Kiln Industry of Pakistan", exposes the conditions prevailing in brick kilns of Pakistan. Iqbal brings to light the significant contribution made by women through family kiln labour in Pakistan. Women being the most vulnerable are the worst affected and are usually found in the brick kilns as advances are binding on their entire families. Women are regularly involved in the making of mud bricks and are made to work even during pregnancy. Iqbal claims that women are subjected to sexual harassment when they work unaccompanied by a male member of the family or when the men run away from the kilns. Along with their engagement in brick making, women also take care of household chores and look after the sick and the elderly.[108]

The review of available literature indicates that there are gaps in migration texts which have to be filled. Existing literature is gender aversive as inclusion of women in migration is only at the secondary level where their contribution goes unnoticed. The most important gap being that the studies have been conducted from men's perspective. It can be concluded from the studies above that economic indicators apparently do not always provide a sufficient explanation for migration as other factors constituting cultural traditions, decision making and political factors sometimes lead to migration. Apart from this, most of the studies only provide a pattern of migration and tend to ignore the contribution of migrant women within the family in reproducing the men breadwinners.

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[107] D. P. Singh, "Women Workers in the Brick Kiln Industry in Haryana, India," *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 12 (1) (2005): 83-97.
[108] Muhammad Javaid Iqbal, "Bonded Labour in the Brick Kiln Industry of Pakistan," *The Lahore Journal of Economics,* Vol. 11 (1) (2006): 99-119.

Moreover, the context overlooks the problems and challenges of migrant women and children. Most of the scholarly works discussed in the review indicate towards the inhibitions and encumbrances that women face when they migrate for livelihood. The existing literature discusses as to how women's participation in labour market diminishes due to their engagement in marriage and reproductive responsibilities, lack of access to higher market due to geographic limitations, low labour force participation and low skilled work profile and relegation to the secondary migrant status.

Migrating women have less autonomy in decision making and migration is more of a family strategy wherein women's reproductive roles and child care responsibilities are moulded by the family. The review of existing literature also highlights the way women migrants' economic contribution is considered an additional income which is not too big for the family. Migrant women's mothering role is also at stake because of migration and this in turn increases children's vulnerability. However, migration is regarded as a welcome change as it liberates women from the despair of domestic fights, drunkenness and hunger. Migration has played an intriguing role in strengthening migrants' social and kinship networks and has helped the migrants physically and psychologically to adapt themselves to their new environment and also to recreate their identity without abandoning their rural cultural self and identity. No doubt migration has brought in ample changes in migrants' life in relation to gender relations, roles, practices and beliefs. The above review of the available literature has provided an overview of the work on gender and migration. It would help us to know whether the ongoing study is an appendage to the existing ones or it has constructed a new space for understanding and dissemination of knowledge in the area of gender and migration.

2.3 Research Methodology

The conceptual framework of the present study necessitates and draws insights from an interdisciplinary approach. The core idea of the present study is to examine the relationship between migration and gender wherein attempts are made to articulate and understand the relationship between migration and women's work, migrant women's access to basic services and consequences of migration on migrant women's gender roles with regard to their decision making, mothering and issues of domesticity etc.

This study borrows from the feminist standpoint scholarship and discusses women's concrete and lived experiences, migrants' decision making power, motherhood and caring challenges. The methodological stance used in the present study is a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative method was used to document and substantiate numerical and factual information in the present study. However, qualitative method was used for understanding social, economic, political and cultural aspects of women's life, migrant women's work, motherhood and child care etc.

In order to understand the extent of migration in Hyderabad and to explore the conditions of the migrants on the outskirts of the city, qualitative methodologies were adopted to collect and collate the data. Using the qualitative methods was all the more important for this study as it helped in capturing women's experience in a better way and in understanding that this experience varied over time and space. The study in Hyderabad comprised interviewing and observing brick kiln migrants at one particular locale depending on their availability and accessibility. For the pilot study, kilns located in Nalgonda and Dundigal village in Qutubullapur mandal in Telangana state were visited for a brief appraisal of the situation. Detailed field work was carried out after formulating

the unstructured interview schedule. Many grave instances of torture and brutality came to forefront during the field work. The pilot study was conducted to understand the pattern of migration from Odisha and to visualise the route of the migrants. During pilot study I came across issues of child labour, torture and sexual abuse. Migrants repeatedly complained of the situation. In addition to the study in Hyderabad, a qualitative study was also carried out in one of the source locations to trace the roots of migration back home in great detail. The field work in Odisha included visits to different villages of Nuapada district where the incidence of brick kiln migration was the highest. The field visit comprised personal interviews, focus group discussions with families and migrants who had migrated to Hyderabad. An unstructured interview schedule was formulated for the study. The purposive random sampling method, unstructured interviews and focus group discussions were chosen as the tools of data collection.

The aim of the study was to tap into the experiences of migrants who were engaged in livelihoods in the unorganised sector. Many cases of negligence and helplessness have come to light in the recent past. The hand chopping case of a bonded labourer in Kalahandi had shocked the nation a few months ago. Pabitra Parabhoe (19 years) of Kuligaon village of Khariar block of Nuapada district got electrocuted while working. There are many more invisible intricate issues that have to be unearthed out of the depths of exploitation and torture that these migrants undergo. One of the aims of the field work was to understand the seriousness of conditions of the migrant brick kiln workers who are badly trapped in conditions of bondage and are facing severe exploitation in the prevailing circumstances. At Tukkuguda village, many of the workers-- men and women-- came forward to share their woeful plight with the researcher,

narrating how they were forced to work under extreme conditions on an average of 14 to 16 hours a day sometimes stretching into late hours of night. Their malnourished bodies and meek look were testimonies to the severe physical hardship, torture and torment that they undergo. The workers toil in conditions of bondage or semi-bondage, facing an ordeal of extreme hardships, overwork and gross underpayment.

Hyderabad at the crossroads of tradition and modernity provides ample work opportunities in the informal sector for people who migrate from neighbouring states like Odisha, Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand etc. Migrant population in Hyderabad is mostly engaged in construction sector, brick kilns, hospitality sector, housekeeping, petty trades etc. There are numerous brick kilns located in and around the city that are trying to satisfy the insatiable hunger of the real estate sector. The rationale behind this study is to highlight the issues related to brick kiln migration and the need for seasonal migration. Due to prevailing droughts and distressful economic conditions, people at the source village are forced to migrate under bonded conditions. People migrate to work in brick kilns in lieu of the advance money taken before hand.

According to the definition given in section 2(g) of the Bonded Labour Act (1976):

> bonded labour means service arising out of loan/debt/advance. It represents the relationship between a creditor and a debtor wherein the debtor undertakes to mortgage his services or the services of any of his family members to the creditor for a specified or unspecified period with or without wages accompanied by denial of choice of alternative avenues of employment, or to deny him freedom of movements, then the person would normally be covered under the definition of a bonded labour.[109]

The overwhelming majority of workers in the brick kilns are either tribals or Dalits. Migrants work under conditions of bondage and the situation is worse in case of women

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[109] The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, accessed on December 18, 2015, http://www.childlineindia.org.in.

and children. There is a flagrant violation of Minimum Wages Act and women are paid much below their work capacity. There is a covert understanding between administration, operating kilns and police that makes it all the more difficult to rescue this section of workers. The tragedy is that kiln owners are constantly flouting the legal provisions and regulations enshrined in the bonded labour act.

Qualitative field research was carried out in the form of interviews with key respondents, focus group discussions and recording of narratives of migrant workers and their families. The main aim of gathering migrants' narratives from the field was to ascertain their access to services and entitlements to basic rights and payment of timely wages. Field study was conducted in two locations namely Dundigal (Hyderabad) and Nuapada (Western Odisha). A total of 78 women migrants were identified for the purpose of fieldwork. For identifying respondents in Telangana the researcher made an attempt to visit Dundigal time and again as this place was the hub of brick manufacturing units. Migrants were contacted and rapport was built during the weekly markets every Sunday. Those identified migrants were contacted in their respective kilns. Field work in Dundigal was done between December and May.

Migrants usually settle down in the kiln location by the end of October every year where usually they are provided with housing materials to build their huts. In some of the kilns it was interesting to look at their housing pattern where people from one caste congregate at one location and people from other castes maintain distance while constructing their huts. Plastic sheets and unused broken bricks were provided for making huts. The researcher reached the kiln site at around 7.30 am everyday and it was around 8.30 am that the migrants broke for breakfast and rest. It was during this period that the

researcher interacted with them. In most of the kilns, it was really testing for the researcher to convince supervisors present there. They asked their men to closely monitor the researcher and her work.

Contact with migrant families and individuals at the source village was initiated through AHEAD, Nuapada, an NGO working at the local level aiming at registration of migrants for identity proof before migration. The field coordinators had helped to locate the most migrating villages from Nuapada district. For the purpose of field work, 8 villages from different blocks were selected in Nuapada district. Field work was conducted in Nuapada between July and September. It was challenging to locate migrants in villages because it was post monsoon period and people were engaged in cultivating their lands or in agricultural activities as labourers. However, the researcher could identify and locate women migrants as women in villages usually do not move out to work in the same village.

Migrant women were selected from the most migrating villages. Key respondents were selected through purposive random sampling. This was done with an aim to locate the most migrating families and people who migrated over a span of time. It was done to locate those people who could give a closer picture of the migrating conditions. There were other families in the villages that used to migrate for work in other sectors but women from those families necessarily did not migrate along with them.

The purpose was to select a sample of women migrating to work in brick kilns specifically. However, heterogeneity was maintained while identifying the sample by choosing respondents across all age groups, castes and cultural identities. The most

migrating villages identified were Risgaon, Amera, Chanutmal, Badi, Rahenpadar, Kottamal, Kirkita, Lachhipur Nehna. Focus group discussions were conducted in each of these identified villages. At least one focus group discussion was conducted in each of the village. To supplement the information that emerged during focus group discussions, key respondents' interviews were also conducted. As part of qualitative field research, interviews were conducted with 78 key women respondents. For the purpose of conducting interviews an unstructured interview schedule was used comprising a few open ended questions and a list of topics were used to initiate the discussion and participation during the interview. Some of the key issues that were explored during the interview were challenges faced by migrant women and how they managed, issues faced during migration and their reintegration back in their source villages and how the experiences of migration affected men, women, children and elderly differently. During the interview at times respondents were emotionally touched recalling their experiences during migration and expressed their regret, dissent, repentance and disappointment.

To highlight the importance of qualitative methodology in feminist research, Farganis (1986) explains that the aim of qualitative methodology lies in its insistence on alternative ways of knowing and on privileging the perspectives of women.[110] Women are privileged observers because they have developed abilities to understand the phenomena through intuition and emotionality (Cook and Fonow, 1986).[111] Also, as an

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[110] Sondra Farganis, "Social Theory and Feminist Theory: The Need for Dialogue," *Sociological Inquiry*, Vol. 56 (1) (1986): 50-68, quoted in Joey Sprague and Mary K. Zimmerman, "Quality and Quantity: Reconstructing Feminist Methodology," *The American Sociologist*, Feminist Scholarship in Sociology, Vol. 20 (1) (1989): 74.

[111] Judith A. Cook and Mary Margaret Fonow, "Knowledge and Women's Interests: Issues of Epistemology and Methodology in Feminist Sociological Research," *Sociological Inquiry*, Vol. 56 (1) (1986): 2-29., quoted in Joey Sprague and Mary K. Zimmerman, "Quality and Quantity: Reconstructing Feminist Methodology," *The American Sociologist,* Feminist Scholarship in Sociology, Vol. 20 (1) (1989): 74.

oppressed group, women have to develop a dual perspective, to understand the point of view of their dominators as well as the perspective developed through their own experience. In the present study, focus group discussions were used along with interview method to help women respondents to express their views and open up for elaborate conversation between the respondents. Montell (1999) explains that:

> a group interview can also be a better forum for getting at many issues because in individual interviews each question requires an answer while in group interviews the goal is instead to initiate a conversation. Vague or difficult questions elicit greater response because a group conversation allows people to feel more comfortable bringing up different ideas without the pressure to provide a definitive answer to each question. In a group interview, participants can build on the responses of others so that a short or obvious comment does not have to be a dead end as it might be in an individual interview but can serve as a spark for the participant's contribution.[112]

One of the respondents when asked about access to medical facilities said that "The owner takes us to hospital if we have illness", but other people sitting around her started giggling and as the discussion advanced other women in the group added that proper medical treatment was not provided. It was only after repeated fights and arguments that the owner agreed to take them to the hospital. When respondents were alone they were hesitant to express clearly but in a group discussion people took clues from each other's conversation and took the discussion forward. These statements reflect the urgency and the essence of focus group discussions. In an individual interview the responses that are elicited somewhere reflect the expectations of the interviewer but in a group discussion many contradictory ideas are expressed that act as a catalyst prompting for further discussions. Goss and Leinbach (1996) are of the view that:

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[112] Frances Montell, "Focus Group Interviews: A New Feminist Method," *NWSA Journal,* Vol. 11 (1) (1999): 48.

focus group gives participants an opportunity to narrate their personal experiences and to test their interpretations of events and processes with others, and whether confirmed or disputed, the result is a polyvocal production, a multiplicity of voices speaking from a variety of subject positions.[113]

A combination of interviews and focus group discussions is an ideal tool for feminist research. As a woman the researcher had to face many hurdles and inhibitions to carry on effective field work and data collection. Researcher's identity as an "outsider" to the group resulted in many epistemological lapses. However, a woman researcher's identity with regard to her caste, gender, culture and language helped her to articulate the subject from a different perspective. She was considered an outsider but her identity as a woman helped the migrant respondents to confide in her. But to a great extent the woman researcher had to face dissent and resistance from the village community and the local sardars. After repeated attempts, the researcher tried speaking to the sardars to understand the operating nexus between the structure of sardars and migrant agents. At the destination, as a researcher she was engulfed by suspicion and resistance from the supervisors. Supervisors perceived the researcher as a threat to their existing operation.

During the course of field work, women workers have repeatedly reported verbal sexual abuse by the owners. It was a huge personal risk for the researcher to discuss with the respondents and document their testimonies. However, honest attempts have been made to record migrant's testimonies in spite of repeated disruptions by the brick kiln owners who were repeatedly questioning the researcher's credentials and identity. During one of the field visits to Tukkuguda in Nalgonda district, the researcher had to face nasty

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[113] Jon D. Goss and Thomas R. Leinbach, "Focus Groups as Alternative Research Practice: Experience with Transmigrants in Indonesia*,*" *Area*, Vol. 28 (2) (1996), 116, quoted in Frances Montell *"*Focus Group Interviews: A New Feminist Method,*" NWSA Journal*, Vol. 11 (1) (1999): 51.

verbal sexual abuses. The researcher was intimidated by the kiln owner and his henchmen. However, under an atmosphere of terror and pressure the researcher tried her best to document migrants' testimonies of fear, torture and violence.

Picture 2.1: An earnest plea for rescue [114]

It was equally challenging and tough for a woman researcher to visit brick kilns singlehandedly. During the initial phase of my field work I was part of a team of volunteers comprising activists, research students and faculty from University of Hyderabad and other institutions in Hyderabad. We visited the site of the brick kiln in order to investigate and probe the complaints made by the aggrieved workers. During those visits I located the kilns in the Dundigal area and tried to build rapport with the respondents during my repeated visits.

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[114] All the pictures used in the thesis are taken by the researcher during the field work, unless otherwise specified.

2.4 Feminist Standpoint Perspective

Women's courage, strength and motivation have helped them to speak about their experience and to break the widespread silence, ignorance and the existing oppressive patriarchal structure. To gain deeper insight into the lives of women we need to understand the issue from a "feminist standpoint epistemology". Feminist standpoint epistemology aims at gathering and building knowledge from a woman's position of direct and lived experience. Many of the feminist scholars working in varied disciplines such as Dorothy Smith, Nancy Hartsock, Hilary Rose, Sandra Harding, Patricia Hill Collins, Alison Jaggar and Donna Haraway have proposed taking women's lived and concrete experiences as the beginning of scientific enquiry. It can be assumed from the above observations that women's location and their personal position amidst all the sufferings, exploitation, physical pain and mental anguish provide them a unique identity to give voice to their testimonials.

Brooks (2007) explains the feminist standpoint epistemology as a unique philosophy of knowledge building that challenges us to firstly, see and understand the world through the eyes and experiences of oppressed women and secondly, to apply the vision and knowledge of oppressed women to social activism and social change. Feminist standpoint epistemology requires the fusion of knowledge and practice. It is both a theory of knowledge building and a method of doing research and an approach to knowledge construction and a call to political action. Two primary apostles of feminist standpoint epistemology are--what are some of the new insights and perspectives that women's life experiences reveal about the larger social world and how do we translate what we learn from women's everyday lives and from the different oppressed positions women inhabit

in society into political and social action.[115] Women's everyday lived experiences provide a lens through which we can examine society. For us to gather women's experiences we first need to place women at the centre of the research process.

In this present study migrant women are located in the context of brick migration which itself indicates the amount of hardship and toil that women undergo. This location itself helps us to gather the concrete experiences of women that would provide us the starting point to build knowledge. To gain deeper understanding of women's experiences we need to articulate first the conditions under which they are forced to migrate. One of the startling features of feudal capitalistic system is the way capital or monetary resource is able to control labour by exploitation and extraction. The essence of payment of advance indicates that money is paid during crisis or an agrarian crisis that is fuelled by neo-liberal policies that leads to rural distress and unrest among the poorest of the poor. This form of distress is bound to recur every year because of capitalist tendencies and policy loopholes. The worst effects of these predatory policies have been on tribals, Dalits and women. Such policies have snatched away their livelihood and sustainability opportunities. This indicates the pressure that women, Dalits and tribals undergo before they choose to migrate either willingly or due to societal push.

Once people migrate they keep on taking advance and loans every year. It leads to continual migration and people repeatedly go on migration every year. The present study attempts to locate these women who migrate and aims to gather their testimonials which would help us to visibly identify these women and their work. One of the women

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[115] Abigail Brooks, "Feminist Standpoint Epistemology: Building Knowledge and Empowerment through Women's Lived Experience," in *Feminist Research Practise,* ed. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy, (USA: Sage Publications, 2007), 53-82.

migrants recollected her experiences during migration and said that the owner told them, "It does not matter if you die but you all should work". She also added that "We adivasi people are tortured and the government only helps mahajan people. When we go back to our villages people laugh at our looks and they say your faces are burnt". During the process of taking interviews it was found that listening and talking to migrant women from their perspectives also helped other migrant women to provide valuable glimpses into the silent and untouched areas of their personal and emotional lives.

Harding (1993) explains that in societies where scientific rationality and objectivity are claimed to be highly valued by dominant groups, marginalised peoples and those who listen attentively to them will point out that from the perspective of marginal lives the dominant accounts are not objective. Dominant groups fail thoroughly and seriously to provide an account of the social situation of the marginalised lives. Epistemological generation of knowledge requires understanding of the experiences and lives of marginalised people because they can provide greater understanding of their problems rather than the dominant groups who fail to interrogate the situation scientifically and epistemologically.[116] Hence, it is essential to locate and understand the voices of women who have experienced marginalisation, vulnerability and changes in their lives resulting from their migration. The next chapter begins the analysis by profiling the migrant women in brick kilns.

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[116] Sandra Harding, "Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What is Strong Objectivity?" in *Feminist Epistemologies*, eds. Linda Martin Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter (Routledge, 1993):49-82.

Chapter 3

Profiling the Migrant Women: The Deciding Factors

3.1 Introduction

Western Odisha is a territory in Western part of Odisha, India, extending from the Kalahandi district in the south to the Sundargarh district in the northwest. Western Odisha includes the districts of Balangir, Bargarh, Boudh, Deogarh, Jharsuguda, Kalahandi, Nuapada, Sambalpur, Sonepur, Sundargarh, and Aathamallik Sub-division of Angul District.[117]

The striking geographical features like rolling mountains, undulating meadows, enchanting waterfalls and terraced valleys provide a unique view to the eye as very few other districts in the state can. This part of Odisha is the nature's cradle for the innumerable number of tribes that inhabit the dense woodlands and forest rich areas. Now the undivided districts of Koraput, Kalahandi and Balangir have been divided to pave the way for the creation of other districts which have been carved out of undivided Western Odisha.[118]

This chapter aims to analyse and understand the reasons for migration and it would also include a detailed profiling of migrant women who migrate to work in the brick kilns. It is imperative to have an understanding of their cultural practices, economic conditions and agricultural practices as it would provide an in-depth understanding as to why and how people choose to migrate and under what conditions.

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[117] "Western Odisha," accessed on June 9, 2016, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_Odisha#Folk_musical_instruments.
[118] Gazetteer of India; Kalahandi RI-2/291, Koraput RII-2/32B, Balangir RI-2/31A.

3.1.1 Geographical location

Starting with Koraput, the district lies at 17.4 degrees to 20.7 degrees north latitude and 81.24 degrees to 84.2 degrees east longitude. Kalahandi occupies the south-western portion of Odisha and is situated between 19.3 degrees to 21.5 degrees north latitude and 82.2 degrees to 83.4 degrees east longitude. Balangir is located between 20.9 degrees to 21.11 degrees north latitude and 82.41 degrees to 84.16 degrees east longitude. The undivided districts of Koraput, Kalahandi and Balangir have been divided to form separate districts. During 1992-93, the three larger districts were re-organised into eight districts namely Malkangiri, Koraput, Nabrangpur, Kalahandi, Rayagada, Nuapada, Balangir and Sonepur.

3.1.2 Languages

Reference to the archival Gazetteer of India reports indicate that according to the Census of 1961 and 1971 there were almost 24-28 spoken languages in these districts. Oriya is the principal language spoken by the people. However, the accent in which the language is spoken differs. The variety of Oriya spoken in these districts shares the broad features of the Sambalpuri dialect. Apart from this, other modern Indian languages are spoken which include Hindi, English, Bengali, Gujarati, Telugu, Malayalam, Marwari, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu and Punjabi. However, the most interesting fact is that in spite of modernization and outside intrusion, tribals have been able to preserve their tribal languages which they speak even today.

Tribal languages have a distinct dialect which tribals have developed and maintained because of a close and unique association among themselves over the period. For example; Kui is the language of the Khonds, Gondi is spoken by Gonds, Gadaba or

the Gutab language is spoken by all tribes of the Gadabas, the Parengas, the Bondas and has also influenced the language of some Paroja tribes.[119]

3.2 General Structure of Castes and Tribes

Innumerable number of caste groups fit into the structure of these districts. However, archival sources indicate that the number of caste groups are increasing due to assimilation of groups which were formerly not within the hindu caste structure. Some of the prominent castes are Acchuvaru, Agaru, Badhei, Bagata, Bariki, Bauri, Bavuri, Bhandari, Brahmin, Chandala, Chitra-ghasi, Dhakkodo, Dhobi, Dhuliya, Domb, Gauda, Golla, Gudiya, Haddi, Jaggali Kalingi, Keuta, Kandara, Kansari, Karan, Kshtriya, Kumhara, Boipari, Lohara, Madiga, Mala, Mali, Omanatya, Paidi, Paika, Painda, Rona, Sapari, Sundi, Sankhari, Telli, Tanti, Valimiki, Bairagi, Bangti, Bhulia, Dosi, Gaura, Kosta, Kultha, Kurmi, Sampuas, Sunari, Sundhi, Beldar, Chamar, Dhoba, Dom, Ganda, Mahar, Panika, Aghrias, Bhuliya, Betra, Dhoba and Dumal.[120]

Western part of Odisha is hilly and covered by forests.[121] Different tribes inhabiting the western part form an integral component of this society. Most of the tribes are forest dwellers and they cling on to their tradition and live in isolation. However, spread of education, communication facilities and the implementation of various welfare and developmental projects have helped the tribals to change their traditional manners and customs to some extent. The archival writings have categorised the tribes into the following three broad divisions-- real primitive tribes, tribes in transition and assimilated tribes.

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[119] Gazetteer of India, Kalahandi RI-2/291; Koraput RII-2/32B; Balangir RI-2/31A
[120] Gazetteer of India, Kalahandi RI-2/291; Koraput RII-2/32B; Balangir RI-2/31A
[121] ibid

3.2.1 Classification of tribes

The Gazetteer of India[122] classifies the tribes as:

a. Real primitive tribes: These tribes have distinct culture, customs, practices and language. They mostly remain isolated from non tribes and other tribes. They are mostly dependent on forest for their livelihood and have an unstable economy in which they practice shifting cultivation.

b. Tribes in transition: These tribes have made an attempt and have readily adopted the economic system of the civilised society. However, the degree of adoption and assimilation differs as their social organisation and culture are less responsive to change.

c. Assimilated tribes: These tribes have been completely assimilated by the hindu society. They have changed in terms of their culture, language, dress, practices etc. Some of the prominent tribes that inhabit this part of western Odisha are Bagata, Bhottada, Bonda Poraja, Bonda Gadaba, Parenga Gadaba, Didayis, Gond, Jatapu, Khond, Kandha, Konda-Dora, Koya, Pentiya, Paroja, Savar, Golla, Haddi, Mali, Omanatya, Paidi, Pana, Rona, Telli, Saora, Binjhals, Saoras, Bhunjia, Dals, Mirdha, Munda, Paraja, Shabar.

3.3 Socio-Economic Conditions of Kalahandi-Balangir-Koraput Districts

3.3.1 Social customs and cultural practices

Social customs and practices followed by different castes and tribes are not exclusive in nature and differ from one group to the other. They follow several customs related to child birth, mortuary practices, marriage, property, inheritance, divorce, widow remarriage, festivals and merry making. The occasion of child birth among different tribes and castes is followed by the practice of isolation and observance of purity and

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[122] Gazetteer of India, Kalahandi RI-2/291; Koraput RII-2/32B; Balangir RI-2/31A

pollution. The entire event comes to an end with the ceremony known as *ekoisa* also called as name giving ceremony of the child. The period of pollution observed varies from tribe to tribe and caste to caste. However, the most distinct practice is the way children are named. For example, the Chenchus have a very interesting way of naming their children. If a child is born when an official or person of some distinction happens to be near their encampment, it is named after them. Thus names such as collector, tahsildar and superintendent are given to the new born. Among some tribes the child is named after a dead ancestor.

The mortuary customs do not vary to a great extent in comparison to the ones followed by the mainstream society. The dead are either burnt or buried. Death pollution is observed ranging from three days to thirteen days and there are restrictions with regard to food. Marriage practices among the tribes differ. They practice monogamy, polygamy and polyandry. Forms of marriage practiced among tribes include brahma, arsha, daiva, prajapatya, asura, gandharva, rakshasa and paishacha. Most of the tribes do not practice dowry. Largely endogamy is practiced but over the period people have become tolerant to inter-caste marriages as well.[123]

3.3.2 Agricultural practices and economic conditions

The economy of these districts is mainly dependent on agriculture which employs about 84% of its labour force. People are more into agriculture and this is not because agriculture is well developed in the district, but due to the fact that opportunities for gainful work outside agriculture are extremely limited. Agricultural practices have also suffered severe setbacks, the most important reason being the erratic rainfall and its

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[123] Gazetteer of India, Kalahandi RI-2/291; Koraput RII-2/32B; Balangir RI-2/31A.

uneven distribution that has led to crop failure for several years in the past. In addition to this, the irrigation facilities are not well developed in these districts. The practice of shifting cultivation has caused acute soil erosion in this particular area and has also lead to depletion of valuable forest wealth. Moreover, this form of agricultural practice affects environmental conditions and also leads to land desertification. Irrigation facilities are highly deficient in these districts. Moreover, due to assimilation, depletion of forest resources and decline of community based occupations, tribal economy at present is largely dependent on agriculture. However, no regular or systematic irrigation facilities have been developed so far. Most of the water reservoirs, tanks and wells are in derelict condition and are in need of immediate attention.

In addition to failure of agriculture, the major setback to their economy is the occurrence of frequent droughts and at times untimely floods. With reference to Kalahandi district, archival sources indicate that almost the entire district is drought prone but areas frequently susceptible to drought conditions are the entire Nawapara tahsil, Lanjigarh, Madanpur, Rampur and Narla blocks in Lanjigarh tahsil and Golamunda block in Dharamgarh tahsil. Partial failure of crops in the remaining areas is reported almost every year.

This was the situation before Nuapada was carved out of Kalahandi as a separate district. Food scarcity in 1868, famine in 1897, famine in 1899, famine in 1919-20, drought in 1954-55, drought in 1965-66, floods in 1977 are some of the natural havocs that have affected the economic condition of the district to a great extent. These natural calamities have led to failure of crops which have shattered the rural economy of the district. The bulk of the village population which comprises landless agricultural

labourers was confronted with the ghastly problem of unemployment due to suspension of all forms of agricultural activities and this has in turn led to the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas.[124]

3.3.3 Importance of forest in the economy of the KBK districts

Among the KBK districts, Kalahandi district is noted for its rich forests that cover nearly 40 percent of its total geographical area. Leaving aside agriculture, forest revenue also contributes to the economy of these districts. These districts are rich in forest resources especially products like good quality timber, bamboo and kendu leaves. The local people get some employment in plucking the kendu leaves. People are recruited in saw mills and carpentry units that use timber. People are also engaged in collection of mohua flowers that are used for preparation of country liquor.Bamboo of excellent quality is the predominant product of the forest tracts in Lanjigarh and Bhawanipatna tahsils. Teak, sal, piasal, sisu, sahaj, bija, jamun, mohua etc. are the main timber species found in the district. There was a time when teak or sal was abundant in this area. Khariar is the only area within the state of Odisha which forms a part of the natural teak belt of Madhya Pradesh and once it owned some of the best teak. But due to reckless felling by the contractors engaged by the former zamindars, the valuable timber resources have practically disappeared. Exploitation of large timber was carried on by the contract system and the contractors were given the monopoly to fell trees above a certain girth.

Decline in accumulation of forest produce and implementation of several forest laws have prevented tribals to venture into the forest to collect forest products for their livelihood. Such conditions have forced tribals to migrate in search of work. All these

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[124] Gazetteer of India, Kalahandi RI-2/291; Koraput RII-2/32B; Balangir RI-2/31A.

factors have led to migration which is seasonal in nature. The term seasonal is of importance because people migrate during the lean season when there are no opportunities to take up cultivation or work as share croppers or labourers.

3.3.4 Historical context

Women migrate to work in response to the social and economic needs. For women, the economic context of the origin village conditions how migration occurs and how decisions are made. When culture, practices and policies in the origin discriminate and exclude women from active participation in society, it affects the women's potential for development. However, existing gender relations and gender hierarchies also determine women's migration.

In the present study it was found that women migrate in equal numbers along with men. Women migrate as workers and participate in the labour market. Migrant women display a proportion of significant agencies. However, it is indispensable to understand the conditions under which women migrate and to analyse the process through which women liberate themselves from the existing gender norms.

Opportunities and constraints are the two important factors that work in tandem to prompt migration in Nuapada district of Odisha. The lives of Dalit women in Nuapada district revolve around the stigmatised societal relations and discrimination. Caste system has regulated the social and economic life of women in this part of Odisha. The individual caste identity, civil and economic rights, social identification are ascribed by birth. The ascribed caste and tribal identities are unequal, disparate, hierarchical and tormenting. Their livelihood is mostly dependent on the exchange of services as observed

in patron-client relationship called jajmani system wherein people from lower castes provide labour and services to the upper caste people.

Dalit men and women from Nuapada are engaged in traditional occupations like drum beating, cattle rearing, skinning dead animals, fishing, shrub clearing, mat making, share cropping etc. These form the major source of their livelihood. However, due to increasing competition there has been a decline in their caste occupations. Some of the respondents have said that most of the work can be done by machines and that their services are no longer needed. Men were engaged in skinning of dead animals and women were engaged in making drums but now they no longer practice that work because villagers do not require their services for death and bath ceremonies.

Similarly, life is not less complex for the tribals who have settled down in Nuapada. Most of the tribals can be located in the western part of Odisha as this place is geographically rich in forest resources and the tribal economy is mostly subsistence oriented. Tribal women's livelihood is mostly based on food gathering, hunting, making of handmade bamboo household items and subsistence agriculture. They are devoid of irrigation facilities and land holdings and are mostly engaged in share cropping. But with the passage of the forest act the tribal economy is at stake.

A study conducted by Vasundhara (2008) reveals that marginal, small and big farmers get about 96, 38 and 20 per cent respectively of what they get from paddy in any given season. This implies that kendu leaf is of immense importance in terms of livelihood to people who either have none or very meagre landholdings. Moreover, involvement of women when compared to men results in increased collection and

processing of the produce. Kendu leaf (KL) plucking provides employment and means of livelihood to millions of families spread across the country. Poverty, illiteracy and high degree of unemployment are cited as factors for women and children taking to kendu leaf plucking in a big way. Kendu leaf provides employment opportunities for millions of tribals, Dalits and other landless people during summer when there is no agricultural work or opportunities of wage earnings.[125]

Women are highly engaged in plucking and collection of Kendu leaves. Odisha is the largest producer of kendu leaves which are used for wrapping bidis and the kendu leaves produced in the western part of Odisha are considered to be the best throughout India. Collection and processing of kendu leaves is seasonal operation and both skilled and unskilled workers are engaged in it. Plucking of kendu leaves is mostly done by women who work from early morning till noon. Women are paid for their work but the payment is sporadic due to involvement of government procedures. But since two decades the economy of this area has undergone systemic change.

Production of bidi has come down and that has led to decline in collection of kendu leaves. This has impeded the livelihood options of many tribals in Nuapada. People were left in distress condition with no livelihood options. Women were never paid promptly and regularly for the work they did. It was harder for women because they lost their livelihood options and because of existing taboos and honour associated with their status they were not allowed to get engaged in any other form of work. Tribal women's engagement in household based traditional and low paid work indicates their low

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[125] Nihar Dash, "A Study on Kendu Leaf Based Livelihood and Possible Institutional Alternative with Special Focus on FRA, in Major Kendu Leaf Potential Areas of Odisha," Vasundhara *(*2008). Vasundhara is a research and policy advocacy group that works on environment conservation and sustainable livelihood issues.

socio-economic conditions and dire poverty. Tribal women are largely engaged in low skilled jobs because they lack skills and resources. In addition to the decline of traditional community based occupations, there are various other reasons that have led to the exodus of rural people. One of them is the failure of MGNREGS in providing 100 days of employment. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme was introduced for addressing rural poverty and employment, checking migration, empowering rural youth but the official data available shows its failure in providing adequate employment.

The official data reveals the performance of MGNREGS in Odisha. It was found that in 2008-09, only 22.6% of families with job cards were provided jobs. The corresponding figures are 24% in 2009-10 and 20.7% in 2010-11. In terms of providing 100 days of guaranteed employment to families that have availed of a job under the scheme, the figure is abysmally low at 4.4% in 2008-09, 6% in 2009-10 and 3% in the current year 2010-11. In 2006-07, Odisha provided 57.5 work days to people availing of the scheme. But in the ensuing years, the figures show a downward trend. In 2007-08, it was 37days, 36 days in 2008-09, 40 days in 2009-10 and 37 days in 2010-11.[126]

A report issued by the Comptroller and Auditor General (2010) reveals that rural migration has increased by a whopping 116 percent in Odisha. The rate of rural migration was abnormally high by 483 percent in Nuapada district while the state average was 116 percent. Similarly, when we look at women's participation in MGNREGA work, it can be found that it is abysmally low in Odisha as compared to other states. Women's

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[126] Pradeep Baisakh, "MGNREGA Performs Poorly in Poverty Stricken Orissa," Infochange Poverty, January 2011, accessed on December 18, 2013, http://infochangeindia.org/poverty/features/mgnrega-performs-poorly-in-poverty-stricken-orissa.html.

participation in MGNREGA work for the fiscal year 2014-15 was 33.79%.[127] The participation rate has decreased over the years. There are many interlinked factors that are responsible for women's low participation in MGNREGA work. Women's participation depends on availability of work. At the familial level men are preferred over women to go for the available work though the payment for both men and women is the same. Secondly, the available work at times requires more physical force and men workers are preferred over women. Thirdly, women have complained about delay in payment. Fourthly, social taboo attached with women working outside restrains them from working outside.

For these women, moving away from villages is a more appropriate option to earn their livelihood. Most of the women respondents have revealed that their families have been migrating since two decades after the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in Nuapada. People who are migrating are mostly successors. However, there were families who were first time migrants but they have also mentioned that they were motivated by their relatives and neighbours to migrate. Women who migrate are mostly in the age group of 21-30 and 31-40. Most of these women either migrate with their husbands, or family members, or trusted villagers if they are migrating alone.

The available literature indicates that women either migrate as dependents or as tied members. However, I argue that women in the context of brick kiln migration move out also to defy the existing taboos and practices. They move along with their families but they contribute economically as well as to the household activities. Largely people

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[127] *Times of India*, "NREGS Failed to Contain Rural Migration in Orissa: CAG," Jul 22, 2010, accessed on December 18, 2013, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bhubaneswar/NREGS-failed-to-contain-rural-migration-in-Orissa-CAG/articleshow/6202379.cms.

preferred to migrate to brick kilns because to meet their social needs they needed money and that was available in the form of loan given by sahukars. In order to repay that money, they accept the advance money given by sardars who prompt people to migrate. Migration is not always an outcome of economic distress. Decline in traditional occupations and hindering caste biases force people to leave their homelands.

3.4 Seasonal Distress Migration and Profiling of Migrants

Brick kiln migration is synonymous with seasonal distress migration. This form of movement is a regular phenomenon in western Odisha for the last forty or fifty years. This particular form of migration in the western Odisha owes its legacy to lack of employment opportunities which has created an increasing indebtedness and food insecurity. The reasons for increasing indebtedness and food insecurity can be attributed to occurrence of regular bout of droughts in these regions which has led to crop failure.

Another important fact that needs to be highlighted is that the region of western Odisha is predominantly a tribal belt and this area is marked by lack of development, low infrastructure, corrupt governance and lack of effective political motivation. These tribal communities were initially forest dwellers and were primarily dependent on forest products. Collection and selling of forest products was the chief source of livelihood for these people. However, forest resources are getting exhausted day by day due to changes in climatic conditions, indiscriminate felling of forests for developmental projects, commercial and corrupt interest of the state and officials. These are the prominent reasons that have acted as "push factors" forcing people to migrate. Migration is mainly backed by economic reasons. However, the most important fact remains that women are prominent actors during the entire process of migration. They move out for economic

reasons and continue to face migration related challenges. Women move out to work so that they can provide for their family's social and economic needs. But due to migration there has been severe alteration in the gender roles of wife, mother and daughter. Added to this, women's economic contribution remains unrecognised. So in the context of work and migration, women's work should be identified and reorganised in order to transform them from victims of their state to an assertive group who can claim their rights. But in case of a country like India, most of women's waged and unwaged work is hidden and invisible. All the more a proper connection has to be identified between the waged, low waged and unwaged work of migrant men and women who mostly migrate because of discrimination in the labour market and lack of recognition.

Migrants are used as a source of cheap labour force and it is a strategy of the capitalist entrepreneurs and corrupt stakeholders to undercut wages, living conditions and working conditions of the migrants and to disrupt their attempts for future resistance and claim for their rights. Women's relation to capital and exploitation is inexplicable. The capitalist strategy identifies women who are from the peripheral zone and who fail to garner opportunities due to receding local opportunities and dissolving economic sectors. These women constitute the major workforce that is most vulnerable, most flexible and less demanding in nature. They provide the cheapest labour to the capitalists to remain competitive. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) report states that "Women do two-thirds of the world's work, earn 10 percent of the income and own only 1 percent of the assets".[128]

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[128] Philip Cohen, "Women Own 1% of World Property: A Feminist Myth That Won't Die," 2013, accessed January 10, 2016, http://www.theatlantic.com/sexes/archive/2013/03/women-own-1-of-world-property-a-feminist-myth-that-wont-die/273840/.

Morokvasic (1983)[129] is of the view that economic contributions of native women and migrant women are under-recognised. Their work assistance is not recognised under the reigning ideology of work and can seldom be accessed with the help of official data. Mostly, women's employment opportunities lie in those types of work which lie outside the labour force where their contribution remains unacknowledged. Against the backdrop of the discussion related to work and labour force, it is essential to refer to the Census and NSS databases which are considered to be the most authentic and dependable sources to provide knowledge about the migration scenario in the country.

The Census findings point towards a decade of rural distress and mobility. The 2001 Census has shown that the rural population had grown by more than 113 million since 1991 and the urban population by over 68 million. So, rural India had added 45 million people more than the urban. In 2011, urban India's increase was greater than that of rural India's by nearly half a million. The staggering figures behind the numbers of the 2011 census speak of another tragedy that is the collapse of millions of livelihoods in agriculture and its related occupations and the resultant despair driven exodus is an outcome of this collapse. The dwindling of the agricultural sector has sparked mass exodus in the countryside. The Census data however do not convey the harshness and pain of the millions trapped in "footloose migration".[130] Footloose migration has been explained by P. Sainath as the desperate search for work driving poorer people in many directions without a clear final destination. Sainath (2011) says that "The increase in

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[129] Mirjana Morokvasic, "Women in Migration: beyond the Reductionist Outlook," quoted in Annie Phizacklea (ed), *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.

[130] P. Sainath, "Decadal Journeys: Debt and Despair Spur Urban Growth," *The Hindu*, 27 September 2011, accessed on February 8, 2013, http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/columns/sainath/decadal-journeys-debt-and-despair-spur-urban-growth/article2487670.ece.

migration is driven by the collapse of millions of livelihoods in agriculture and its related occupations.....massive migrations have gone hand in hand with a deepening agrarian crisis. More than 240,000 farmers, mostly broken by debt, committed suicide in India between 1995 and 2009". However, there is always an apprehension that neither the Census nor the National Sample Survey is geared to capture the complexity of migration in India. A migrant in the Census is someone counted at a place other than his or her last place of residence.[131]

After providing an overview of the conditions that have forced people to migrate, it is essential to discuss and understand the profile of migrants. Profiling of migrants would help us in gaining an understanding of the age, sex, educational and community profile of the respondents. Profiling of the women respondents is essential because the women who go on to work in brick kilns are usually not recognised in the muster rolls and they lack bargaining power. Majumdar (1983) has explained precisely about the condition of working women in India as following:

> Since 1975 when the committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) submitted its report to the government, the issues surrounding women's rights-to gainful employment when they did not have it; to recognition of their substantial and even massive contribution to the national economy and families' survival which has been denied to them so long; to adequate rewards for their labour which they do not enjoy; and, to a share of resources benefits and decisions regarding development to which they are entitled as citizens of a country which guarantees to them equality in all spheres of life- have taken on the shape of a debate. The debate on women's employment is thus not only a social or an economic issue, but an issue with very deep political and cultural dimensions.[132]

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[131] Ibid

[132] Vina Majumdar, *Women's Work and Employment: Struggle for a Policy*, (ed.), (Selections from Indian Documents), New Delhi: Centre for Women's Development Studies, 1983, quoted in Padmini Swaminathan (ed.), *Women and Work*, 1-17. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2012.

Providing an extensive profiling of the women migrants would help us to understand better their livelihood patterns, their work conditions and their strategy of negotiation and bargaining with the contractors.

For the study, field work was conducted in Nuapada district. Nuapada, as it has already been mentioned, was initially part of the undivided Kalahandi, Balangir and Koraput districts. But, for administrative reasons, Nuapada was carved out of Kalahandi district in 1993. This district has been constantly in the news due to acute drought conditions and reported instances of starvation deaths.

For the purpose of field visit, number of villages visited in Nuapada was 8. The villages visited were Risgaon, Amera, Chanutmal, Badi, Rahenpadar, Kottamal, Kirkita, Lachhipurnehna. Similarly, Dundigal in Hyderabad was also visited as it is one of the prominent brick kiln worksites. In Nuapada and Dundigal, 78 women respondents were interviewed across 8 villages for the purpose of data collection. These women were chosen for the study as several members of their families had migrated to Hyderabad.

Out of 78 respondents, 68 (87.18%) women were illiterate and 10 (12.82%) women were either school drop-outs, matric fail or school going girls etc. However, the responses are not close ended because those who claim themselves to be illiterates have been to school but for various reasons had to drop out. Most of the women could only write their names. The field data provides a grimmer picture because lack of literacy has reduced the employment opportunities for women and they take up manual and low skilled jobs in the lower echelon of the labour economy.

Table: 3.1
Origin Village and Destination Village Profile of Migrants

Sl. no	Village	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Kottamal	18	23.08
2	Chanatamal	9	11.54
3	Rahenpadar	4	5.13
4	Badi	10	12.82
5	Risgaon and Amera	12	15.38
6	Lachhipur Nehna	3	3.85
7	Kirkita	2	2.56
8	Dundigal (Destination village)	20	25.64
	Total	78	100%

Note: The respondents selected from the top seven villages are from origin village and the eighth village is the destination village.

Out of 78 respondents, 20 (25.64%) are from Dundigal (destination village), 18 (23.08%) from Kottamal, 12 (15.38%) from Risgaon and Amera, 10 (12.82%) from Badi, 9 (11.54%) from Chanatamal, 4 (5.13%) from Rahenpadar, 3 (3.85%) from Lachhipur Nehna and 2 (2.56%) from Kirkita. The responses collected from women in individual origin villages are less as compared to the destination village because villages like Chanatamal and Kirkita are located far away from the Khariar block. All the above mentioned villages from origin village are high migration pockets from Nuapada district. Lack of proper road connectivity was a major impediment for the researcher. Some of the villages where the rate of migration was high were located far away from Khariar block and it was difficult to visit those places due to lack of proper road and absence of transportation facilities. Moreover, women were hesitant to interact with an outsider though at times the gender identity of the researcher helped to establish rapport and extend the discussion. At the destination it was equally challenging to interact with women migrants because they were under constant supervision of the supervisors and could hardly take breaks to interact with the researcher. It was also difficult to convince

the supervisors about the research. At the origin villages, to identify the migrants, their households and their families the researcher had to seek help from the village resource persons namely the sarpanch, panchayat samiti members and other villagers but at times they denied to provide any information about the migrating villagers. It was really an uphill task to locate and identify migrants at the origin villages.

Table: 3.2
Division of Respondents

Sl. no	Division of respondents	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Origin based migrants	58	74.36
2	Destination based migrants	20	25.64
	Total	78	100%

Interviewing migrant women to a large extent depended on their availability and willingness to participate in in-depth interviews and focused group discussions. At the destination it was difficult to establish rapport with the respondents as they were under constant supervision and vigilance. In most of the kilns they were not allowed to talk to the outsiders. Moreover, women workers did not get any free or leisure time. They continued with their work at the kilns and whenever they found some time they went back to their huts to prepare food and feed their children. Supervisors in the kilns showcased extreme power and authority. For example, when one woman worker said that the supervisor scolded if they did not work for a minute, immediately the supervisor's son reprimanded her saying "You old woman, what did you tell?" The supervisor's son was holding an iron rod while going around the kiln.

In contrast to this, interviewing migrant women in their origin villages was possible to some extent. With the help of the local resource person it was possible to locate the members of the migrating community. Mostly women migrants are at home

during the non-migrating period and their husbands and other family members go to fields in search of other work opportunities available in the village. In origin villages mostly men prefer to work whereas women stay back as it is considered a taboo for women to go out, but at times women also work if any work is available under MGNREGA or others.

Table: 3.3
Religion and Community Profile of Migrants

Sl. no	Community profile	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Scheduled Castes	36	46.15
2	Scheduled Tribes	33	42.31
3	OBC	9	11.54
	Total	78	100%

All 78 respondents reported Hinduism as their faith though their daily habits, ritual practices and observances differed from person to person. Community profile of migrants indicates that out of 78 respondents, 36 (46.15%) are scheduled castes followed by 33 (42.31%) from scheduled tribes and 9 (11.54%) belonging to other backward castes. My study which follows purposive random sampling has not come across any migrants from the general category. Women who migrated belonged to different castes and tribes namely Satnami, Sabar, Sangria, Kumbhar, Harijan, Ganda, Domal, Dal, Kaibarta, Hans, Dundi, Majhi, Sunani, Suna. The castes which appear in the scheduled caste category are Satnami, Harijan, Ganda, Domal, Kaibarta, Majhi and Sunani. The tribes which appear in the Scheduled Tribe category are Sabar, Dal, Sangria.

The social composition of the seasonal distress migrant streams bears resemblance to the social constituents of the region which is mostly inhabited by Dalits and tribals. Migrants from upper castes are an exception as their mobility is not of equal

intensity. Mander and Sahgal (2012) acknowledge that the forces which stimulate migration also contribute to the migratory experiences of the migrants. Migration triggered by extreme economic conditions, natural and environment disasters or unbearable forms of social and gender domination result in distressful migratory experience. Some of the existing studies on migration point towards two types of migration. The first kind of migration covers internal migration in search of vulnerable occupations in cities in the lack of opportunity to live with self respect in their original locales. Mander and Sahgal (2012) add that the beneficiaries of this type of migration are usually Dalits, tribals and Muslims lying at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy which comprises least educated and most disadvantaged social groups.[133] Some of the existing research by Srivastav and Sasikumar (2003), Breman (1996) and Rogaly (2001) substantiates these arguments and provides credibility to the fact that there is visible dominance of the socially and economically marginalised groups like Dalits and tribals that migrate to take up vulnerable and unskilled occupations.

The reasons for increasing number of tribals migrating for work is attributed to lack of employment opportunities in villages, depletion of forest resources etc. Respondents belonging to scheduled castes are of the view that decline in practicing caste based occupations have forced them to migrate in search of work. One of the women respondents from Sunani community said that, "We belong to Birtia caste and our caste occupation is to beat drums on the occasion of birth, marriage and death. We are not used to doing strenuous work as our caste occupation is entirely different. But, now a days people do not invite traditional drum beaters as orchestra bands are hired. We have lost

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[133] Harsh Mander and Gayatri Sahgal, "Internal Migration in India: Distress and Opportunities- A Study of Internal Migrants to Vulnerable Occupations in Delhi," Centre for Equity Studies, (2012): 1-22.

our source of livelihood". Mosse (et al, 2002) observed that the relationship between migration and livelihood security is rather complex. Human interactions engage in moulding migration through existing relations of reciprocity characterised primarily by class and gender and secondly by obligation or dependency, both within tribal groups and between tribal and non-tribal traders, moneylenders and labour supply agents.[134]

One of the women respondents from Sabar community said that "Tribals were initially engaged in plucking kendu leaves and selling for sustenance but now government's delay in disbursement of payments has affected them severely". Community profile of women migrants clearly indicates that migrants are mostly from Dalit and tribal communities. Moreover, migrants are compelled to enter into vulnerable occupations because of their community affiliations and their lives are regulated by obligations, dependency and necessities. At the same time, it is also important to find out the age-specific categorisation of migrants as it would help in understanding the pattern of migration followed by different age groups.

Table: 3.4
Age Profile of Migrants

Sl. no	Age profile	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	15-20	17	21.79
2	21-30	30	38.46
3	31-40	20	25.64
4	41-50	7	8.97
5	50 and above	4	5.13
	Total	78	100%

Out of the 78 respondents, majority 30 (38.46%) belonged to the age group of 21-30 years followed by 20 (25.64%) respondents and 17 (21.79%) respondents who fall in the

[134] David Mosse et al, "Brokered Livelihoods: Debt, Labour Migration and Development in Tribal India," *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 38 (5) (2002): 59-88.

age range of 31-40 and 15-20 respectively. This division clearly indicates that young women are more prone to migration with the purpose of seeking alternatives to improve their work and earning prospects. These young women also seek to integrate themselves in to the labour market at the destination. They usually migrate along with the family as brick kiln migration is a form of group migration where usually family members form a group of three or four. The whole idea of women migrating refers to their responsibility of taking up household chores as well as contributing financially to the family's income. Only 7 (8.97%) and 4 (5.13%) respondents are in the category of 41-50 and above 50 respectively.

This pattern reveals that age is an important factor that determines migration. Young women are likely to be more flexible with regard to their adaptation to the host environment, they accept lower pay and are prepared to work for longer hours, and cultural adjustment and assimilation are higher in case of younger women. It was also found in the present study that 21-30 years is the prime age group for most of the women to migrate. In case of older women, poor physical strength and health conditions prevent them from working in brick kilns under harsh conditions.

Mostly older women above the age of 50 years stay back in villages and take care of their grandchildren who are left behind when their parents migrate. These women retire and return to villages to propel younger women to migrate. At times, only the old and those who are less employable stay back to look after land, cattle and younger children. However, it was found that the migrants look much older or younger in comparison to the age stated by them. This might be due to malnutrition or they might be unaware of their biological age. Yet, it is very important to know the age of the migrants

to determine whether the decision to migrate is taken by parents or by the migrant as an individual who negotiates with the supervisors and sardars.

The age of the migrants also specifies the age group from which most of the migrants migrate. There are fewer migrants in the age group of 40-50 which indicates that migrants in the age group of 40-50 prefer to stay back as the older women provide scope to their daughters-in-law to migrate and take up the responsibility of looking after their grandchildren. Elderly women manage the household during the absence of their sons and daughters-in-law. The gender roles get altered as elderly women are labelled as mothers in disguise. Moreover, elderly women in the family have the autonomy in decision making because they decide whether their children should migrate or not. For women in the age group of 40-50, migration is an exigent experience because of the physical hardships they have undergone.

The above discussion on age profile of migrants clearly reveals the age-specific division of roles between different groups. With an increase in the age of the migrants, it was found that their roles and responsibilities got intensified and altered. Women acquire autonomy and decision making powers when they are in the age group of 40-50. On the contrary, women in the age group of 21-30 and 30-40 are preferred for their physical strength and are persuaded by their families and husbands to migrate. Women in the age group of 21-30 and 30-40 claim themselves to be self-decision makers whose decisions are also guided and moulded by family members. Added to this, women in the age group of 15-20 are assigned roles depending on their flexibility and adaptability to a new work ambience. Having discussed the age profile of the migrants, it is also vital to look at the

marital status of women migrants to analyse the importance of relationship status during migration.

Table: 3.5
Marital Status of Migrants

Sl. no	Marital status	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Married	60	76.92
2	Unmarried	14	17.95
3	Widow	4	5.13
	Total	78	100%

The present study reveals that out of 78 respondents, 60 (76.92%) women were married, 14 (17.95%) women were unmarried and 4 (5.13%) women were widowed. However, in the present study separated women as a category is missing because the study followed purposive sampling and I have not come across any separated women during the course of my field work. Marital status of women is of importance during the process of migration. In brick kiln migration, women migrate along with husband and children. Similarly grown up daughters migrate along with their families. Women do not migrate alone or separately.

The relationship status of a woman is important during migration because it is considered a taboo if a woman migrates alone and her identity and conduct are questioned. Moreover, married women migrate along with their husbands for security reasons. In case of widows and single women they migrate along with trusted villagers. However, it can be pointed out that women migrate to bear the double burden of working in the kilns and do household chores. It can be seen from the above analysis that the marital status of women migrants imparts a sense of security and confidence in them. It is

more challenging to garner the reasons as to why women agree to migrate and under what conditions. Hence, it is imperative to initiate a discussion on the reasons for migration.

Table: 3.6
Reasons for Migration

Sl. no	Reasons for migration	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Poverty and distress	26	33.33
2	Lack of agricultural facilities	17	21.79
3	To pay off debts	20	25.64
4	Family responsibilities	8	10.26
5	To reinvest in land(on lease)	5	6.41
6	Taboos associated with working women	2	2.56
	Total	78	100%

The reasons for migration are not exclusive in nature but are rather inter-related. Each reason is very closely related to the other. In the present study, the respondents have highlighted the major challenges and reasons that have forced them to migrate. Out of 78 respondents, 26 (33.33%) women migrated due to severe poverty and distress, for 20 (25.64%) women the major concern was to pay off their debts which their family had incurred, and lack of agricultural facilities and less productivity for sustenance caused migration for 17 (21.79%) of them.

Discussions with the respondents revealed that 8 (10.26%) women migrated to fulfil social needs and family responsibilities which include performing marriage of children, observance of death ceremonies, buying gold ornaments, providing for education of children etc. 5 (6.41%) respondents shared that post migration they invest their savings on land taken for lease for cultivation. Lastly, 2 (2.56%) respondents cited that taboos were associated with women working in villages and they could not go out to carry soil and sand or work in the fields. In addition to the above reasons, respondents were apprehensive to speak about the work opportunities provided under MGNREGA.

They stated that even after having a job card they hardly get work to do and even if they get some work to do the payment is delayed.

Keeping in mind that alienation from agricultural land is the major reason for migration, Sainath (2006) commented that, with the employment rates in the rural areas stooping to an all-time low in India since the second half of the 1990's, the country is leading its course through a crucial situation as far as the farmers and agriculture are concerned. Massive exoduses are constantly in news that blame dam-building and canal digging, but alarmingly history waits to unfold the chronicles of the biggest mass migration caused by agriculture following the displacement of people from their land.[135]

All the above reasons mentioned as the causes of migration are closely related to women migrants' vulnerability and their compulsion to take advance. The poor and vulnerable women lack readily available finance, resources or livelihood opportunities. As a result of this situation, these women and their family members tend to borrow, mortgage and sell off their valuable movable and immovable assets. Finally, when people are bereft of their assets, they mortgage their manual labour and agree to any work conditions to earn livelihood. The middlemen and the labour contractors take advantage of such situations to trap people by providing money in advance and recruit the entire family to work in far flung areas.

The most important reason behind existing poverty is alienation from land among the tribal and Dalit communities. Landlessness among the tribals and Dalits is a product of land sold, mortgaged or alienated from them. Moreover, land fragmentation among the

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[135] P. Sainath, "The Largest Mass Migration in History is Unfolding in India," (2006), accessed on February 8, 2013, http://www.rediff.com/money/2006/oct/19bspec.htm.

joint family members also leads to alienation and people lose out and move around in search of other work opportunities.

Reasons for migration

- Taboos associated with working women (2.56%)
- Poverty and destitution (33.33%)
- Lack of agricultural facilities (21.79%)
- Tp pay off debts (25.64%)
- Family responsibilities (10.25%)
- To reinvest in land on lease (6.41%)

Figure: 3.1 Reasons for Migration

Apart from the alienation from land, there are other factors that trigger migration. Migration is a blend of both push and pull factors. For the poorest of the poor, migration is not always a coping strategy. Migration is more of a debt-recruitment relationship which indicates that migrants get recruited to work in brick kilns because they need to re-pay the previous debts and loans. The reason for advance taken by migrants is used for fulfilment of social needs and payment of existing loans and debts.

People annually need some cash to meet their family needs, to repay the previous debts taken, medical emergency etc. People fail to meet those expenses from the wages

earned by them from agricultural activities or other sources and as a result of this they take advance from landlords and moneylenders. The present study reveals that people use their advance money for festivals and rituals, to repay the debts taken from moneylenders or other informal sources. People use it to provide for their family's needs and also give some amount to the family members left behind in the origin village. Many times people have agreed that they use the advance money taken on works like house construction, investing in agriculture and taking lands on lease for agricultural purpose.

The entire discussion revolving around the reasons for migration depicts that the debt cycle forces people to take advance money and fall into the same cycle once again. Migrants agree to sell their labour in advance against the debt taken from the money lenders. This process affects them in two ways--firstly, migrants lose their bargaining power and agree to work for low wages and secondly, they get recruited through the agents or local supervisors and are compelled to go to far off locations with no amicable work conditions.

Mosse (et al, 2002) points to the fact that the poorest are caught in a trap, their incapacity to bargain like others leads to their low monetary gain and lack of savings though they migrate most and work the hardest. Moneylenders find them to be the easy preys. The emergent possibilities to link credit to migrant labour with the assistance of systems like advance payment and labour contracting takes the interests of moneylenders further as they secure more direct and profitable control over their creditors. Being tied to brokers and contractors, the poorer migrants are at the receiving end as they are obliged to accept advances. This sale of labour in advance results in the weakening of the migrant's bargaining power and forces them to end up in the least paid and severe

working conditions repeatedly.[136] Apart from all the socio-economic reasons, there are familial reasons that propel people to migrate. People who migrate mostly belong to poor extended joint families and develop a feeling of marginalisation and low integration over the years due to less acceptance and low opportunities. In extended families, decisions are mostly taken by patriarchal authorities and younger members fail to contribute to the decision making process. Largely because of law of inheritance and perpetuation of family traditions, the productive capacity among young members also diminishes. As an outcome of this, people prefer to migrate outside for work and livelihood.

Elaborate discussions on the reasons for migration indicate that migration is an outcome of compulsion and vulnerability. There is also, however, a further point to be considered in the context of migration and that is the possession of landholdings among migrants.

Table: 3.7
Possession of Landholdings

Sl. no	Possession of landholdings	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Less than 1 acre of land	27	34.62
2	1-3 acres of land	42	53.85
3	More than 3 acres of land	2	2.56
4	No agricultural land	7	8.97
	Total	78	100%

The study reveals that out of 78 respondents, 42 (53.85%) possessed 1-3 acres of land, 27 (34.62%) owned less than 1 acre of land, 7 (8.97%) of them had no agricultural land and 2 (2.56%) had more than 3 acres of land. In this study, it was found that migration is closely related to agricultural distress, hierarchical socio-economic disparities and

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[136] David Mosse et al, "Brokered Livelihoods: Debt, Labour Migration and Development in Tribal India," *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 38 (5) (2002): 59-88.

extremely unequal land ownership patterns. These small and marginal farmers who own less than 3 acres of land mostly depend on monsoon for cultivation but the weather conditions like drought, incessant rainfall, scanty rainfall, lack of irrigation facilities hinder their agriculture and sustenance patterns.

Most of the respondents have said that people who possess more agricultural land do not migrate as they are able to sustain their lives on their agricultural produce. However, there has been a new pattern of landownership among the migrants wherein they take lands on lease for a couple of years. Migrants usually save money during their period of work at the destination and when they return they invest that money. They take land for lease and cultivate. As indicated by the respondents, engagement in agriculture was largely subsistence based for most of them because they possess less agricultural land. People who possess even lesser land were forced to migrate because productivity was low and below subsistence level. Mander and Sahgal (2012) have rightly pointed out that migrants are poor in assets, economic resources and social standing. Their wealth is in their capacity for labour and their extraordinary social capital of networks.[137]

Migrants were engaged in diverse activities prior to migration. They had no particular source of livelihood as they migrate for six months in a year and when they return they are mostly engaged in agriculture if they owned land. However, the irony remains that even if the migrants own a few acres of land, agriculture in western part of Odisha is mostly based on access to irrigation facilities. Most of the other migrants were into mat making, mat rolling, shrub clearing, rickshaw pulling, labour, share cropping etc.

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[137] Harsh Mander and Gayatri Sahgal, "Internal Migration in India: Distress and Opportunities- A Study of Internal Migrants to Vulnerable Occupations in Delhi," Centre for Equity Studies, (2012): 1-22.

Migrants' possession of land is directly related to the causes of migration. Possessing a few acres of agricultural land poses a serious threat to livelihood options of migrants. It only provides for subsistence but does not act as a means for future sustenance and livelihood. Most of the migrants belonged to Dalit and tribal communities and their access to land and land rights were minimal as their purchasing power is low. Moreover, fragmentation of land among Dalits and tribals threatens their production systems. The case is even worse for women from Dalit and tribal communities because women do not hold land titles as they are in the name of the male heads of the families. This pattern of land sharing makes women more vulnerable. Women lose their access to natural resources, community based occupations, household and agricultural production due to their less landholdings or no landholdings at all. Such factors contribute to increase in vulnerability among women as they need economic support to sustain their families.

Agarwal (1994) explains that there is an increased level of risk concerning the poverty and distress of women and the immediate family as there is lack of ownership rights on land. Direct access to earnings and possession of productive assets such as land contributes to the physical well-being of a woman, her family and children. Situations in which women have little access to land but they have to shoulder the responsibility to maintain the family, migration would be their last resort.[138] It is understood that possessing few acres of land results in migration as families fail to sustain themselves with limited agricultural produce. However, in the present study women have revealed that the landholdings that their families possess are a result of division of ancestral

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[138] Bina Agarwal, "Gender and Command over Property: A Critical Gap in Economic Analysis and Policy in South Asia," *World Development*, Vol. 22 (10) (1994): 1461-1462.

landholdings and the land titles are in the possession of men. Low engagement of migrants in agricultural activity calls for a discussion on alternative employment opportunities provided under MGNREGA. The next section concentrates on the discussion about work opportunities provided by MGNREGA.

Table: 3.8
Access to Job Card

Sl. no	Access to job card	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Yes	42	53.85
2	No	36	46.15
	Total	78	100%

With regard to awareness regarding legal acts it was found that none of the respondents were aware of the Inter-State Migrant Workmen act of 1979 or the provisions enshrined therein. However, when asked about NREGS, it was found that 42 respondents (53.85%) had access to job cards and 36 respondents (46.15%) had no access to job cards. Most of the respondents who had access to job card said that mere possession of job card does not entitle them to get work available under the job card or NREGS scheme. Job cards are usually issued to the male head of the family promising to provide 100 days of work. Women usually remain bereft of access to such work. If ever they get work under the NREGS then the payment gets delayed and it becomes really difficult for them to survive.

Most of the respondents said that it has been years since their job cards were issued but they have not been given any work to do. Respondents have also complained that "The sarpanch of the village is an influential person and he usually belongs to upper caste and MGNREGS work allotments are under his discretion. The sarpanch allots work to people of his community and not to Dalits and tribals". Access to job cards guarantees

alternative work opportunities for migrant women but the paradox remains that women

hardly get any work provided under MGNREGA. Social constraints, taboos, negligence

on the part of the authorities and lack of willingness hinder women's access to work.
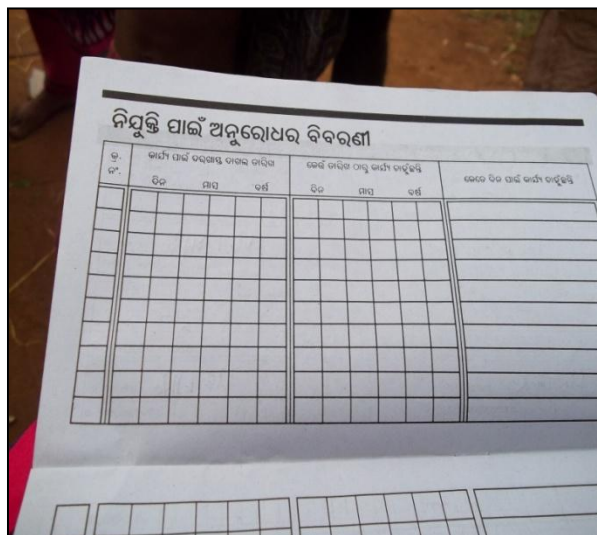
Picture 3.1: No work entries in the job card

Table: 3.9
Access to BPL Card

Sl. no	Access to BPL card	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Yes	34	43.59
2	No	44	56.41
	Total	78	100%

BPL cards refer to cards issued to families who are categorised as below poverty line

households and live in extreme poverty. Out of 78 respondents, 34 (43.59%) had access

to BPL cards whereas 44 (56.41%) did not possess any BPL cards. Holding BPL cards

enhanced the level of food security for these migrants in the source villages. Under the

scheme migrants get rice, kerosene and sugar from the panchayat at low prices. But other

people who did not have a card had to buy the food items from local hoarded stores that

charge exorbitant prices. Such situations force the migrants to take loans to fulfil their basic needs.

3.5 The Informal Sector: Featuring Informality and Circulation

The term "informal sector" was first used by Keith Hart who described the informal sector as that part of the urban labour force which falls outside the organised labour market. Breman (2009) stated that during the course of its growth, industrialisation has also been a witness to the mass migration of rural labour from agriculture because rural labourers have no role in primary production or agriculture in the absence of land ownership. Rural labourers live in utter despair and hopelessness.

Those people with no land of their own to cultivate usually migrate to the outskirts of cities seeking employment. However, the challenging aspect remains that the rate of industrial employment could not match up to the pace of urbanisation leading the migrants who settle down in the urban fringes to a threatening situation where uncertainty prevails regarding their employment. These migrants fail to cross over the barriers put up by the informal sector economy, which is characterised by low income, payment by piece rate, unskilled or low skilled labour, casual and intermittent employment, irregular working hours, no written labour contracts and absence of institutional representation.

Migration to urban areas for employment can either be on a seasonal or a permanent basis. "Circulation" and "informality" are the two defining characteristics of the labourers. Migrant labourers are seasonal labourers and their mobility oscillates between these two conditions. Breman (2009) continues to discuss the nature of migrant labour as the demand for recurrent mobility is very high and continual circulation is the

practicable solution before the migrants rather than permanent outmigration from the countryside. Breman in his article points out that labour migration is rather labour circulation. As people migrate for only a short span of time with respect to the duration of season at the destination and return to the origin at the end of the season, "circulation" has been labelled as the highlighting feature of seasonal migration.[139] Either as single migrants or as part of their family, women play an important role in labour circulation.

Breman (2009)[140] goes on to say that situations triggering social deprivation function as the backbone of women's migration and the various causes leading to it include their state of being a member of low or backward communities and sections of tribal or religious minorities or that of the landed poor or landless under rural societies that follow hierarchical patterns. Employers tend to prefer migrant labourers in the informal sector because they lack in bargaining power enforced by their status as aliens and transients and guarantee the possibility to command a flexible and vulnerable labour force. Having considered circulation as a prominent feature of labour migration, it is also reasonable to highlight the informality in the labour market which goes hand in hand with labour circulation.

On the same subject, Kabeer (2013)[141] argues that the prevalent working conditions have been successful in confining informally employed women on the invisible margins of the urban informal sector. Due to unpleasant working conditions and absence of regulations, women migrants are not recognised as workers. However it

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[139] Jan Breman, "The Great Transformation in the Setting of Asia," Address Delivered at the International Institute of Social Studies. (2009): 5-15.
[140] Ibid
[141] Naila Kabeer, Kirsty Milward and Ratna Sudarshan, "Organising Women Workers in the Informal Economy," *Gender & Development*, 21(2) (2013): 249-263.

remains unacknowledged that prosperity of every nation owes much to the contribution of the women and it is depressing to see women still fighting for a fairer distribution of resources, respect for themselves as workers, recognition of the value of the work they do and a voice in all decisions that affect them.

Women migrants are actually trapped in the interplay between circulation and informality. Firstly, women migrate as single migrants or else they migrate along with their family members for sustenance. They lack skills required for work and are mostly employed in low paid work. Having migrated with their family members and spouses, they lose their self recognition and identity. They lack decision making power. Secondly, women have to bear the double burden of doing household work along with their work for sustenance. There are intermittent changes in their identities as mothers and workers. Ghosh (2004)[142] argued that under-recognition of women's and female offspring's productive contribution to many of the typical activities associated with household maintenance, provisioning and reproduction is an offshoot of the absence of its established linkage with market relations. The migrant women continuously wrestle with dehumanised habits and practices apart from their tough battle against loneliness and separation both at their native place and at the destination. The legal framework has also failed to ensure safety to the ostracised migrant men, women and children. According to Ghosh, the whole debate revolves around women's work and how women are socialised to perceive their work as a natural part of their identity and as a loser concept only related to family's survival and sustenance.

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[142] Jayati Ghosh, "Informalisation and Women's Workforce Participation: A Consideration of Recent Trends in Asia," Prepared for the UNRISD Report, Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World, (2004): 2.

3.6 Structure and Agency: Regulating Working Women's Lives

Anthony Giddens chooses the concepts of "structure and agency" to understand society. Giddens (1984) has conceptualised structures as the distribution of rules and resources in a society. These structures have profound implications for the distribution of power and agency among individuals and groups.[143]

When the concepts of structure and agency are examined from the context of brick kilns, it was found that the existing structure of supervisors exerts immense power and authority on the agency comprising men, women and children. The most vulnerable among them are women and children who are compelled to conform to this abusive structure. Folbre (1994) brings questions of identity more explicitly into her conceptualisation, describing the collective structures of constraint in a society in terms of the pattern of rules, norms, assets and preferences that position individuals within the social hierarchy according to their intersecting group identities that determine the scope of agency available to them. It is necessary to investigate how the rules and norms have constrained the economic participation and capacity of migrant women. There are social norms and taboos which make it impossible for the migrant women to enter the work force. Therefore, men are considered to be the economic contributors and women limit themselves to domestic production. All these factors work alongside to degrade women's work as "secondary" leading to the loss of their bargaining power.[144] Women have less access to possession of assets and as a result of this, they fail in decision making and

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[143] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984, quoted in Sarah Gammage, Naila Kabeer, and Yana van der Meulen Rodgers, "Voice and Agency: Where are we Now*?" Feminist Economics*, Vol. 22 (1) (2016): 1.

[144] Nancy Folbre, *Who Pays for the Kids? Gender and the Structures of Constraint,* (London: Routledge, 1994), quoted in Sarah Gammage, Naila Kabeer, and Yana van der Meulen Rodgers, "Voice and Agency: Where are we Now?" *Feminist Economics,* Vol. 22(1) (2016): 1.

active participation in household decisions. However, Kabeer in her work is hopeful that women's active participation and consciousness raising can instigate dismantling of the existing patriarchal structures put in place collectively by employers, husbands and other men around. Kabeer (2008), with the help of a three dimensional model comprising resources, agency and achievements, devises a different mind plan for the betterment of women that ensures maximum participation of all the closely inter-related attributes.

Kabeer classifies the term agency in two ways--firstly, its multifaceted attributes both in the everyday trivial sense of the word and the more significant forms of agency that reflect planned life choices and secondly, as forms of agencies that reinforce the status quo on the one hand and those that seek to debate, to object and to transform the status quo on the other. The process of empowerment begins from consciousness building or with the self-attribution of a sense of agency encompassing self-worth and social progressing towards the achievement of strength to exercise strategic control over their own lives, and to renegotiate their relationships with others. At the next level, the aim is to reshape the societies in ways that contribute to a more democratic distribution of power and possibilities and thereby rise to a level which is on par with that of men (Kabeer, 2008b: 27).[145]

The essence of structure and agency depends on sharing of power relations between the oppressor and the oppressed. The oppressed could have been made into passive agents forced to comply with the oppressor. Discussing the issue from Giddens' point of view reflects that the existing social structure has always been contracting and

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[145] Naila Kabeer, "Mainstreaming Gender in Social Protection for the Informal Economy," London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2008b, quoted in Sarah Gammage, Naila Kabeer, and Yana van der Meulen Rodgers, "Voice and Agency: Where are we Now?" Feminist Economics, 22 (1) (2016): 1-29.

aiming at exerting control over the social relations. It underestimates an individual's ability to exert change in the society. At the source, migrants are under societal pressure to decide where to migrate and how to migrate wherein the individual agent's choice and decision making are largely moulded by the sardars. Similarly, in migration we believe women to be tied migrants whose decision to migrate gets influenced by existing conditions, compulsions and pressures.

However, I argue that women migrants, despite all the structural constraints like physical barriers, limited knowledge of networks and resources, are able to make independent choices moulded by their self-created social networks and knowledge. Migrants' self-created social capital provides ample room for negotiation as they are able to make decisions regarding their movement. Carling (2002)[146] is of the view that migrants are not simply rational actors responding to economic opportunities but are rooted in structures that determine the extent to which they can convert their inspirations into outcomes. The present chapter has provided an outline of the history of migration and reasons that trigger migration. This chapter has also explained how migration is different for women and men. The focus of this chapter, as the title of the chapter indicates, is on profiling of the women migrants. This profiling was done by contextualising and locating the migrating women in their socio-cultural, geographical, historical and economic contexts. The following chapter concentrates on profiling of the migrant site in order to understand how the work place conditions and practices impact migrant women's gender roles and identities.

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[146] J. Carling, "Migration in the Age of Involuntary Immobility: Theoretical Reflections and Cape Verdean Experiences," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28 (1) (2002): 5–42, quoted in Heather Randell, "Structure and Agency in Development-Induced Forced Migration: The Case of Brazil's Belo Monte Dam," *Population and Environment*, Vol. 37 (3) (2016): 269-270.

Chapter 4

Profiling the Migrant Site: Mangled and Monitored

4.1 Introduction

The issue of brick kiln migration has received considerable critical attention recently. However, questions have been raised about the negligence shown towards working migrant women. This chapter intends to understand and provide an overview of the establishment and operation of brick kilns, involvement of women in brick making, nature of work women do, their access to basic facilities, payment of wages, work conditions and health. The rapid growth in India's economy and population coupled with urbanisation and globalisation has resulted in an increasing demand for building and infrastructure. Growing demand for the construction of buildings and infrastructure has ignited the emergence of the construction industry and the real estate sector. Building construction in India is estimated to grow at a rate of 6.6% per year between 2005 and 2030. The building stock is expected to multiply five times during this period, resulting in a very large increased demand for building materials.[147]

Brick making in India is a small scale traditional labour intensive industry. Mechanisation has provided alternatives to traditional brick making in the form of use of mortar and machine made bricks. However, there is no substitute for handmade fired bricks. Moreover, for capitalists and traders cheap labour goes into making handmade bricks which earns them higher profits and demands lesser investments. For the present study, data was collected from kilns located in and around Dundigal village in

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[147] McKinsey and Company, "Environmental and Energy Sustainability: An Approach for India," (August 2009), accessed on December 20, 2013,
file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/Environmental_energy_sustainability_An_approach_for_India%20(3).pdf.

Rangareddy district and from Nuapada district, Odisha. Almost all brick kilns are located in the rural and suburban areas. It is a common sight to find large brick making clusters located around the cities. Most of these kilns rather go unnoticed because they are scattered over various locations. However, in Dundigal village around 150 kilns are located within a radius of a few kilometres. These kilns employ a total of around 10,000 to 15,000 people all of whom are migrant workers. The brick making process is based on cheap manual labour and brick kilns all over the country employ around 10 million workers. Brick making process is a seasonal occurrence as the kilns do not operate during rainy season. Mostly men, women and children are engaged in the process of brick making. Most of the workers who work in the kilns migrate with their families and the workers are mostly drawn from backward and poor regions. Mostly families along with their children work in harsh, low paying conditions with lack of basic facilities such as access to clean drinking water and sanitation.

4.2 Work-Life Situation in Brick Kilns

4.2.1 Social network and kinship ties

In the study it was found that social networks and kinship ties play a very significant role in motivating and influencing the decision of migrants from different villages to migrate to Hyderabad. Bourdieu (1992) has defined social capital as:

> the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Social networks and kinship ties provide social and emotional support and help anchoring individuals within the societal context.[148]

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[148] Pierre Bourdieu and Loic J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, (1992:119), Quoted in David Gauntlett, *Making is Connecting: The Social Meaning of Creativity,* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011).

Banerjee (1983) agrees to the fact that social contacts at destination have dual purpose--firstly, there will be reduction in the monetary costs as information on employment opportunities as well as material assistance is availed more or less free of cost and secondly the support system around helps in reducing the psychological costs of migration by providing a supportive relationship especially during the migrant's adjustment period.[149] Similarly, Sundari (2005) is of the view that social capital enhances the investment in physical and human capital. The norms that mould the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions along with the institutions and relationships come under the purview of social capital. The reservoir of contacts and social networks of migrant workers are constituted by the relatives or people from the same village who already inhabit the migratory destination.[150]

In my study, all the respondents 78 (100%) have unanimously said that they have migrated through their relatives, friends and siblings. For these migrants, the reciprocal and intimate bond shared amongst the members of the community proved to be a major factor in weaving a network of mutual dependence, risk-sharing, prolonged social support, help and information. Most of the women migrants have further said that migrating fellow villagers and relatives have influenced their decision to migrate. In the present study it is also observed that individuals belonging to the same village or community tend to cluster and reside together in the same area. It must be remembered from the above discussion that social networks bridge the psychological divide between

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[149] Biswajit Banerjee, "Social Networks in the Migration Process: Empirical Evidence on Chain Migration in India," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. 17 (2) (1983): 185-196.
[150] S. Sundari, "Migration as a Livelihood Strategy: A Gender Perspective," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40 (22-23) (2005): 2298.

origin and destination areas and fasten the migration process. Social networks profoundly impact the lives of migrants and help in facilitating migration in varied ways. Having said that it is also vital to discuss other issues related to migration. In the subsequent sections, there will be discussion on the payment of advance and recruitment of women migrants, brick making process and involvement of women in it, working conditions and nature of work in which women are engaged, working hours and issues of cheating and torture in brick kilns, payment of wages and underestimation of women's work, their access to basic facilities (housing, sanitation, electricity, cooking facilities etc.) and medical facilities.

4.2.2 Payment of advance and process of recruitment

The process of recruiting migrant workers is the most critical aspect of brick kiln migration. There is an unwritten contract system existing between workers and owners with a sardar as the mediator. Advance payment binds the workers and even in the absence of any written agreement there is scope for exploitation. The entire process operates as a two tier system wherein the role of local area sardar and head sardar comes into prominence. Head sardar, also known as the supervisor, recruits people through the local middlemen or directly. The local village sardar persuades people to take advance promising them better wages and work conditions at the destination. Distress stricken people in the villages are forced into low paying exploitative works and they have no alternative but to incur debt for emergency and to meet the day to day expenses. In order to pay these debts, people take money from the local middlemen and agree to work in brick kilns. The advance money that is paid to people ranges between 12,000 and 17,000 rupees. The money is paid to each person of the family who agrees to migrate. Usually a

group of three or four members from a respective family migrate and they are given the advance amount accordingly. The study reveals that young boys and girls who are below the age of 14 years also take advance along with the adult members of the family.

This section explains the process in which labourers are recruited prior to migration. Henceforth, there will be discussion about the brick making process and how women get engulfed in under-recognised work ambience.

Picture 4.1: A young girl in the brick kiln

Picture 4.2: Young girls who took advance before migration

4.2.3 Brick making process

These are some of the important steps involved in the process of brick making.

a) Material procurement: For the purpose of digging soil, spade and machine diggers are used. Machine diggers plough through the soil. Digging is also done manually by men and then the soil is done upside down with the help of a spade. The dug clay soil is stored in the open. The clay soil is exposed to the sunlight and the atmosphere. This exposure makes the clay soft and removes unwanted oxides and substances from it.

b) Mixing and tempering: Dry clay soil is mixed upside down and then water is added to make it homogeneous, porous and soft. Mixing of clay with water is done very carefully

to get the right consistency for moulding. Mixing of the clay is done manually with hands and feet. At places plough tillers drawn by tractors are used to dig the soil and concrete mixers are also used to mix the soil and water. This is the most hazardous part of brick making. This process is called preparing the mud ring. This work is done both by men and women. For making fly ash bricks crushed stone dust, rice husk, lime and gypsum are mixed with the wet clay soil separately. Similarly, different steps are also followed for making cement concrete bricks.
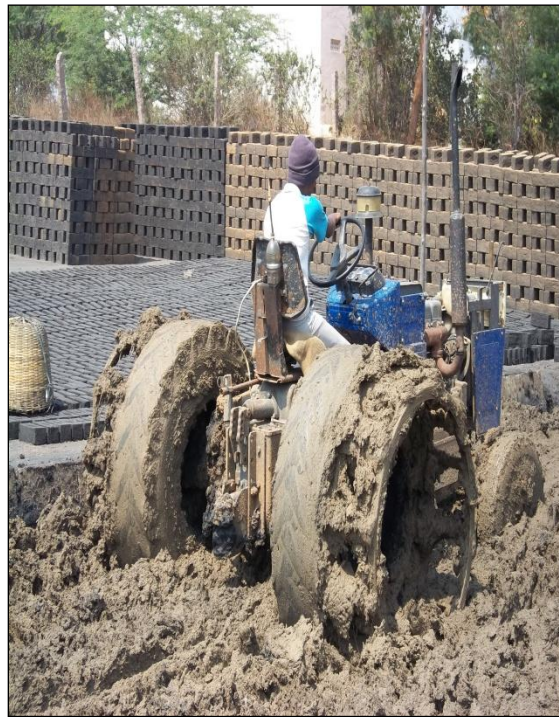
Picture 4.3: Mixing and tempering of clay soil

c) Moulding: For moulding, artificial moulds made of wood and metal are used. Everyday mud is kneaded before making the bricks. A lump of wet clay mix is taken, after that it is rolled in sand and is put into the wooden or metal moulds which give it the shape of bricks. Sand is usually used while moulding so that the clay brick does not stick to the mould. Sand acts as a greasing agent. Metal moulds are usually used for making

cement bricks. This work is done by men and they constantly stand at one place and make the bricks.

d) Drying: The wooden or metal mould with clay is emptied onto the drying area where the pieces are arranged in herring bone pattern for drying in the sun. Women have a major role to play in this work. Women carry the raw wet bricks over their head and place them very carefully for drying. This work is done very meticulously by women because shape of the bricks might get affected if the wet bricks are not transferred carefully from the trays.

Drying area is located away from the place where the bricks are made. Women constantly carry the bricks and arrange them for drying. Adolescent girls and boys are also engaged in this work. Every two days the semi dried bricks are flipped over for uniform drying to prevent warping and breakage. This work is mostly done by small children as they can walk between the rows and flip the bricks. Almost after two weeks the bricks are ready to be burnt. The bricks are carried to the kiln by women and adolescent boys and girls.

e) Firing: An artificial kiln or furnace is prepared and is covered with mud from all sides for even heating. The green bricks, red mud bricks or the sun dried bricks are arranged in a kiln and insulation is provided to the bricks with a mud pack. Fireholes are made in the kiln to ignite the kiln and then the fireholes are sealed from outside to keep the heat inside the kiln in tact. This process is locally termed as burning the bricks or *itta poda*. Women are engaged in carrying bricks from the drying areas to the kilns.

f) Sorting: Sorting or final selection of the burnt bricks is done after the kiln is disassembled. Sorting of the bricks depends on the colour of the bricks. Colour of the brick is an indication of the pattern, process of brick making and level of firing. The overall method of making bricks is the same in all regions. However, soil type and climatic conditions affect the quality and texture of bricks to a large extent. Women carry the bricks over their heads. They carry around 200-3000 bricks per day to the kilns for firing.[151]

Picture 4.4: Bricks arranged in herring bone pattern

With regard to women's work participation, Majumdar (2015)[152] is of the view that women migrate in order to sustain and support their family. Migration of women is an outcome of the inability and failure of the male members of the family in fulfilling the expected norms of masculinity. Women's migration breaks down the existing

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[151] "Ecobrick," accessed on August 13, 2015, http://www.ecobrick.in/BrickMakinginIndia.aspx.
[152] Srabasti Majumdar, "Single Migrant Women and the Discourse on Sex Work," SWS-RLS Occasional Paper 9, School of Women's Studies, Jadavpur University, (2015): 3-37.

stereotypical model of the male bread winner. In the context of brick kiln migration, it is clearly evident that participation and contribution of women is inevitable for making bricks. Women migrate because of men's inability to make bricks single handed.

After discussing in detail about the process of brick making it is essential to explore and to understand the condition of women workers in the brick industry who are subjected to extreme working conditions and poor remuneration. Women and children play an essential role in the process of brick making. However, the payment made to them is less when compared to men. It is important to understand the process because of the wages they are paid. Physical strength of women is evaluated to be less than men and their capability is underestimated.

4.2.4 Classification of bricks

There are two basic categories of bricks namely fired and non-fired bricks. In addition to this there are other varieties like calcium silicate bricks, concrete bricks, fly ash bricks etc. Fired mud bricks are one of the longest lasting and strongest building materials. Those bricks are fired in a furnace to get a firm structure whereas the non-fired bricks are the sun dried mud bricks. Burnt mud bricks are sold at higher prices because of the demand and the need. In the present study it was found that women and men migrants were mostly engaged in making mud fired bricks and fly ash bricks. Fly ash bricks are made through Pulverized Ash Brick technology. PAB is a process of converting industrial waste materials into quality building materials. At present, the technology is well established in converting thermal power plant waste into quality bricks. Chemically treated rice husk, dry ash or fly ash collected from silos of thermal plants, coarse sand, stone crusher dust, lime, gypsum and cement are used for making fly ash bricks.

Picture 4.5: Digging of mud for making bricks

Picture 4.6: Paddy husk used for making fly ash bricks

A discussion on the classification of bricks was necessary because in the present study it was found that women migrants were mostly engaged in making fired mud bricks and fly ash bricks. Price of burnt mud bricks is fixed depending on the quality of mud used and finishing of the product. Supervisors in some of the kilns mentioned that the price of fired mud bricks is higher when compared to fly-ash bricks in most of the kilns because people prefer buying fired mud bricks.

4.2.5 Nature of work and working conditions

Table: 4.1
Nature of Work

Sl. no	Nature of work	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Head loading/Head loaders/Brick carriers	52	66.67
2	Coal breakers	26	33.33
	Total	78	100%

Out of 78 women migrant workers, 52 (66.67%) were engaged as head loaders and 26 (33.33%) broke the coal blocks into small pieces to be used in the furnace which is used for firing the bricks. Women head loaders carry around 1000-2000 bricks every day.

Picture 4.7: Women as head loaders

To interpret women's work in the context of a country like India is very challenging because not only reproductive roles, care, household maintenance and provisioning but also other economic activities in which women are involved go unnoticed or rendered invisible by societal perceptions. Existing social norms, values and conventional perceptions operate to instil the mind-set among women and girls that they are expected to work and that their work is not subjected to any explicit market relations. Most of the work that women carry out goes unnoticed, underpaid, unpaid or not paid at all. However, a very substantial amount of women's time is devoted to unpaid labour, often at the cost of their leisure and rest. The condition is worse for women who are from poor families and are engaged in outside work. These women fail to hire others to perform the household tasks and most often this entire workload is passed on to the young girls and elderly women within the household. Working under such conditions becomes a double burden of work for these women who are forced to work outside for survival as well as perform all the household tasks.

Picture 4.8: Women at work

As discussed above, it is found that emerging globalisation, capitalism and mushrooming work opportunities have led to extraction of women's emotional, physical and sexual labour. The most possible reason to explain this would be the emergence of work hierarchies wherein the concept of patriarchy and men taking charge is in prominence. Gordon and Hunter (1998) present patriarchy as a densely packed term. Patriarchy may be perceived as a mere by-product which directly undermine its originator which is capitalism. Being rooted in father right or fraternal right, patriarchy exists in families and households as an equally powerful agency of male supremacy as the other modern variants of male dominion.[153]

In addition to this, the prevailing conditions in the brick kilns can be understood against the backdrop of terms like capitalism and patriarchy. The supervisor acts like a

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[153] Linda Gordon and Allen Hunter, "Not all Male Dominance is Patriarchal," *Radical History Review*, Vol.1998 (71), (1998):71-83, quoted in Mechthild Hart, "Women, Migration and the Body-Less Spirit of Capitalist Patriarchy," *Journal of International Women's Studies,* Vol. 7 (2) (2005): 2.

symbolic patriarch in brick kilns. The supervisor monitors and administers the entire work in the kilns. In the process of doing so he gradually takes over his workers and aims at extracting the maximum out of them. However, the worst sufferers are the women workers who are forced to work beyond limits because they bear the double burden of doing paid and unpaid work. Patriarchal employers subject their women workers to scrutiny and control their mobility in order to keep a check on them.

Picture 4.9: Men at work

A typical day of work for a brick kiln woman worker starts at around 2 am and goes on roughly until 10 pm at night with small irregular breaks for food. They finish their household chores and resume work as early as 4 am. Many women came forward to share their woeful plight and repeatedly said that they toil under conditions of bondage, overwork, gross underpayment. On an average a woman worker is forced to work for 14 to 16 hours a day. At times their work is stretched till late at night. Women workers constantly face intimidation and at times they are physically assaulted and verbally abused. Their malnourished bodies defy their age and bear testimony to the severe

physical hardship that they undergo. There is blatant use of force, power and authority. The number of hours that women work is exclusive of all the efforts and time they dedicate to fulfil their household obligations.

Swaminathan (2009) has drawn insights from the concept of "triple overlaps"[154] (of gender stratification, economy and family, Blumberg, 1991) and double burden of work with regard to women's work and argues that there is absence of adequate and efficient support services and assistance for women to get out of such double burden of work. Swaminathan's insights apply to the context of brick kiln migration as well where women migrants work in the kilns for their survival and also struggle hard to manage their household chores. In spite of all the efforts made by women migrants to get recognized, their work largely remains unpaid and unidentified. Swaminathan reminds us that large number of women and their work details become invisible in data system with the "informalisation of the formal sector". Women's work and women as workers are strategically excluded from protective legislation and security measures due to faulty mechanisms. Swaminathan quotes from a study conducted by NCEUS (2008):

> Only the male workers are registered as workers in the muster roll of the employer and the rest of the family remains invisible to statistics, policy and social protection provisions. Working hours for all workers are about 12-14 hours including for the women who are not on the muster roll (NCEUS 2008:37).[155]

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[154] R. L. Blumberg, *Gender, Family and Economy: The Triple Overlap*, (ed), (California: Sage, 1991), quoted in Padmini Swaminathan, "Outside the Realm of Protective Labour Legislation: Saga of Unpaid Labour in India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44 (44), 2009: 81.

[155] NCEUS, "Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganised Sector," National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector, New Delhi: Academic Foundation, (2008), 37, quoted in Padmini Swaminathan, "Outside the Realm of Protective Labour Legislation: Saga of Unpaid Labour in India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44 (44), 2009: 85.

This clearly reveals the daunting challenges that women workers face in the labour market. Having discussed the nature of work and working conditions, it is imperative to talk about issues of torture and cheating in brick kilns.

4.2.6 Issues of torture, cheating and abomination

In brick kilns located in and around Hyderabad, the stories narrated by women raise issues of atrocitiy, torture and cheating. In the present study, women respondents have come forward to share their woes and have shared the atrocious conditions under which they work. Women have to face severe harassment, humiliation and torture. However, women were silent about any form of sexual torture inflicted upon them. They have complained that they were beaten, dragged and forced by the munshi. Use of these terms is indicative of the physical hardship that they had to undergo.

Here are some of the excerpts from the narratives shared by the women migrants. These narratives testify to the migrant women's struggle for survival and dignity. To begin with, "my hand was hurt badly during transporting bricks but the employer forced me to work. I requested him but of no use"; "munshis threaten us to do our work. Scolding, abusing and threatening form a part of our work"; "in the kilns the supervisors and the munshis force us to get up at 2 am so that we can finish our household chores and resume our work by 5 am"; "if we do not get up then the supervisors break open our doors"; "people who try to escape are beaten like anything"; "if you are not working in the kiln then the munshi will beat you"; "we were made to work as slaves, like beasts of burden. They drag us out of our huts and we are forced to work. If we take rest even during illness, the owner deducts money from our weekly payment"; "one man and his wife had a fight. His wife left the kiln without informing anyone. The husband went

behind to call her back but the owner thought that they had escaped and later on the man was caught and was beaten to death". Offensive abuses are repeatedly used by supervisors which often demoralise the migrant women workers. One woman said that her relative was taken to hospital by the supervisor during illness and was beaten to death and his corpse was thrown away somewhere. His family could not get to see his body and even after his death his entire family was forced to work for the entire season. "I informed the supervisor that my wife is pregnant but she was not allowed to go to the hospital. Out of pain she gave birth to two babies. I went to the munshi and requested him for leave but he started beating me. I even said that I will return all the advance money given to me but the munshi threatened me and said that 'I have that much money that you labourers can cause no harm to me. You labourers can count your hair but cannot count my money'. I begged helplessly in front of the supervisor. My infants died after few days due to lack of medical facilities".

Having discussed the issues of torture and abomination, it is essential to talk about the working hours and work conditions in the brick kilns.

4.2.7 Working hours

Table: 4.2
Working Hours

Sl. no	Working hours	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Less than 8 hours	7	8.98
2	8 hours-12 hours	59	75.65
3	More than 12 hours	9	11.53
4	No time limits	1	1.28
5	Helping parents at home	1	1.28
6	Looking after siblings	1	1.28
	Total	78	100%

In the present study, it was found that majority of the women respondents that is 59 (75.65%) work for around 8-12 hours, 9 respondents (11.53%) have said that they work for more than 12 hours, 7 respondents (8.98%) work for less than 8 hours, 3 of the respondents, (1.28%) have said that they have no time limits to work, one of them helps parents at home and one of them does not do any work in the brick kilns but takes care of siblings at home.

The findings indicate the severity of conditions that migrants undergo. The categorisation of groups on the basis of working hours is not inclusive of the time spent in doing household chores. Women migrants do all their household chores along with the work done in the kilns. One of the respondents has reportedly said that "work at the kilns had always been strenuous and grave but working at the ring or the place where mud dough is prepared is the most difficult of them all. People work continuously even for four days without food and water".

Along the same lines, Davis (2000) argues that there are two important arguments that predict the interconnection between women's labour and capitalism. Firstly, Davis has explained how the idea of projecting women as embodiments of nature's awesome powers has conspired with the consolidation of capitalism to subjugate women and to downgrade them ideologically to the mortifying sphere. Women's identity continues to revolve around an alienated portrait of them being primarily undifferentiated beings-- sexual, childbearing and natural. The dominant discourse and debates merely ignore the massive extraction of biological, psychological and emotional labour while the women engage in unpaid work involving childbearing and the management of household affairs. These responsibilities are looked down upon and are degraded as natural. Secondly, the

chief mechanism that maintains the superiority of men over women is job division along the lines of sex.[156]

In addition, Hartmann (1976) explicates about the condition of women being paid lower wages and enquires into the interrelatedness of its causes. The author points out the role of sex in initiating job segregation which enforces lower wages for women in the labour market. Payment of low wages denies women the chance to acquire financial stability and therein reiterates that women have to be dependent on men and their uncertainty relating to economic independence encourages them to get married. Similarly, the participation of women in the labour market dips considerably because the family in turn imposes the responsibility of domestic chores on women. This has been beneficial for the male labourers as the strict division in labour ensures them both high wages and relief in their participation in domestic labour. Comparing the duration of work, it is observed to be remarkably high in the case of women when compared to men. Comparison of the biological age and physical look of the migrant women workers are clear indicators of the duration of hours they engage in work. Arduous working inversely affects their health and women look too old for their age.[157]

To take the discussion concerning the working hours of women forward, an attempt was also made to capture the responses of men in the brick kilns with regard to their working hours and working conditions. Men in the brick kilns have said that they work for 14 to 16 hours. In our conversation with men and women in the kilns it was found that men work without any breaks even for four days at a stretch. They said that

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[156] Angela Yvonne Davis, "Women and Capitalism: Dialectics of Oppression and Liberation," in *The Black Feminist Reader*, eds. Joy James and T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, (Blackwell Publishers, 2000): 148.

[157] Heidi Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex," *Signs,* Vol. 1 (3) (1976): 137-169.

"We take small breaks to have food and then again we resume our work". However, there is a dividing line between men and women on the basis of the type of work they are engaged in. In response to the discussion on working hours, men have mentioned that they work for longer hours but I argue that women along with the work at the brick kilns also get engrossed in the performance of household chores, caring activities and maintenance of the family. Women bear the double burden of work. To explore further, we need to discuss at length about related issues like payment of wages and migrants' access to basic facilities.

4.2.8 Payment of wages

Payment of wages is done on the basis of number or pieces of bricks made or carried. Wages differ for *pathurias* or brick makers who make bricks and for head loaders or brick carriers who carry the bricks to the furnace. Again the wages differ for men and women. Payment of wages also differs from kiln to kiln. For carrying 1000 bricks women head loaders are given 50 to 60 rupees and for making 1000 bricks they are paid 80 rupees. Some of the women migrants carry and others make around 2000 to 3000 bricks per day. At the end of the week the total amount of wages is calculated and a portion of the wages gets deducted in lieu of the advance money taken by the migrant at the beginning of the season before migration. As a result of this, a major part of their earnings gets deducted and they get less amount of weekly payment for their sustenance.

During the study, the migrants informed that the payment in 2011 for making of 1000 bricks was 130 to 170 rupees and for the loading of 1000 bricks it was 50 to 60 rupees. This amount again varies from kiln to kiln and from owner to owner. However, in two of the kilns located in Dundigal the owner claimed that they had paid 170 to 190

rupees in 2012 but the amount was not a standardised one in all the kilns. There is no transparency maintained as regards to rate per 1000 bricks either made or loaded. This results in massive exploitation and the matter gets all the more exaggerated by the fact that the rate is fixed by the owners of the kiln in connivance with the sardars who come to the kilns before the end of the season to collect their commissions in lieu of the bricks made by the labourers sent by them to the kilns.

Women migrants are discriminated not only in terms of wages but also with regard to their access to basic facilities and amenities. Access to basic facilities is one of the critical determinants to analyse and understand the quality of life that men, women and child migrants experience in brick kilns. Hence, it is all the more important to talk about migrants' access to housing, water, sanitation and medical facilities.

4.2.9 Access to basic facilities (housing, water and sanitation facilities)

The right to adequate housing has been widely debated, recognised and accepted as part of basic human rights of an individual. Lack of adequate housing, poor housing conditions and homelessness affect the health and overall development of an individual.

The UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing has defined the human right to adequate housing as "the right of every woman, man, youth and child to gain and sustain a safe and secure home and community in which to live in peace and dignity".[158] United Nations'[159] estimates indicate that approximately 100 million people worldwide are

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[158] Miloon Kothari, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living," UN Commission on Human Rights E/CN.4/2006/41/Add3, (March 2006):1-23.
[159] "Habitat for Humanity", accessed January 10, 2016, http://www.habitat.org/getinv/events/world-habitat-day/housing-facts.

without a place to live, while over 1 billion people are inadequately housed without access to basic services.

4.2.9.1 Housing

All the respondents spoke about the unhygienic and crammed living conditions. The study reveals that all the migrants were allowed to construct their huts within the premises of the brick kilns. The raw materials for constructing their huts are usually provided by the employer. The huts that are constructed by the migrants can be categorised as makeshift huts surrounded by plastic sheets, small brick made huts covered with tarpaulin covers and cemented huts with aluminium roofs. The huts are lowly constructed and this makes it difficult for anyone to stand straight in their huts. In some of the kilns, migrants are forced to crawl into their huts. The housing conditions available for migrants are below the minimum level. Manjula Sabar stated that "Our huts are made of tin and it is difficult to stay there during summer. During summers we spend our time under the trees. Even after being sleep deprived we are forced to get up and resume our work". Respondents have also added that the huts were too small to accommodate three or four people.

Migrants also follow a typical pattern of hut making wherein people from onecaste affiliation construct their huts at one place in a congregated manner while on the other hand people from other castes and tribal identities erect their huts at a distance of few yards. This clearly focuses on migrants' inherent caste practices. Caste identities get modified at the workplace when migrants from different villages work together and share their challenges. It was also interesting to find that women migrants collect water for

drinking and cooking purposes from the same containers. However, ingrained caste practices remained intact when it came to food practices and housing patterns.

Picture 4.10: Lowly constructed huts

4.2.9.2 Water/sanitation/personal hygiene

Migrants from Odisha had to face severe challenges at the destination with regard to access to basic facilities like shelter, food, sanitation, water supply and electricity. Questions regarding access to water among migrants revolved around two major aspects namely source of water and access to water. All the respondents said that bore well water was the only source of water. Women migrants had to face a tough time in managing their families at the kilns. Women used to store water in cement containers. Water from these containers was used while making bricks. Women used water from these containers for cooking and drinking purpose. They did not have access to safe drinking water. Water stored in cement containers was being used for washing clothes, bathing, drinking and for preparing the mud dough used for making bricks.

Women managed to collect water from bore well and other sources but the quality of available water was a question to deal with. Availability of water was subject to access to electricity in some kilns as bore wells operate with electric motors. In such case, women went to some other kilns located nearby to fetch water. Access to water is also closely related to the notion of purity and pollution wherein migrants and at times local people in other kilns restrict people from other castes to fetch water from their bore wells or municipality taps.

With regard to sanitation, 100% of the respondents stated that they did not have access to toilets in their vicinity. Adding to their woes there were no sanitary and bathroom facilities for women and young girls. These women and young girls took bath in the open space. Women workers in the kilns faced a lot of inconvenience and humiliation when they bathed in the open.

Most of the women respondents were of the view that modesty and decency of a woman lie in her body and her clothes. It was really difficult for them to avoid the surreptitious male gaze in and around the kilns. Makeshift arrangements were made for bathing in some kilns where women fixed sticks in the ground and the sides were covered with old clothes, tarpaulin, rags or sari hung on them. Unfortunately, migrant families continue to defecate in the open which creates severe issues of sanitation and hygiene leading to health problems. It is all the more difficult for women workers during their menstruation and pregnancy. It is not possible for migrant families to construct latrines as their stay is restricted to a brief period. The supervisors too make no attempts to construct community toilets.

Picture 4.11: No access to sanitation facilities

Picture 4.12 : Water used for bathing and drinking

4.2.9.3 Electricity

Questions regarding access to electricity revolved around the major issue of duration of power supply. It was all the more important to know about the duration of power supply because in most of the kilns respondents stated that they had electric connection but the duration of supply was minimal. Most of the respondents said that they had a few hours of supply only at night. They were provided with one bulb only. Lack of access to basic facilities had serious influence on the health of migrants. Such prevailing conditions necessitate a discussion on health issues and availability of medical facilities in brick kilns.

4.2.10 Vulnerability and health issues

Spatial movement of people has received scanty attention in the globalisation debate and so have the associated health risks related to this mobility. There is inadequate information on the types of migrants in India, their magnitude of movement and vulnerabilities influencing their overall health and access to healthcare. Movement of people can be categorised as forced and voluntary, regular and intermittent depending on the magnitude of migration. However, people who move are the most vulnerable set of

population. The health issues confronted by the migrant labourers are very severe and frequent. The vulnerability level is high among the internal migrant labourers due to absence of proper curative care extended as a result of their fluidity in terms of movement and their working conditions in the informal work arrangements.

Chatterjee (2006)[160] defines vulnerability as a state of being exposed to or susceptibility to danger or abuse. He further adds that women and children possess the stature of associated migrants in the migratory pattern within India with the men of the household at the helm and it deprives them of the right to make decisions about migration. This lack of decision making makes women more vulnerable and poses complex public health challenges. The plight of migrant women workers and their deteriorating health conditions need urgent attention. Women workers face inherent dangers and health risks because of the work they are involved in. Lack of toilets at the workplace and stringent working conditions lead to chronic urine retention. Women suffer intensely because of prolonged standing and bending over. Overexertion, dehydration, poor nutrition, exposure to chemicals and pesticides in migrant women have led to an increased risk of spontaneous abortion, premature delivery and foetal malformation.

Women also suffer from heat cramps, heat strokes, severe chest congestion and pain due to exhaustion. A large number of respondents spoke about the dreary conditions of work and the work place hazards that they are exposed to almost everyday. Migrant

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[160] Chandrima B. Chatterjee, "Identities in motion: Migration and health in India," Centre for Enquiry into Health and Allied Themes, (2006): 1-54.

women workers' health condition is closely related to workplace ambience and working hours. Working hours generally exceed 12 hours.

Picture 4.13: A child having eye infection

Women work under inhuman conditions. In some kilns, workers use fly ash for making bricks and during the process of work they constantly inhale dust ash particles leading to deterioration of their health. Respondents have repeatedly said that work at the kilns has always been strenuous and grave but working at the ring or to make mud dough is the most difficult of them all. People work continuously even for four days without food and water. Migrant women's health conditions get adversely affected also due to the kind of work they do in the kilns. Women workers are mostly engaged in head loading and coal crushing for the furnace. Excessive heavy load for head loaders hampers women's health conditions. Women suffer from severe chest pain and feel strangled. Some migrant women break coal into pieces for the furnace in which sun dried bricks are

burnt for final drying. Constant inhalation of coal and dust particles drastically affects their breathing. Most of the women workers have complained about sleep deprivation as they are forced to get up at 2 am to do all their household chores and begin their kiln work by 5 am.

At the worksite nursing mothers are in trouble as they hardly find anytime to feed their babies and that results in malnutrition in infants. No separate attention is given to the personal hygiene of girls. Pregnant women and children were seen working in the kilns. Women had to use the bore well water for taking bath and for drinking as well. A group of women had complained of excessive white discharge caused by excessive heat inside the kiln. No proper medicines and treatment are provided during illness and added to that, they are forced to work.

Women workers have to struggle hard even for access to basic facilities. Lack of toilet facilities promotes chronic urine retention. Women have to face severe troubles while managing their monthly cycle. Dhanadei, one of the respondents, said, "When menstrual periods start we tell our supervisors that we are going to toilet and then we quickly take bath and come back". Women workers have repeatedly said that even during periods they did not get any relief from the hectic work.

Women, men and children have severe skin infections and there are recurrent eruptions of lesions on the skin due to constant exposure to infected water and air filled with grime, dust, paddy husk and fly ash. These lesions take the form of skin sores and do not dry as migrants constantly work in mud and water. Women are forced to take bath in the water stored in the mud tanks which is used for mixing mud for making bricks.

Owners do not run the bore well pipes on the pretext of low water levels and excessive consumption of electricity. This is deliberately done to restrict migrants' access to water and for storing the water for mixing clay for brick moulds.

Picture 4.14: Lesions on a migrant worker's body

4.2.11 Medical facilities

Brick kiln migrants are mostly undocumented migrants and are affected by the existing social inequalities. Their health conditions are largely determined by the accessibility and availability of medical services at the destination. Migrants are left out of the purview of the state health care systems. Migration has posed severe health implications for the migrants due to severe cultural barriers and lack of information on available health services. A majority of migrants have said that they do not have access to any of the government sponsored medical schemes like Arogyashree or medical health cards. Visiting private clinics and at times government medical hospital appears to be the only option for many. Most of them have said that private clinics are readily accessible and

there are no specific issues with regard to availability of doctors, medicines, standing in long queues etc. However, visiting the doctors in private clinics puts extra burden on their earnings as they get a minuscule amount for weekly survival.

Most of the women migrants have said that in some of the kilns doctors come for a regular visit once or twice in a month or so. But the nature of treatment provided is not adequate. For any kind of illness, fever and cold, migrants are only given injections and a few strips of medicines without any proper diagnosis done. Women have complained that there are no special medical facilities for pregnant women and adult girls. No doubt some of the women have agreed to medical treatment being provided to them but majority have denied having access to any form of services.

Health conditions of migrants are closely related also to their migratory journey. Migrant men, women, children do not possess any identity proofs and they migrate as undocumented ones. Journey provisions are mainly arranged by the local sardars who take advance money from the supervisors at the destination. Sardars in tandem with the state authorities and the police arrange for irregular and illegal travels. These arrangements have severe effects on migrants as they do not have access to safe travel and health care during the journey. During the migration season sardars pay enormous amount to the police authorities who in return do not verify the details of the travel like possession of valid tickets and identity proofs. Migrants are forced to board overcrowded compartments with no seating arrangements. They do not even have access to safe drinking water and food during the entire journey. Migrants are harassed by the railway authorities and are charged for illegal travels. Physically and psychologically the effects

of migration are intense and devastating. Liemt (2004)[161] is of the view that those who migrate without legal documents tend to undergo long and dangerous journeys. Travel conditions often include long days hidden in a truck or crammed in a small space on a boat or under moving trains.

It was found that the state and stakeholders involved in covetous profit making aim to extract maximum labour from men and women who work as migrants but they fail to encompass the legal and the regular route to achieve that. Despite the physical, social and mental hazards, migrants undertake their migratory journey multiple times for their sustenance. Added to it are the existing inequalities which hamper the health conditions of migrants. Migrants do not have autonomy, capacity and freedom to choose healthy life conditions. They lack control and decision making and their unequal conditions fail to satisfy their material needs for food, water and shelter. After discussing the work life situation in the brick kilns it is equally important to discuss the migrants' access to food and their medium of cooking.

4.2.12 Medium of cooking

The study reveals that a significant majority of migrant households use firewood as a medium of cooking. The two most important reasons for using firewood are--firstly, dried tree barks and plants are available in and around the kilns and secondly, kerosene is a much costlier option for cooking. At places supervisors also provide firewood for cooking. Firewood is usually collected by women and children. However, lack of access to safe and fuel efficient stoves for cooking have affected women migrants' health.

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[161] G. Van Liemt, "Human Trafficking in Europe: An Economic Perspective." ILO Working Paper, (2004), quoted in Dr. Anita A. Davies et al, "Migration: A Social Determinant of the Health of Migrants," International Organisation for Migration (2006).

Smoke emanating from the firewood *chullhas* or mud stoves affects their lifestyle and their time. Women prepare temporary firewood mud stoves adjacent to their makeshift huts. Some of the women made their *chullhas* inside their huts. It is challenging for women to prepare food inside their huts where they find it difficult to move around. Supervisors do not provide them with better cooking facilities. Migrant women are deprived of better living conditions and do not have access to alternative fuel resources. This leads to migrant women spending most of their time in the cooking area. Moreover, women have complained that they were not given long enough breaks for preparing their food. This affects the quality of food as the food remained undercooked compromising the nutritional value of the food consumed.

4.2.13 Food allowance/ Food security and access to food

With regard to the issue of food security and access to food, women raised serious concerns about the spiralling cost of food items, quality of food and amount of advance paid for weekly sustenance. Women migrants were of the view that managing the household was a tough challenge as the cost of food items was very high. Their families had no access to the local PDS scheme and they did not have ration cards. They complained that the cost of rice is exorbitantly high and that they were forced to consume broken chicken feed rice. The price that women paid for buying chicken feed rice ranged between 25 and 30 rupees.

Layibani said that "Rice that is 2 rupees in Odisha costs around 20 rupees in Hyderabad". Moreover, she said that in Odisha they were provided with 25 kilos of rice per month at 2 rupees per kilo. Lack of access to local PDS scheme affected their food security. When asked about their food habits, women said that they hardly get any time to

prepare their food. Ghilandi Sabar said that "We do not get much time to cook as we need to do everything in a hurry. Here we prepare rice, *aloo, dal, barbate, kundru, baigan bhaja* for consumption. We eat fish, meat or egg once in a week. However, we fail to get curd or milk for our children". This operating system is erratic in nature and there are overlapping gaps. For weekly sustenance an able bodied migrant is approximately paid 200 rupees as food allowance.

Mostly a working unit of three labourers called *pathri* receives 200 rupees per member. However, this amount is not uniform in all the kilns. Added to it, this amount is inadequate for *pathris* in whose unit children do not work. The amount is paid on the basis of number of people working and not on the basis of number of family members present. If there are more than three members working in the unit then the amount given is less than Rs 200. If any unit or family asks for more money for the reasons of ailment in the family, they are simply taunted and denied the amount. On an average, any person can spend a maximum of 30 rupees per day on food items which is below any standard. As a result of this, the quality of rice that people consume is low and their protein intake is minimal. This leads to most labourers suffering from severe body pains, exhaustion, swelling of feet indicative of chronic malnutrition, a common condition among children and women.

At times men also misuse the wages for other purposes and this proves fatal for the family. To probe further, it is essential to discuss the migrants' mode of transportation and their stay at the destination.

4.2.14 Modes of transportation

The mode of transportation usually comprises travel by train, bus and trucks. Most of the migrants shared the difficulties they faced while travelling to the city. Without any prior reservation, they were relegated to the general class compartments in passenger trains. The cost of the onward journey is borne by the supervisor at the destination. Migrants are provided with general class tickets and some amount of money for food during the journey. However, respondents said that the return journey was usually a tormenting one. While returning, most of the time, migrants were not provided with any tickets and they had to pay money to police and ticket collectors. The trains are excessively congested during the migration season and migrants fail to get a seat. The berths are overcrowded and they have to stand for the entire journey with intermittent stops and halts.

Women narrated instances where old people who died during the journey were abandoned in the coach because their family members did not have money to perform their last rites. Most of the respondents said that they undergo lot of hardships while travelling from Odisha to Hyderabad. Manjula Sabar said that "On our way to Hyderabad, someone stole our clothes, utensils and food items". Women along with children had to face severe inconvenience because of frequent halts and change in modes of transportation.

Respondents have informed that some ailing and old people have died of suffocation and lack of treatment on their return journey to home. At times when their bodies were seized by the railway police, the migrant labourers were detained in police station till post mortem was done and the cause of the death was established. Scared of the consequences, the migrants refused to identify the bodies of their dear ones. If the

bodies are identified, then the family members are forced to cremate the body at the place as they cannot afford to transport the bodies for cremation and observance of death rituals. However, the Inter State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 stipulates that:

> A journey allowance of a sum not less than the fare from the place of residence of the inter-state migrant workman in his State to the place of work in the other State shall be payable by the contractor to the workman both for the outward and return journeys. Such workman shall be entitled to payment of wages during the period of such journeys as if he were on duty.[162]

The rules are nowhere followed by the owners or the sardars. This leads to a situation where migrants lose their lives and belongings. It was also reported by some of the women migrants that the owner had not provided a confirmed ticket and so they were stranded on the platform for days together without food and water before their return journey. They also had to struggle hard to board a general compartment on a general ticket. In such crowded travel conditions, there are instances of 3 to 4 deaths every year on the train.

4.2.15 Stay at the destination

Stay at the destination is usually seasonal in nature which stretches for a period of six months to one year. Usually migrants come for six months but in some of the kilns they are forced to stay for a longer time. Migrant men and women are brought to the kilns for six months but when they fail to fulfil their promise to deliver the required number of bricks their stay gets extended to one year. Women migrants said that "In some of the kilns the migrants are kept as hostages by the supervisors to extract more work despite fulfilling their demands for bricks".

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[162] The Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979, accessed on December 18, 2013,
http://pblabour.gov.in/pdf/acts_rules/interstate_migrant_workmen_regulation_of_employment_and_co.pdf.
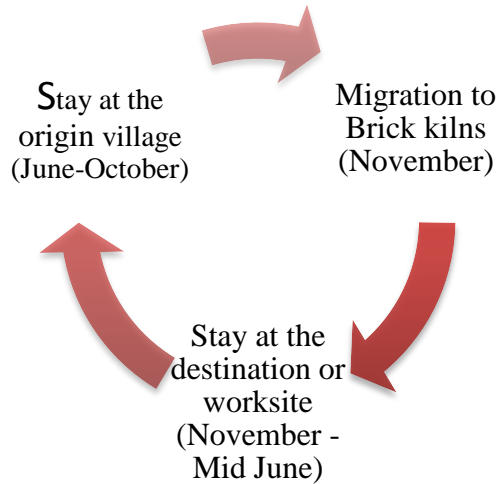
Figure 4.1: Migration cycle

Most of the available literature on migration emphasises the causes of migration and ignores the question of how women migrate and their experiences during the phase of migration. I argue that there is scanty literature which discusses the conditions under which women migrate and work in the migrant site. Migration pattern is influenced by the existing patriarchal attitudes and gender roles where men are considered to be the heads of the household, while women and children are regarded as dependents. Women are often identified by their relation to men and with whom they migrate regardless of their status.

Women are paid less because of their identity as accompanied workers. This perception highlights their household and family roles more rather than their work role. Although men and women spend the same amount of time for working in the labour economy, women spend a few hours more in doing unpaid household chores and men utilise that time in paid work. This patriarchal division of work structure has not learnt to value the task of household chores and this has resulted in less remuneration being paid to women. Else (1996) has expressed that, unpaid work done by women acts as the

"invisible infrastructure" without which the family members can not engage in work outside for such prolonged durations of time. Unpaid work helps to keep everything else going by acting as a vast springboard-cum-safety-net spread beneath the formal economy. In the context of brick kiln migration, women's whole contribution to social production is ignored and is relegated due to their lesser work hours at the kiln. When women's paid and unpaid work is compared with men's paid work at the kiln, it was observed that both work for the same number of hours and more of women's productive work is done for the household. As men in the kilns are linked to the supervisors and are enrolled in the muster rolls, their work is acknowledged and what is being extended to women is blatant ignorance of their domestic tasks.[163]

The capitalist societal perception of work as the prerogative of men and devaluation of women's work as an extension of their domestic responsibilities has resulted in the absorption of more and more women in unskilled labour where the wages are dismally low. Rowbotham (1973) argues that there are limiting forces that curtail opportunities for women to move out from the patriarchal constructions of family and occupations. Women are restricted to home and children and this is strengthened through expressions like "women's place" and "no place like home".

The process of socialisation has persuaded women to treat themselves as attachments to men as wives, sisters and mothers. Negligence towards the work women do in their houses goes to such an extent that there is an alarming absence of the recognition of women's work as women at home are usually described as jobless. The

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[163] Anne Else, *False Economy: New Zealanders Face the Conflict between Paid and Unpaid Work,* (Auckland: Tandem, 1996).

household labour including child care exclusively taken up by women in restricted situations constitutes a large amount of socially necessary production. As its results are not palpable in a society based on commodity production, it is not usually considered "real work" as it is situated outside trade and the market place.[164]

In addition, the existing taboos and stigmatisation related to women's work also limit their access to labour markets. Jeyaranjan and Swaminathan (2012) explain the other side of the story and endeavour to shed light from a different perspective. They point out that the patriarchal ideology also pressurises and stigmatises men if they remain unemployed for longer durations of time or earn less wages compared to that of women. However, adding to this are the taboos attached to working and earning women whose chances to work get minimised after marriage. In the case of married women who work outside, their husbands and marital homes continuously influence their stay in the labour market.[165] Similarly, in the case of brick kiln migration it was understood from the responses of women migrants that they were prohibited to work in the origin villages due to existing social taboos and in the destination their participation and length of stay were influenced by their household responsibilities and domestic chores. This has resulted in less economic benefits for women.

The irony remains that patriarchal society has not yet learned to value the essence of household tasks. I conclude that men are able to work for longer hours and more wages because of the contribution made by women at the household level. The present chapter presented a picture of the migrant worksite and the conditions monitoring migrant

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[164] Sheila Rowbotham, *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World*, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973).

[165] J. Jeyaranjan and Padmini Swaminathan, "Resilience of Gender Inequities: Women and Employment in Chennai," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34 (16/17) (1999): WS2-WS11.

lives. However, it is important to understand the effects of migration on women at the individual and the collective level. The next chapter will concentrate on the process of assimilation, change in family structure, caste practices, religion, motherhood challenges and their influence on migrant women.

Chapter 5

Temporary Re-locations: Roles Transformed or Reiterated?

5.1 Introduction

Internal migration is a crucial dimension of the development process. Migration contributes to the urban sprawl, cultural vibrancy and economic growth of the city. Migrants are recruited in the city because they provide low cost flexible labour force that often works in poor conditions and are devoid of legal and social protection. Migration has largely acted as a catalyst in the lives of migrants because of their exposure to the city and widely accepted cultural appropriation at the destination.

The prime objective of this chapter is to understand the role of migration and mobility of individuals in bringing about change in gender relations, values and practices. This section elucidates the subjective experiences of the women migrating to the brick kilns. This chapter also discusses the construction of a migrant family, the process of moulding identities and culture of migrants, alteration in religious beliefs and practices, re-defining caste practices, relocation and re-integration of migrants post migration.

For the present study, selection of families was done on the basis of purposive sampling. The sample coverage was spread in selected villages across Nuapada district which is considered one of the high migration pockets in Odisha. The present study has zeroed down on three categories of women respondents--first, women who were waiting to migrate or had migrated 1 to 2 years back or left behind family members of migrants; secondly, ongoing migrants met at the destination place and thirdly, women who had migrated during the immediate previous migration season.

5.2 Migration: Changing Lives and Identities

5.2.1 Impact of migration

The impact of migration both at the source and destination is immense and appalling. Migrants are looked down upon as "outsiders" by the government machineries at the destination and are regarded as potential threats to systems and resources at the destination. Firstly, migrants lose their identity, community values and citizenship rights during the entire process of migration, work, transition, relocation and return. Migrants are largely located outside the state peripheries. Migrants fail to assimilate themselves in any of the trade union or labour union due to frequent change of work and volatile nature of their mobility. Moreover, the operating unions at the destination and their policies fail to percolate down to secure the migrating masses. Secondly, migrants face marginalisation, stigmatisation and political exclusion. They are unable to exercise their voting rights. They fail to participate in local elections held at the origin villages. Some of the brick kiln migrants also stay for years together at the destination but they are not issued voter identity proofs by the local authorities.

No doubt, migration provides migrants with the much needed flexibility with regard to their movement to cities. However, migrants are branded as illegal inhabitants of the city space and maintain an anonymous identity. Migrants perceive a sense of danger and keep their religious and caste identities under wraps. Migrants feel that revealing their identity would lead to discrimination and indifference. On one hand the city aspires to fulfil its demand for cheap labour and unskilled workers by accommodating the migrant workers but on the other hand the urban space perceives a sense of danger and competition. This leads to stigmatisation and marginalisation of the

migrants. The urban authorities and regulatory organisations side-line the migrants and restrict them to the urban outskirts and shanty accommodations. The migrants on the other hand try to maintain cordial relations with the host destination but are bereft of any rights and entitlements. In the present study, it was made evident that stigma fuelled by the society has been instrumental in shaping the perceptions of the migrants, thereby affecting their sense of self, ability to adjust and make the best out of the life they have.

The stigma perpetrated by the mainstream society not only moulds how they respond and react to situations but also influences their belief systems. As one of the respondents while narrating her plight stated, "We adivasi people are tortured and tormented like anything. No one is there for us. No government and no sardar can help us. Our lives are filled with struggle and challenges". This feeling of being different from others is a testimony to the manner in which they have internalised the "differential attitudes" being meted out to them by members of the community and government.

One of the respondents also said that "If there is no water in our kiln then we cannot go and fetch water from the pipes of local people because they think we will pollute their water. We are restricted from interacting with the local residents". Stigmatisation of migrants translates into not just physical exclusion of individuals from social spaces but also exclusionary mechanisms that can narrow down the choices of such individuals. Stigma restricts their social life and life choices.

5.2.2 Identities and culture: Selfhood construction

The subjective realities of the marginalised groups have shaped the context where it was found that they were compelled to live with ascribed identities coded as the "other".

However, this subjective reality has brought into debate the question of migrant identity in real life situations. Moreover, to understand and to explore migrant identity, it is essential to highlight and understand the perceptions, suffering and felt needs of women migrants and their roles. Apart from other established ideas about the identity construction, according to Green (2012), the process of acculturation shapes and modifies the construction of the migrant self. Migrants' individual journeys are guided by established customs, family ties, understanding of love, hope, fear, dreams and mutually defined notions of personhood. These principles congregate to mould "the self". Thus the self is caught up between the mutuality of the specific ways of perceiving and relating to people and the diversity of individualised acts such as feeling, imagining and being in the world. The self also lives at intersections of time, where past time manifests itself through memory, present time through the here and now and future time with imaginings of the future self. Getting separated from social networks is the initial stage in the process of acculturation followed by the sense of loss, dislocation, alienation and isolation.[166]

On the same subject, Berry (2002) suggests that the steps involved in acculturation are similar to the psychological responses to a stimulus; of moving towards, moving against and moving away and this change corresponds to adaptation or simulation, rejection and deculturation. Acculturation is the result of the interaction between two cultures wherein they come into each other's proximity and change under mutual influence. In this process of accommodation, one culture is usually seen as dominating the other culture resulting in the change of identity and this phase of adjustment is inevitable. The process of identity construction at the destination adds to

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[166] Paul Green, "Kinship, Selfhood and Migration: Articulations of Love, Loss and the Future in Japan," *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series,* No.186 (2012): 1-14.

the toils they undergo due to migration. Changes permeate in the structure of the family and parental relationship, gender relations, decision making, motherhood roles, process of socialisation and childhood construction.[167]

For the purpose of better understanding, it is necessary to have a discussion on the impact of migration on the family structure of migrants, their decision to migrate, task sharing behaviour, women and children, motherhood and domestic challenges, socialisation of left behind children, family planning, caste and religion. It would be interesting to find out whether the changes lead to complete transformation in the lives of migrants or to continuation of the status quo.

5.2.3 Family

Brick kiln migration is a typical family migration. For brick production the family members' collective labour is put in for making or head loading of bricks. The concept of family against the backdrop of brick kiln migration is referred to as a *pathuria*. *Pathuria* is a work unit in the kilns that comprises men, women and children. This work unit holds importance for the supervisor because of the effort they put in for the production of bricks which later on garner profits for the supervisor.

One of the migrants explained that "We come with our family and it also works as a guarantee for the supervisor. They consider the family to be a stake against which we are willing to work and they (supervisors) do not doubt us or else if we are alone we might run away and they might suspect us as well". Brick kilns get transmuted into a

[167] John W. Berry, "Conceptual Approaches to Acculturation," in *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement and Applied Research*, (eds). Kevin M. Chun, Pamela Balls Organista, and Gerardo Marin, (Washington, DC, USA: Am Psychol Assoc, 2002), 17-37, quoted in Dinesh Bhugra, "Migration, Distress and Cultural Identity," *British Medical Bulletin*, Vol. 69 (1) (2004): 134.

symbolic space for women migrants where they constantly toil but there is no outlet for them to move out. The entire family in the brick kiln works as a labour unit and their efforts are used in different capacities.

The connotations of the family as an institution have changed because of migration. Family structure, practices and behaviour get constrained within the cultural context of the destination. Family is largely perceived as a guarantee for the operating structure of supervisors and as a symbolic work unit and their capacity and potentialities are harnessed to the larger possible extent. Migrants move from an extended joint family system to a nuclear family pattern. In the process, they lose social cohesion and support. On the other hand, their decision making capacity improves as they can take independent decisions on their work opportunities. The connotation of the head of the family or the patriarch gets enervated over the period.

5.2.4 Decision to migrate

For most of the respondents the decision to migrate was moulded by the mutual consensus of the couple. All the respondents have termed it as "self-decision" to migrate. However, there are varied opinions that shape women migrant's decision. One of the women respondents said that "It is compulsory for a woman to move along in a group of three or four men as she is the one who will carry the bricks for drying and will also do all the household chores". Some of the women respondents also replied that "Sometimes decisions are taken by our parents and we are willing to go to fulfil our needs". The present study also revealed that people follow the co-villagers who migrate and this in turn propels them to migrate. In one of the interviews one woman responded, "My husband said that people are going to work outside and we should also go". Another

woman further added that "We take our own decisions. We go as a family and take care of ourselves all along the way". These narratives clearly indicate that "self-decision" as claimed by the women respondents involves their participation in decision making. This highlights their autonomy but women migrants' decision to migrate also gets influenced by either the opinions of their husbands or other family members.

Migration for the women migrants is actually an interplay between autonomy and compulsion determined by factors like needs, networks and choices of an individual. Women migrants have autonomy to move but do not have any right to choice. It is only a movement from one survival strategy to other marked by compulsion. Findley (1997) has opined that the expected returns from migration while predominantly economic (particularly for the poorest), can include status, escape from social control, and even exploration of the world outside.[168] One of the respondents said that "Most of the decisions are taken by self or by the family as a whole. When we see other people going to work in kilns, we also find it easy to migrate in search of work where at least we can earn for our daily consumption". In the case of brick kiln migration, individual motives to migrate for work involve a combination of economic and non-economic factors. First and foremost, an individual's decision to migrate is made by parents, family members and at times self-decision by the individual herself. Secondly, people migrate with the sole aim to improve their economic conditions and livelihood patterns. Thirdly, most of the migrants believe that moving away from their villages relaxes the parental and social control imposed upon them and this also helps them to explore the outside world and

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[168] S. Findley, "Migration and Family Interactions in Africa," in *Family, Population and Development in Africa*, ed. A. Adepoju, (London: Zed Books,1997), 109-138, quoted in Arjan de Haan, "Family as the Missing Link?" in *Poverty, Gender and Migration*, ed. Sadhna Arya and Anupama Roy, Women and Migration in Asia, Vol. 2 (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), 115.

opportunities available. Moreover, migration has helped women to free themselves from the bondage of honour wherein they are not allowed to perform certain types of work in villages.

5.2.5 Negotiating between the family and the workplace

Migration has had an immense impact on men and women. There has been visible degree of changes in task sharing behaviour and gender role attitudes largely due to the changing socio-cultural environment at the destination. Women always bear the prime responsibility for performing the domestic tasks, maintaining cleanliness and socialising the children. Any discussion on negotiation between the family and the workplace revolves around issues related to the stereotypical division of work between men and women. The whole idea was to understand the underlying perceptions of men with regard to sharing responsibilities in domestic tasks. Similarly, Ley, Galambos and Silbereisen are of the view that the stereotypical division of labour based on gender differences has always been prevalent. Two chief factors that determine who does what are age and sex of the individuals among whom the work can be shared. The above authors are of the view that features of the host industrial society where there is flexibility and leniency in the roles and more avenue for informal relationships between men and women do not ensure that there are no gender stereotypes in the host country (Ley, 1979)[169] (Galambos and Silbereisen, 1989).[170] To comprehend the existence of stereotypical division of work

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[169] K. Ley, *Frauen in der Emigration*, Verlag Thuber, Stuttgart, (1979), quoted in Despina Sakka, Maria Dikaiou and Grigoris Kiosseoglou, "Return Migration: Changing Roles of Men and Women," International Migration, Vol. 37 (4) (1999): 742.

[170] N. L. Galambos and R. K. Silbereisen, "Role Strain in West German Dual-Earner Households,"*Journal of Marriage and the Family,* Vol. 51 (2) (1989): 385-389, quoted in Despina Sakka, Maria Dikaiou and Grigoris Kiosseoglou, "Return Migration: Changing Roles of Men and Women," *International Migration*, Vol. 37 (4) (1999): 742.

between women and men, an attempt was made to gather women's responses on men helping with household chores.

Table: 5.1
Men Helping with Household Chores

Sl. no	Men helping with household chores	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Helping	25	32.05
2	Not-helping	53	67.95
	Total	78	100%

Out of 78 women respondents, 53 (67.95%) have said that men in the family do not help them with household chores and 25 (32.05%) have agreed to men helping them to do the chores. Almost 20 women in the group of 53 women respondents said that "Men do not do any household chores. If they attempt to cook, the munshi in the kiln would question, 'what are your wives doing' and this is very humiliating and insulting for men in the family". The irony is that women always work both outside and inside the home but their engagement is not recognised as an economic activity. Whatever work women do is usually regarded as a corollary of housewife-mother role.

Identical to the responses given by women migrants, Michel (1978)[171] and Delphy (1970)[172] discuss the interrelationship between women's exploitation within the household and their exploitation in the economic system. All the responsibilities shouldered by women are considered an extension of their domestic roles and the related accomplishments are always observed from exclusively domestic premises. In an endeavour to understand the perspective of the migrant women, some of the respondents

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[171] A. Michel, *Les femmes dans la societe marchande*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978), 256, quoted in Mirjana Morokvasic, "Birds of Passage are also Women," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 18 (4) (1984): 888.
[172] C. Delphy, *Lennemi Principal*, (Paris: Maspero, 1970), quoted in Mirjana Morokvasic, "Birds of Passage are also Women," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 18 (4) (1984): 888.

in brick kilns admitted that they consider their work an extension of their domestic roles. Migrant women's role is largely similar to a side kick whose responsibility is to assist their husbands and other family members who migrate to work in brick kilns. They perform a variety of tasks both in the house and in the kiln such as cleaning, cooking, looking after the children, fetching water, making bricks and carrying them to the kilns. In spite of performing a range of related and unrelated jobs, women earn much less than men and their work is not labelled as economic activity being "off the books". This explains that there is not only sexual division of work but also gendered division of work that prevails.

One of the women respondents sarcastically said that "Can men cook? We only cook when we get breaks. Supervisors do not even give us wood for the purpose of cooking. We collect it in between our work and then prepare our food. If women don't prepare food, then men will starve, but they will not prepare it by themselves". Another woman said, "Men do not get time, how will they help us with our work? We only do all the work. They only get wood for cooking. We do rest of the work like cooking, cleaning and washing clothes".

Kaur (2006)[173] is of the view that there has been an inherent cultural framing of gender roles wherein most household chores are considered to be a woman's domain and responsibility. In this study an attempt has been made to investigate the extent to which the migrant men shared household tasks also to understand their attitudes towards gender roles. One woman in the group said that "During periods we do not cook and our

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[173] Ravinder Kaur, "Migrating for Work: Rewriting Gender Relations," in *Poverty, Gender and Migration*, ed. Sadhna Arya and Anupama Roy, Women and Migration in Asia, Vol. 2, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), 197.

husbands cook as they think we are polluted". Men have admitted to have shared the household tasks but it somewhere also reflects their exasperated attitude. Men consider their wives to be polluted during the monthly cycle and take up the task of cooking.

Prameela was of the view that "Men work more strenuously. But for us we do our work and then take a break for a while and then cook". As women are also ingrained with deep rooted prejudices, they believe that men always work strenuously and performance of household tasks is the domain of women. They refuse to identify their capacity to work. However, some of the responses given by the women respondents indicate a positive vibe of change brought in due to migration wherein men and women believe in sharing household responsibilities.

One of the women respondents said, "My husband gets water and also prepares the mud oven for me to prepare food. Even at times he prepares food". Another woman in the group said, "We men and women together do all the work. If we (women) are carrying bricks, husband or any other man in the family cooks food in the hut". Grimes (1998) is of the view that by examining gender relations and the construction of feminine/masculine subjectivities, we can understand how gender roles and the organisation of public and private life are rapidly changing and how migration directly impacts such changes.[174]

Coming back to the respondents from the field, Aruna said that "Sometimes if I do not get time or I am unwell my brother prepares the food or else I do all the household

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[174] Kimberly M. Grimes, *Crossing Borders: Changing Social Identities in Southern Mexico*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998): 20, quoted in Sandra Weinstein Bever, *"*Migration and the Transformation of Gender Roles and Hierarchies in Yucatan,*" Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, Vol. 31 (2) (2002): 200.

chores". Thabira Rana said, "If we don't help our women with house work, who else will?" Similarly, Visakha Karuan also said that "To some extent men in the family help women with their work and they even cook but it is mostly women who do the household chores".

Rosenbaum (1993) has opined that strong contradictions exist between the ideological assertion of male supremacy and the reality of women's input being indispensable as that of men and in many cases, more essential for the survival of the family. Although cultural values encourage a complementary division of labour, they also give men the right to rule over women. Such inconsistencies generate tension between husband and wife.[175]

In the present study it was found that there is a change in gender role performance and task sharing behaviour among men and women in the context of migration because there has been an increased participation of migrant women in the labour force. Women have started contributing financially and sending back remittances for the improvement of family back home. Acculturation and assimilation process in the destination are improving the decision making power of women.

However, changes have been observed only with respect to some of the traditional feminine tasks such as cooking and house cleaning. It was found that some men preferred to share household work only when their wives were menstruating or were unwell.

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[175] Brenda Rosenbaum, *With Our Heads Bowed: The Dynamics of Gender in a Maya Community,* (Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, 1993), quoted in Sandra Weinstein Bever, "Migration and the Transformation of Gender Roles and Hierarchies in Yucatan," Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development, Vol. 31(2) (2002): 199-230.

5.2.6 Women and children

Table: 5.2
Women and Children

Sl. no	Women and children	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Children left behind	23	29.49
2	Migrating children	39	50
3	Unmarried women	14	17.95
4	Women who have no children	2	2.56
	Total	78	100%

The study revealed that migrating children were outside the purview of any child protection mechanism and that their lives were at stake. In the present study it was found that 23 (29.49%) families have left their children behind in the villages, 39 (50%) of families have agreed that their children migrate along with their parents, 14 (17.95%) respondents are unmarried and 2 (2.56%) are women with no children.

There has been a rapid increase in the number of migrating women and this in turn has an effect on family stability, relationships and wellbeing of the children left behind. Issues related to children are neglected during the due course of migration. Children are most vulnerable to risks during the process of migration. Children are mostly left behind by parents; at times children migrate along with their parents or migrate alone. In all of the above conditions, children's safety, security, education, health, socialisation, acceptance and sense of wellbeing are at stake.

Cotton and Beguy (2013) opine that women have to make the decision about whether or not to migrate along with the children. This decision is considered to be a difficult one as migrating with children has risks of potentially exposing them to vulnerable environments, or leaving them under other's care. The choice of migrating

along with the children or "mothering from a distance" does not completely rest upon the women.[176] Hall (2010) also suggests that an increase in women's migration leads not only to the separation of children from mothers but also to the escalation of child mobility rates as some women choose to take their children along or send them to another area for care. Migration of parents, especially mothers can lead to have severe effects on children's emotional and physical well-being. Migrating or left behind children encounter countless effects of migration in the form of alteration in the family structure, fragmentation of the family, brief or prolonged separation from parents, or exposure to a potentially risky urban environment.[177]

A concept like "other mothering" used by Patricia Hill Collins refers to the women who care for children when blood mothers are absent. Othermothers are defined as "women who assist blood-mothers by sharing mothering responsibilities" (Collins, 2000).[178] The present study intends to understand children's living arrangement and wellbeing during migration. Women use migration as a livelihood strategy to improve the socio-economic status of the individual and of the family even though it leads to spousal and parental separation. Molyneux et al (2002) in a related study found out that mothers who migrate from the rural to the urban preserve and maintain strong linkages between their rural and urban homes and the importance of these "linked households" lies in the

[176] Donatien Beguy and Cassandra Cotton, "The Effects of Mother's Migration on Family Dynamics and Child Residence: Experiences from the Informal Settlements of Nairobi, Kenya," (2013), accessed on September 21, 2015, http://paa2013.princeton.edu/papers/130569.

[177] K. Hall, "Migrant Mothers and Mobile Children: New Possibilities for Exploring Child Poverty Dynamics in South Africa," (2010) quoted in Donatien Beguy and Cassandra Cotton, "The Effects of Mother's Migration on Family Dynamics and Child Residence: Experiences from the Informal Settlements of Nairobi, Kenya," (2013): 1-11. Accessed September 21, 2015, http://paa2013.princeton.edu/papers/130569.

[178] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 178, quoted in Douglas Guiffrida, "Othermothering as a Framework for Understanding African-American Students' Definitions of Student-Centred Faculty," The *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 76 (6) 2005: 715.

fact that they help women to extend material and emotional support to their children while living away. The possibility of linked households has given a boost to migration because to an extent it is assured that the children's educational and health needs are sufficiently taken care of by other female members of the family. The migrant mothers maintain their bond with extended families at the origin and hence constantly stay in touch with the children who are left behind. Grandparents and other members of the extended family back home usually take up the responsibility of the child.[179]

5.2.6.1 Children left behind

Some of the migrating parents had left behind their children under the custody of their extended family members. The reason cited for doing so was the concern for their children's education and health. In some of the villages seasonal hostels or Andhra ashram school were opened. These ashram schools aimed at accommodating children whose parents had migrated to work in kilns. These schools are residential schools and money is paid for maintenance and food by the parents who leave their children. Migration information and Resource Centre (MiRC, 2009) in its report titled "Incidence of Child Migration in Western Odisha" has recorded that in 2004-2005 seasonal hostel model was experimented by the NGOs Vikalpa and Lok Drishti. Approximately 400 children were retained in 16 hostels in 8 villages each in Balangir and Nuapada districts. In 2005-2006, the coverage in sending areas was scaled up to include 60 villages and approximately 1,700 children. This included programmes from Vikapla and Lok Drishti

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[179] Molyneux et al, "Maternal Mobility across the Rural-Urban Divide: Empirical Data from Coastal Kenya," *Environment & Urbanization*, Vol.14 (1) (2002): 203-217, quoted in Donatien Beguy and Cassandra Cotton,"The Effects of Mother's Migration on Family Dynamics and Child Residence: Experiences from the Informal Settlements of Nairobi, Kenya, " (2013): 1-11. Accessed September 21, 2015, http://paa2013.princeton.edu/papers/130569.

which expanded to cover 20 villages each. Two more local NGO's in Balangir namely Adhikar and Jan Mukti Anushthan also started to work in 13 and 12 villages respectively. The mobilisation of more local NGOs for work on migration issues has in this way, helped to expand coverage as well as to build advocacy strength.[180]

One of the women respondents from the field said, "Me and my husband had migrated to work. My only son was there in my mother's house. He was studying so we did not take him along with us. He is our only child so we did not take him along". This clearly indicates that parents were reluctant to take their children to the kilns as they were concerned about their education and health. Parents were also apprehensive of the existing conditions in the kilns. One of the older women who had previously migrated said that "We usually stay back with our grandchildren when our son and daughter-in-law migrate. My son and daughter-in-law gave some money to our grandchildren before going and after that if there is shortage then me and my husband work here to feed them". Sabita said, "My mother-in-law and two daughters were there at home. We had given money for their maintenance before leaving. My second daughter was left behind with her uncle".

Similarly, in the context of brick kiln migration, it was found that due to movement of people, children were at risk and migration jeopardised the safety and wellbeing of children who migrated along with their parents and even for children who were left behind at the source by the migrating parents. Left behind children were also vulnerable and faced several challenges in terms of education and health. Findings of the present study indicate that the migrating mothers usually leave their children in the

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[180] Aide et Action, "Incidence of Child Migration in Western Odisha," Migration Information and Resource Centre, (2009): 1-44.

custody of elderly parents or in-laws. This nearly has a close connection with the age of the migrants who migrate. It was found that there were very few migrants above the age of 50 because they preferred to stay back to look after their grandchildren and pave a way for further migration. This in a way helps the migrating women to develop cordial ties with their origin village and they are mostly dependent on women who are on migration.

5.2.6.2 Children migrating along with their parents

There are three specific explanations given by the migrating parents as to why their children migrate along with them;

- Firstly, each *pathuria* working in the brick kilns consists of three members-- one man, one woman and a child. A child below the age of 14 years is of utmost importance for the employer because the child works free of cost along with his parents and during the process of brick making there are certain activities like flipping of the brick which require nimble hands of young children. Children above the age of 14 years are considered to be adults and are paid advance separately. But the crux is that it is much easier for a contractor to employ women and children because they are paid low wages. However, women and children work for same arduous hours but the amount given to them gets annulled due to the stereotypes revolving around the type of work they do. Contractors prefer employing children at no cost.

- Secondly, parents are apprehensive of leaving young grown up girl children owing to reasons of security. They prefer to leave children who are continuing with their education, both girls and boys. Moreover, they believe that a girl child is a helping

hand as she can take care of younger siblings, do the primary cooking and other household chores etc.

- Thirdly, parents consciously state the age of their children as 14 years so that they can collect advance money in lieu of their children. Some parents whose children have discontinued their studies and migrated with them are comfortable with the fact that their children have now learnt the skill of brick making that would help them for their future sustenance. The present study reveals that in one of the villages two young girls who look much below the age of 14 years have taken advance separately stating to be above 14 years. However, concerns revolving around children's willingness to work have to be probed in greater detail.

- Fourthly, some of the migrating parents lamented their incapacity to help their children to study further. Lack of educational opportunities for migrating children is a major challenge and concern among parents who migrate and who foresee the idea of providing education to their children. The socio-economic conditions, family situation and segregation, problems of integration and accommodation at the destination, lack of language familiarity, school segregation and pattern of education provided at the destination are combined to affect the education of migrated children. These children mostly get engaged along with their parents in brick kilns rather than going to school.

- Fifthly, in some of the kilns there are provisions for running a school for migrated children and teachers are mostly recruited from Odisha who come on deputation and teach the children. Books and other facilities are provided under Sarva Siksha Abhiyan but the paradox remains that children need to continue in that same class

when they go back after the migration season before they appear for their annual examination. Children keep on repeating the same class for years together and end up dropping out of the school.

5.2.7 Being a mother: Migration and challenges of mothering

This section deals with issues related to motherhood, nurturing and infant care, women's general health, menstruation and changing practices.

5.2.7.1 Menstruation

Menstruation as a biological function of the body is considered an impure state and is closely associated with cultural taboos, observance of conservative practices and stigma. Even now during this delicate phase of women's health they are considered to be polluting and at places they are made to sit separately for three days.

The cause of menstruating women needs to be discussed in the context of brick kiln migration. Women respondents said in a single voice that they had no time to look after themselves even when they were menstruating. Women constantly complained that they felt generally dull and weak during this time and suffered from menstrual cramps, giddiness, body pains etc., but they were made to carry heavy load of bricks.

When asked about maintaining hygiene and sanitation during menstruation, women said that they use old torn clothes as menstrual pads. They also mentioned that they wash these clothes, dry and reuse them again. They do not have access to market made sanitary pads and some of them are not even aware of such products. Some of the women respondents said that "on the first day of our periods we stealthily move out of

the workplace stating that we are going to the toilet and then we quickly take bath and clean our clothes".

But in some of the kilns women have complained that "even during periods the supervisor does not allow us to go to the toilet or to the open space to clean ourselves. At times blood would be flowing down our legs but we would be continuing with our work. This is the deadly fate of women".

5.2.7.2 Motherhood, lactation and nurturing

The concept of motherhood acquires new dimensions in the case of migrants as the institution of family undergoes transformation. In this context, the image of a mother may no longer be that of a caretaker and nurturer. A migrating mother is one who either migrates to join her husband or else migrates to join the labour market along with other members for work. In this process, children are deprived of mother's physical presence who is entrusted with the role of a caretaker for the children.

At the same time, Lulle (2014) is of the view that physical separation of women from their families during seasonal migration was a temporary solution as their mobility aimed at the betterment of themselves and their families. In the present study it was found that 23 families have left their children behind in the villages. There are two kinds of explanations that can be given in this regard-- firstly, migrating mothers had to divert themselves from their care responsibilities and secondly, women had to negotiate with elderly women and other extended family members who can take care of their children.[181] Morokvasic (2003:2) remarked that "migrant women who have care responsibilities at

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[181] Aija Lulle, "Shifting Notions of Gendered Care and Neoliberal Motherhood: From the Lives of Latvian Migrant Women in Guernsey," *Women's Studies International Forum,* Vol. 47 (B) (2014): 239-249.

home often face moral stigmatisation".[182] These women bear the stigma of being absent mothers. These mothers migrate with an aim to provide material benefits for the development of their families but fail to provide care benefits for their children. Motherhood and care are considered conventional roles to be played by women and women are stigmatised because of their absence.

The overall physical and mental wellbeing of an infant depends on mother's milk. But in the context of migration, lactating and nurturing mothers are in trouble. Lactating mothers are not allowed to feed their babies. As a result of this, infants in the kilns suffer from malnutrition and several deformities. When parents migrate along with their children their ability to access health services reduces drastically. A new born child of a migrating mother is in the most vulnerable condition. Nursing mothers can hardly find any time to feed the infants and that resulted in infants suffering from malnutrition.

One of the women respondents said that "If we are feeding small babies then they (supervisors) come near us and comment 'Why are you feeding your babies? Why are you not working?' They drag us by our hair if we lie down to feed our babies". Another woman further added that "Mothers were not allowed to feed their babies. If the mother lies down to feed her baby, then the owner enters the hut and starts beating them accusing that they are sleeping and resting". In one of the interviews the woman respondent said "We leave young babies in the sun and no one is there to take care of them. They eat mud, do toilet and even scatter and litter around".

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[182] Mirjana Morokvasic, "Transnational Mobility and Gender: A View from Post Wall Europe," in *Crossing Borders and Shifting Boundaries, Gender On the Move*, eds. Mirjana Morokvasic, Umut Erel, Kyoko Shinozaki, (Leske and Budrich: Opladen , 2003), 101–133, quoted in Aija Lulle, "Shifting Notions of Gendered Care and Neoliberal Motherhood: From the Lives of Latvian Migrant Women in Guernsey," *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 47(B) (2014): 239-249.

5.2.8 Family planning

It is extremely difficult to assess the vulnerable condition of young adolescent girls, new mothers and women in the brick kilns. The present study has made an attempt to know the problems faced by women. In the brick kilns there is lack of awareness and ignorance among women with regard to their health. Adolescent girls and pregnant women are the worst sufferers.

Women have no awareness about family planning measures. Women respondents when asked about their concerns with regard to family planning replied that "Women get operation done and men don't. Why will men go for operation? No need for them to do that. We give birth to babies and we should get the operation done".

Women do not use any birth control measures for their safety or to avoid unwanted pregnancies. Family planning is always practised as tubectomy for women and no vasectomy for men. Cultural norms, traditions and social taboos attached to women's health issues restrict their choices to discuss their own body. In addition to it, myths and lack of information about contraceptives prevent them from taking any measures. As a result of this, women are at risk due to the pregnancy related complications.

5.2.9 Socialisation: Girl child vs. boy child

Gender equality emphasises that both men and women should receive equal treatment and should not be discriminated against on the basis of gender.[183] Gender discrimination is rampant because of the cultural constructs in Indian society. One of such constructs is

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[183] "Gender Equality," accessed on February 6, 2016, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender_equality#cite_note-1.

the preference for male child. However, in the present study it was found that people were more open to providing equal opportunities to their girls and boys. One of the women respondents said that "We have given birth to our children. They are born out of our wombs. We look after them equally. It is not that we got our daughters from the jungle and our sons are born out of our wombs. There is no discrimination between girls and boys".

Picture 5.1: Young girl at work
Source:http://pradeepbaisakh.blogspot.in/2010/06/school-at-work-new-
ray-of-hope-for.html

5.2.10 Safety of young girls

To a great extent migration has transformed our world and has opened up new opportunities for work in formal and informal sectors. Adolescent girls in developing countries are migrating to urban locations to work, to learn and gain skills and avail opportunities. Migration provides opportunities and autonomy to adolescent girls. However, their energies have to be directed in an effective way and it is imperative that the migrating destination provides adolescent girls a safe place to live and socialise. Protection and safety of girls is the prime concern of the migrating parents. One of the migrants said that "Three adolescent daughters of our neighbour had migrated to brick

kilns for work but they have not returned and it has been three years now. Their parents tried searching for them but in vain".

Dhanadei said that "In our kilns we were very protective of our daughters (all adult girls specially). We all had built a big hut in the kiln where all unmarried young girls stayed. This was done so that all of them are safe and together. We do not want our daughters to intermingle with other boys. Similarly, unmarried boys were made to stay at one place".

In one of the interviews a young girl said that "If munshis in the kiln tease or try to abuse girls then girls in the kilns reply bluntly saying 'We have come here to work but not to lose our honour'".

5.2.11 Workplace as a site of change

5.2.11.1 Caste practices

The prominence of caste as a push factor has been an under-researched dimension in the case of the brick kiln migration. Life in a rural hinterland gets dictated by socio-cultural values, practices, higher caste numerical strength and autonomy. Kaur (2006) has opined that in the first place migration can garner positive or negative experiences for the migrant. Migration frees the migrant from the constraints of the local social structure and the anonymity of the city frees women from the stronghold of caste, village hierarchies and patriarchy.[184] However, in the context of brick kiln migration both the assumptions provided above are partially apt. No doubt migration has in some way helped the

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[184] Ravinder Kaur, "Migrating for Work: Rewriting Gender Relations," in *Poverty, Gender and Migration*, ed. Sadhna Arya and Anupama Roy, Women and Migration in Asia, Vol. 2 (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006), 202.

migrants to avoid recalcitrant caste practices and local social structures but to maintain a separate identity in the kilns migrants prefer congregating on the basis of their caste but they are not very rigid with regard to its practices. In addition, anonymous city life and workplace provide women with an ambience devoid of work hierarchies but that is also because migrants from different caste backgrounds are engaged in a similar type of work. In the source village, women are not allowed to work because of the social taboo attached to women's work. In one of the interviews a woman respondent said that "Women in the villages do not go to carry mud or soil and also some families do not allow them to work under MGNREGA". Urban migration provided these women with an identity where their choice of work does not get decided by the place to which they belong or its practices.

In the present study it was found that though not directly but caste plays an inhibiting role wherein lower caste, landless people fail to have access to work available in the villages. One of the women respondents condemned such practices and said that "If the village sarpanch is from upper caste then whatever NREGA work comes under his disposal is given to people from upper castes and we lower caste people remain bereft of it". Another woman further added that "We Sabar community and Dalit people depend on natural resources based livelihood like collecting kendu leaves and forest produce but due to collapse of traditional livelihood and precarious caste practices we are forced to migrate. This form of mobility has become a survival strategy for lower caste people".

5.2.11.2 Caste identity

Caste identity of a particular community provides a close view of their practices, beliefs and notions with regard to their everyday lives. The present study indicates that migration can be regarded a catalyst that has brought in change in some aspects of behaviour and

practices among migrants. However, people still cling on to their practices of purity and pollution. One of the respondents said that "In this kiln we have people from different castes; we build our huts nearby but do not exchange our food and water because that might pollute our caste belongingness".

In spite of treading several miles from the same source village caste discrimination still persists in the destination. People believe in the notions of purity and pollution with regard to use of water for consumption and in case of cooking and sharing food. In some of the kilns, it was astonishing to find a unique pattern of housing wherein people belonging to one caste identity built their huts in a cluster maintaining a few yards of distance from the other community. However, surprisingly one group of migrants vehemently opposed and denied any form of caste practices.

5.2.12 Religion

Religion is a driving force that regulates the day to day life of an individual. However, migration has cut across the barriers of religion, rituals, and beliefs. Migration has endowed individual migrants with a necessary change. In one way or the other migration has helped migrants to interpret their religious practices and responsibilities in a different manner.

Table: 5.3
Observance and Non-Observance of Religious Practices

Sl. no	Religion	No. of respondents	Percentage
1	Observance of religious practices	12	15.38
2	Non-observance of religious practices	66	84.62
	Total	78	100%

The study reveals that out of 78 women respondents, 66 (84.62%) have revealed about their non-observance of religious practices. They have complained about the lack of time and initiative to perform any rituals and practices. On the other hand, 12 (15.38%) have agreed to observance of religious practices.

In response to the question asked about religious beliefs and practices, one of the women respondents said that "Once in a while we take the name of our ancestral deities and just offer a coconut and lit agarbattis. Our owner said that when we (supervisors) have nothing to do with your fast and puja, why should we give leave on that day?" Another respondent when asked about observing fasts and festivals said that, "We do not have time to clean mud out of our hands completely. No time to cook and take care of our children. No time to observe any puja, fast or religious festivals". Some of the women respondents added that "We only take blessings from bhoomi mata, worship sun and follow the preachings of gayatri mata". When asked about their religion, respondents said that they belong to Hinduism but a deeper probe has revealed that most of them do not restrict themselves to conservative hindu practices like idol worship, observance of fasts etc. Moreover, tribal women respondents have focused on separate tribal practices unique to their own community and culture.

In the context of migration, upholding traditional values and religious observances in an alien land is a challenging task. Migrants experience a sense of loss, detachment and dissolution of their spiritual and religious identity as migration creates a new space and assigns new meanings to their values.

5.2.13 Personal life and privacy

In the present study it was found that women migrate along with men and women shoulder the double burden of working both inside and outside the household. When asked about their personal life women respondents said that they hardly get any time to spend together with their family at the destination. Respondents also added that "Newlywed couples also migrate to work in the kilns. Their huts are built separately but are mostly adjacent to their parents. They feel uncomfortable under present conditions of housing but they have no choice". Migrants fail to exercise their privacy because they are constantly under the surveillance and supervision of the owner and his musclemen who hover around in the kilns. Respondents have said that at night supervisor's musclemen keep a close watch on them and they are questioned even if they go to the toilet. Supervisor's guards sometimes sneak into their huts fearing that migrants would flee.

A discussion on the impact of migration on women's lives will not be complete without taking into account men's role in migration, men's responses to changing gender roles, people's attitudes and perceptions towards migration, weekly markets as sites for social interaction, relocation of women post migration and other emerging themes.

5.2.14 Reviving old ties

The present study indicates that even during the phase of ongoing migration people have stressed on maintaining their social ties and other networks with left behind family members and villagers back home. Migrants relate themselves with their origin and maintain their contacts through telephonic conversations. They mourn for their deceased relatives and also rejoice over the wellbeing of their family members. Migration in one way strengthens family network at the origin even during their absence. Reliving and

reviving old ties with family members back home is a respite for migrant mothers because they leave their children back home with their relatives and other family members. Women have a special relation with their origin village and home. For migrants the concept of "home" in the origin village has a unique connotation wherein ties, experiences and memories are to be cherished. Espin (2015) emphasises that for women migrants pre-existing memories hold the stress of gender expectations back home and the stress created by the on-going migration. However, on-going migrants emphasise the need and challenge to cope with new experiences as compared to the old familiar experiences back home. The identity of a migrant is symbolised by physical absence back home and existing memories leave traces of nostalgia and deep angst. Subsequently, migrants also feel a sense of uprootedness and deprivation when they yearn for familiar environment, habits and practices. Espin concisely terms it as lack of "the average expectable environment".[185]

5.2.15 Men and middlemen: Migration agency and mobility

Men played a prominent role in channelizing the entire process of migration. "Men" here refers to the adult head of the migrating families, men accompanying the migrating families and lastly the middlemen or the recruiters who recruit migrants in respective villages. Middlemen act as the agency that propels migration.

The recruiters or the middlemen have a central role to play and act as mediators between the owner and the workers. Middlemen take up the charge of recruiting migrant workers and retaining workers. The middlemen usually recruit people who are reliable

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[185] Oliva M. Espin, "A Geography of Memory: A Psychology of Place," in *Gendered Journeys: Women, Migration and Feminist Psychology*, eds. Oliva M. Espin and Andrea L. Dottolo (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 29.

and are capable of making bricks. The middlemen judge and assess the work potential of a particular family before determining the amount of advance to be paid. He usually aims at recruiting households belonging to the same village to which he belongs and with whom he maintains community ties. These arrangements act as a guarantee that the workers will not run off from the kilns and will repay the advance money that the migrants have taken. The middlemen are paid commission that gets deducted from the wages of the workers. The middlemen exert power and control over the migrant families.

In the present study it was found that during the process of brick making, men of the household or the male heads were officially registered in the muster rolls. However, there was an implied agreement between the kiln owner and the workers that the family members of the migrant would also help in brick production. This trick was employed to extract labour without adequate payment.

5.2.16 Men's role in migration

Migration has been regarded as a male domain because men are considered to be the breadwinners and they move out to earn livelihood. Such dominant patriarchal attitude has restricted women's mobility. Added to this is the access denied to information, resources and their low confidence to move independently. In the case of brick kiln migration, movement of women is a necessity as women migrate to work along with their husbands. However, the migrating men justify their presence for security reasons and for protection of women. In the present study, it was found that women generally migrate along with men. In case of single or widowed women, they prefer migrating with trusted men in the villages who are migrating out to work. The roles of men, trusted men in

villages, brothers are justified and in one way this eventually re-establishes the patriarchal notion of control or coercion.

5.2.17 Weekly market and social interaction

Dundigal in Hyderabad is an area where the largest numbers of brick kilns are located. Dundigal hosts the weekly Sunday markets. These weekly markets are a contested site of interactions where migrants share their woes and struggle. Sunday is the only day of the week when they are allowed to step out of their kilns for buying their weekly supplies. Migrants are elated but deep down in their hearts they think of the best way to spend their weekly wages. Trucks loaded with people move from the worksite and reach the weekly market at around 12.30 pm. The sight of a weekly market at Dundigal was stimulating but as the day moved on the narrow by lanes turned into a crowded human sea of migrants. Hoards of people are seen pushing, shoving and shouting. Women, men and children travel in groups. The stall owners shout to attract more people and migrants are also seen bargaining at the top of their voices.

5.2.18 People's attitudes and perceptions

A large number of people migrate from villages for many months in a year and as a result of this people left behind in the source villages form different opinions about such form of mobility. People at the source have a combination of positive and negative perceptions about villagers who migrate. Some of the migrant narratives bear testimony to such attitudes and perceptions. Migrating masses have to come across such comments and apprehensions but most interesting is the way they defend their decision and aspiration to migrate. One of the women respondents said that "Villagers think people are going to work and are struggling for their survival. So they have a positive attitude about people

migrating. They think we go to work and eat". Another woman said, "We all do this to sustain ourselves. Villagers do not have any role in our decision as we go because we wish to go".

Again one of the women respondents while sharing her woes said, "Villagers look at us with all sympathy. They ask us about our lives at the destination and feel sad and unhappy when they hear about our struggles and hardships". Some of the respondents have said that "Migrants are not well perceived by the villagers. They are looked down upon because intermingling with other caste people at the destination pollutes their caste identity but migrants do not take it personally and are only concerned about their livelihood".

5.2.19 Re-locating oneself post migration

Women migrants find it very difficult to adjust themselves post migration or after returning home. They face innumerable hurdles while relocating themselves within the family. Women have to face familial discord, separation and a sense of indifference and alienation when they try to relate themselves to their families. The left behind children, owing to the absence of their mothers, feel a sense of aloofness and fail to connect with their parents. Children who are left behind in the custody of their grandparents and other extended family members feel dislocated bereft of attention and care and at times they turn out to be truants.

At the level of family, women find it extremely hard to connect themselves with their left behind family members. At first, they are the topic of discussion among the

villagers because of their decision to migrate and secondly, women are apprehensive about their reconciliation with the lost societal values, beliefs and practices.

It is important to unravel the impact of migration on the experiences of women. This chapter intended to trace the effects of changing gender roles on women and men during the phase of ongoing migration. It is evident in the present study that movement of women strongly influences migration behaviour and attitudes. It also affects the experiences of men and women that they undergo during migration. Now migration identifies women more as an independent agency, supporting base and family custodians. This study has attempted to understand the issue from a feminist standpoint perspective and especially from the point of view of women's life experiences.

For women who decide to migrate, I argue that the greatest push factor is their repertoire of existing social capital in the form of supporting social networks like friends, relatives and neighbours. Migration is not always an outcome of economic distress. It is at times caused by people's detachment from their traditional community based livelihood patterns and extended support base acquired from social networks followed by subsequent migration of friends and family. Social networks provide women the much needed psychological support and low migration expenses because existing migrants at the destination introduce the new migrants to a new space and provide them with housing and other facilities at the initial stage. Social networks are the triggering vehicles for migration, integration and development of newly migrating women but in the process women go through the difficulty of establishing their identity because they lose their social and legal status, pre-existing identities and access to rights and entitlements.

Women move on to a new locale where they face innumerable integration challenges in terms of communication with new people at the destination and negotiation with their distinct cultural tradition. Migrant women do away with their traditional religious practices and culture because lack of time and conditions force them to do so. Not only isolation but women also face segregation because of differences and there is a potential threat to their mothering role and child care. Migrating women are stigmatised and are labelled as absent mothers and this parental absence affects the left behind children in the source villages. Women struggle hard to restore the mother-child bonding and provide for all the facilities and monetary help needed for the betterment of the left behind children. This leads to emergence of a new mothering pattern wherein extended family members like grandmothers and relatives take up the task of socialising migrant children at the source villages. This provides new connotations to the mother's role but I strongly believe that migrant women are not absent mothers but provide a form of extended motherhood.

In this chapter it was attempted to decipher migrant women's responses in terms of their changing identities, identification of family as a work unit, re-locations and changing roles, sharing household responsibilities, coping with motherhood challenges and challenges in upholding culture and beliefs in an alien land. Undoubtedly, migration has instilled a sense of belongingness among the women migrants and has given them the exposure to rethink about patriarchy and its practises. The next chapter will summarise the findings of the study and will discuss about further possibilities of research in the area of gender and migration.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This chapter summarises the empirical findings of the study and draws a conclusion. It discusses the areas not covered in the present research, further possibilities of research in this area and migrant men's responses to the changing gender roles during migration.

Behind the glamour of high rise buildings and shinning real estate sector lie the hidden stories of grim, toil, sweat and exploitation of brick kiln migrants. Life in the brick kilns is tough and people suffer from desperation and isolation. Migration is an outcome of the systemic failure from the government side in providing employment initiatives. Men and women migrate in search of livelihood pastures and even small children are co-opted as helping hands. The staggering figures fail to provide a stark revelation of the fact that the labour drawn from the marginalised communities also includes women and children who form an integral part of the labour force. Advances are paid to the labour by the contractors before they are moved to the sites of work located in different parts of the country. The whole process operates within the network of middlemen and contractors and without the involvement of any government officials. The advances taken are used by the households to repay outstanding loans against which an interest rate of 10% per month is being charged by the local money lenders. Even the officials of the labour department often lack data on these modes of employment and activities undertaken. The situation of women and children who are forced to participate in this ordeal is critical and they are bereft of access to even the basic health care and nutrition. However, the experiences of migration are different for men and for women. Migrating to brick kilns is the most embraced job option for people from Nuapada district

of Odisha because most of them belong to the Dalit and tribal communities and their ascribed community status resists their attempts to access better opportunities.

Social activists working in the area of migration estimate that around two lakh people migrate annually from western Odisha districts including Balangir, Nuapada, Boudh, Bargarh and Kalahandi. All these migrants exclusively have one identity and that is their migration to brick kilns. Men migrate with their children and women to kilns every year. Women do not migrate as "tied or dependent" migrants but as those who contribute remittances to the family and as part of the market economy. Women are recruited against monetary advance paid by the supervisors without any prior notice. Women along with their families are taken to uninformed location to restrain their identity and communication. Even to get a context of the problems that migrants are facing we need to have a database to know from where people migrate and the purpose behind that. Census of India also fails to address the question of migration because it only enquires about the place of last residence. There has to be a system in place to trace what is happening in the lives of migrants.

There are many entwined factors that propel women to migrate to brick kilns in and around Hyderabad. In the present study it was found that poverty and distress were some of the prominent reasons that led to migration of women. Migration is an outcome of hierarchical caste divisions, patriarchal attitudes and taboos associated with women working outside, perishing traditional subsistence based occupations, denial of access to natural resources for sustenance, fragmentation of landholdings etc. In the context of brick kiln migration, people are recruited as a family or a unit of four members. Women form an inherent part of this work unit along with children. Advance money is paid to

women before migration as loan and the amount is adjusted against their wages. This process has slowly trapped women into an insidious form of work culture that is parallel to neo bondage conditions. The characteristics of neo bondage condition are-- firstly, women work in lieu of payment of advance and they are not allowed to leave the kiln; secondly, wages paid to women and men are much lower than minimum wages spelled out by the Inter State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 and thirdly, lack of effective measures to improve and monitor the working conditions of labour. It was also found that the state as a prominent stakeholder is extremely reluctant to identify and rehabilitate bonded labourers despite specific reminders given by Supreme Court. During one of the discussion sessions with an NGO activist, D. Singh from Nuapada, it was found that the district labour commissioners take no interest in maintaining a database of the number of people who migrate to work in the brick kilns. Many of the women migrants have also pronounced that they were rescued from brick kilns after being identified as bonded labourers but post rescue they have not been rehabilitated yet.

According to Deshingkar and Grimm (2004), the three most significant recent changes in the pattern of internal population movement in recent years are the feminisation of migration, the emergence of more accumulative kinds of migration which can contribute to the reduction of poverty, and the increase in temporary migration, especially commuting.[186] Feminization of migration has accelerated migration but in this present study women have not migrated singlehandedly in search of work because women move along with men as a unit. I argue that women are accompanied by relatives and family members but they cannot be categorised as tied or dependents because it is the

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[186] Priya Deshingkar and Sven Grimm, "Voluntary Internal Migration: An Update," Paper Published by Overseas Development Institute, (2004): 1-46.

patriarchal attitude that does not allow women to migrate alone. Moreover, women migrate and also contribute economically to the family. Women also move because in villages they are constantly at the mercy of upper caste sarpanches and contractors who give work only to people of their own community. Officials never intervene to check the dispersal of work allotted to the village sarpanches by MGNREGA.

Migrants have by and large been affected by distress conditions. 78 migrating women were identified who gave a comprehensible picture of the situation. The responses given by women with regard to the reasons for migration and work conditions can be replicated to gain a larger understanding of the existing situation. Women who migrate to become a part of the labour force are predominantly in the age group of 21-30. 30 women were in this age group and it is considered as an ideal working age among migrants. There were also considerable number of women in the age group of 15-20 (17) and 31-40 (20). An interesting revelation reflects that young girls (15-20) who migrate along with their parents take up multifarious tasks in the kiln. Apart from the work in the kiln they are the custodians of their young siblings and also help in household chores. They do not go to school. They take advance as separate individuals and the price they fetch depends on their physical capacity to work. They work in the kilns for the same number of hours and their parents are reluctant to leave them behind at home due to security reasons as anything could happen to them. Women have expressed that those who have relatives leave their children in the village and those who do not cannot leave them behind. These young adolescent girls grow up supporting their families and move away from their childhood, education and their extended family. During the course of the research it was identified that 69 migrating women were from the Dalit and tribal

communities. Their caste affiliations speak volumes about their challenges and their intentions to migrate. Similarly, marital status of migrating women had deep imprints on their decision to migrate. 60 married women reflected on the importance of the marital status of migrating women and how being single or abandoned or divorced questioned their conduct and identity. Expressions like "migrating with trusted villagers or with their husbands" clearly reflect that some women are actually forced to endorse patriarchal attitudes or patriarchy. Such speculations associated with migration or movement of women to work have actually led to concentration of more oppressive powers in the hands of men. In this context it was found that feminization of migration had provided us with two contradicting situations wherein on one hand increasing labour participation had rescued women migrants from being labelled as tied or dependents and on the other hand it had restricted their mobility to be accompanied by men in the family considering it to be a taboo to migrate alone. Feminization of migration pose serious issues to be addressed.

Women working in the informal brick kilns are footloose migrants and are considered invisible because they work in deplorable work conditions with low payment and low status. State is insensitive towards the welfare needs of the migrants. Migrants live in hazardous and awful condition and the worst sufferers are the children who play in dust and ash all the time. Children's growth becomes stunted as the quality of food provided to children is of low quality. Migrants live in houses that are very small and hot. Houses do not have proper ventilation and the houses are less than 5 feet in height. They are largely crammed space with temporary thatch arrangements. Unhygienic living conditions and no access to quality healthcare make children prone to communicable and

life threatening diseases. Women also face many awkward situations and struggle to protect themselves from unwanted male gaze. There are no provisions for safe toilets and bathing facilities for women and adolescent girls. Kilns are mostly men only spaces where the supervisors, middlemen and workers are men and it is difficult for women to negotiate with deeply entrenched patriarchal values. Kilns are the site where men objectify women's bodies and it becomes intricate for women to protect themselves from surreptitious male gaze. Women's identity is reduced to her body, a carrier of cultural signs. Women are susceptible to emotional and verbal abuse. Women and children are easy targets of torture and cheating if men in the kiln fail to do their work or make an attempt to flee from the kilns. Family or the migrating unit is considered a guarantee by the supervisors.

Women in the brick kilns perform arduous work for 12 hours and even more. Women work as brick makers or as head loaders. Migrant workers wish that payment of wages should be ensured by labour department in accordance with the government orders. During the interview sessions the supervisors in the kiln revealed that the Government Orders issued in 2006 fixed 340 rupees for making 1000 small bricks, 367 rupees for making 1000 big bricks and 187 rupees for loading. This rate needs regular revision. Further this amount of 340 rupees was paid for mixing of clay and moulding 1000 small bricks. However, the supervisors during discussion stated that mixing of clay is done by mechanised tractors and plough. No separate amount was paid for the task of mixing clay. There is no involvement of workers in the process. During the course of research, it was found that in every kiln, there was a place that looked like a pool of clay dug by tractors but labourers manually added ash and paddy husk to the clay and the clay

was turned upside down. There were two other important processes in which women were involved. Firstly, once the bricks were placed on the ground for drying, they need to be turned around after 24 hours to ensure equal drying on both the sides. Women and children were involved in the process and they spent around two hours every day to attend to this activity. Secondly, they organised dried bricks in a herring bone pattern and arranged it to be carried to the furnace for firing. These claims made by the supervisor pose serious questions to ponder upon. One question that emerges for discussion is the role of labourers in mixing clay now and has the labourer's work decreased after introduction of machines in brick kilns. In the absence of any clear guidelines provided by the labour departments on calculation of wages will only lead to continued exploitation of labourers.

Migration has posed immense challenges for women migrants. Migrants are susceptible to danger at each step of their journey. During their onward and return journey they are forced to travel in general compartments without possessing valid tickets. They fall an easy prey to ticket collectors who charge them with fine for travelling illegally. They are forced to travel by overcrowded trucks and buses. Women and children suffer miserably during the journey. Migrants are never informed about their destination beforehand because the supervisors want to refrain themselves from getting involved in government interventions. However, reaching the destination provides no respite to the migrants. Their struggle begins for food, housing, sanitation, healthcare and access to safety measures. Migrants are paid low weekly maintenance wages after deduction made towards repayment of their advance loan. With meagre maintenance amount migrants fail to provide even basic food provisions to their children. The

expecting mothers have untimely abortions because of insufficient diet. One of the women respondents said that "Sometimes the unborn foetuses perish before they are born". Migrant women's problems were never heard by their supervisors. It was always a men's space where women have to struggle to make their voices heard.

It cannot be denied that mobility of women affects the roles of both men and women. However, it is evident in the present study that migration had significant positive impact on women with regard to women's decision making, negotiation in terms of performing traditional gender roles, change in religious and cultural beliefs. Migration has moulded women's decision making power. Women migrants now claim their decision making power to be "self-decision" taken by them in connivance with their family members and spouses. Women migrants have mentioned that family members do play a role in decision making but the migrating couple has the autonomy to decide their movement depending on their needs and necessities. However, in the present study it was evident that migration has led to progressive changes with regard to men sharing household work spaces with women and change in stringent caste practices to a greater extent. Exposure to an outside environment has had a deep impact on women's attitude, behaviour, religious practices and cultural beliefs. Migration promotes integration of women migrants into the larger society that has led to changes in migrants' perspective and way of life.

Migration has reshaped the existing gender roles of women like the notion of motherhood, childcare, socialisation and women's health. Migration has posed a stern challenge for the migrant mother whose role has altered from being a care giver and emotionally attached mother to that of a mother who provides remittances and support for

the betterment of her child. Motherhood has acquired a new connotation as the mothering role is played by other women in the family like grandmother and relatives in the absence of the biological mother. Migrant women have revealed that they do not discriminate between a girl child and a boy child.

Migrating men have provided mixed responses to migration. Some of the migrating men have revealed that migrating as a family or as a unit has helped them to a great extent because they are able to share their work and earnings of the family can get accumulated because each member of the unit depending on their physical capacity to work takes the advance.

Lakshman Chirangol said that "One woman member is compulsory for us to come in a group of three or four people as she will carry the bricks for drying and will also do the household chores". Men have acknowledged the help and support they get from their migrating family during migration. Migrating men have shared that migration has led to change in gender roles wherein they have taken up the task of sharing household work and have also agreed to provide autonomy to women in the family to take decisions regarding migration and betterment of their left behind children.

Changing gender roles at the kilns are somewhere related to the existing culture back home. It is a manifestation of stigma related to cultural norms and taboos related to menstruation. It is surprising to find that tradition is being re-enacted and manifested even in a "transformed" location. However, some of the men have also expressed as to how they are criticised and taunted for helping their women with their work and trying to share their burden. Khageswar Sabar has mentioned that men in the kilns are insulted by

the supervisors if they try to cook food in their huts. Patriarchal attitudes aim to protect traditional male traits and actions.

There are a few emerging themes in this present study that can provide scope for future in-depth studies. Firstly, all the migrants were found to have originated from the western regions of Odisha thus implying that there is a huge stream of out migration from this part of Odisha to brick kilns due to climatic conditions, failure of agriculture and decline in caste-based, community-oriented-subsistence livelihood. Secondly, access to food was found to be shaped by one's weekly sustenance wages as well as the nature of livelihood one is engaged in. Thirdly, there is a wide disparity in the pay structure and the supervisors fail to comply with the minimum wages proposed by the Minimum Wages Act. Fourthly, migrants in the present study have shared that people in their origin village do not understand their decision to migrate or are very apprehensive of the nature of work migrants do at the destination. During the interviews it was evident that women were initially hesitant to disclose the nature of work they were engaged in and at times they denied to have been engaged in any work. Most of the women during the interviews revealed possible recrimination and judgment of their moral character by people around them.

Measures

a) Women migrant workers have become increasingly important in the labour force. However, as the present study unveils, absence of employment and livelihood opportunities at the local level, the faulty credit system and ineffective implementation of MGNREGA aggravate the condition of the migrant households. I suggest the following

measures to be taken by government to disseminate information about the proper utilisation of work opportunities available under the various governmental schemes.

b) Sensitising labour agents about labour rights.

c) Initiating alternate registration of migrant families at the village level by the panchayats to help the government maintain accurate statistical records of the migrating households.

I propose to conclude this thesis by stating that this research can branch out to explore the multiple dimensions of the field of gender and migration. Some of the dimensions could not be explored in detail in this thesis owing to the limitations of a Ph.D thesis. For instance, health conditions and safety of adolescent girls and young mothers who work in brick kilns need to be explored in detail. Likewise, survival and resistance strategies of women migrant workers in the brick kilns could become a topic for further research as women are not mere silent and passive receivers of oppression. Women do often resist in their ways and means which need to be studied in order to understand the complexity of gender dynamics in the brick kilns.

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<u>APPENDIX</u>

<u>Interview Schedule</u>
<u>CENTRE FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES</u>
<u>UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD</u>

This data collection is for my Ph.D thesis on **From *Parivaar* to *Pathuria*: A Study on Women Migrating from Odisha to Brick Kilns of Hyderabad** and I am focusing on brick kiln migrants. Your responses will be kept confidential.

Date: Place:

PERSONAL DATA

I. Name of the respondent_____

II. Present Address_____

District_____ State_____

III. Permanent Address_____

1. **Biographical Details**

1.1. Name:

1.2. Sex:

a) Male b) Female

1.3. Age:

a) Below 20 Years b) 20-30Years c) 30-40 Years d) 40 and above

1.4. Marital Status:

a) Married b) Single c) Widow d) Divorced/Separated

1.5. Family composition:

Total No. Of Members	Education	Occupation	Income

1.6. Place of origin/ Source Area:

a) Rural (Specify block/district/state) b) Urban Setting (block/district/state):

1.7. Education level (Specify Class Studied):

a) Primary Education b) Secondary Education c) Intermediate d) Higher Education e) Vocational Education f) Others

1.8. Religion:

a) Hinduism b) Islam c) Christianity d) Sikhism e) Animism f) Others

1.9. Caste:

1.10. Place of destination/ Migration Area (Exact Location):

a) City Based b) Onsite Location c) Slums/Periphery of the City

2. **Livelihood**

2.1. Nature of work – sector and skill level

a) Skilled b) Semi-Skilled c) Unskilled

2.2. How long have you been engaged in it?

a) 0-5 Years b) 5-10 Years c) 10-15 Years d) 15-20 Years.

2.3. Is this your first job in Hyderabad as a migrant?

a) Yes b) No

 If not, why did you shift occupations?

2.4. What were the other jobs you did?

2.5. What is the number of working hours per day?

a) 8 hours b) 12 hours c) 16 hours d) Others

2.6. How did you get the job?

a) Friends b) Relatives c) Recruited through agent d) Other sources

III. **Migration Cycle:**

3. When did you first migrate? (Specify the Year)

a) 1980-1990 b) 1990-2000 c) 2000-2010 d) 2010-2020

4. Which year did you first come to Hyderabad? (Specify the Year)

5. Where were you before you came to Hyderabad? (Specify the Place)

6. Is professional mobility easy?

7. What was your first profession as a migrant? (Specify your Occupation)

8. Is this the same job you have been engaged in since your first visit to Hyderabad? If not, what jobs have you been engaged in since then? Have you seen a rise in your income since your first job?

9. How did you relocate yourself at destination? Which route did you take for transportation?

10. How long have you been here for? (Specify the duration)

a) Less than 1 year b) 1-3 years c) 3-6 years d) 6 years and above

11. Are you the first member from your family or your community to come to Hyderabad? If yes, give reasons. If no, give reasons.

12. In the family, who takes the decision on migration?

a) Grandparents b) Parents c) Yourself d) Siblings e) Relatives f) Others

13. Do women in your family migrate also?

a) Yes b) No

14. How often do you go home? (Specify)

a) Once in three months b) Once in a year c) Frequently d) When needed e) Others

15. How many months in a year do you stay at the destination? (to capture seasonality)

a) 0-6 Months b) 6-9 Months c)9-12 Months d) Others

16. What compelled you to migrate? Why did you choose to migrate to Hyderabad?

17. Do you own any agricultural lands back home? If yes, what was your experience with farming as a source of livelihood?

18. What are your experiences with regard to having access to any of the government employment schemes?

19. Who looks after your home/property while you are here?

a) Relatives b) Family Members c) Share Croppers/Tenants

IV. **Transition and Life thereafter:**

20. Do you like Hyderabad?

a) Yes b) No c) Don't Know d) Can't Say

21. What do you like about this city?

22. Are there any problems? (Please specify)

23. Have you come to Hyderabad with your family? Or have you left them behind?

24. What about your children? Who takes care of your children?

25. Do you feel life is more stressful (physically/psychologically) in the city?

a) Yes b) No c) Don't Know

If yes, why is it so?

If no, what are the reasons that help you feel relaxed.

26. How do you spend your leisure time?

a) Watch television/movies b) Hang out with friends c) Visit Places d) Spend time at home e) Others.

27. Do you interact with members from your community?

a) Always b) Sometimes c) Never d) Other

28. Do you celebrate your traditional festivals in Hyderabad?

a) Yes b) No c) Sometimes d) Never

29. How do you keep the ties with your community alive, in the city?

a) Forming regional associations b) Keeping in touch through the celebration of festivals c) Attending friendly meetings and discussions.

30. How do you keep in touch with people back home?

a) Mobile b) Landline c) Posting letters/telegrams d) Emails

31. How often do you contact your family members?

a) Everyday b) Once in a week c) When need arises d) Once in fifteen days e) Other

32. What is your relation with the host community?

a) Cordial b) Hostile

33. Have you been instrumental in bringing more people from your village/community to Hyderabad?

a) Yes b) No c) Have not tried yet d) No interest

34. Have you ever faced discrimination on the basis of your caste or your status as a migrant from other state?

a) Yes b) No

35. Do you think caste structures are less rigid here?

a) Yes b) No.

36. What do you feel about the attitude of the contractors towards the migrant workers?

a) Helpful b) Arrogant c) Dominating d)Sensitive towards their cause

V. **Access to Basic facilities:**

37. Education-Do your children attend school here or back home?

38. Water Supply—Do you have access to water in your room/ home here?

a) Yes b) No

39. How do you get it?

a) Piped water b) Overhead Tank c) Manjeera d) Tubewell

40. What is the frequency of water supply?

a) Daily b) Alternate Days c) Twice a week d) Once a week

41. How do you store water?

a) Bucket b) Overhead tank c) Plastic Containers d) Utensils

42. Sanitation—Do you have access to toilets in the vicinity of your residence?

a) Yes b) No

If not, where do you usually go?

43. In which form do you have access to sanitation facilities.

a) Makeshift toilets b) Open space arrangements c) Sauchalaya Facilities with piped water

44. Electricity—Do you have access to an electrical connection where you reside in Hyderabad?

45. What is the duration of power supply?

a) Whole day current supply b) Few hours supply

46. Do you have any insurance?

a) Yes   b) No c) No Knowledge d) No interest

47. How much do you earn in a month?

a) Less than 2000 b) 2000-4000 rupees c) 4000-6000 rupees d) 6000 -8000 e) 8000 and more

48. How much does your family totally earn in a month?

a) Less than 3000 b) 3000-6000 rupees c) 6000-9000 rupees d) 9000 and more

49. In case you are a daily wage worker, how much do you earn per day

a) Less than 50 rupees b) 50-90 rupees c) 90-130 rupees d) 130-170 rupees e) 170 rupees and more

50. Health—How much do you spend on medical expenses in a month?

a) Less than 1000 rupees b) 1000-2000 rupees c) More than 2000 rupees

51. Does your employer cover your medical expenses/insurance against accidents?

a) Yes   b) No c) No idea

If not, how do you manage then?

52. Residence:

a) Living alone b) Sharing with friends c) Residing with family

53. Nature of residence:

a) Provided by employer b) Rented on your own c) Open Space d) work site

54. Type of residence: a) One room tenement b) Two rooms d) Independent BHK e) Onsite location

55. Tell us about your access to food/food security?

a) Cook on my own b) Dhaba / hotel c) Provided at the work place d) Other source.

56. How much do you spend on food?

57. Do you cook the food or purchase it from outside?

58. Do you have a ration card?

a) Yes   b) No

If yes, do you possess it here or back home?

If no, then how and where do you buy your food from?

59. How much do you spend on your food per month?

a) Less than Rs.400 b) Rs.400 to Rs.800 c) Rs.800 to Rs.1200 d) Rs.1200 and above

60. What kind of cooking fuel do you use?

a) LPG   b) Wood/ Charcoal c) Kerosene d) Gobar gas

61. Where do you get cooking fuel from? For how much?

VI. **Financial Inclusion**

62. How many months in a year do you find work?

63. How are the payments made to you? When do you get the payment?

a) Regular-daily b) weekly c) monthly d) Advance and towards the end or both

64. Do you have a Bank account?

a) Yes b) No

If not, how do you save your money?

65. How much can you save in a month? (Specify the amount Saved)

66. Do you send money back home? How often? If you do, how do you do that?

a) Money Order b) Friends/Community elders c) Courier d) Bank transfer e) Others

67. How much do you spend in a day? (Specify the amount)

68. If you need credit, who do you take it from?

a) Moneylender b) Employer c) Friends d) Neighbour e) Other

VII. **MNREGA and Inter State Migrant Services Act (ISMS,'79)**

69. Are you aware of any of these legal entitlements?

a) MGNREGA b) Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act

70. Have you heard about "MGNREGA"? If yes, then why didn't you try to get yourself accommodated in one of the programmes of employment, back home?

71. Have you heard about Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act of 1979? If yes, then do you have access to any of the benefits enlisted under it?

VIII. **Social Security Benefits:**

72. Do you have access to Ration Cards?

73. Are you the beneficiary of BPL Cards? If No, give reasons.

74. Have you availed of any government services at the destination? What are they?

IX. **Contractors/Employers:**

75. What is the nature of the relationship with your employer?

76. Have you signed a contractual agreement with your employer?

a) Yes   b) No c) No idea about the contract d) Not interested

77. Do you borrow money from your contractor for any unavoidable expense?

a) Yes b) No

If yes, how do you repay that?

78. Do you receive any bonus from your contractor on festive occasions as a token of celebration? Is it in the form of cash or kind?

X**. Elections and Voting Rights**

79. Do you have a Voter Id? At source/ destination/ both?

80. Did you vote in the last (Panchayat/ Legislative/ Lok Sabha) election?

XI. **Additional Questions**

81. What are your economic contributions towards family?

82. Is migration to brick kiln a form of family migration including children?

83. If no, then who takes care of children back home?

84. Do you accompany your husband during migration?

85. If yes, then how do you contribute in his work?

86. What type of work do you do and what are the other tasks that you accomplish along with economic work?

87. How much you are paid for your labour?

88. Do you send back remittances?

89. What are your food habits and access to other basic facilities?

90. How many hours do you sleep at night?

91. Who takes decision in your family?

92. Do you have access to any form of medical facilities?

93. Have you ever experienced any form of harassment or ill-treatment?

94. Do you get leave when needed?

95. Do you go home in between the period of migration?

96. How do your villagers or neighbours perceive about your migration?

97. How do you cope when you go back after migration?

98. Have you ever experienced caste conflict while trying to have access to available employment opportunities?

99. Do you feel that caste plays a pivotal role in instigating migration?

100. People from which caste migrate from your village?

101. How safe is your working ambience?

102. Do your children also migrate along with you?

103. If yes, do they help you in your work and what about their studies?

104. How many times do you feed your infant child when you work onsite?

105. Does your child also work with you? Does he/she get paid for this?

106. What about your personal hygiene?

107. Do pregnant wives also accompany their husbands to work?

108. What about their medical facilities?

109. Have you ever experienced any form of stress/ depression/ palpitation/ fear/ animosity etc. during your stay in Hyderabad?

110. What happens when you go back after migration?

111. What are the medical facilities available at the site for teenage girls and women?

112. Who manages the finance and also chooses the kind of work to do?

113. How is male masculinity perceived by migrants?

114. Have you experienced any form of acculturation at the destination? (With regard to your food habits, cultural and religious beliefs and traditions getting merged with the larger whole).

XII. **Field Notes**