

Migration, Inter-Generational Mobility and Development: A Study in Bhadrak Town, Odisha

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled “Migration, Inter-Generational Mobility and Development: A Study in Bhadrak town Town, Odisha” prepared by me under the guidance and supervision of N. Purendra Prasad, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology has not been submitted to any other degree either in part or in full to this or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “Migration, Inter-Generational Mobility and Development: A Study in Bhadrak Town, Odisha” submitted by Sanjukta Malik, for the award of the Degree of Doctor of philosophy in Sociology is prepared under my supervision. The thesis or a part thereof has not been submitted to any other degree at this or any other university.

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ABBREVIATIONS

APL	Above Poverty Line
BCG	Bacilli Calmette Guerin
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CDPO	Child Development Programme Officer
DIC	District Industries Center
DPT	Diphtheria Pertussis Tetanus
FACOR	Ferro Alloys Corporation Ltd
ITI	Industrial Training Center
KBK	Koraput, Bolangiri and Kalahandi
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
MLA	Member of Local Assembly
MP	Madhya Pradesh
NAC	Notified Area Council
NH	National Highway
MGNREGS	National Rural Employment Generation Scheme
OBC	Other Backward Caste
PDS	Public Distribution System
PMRY	Prime Minister's Rojgar Yojana
SC	Scheduled Caste
SHG	Self Help Group
SJSRY	Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana
ST	Scheduled Caste
TV	Television
USA	United State of America
USEP	Urban Self Employment Programmes
UWEP	Urban Wage Employment Programmes
VCD	Video Compact Disc

Local Terms Used

Badi- Small lentil dumplings.

Bara Dhara- Bride grooms escort.

Barguri- A description of bean.

Biri- Phaseolus Radiates.

Chana- Pani cum millacium.

Chatua- Mix powder of rice, flattened rice, puffed rice and peanut.

Chaura- The tulasi tree generally planted on a small rectangular podium raised on the ground having three to four layers, each of them diminishing its size proportionately called 'chaura' .

Cholli- Made with three bricks and mud for cooking food.

Dalma- A mixed vegetable curry cooked with Dal.

Dekhakara- Meeting of bride and grooms with the family members and neighbours.

Enduri Cake- It is prepared with a mix of rice flour, black gram, coconut and sugar, covering the turmeric leaf.

Gunia- Magico-religious healers.

Handi- Country liquor.

Janta- A sort of basket made of split bamboo.

Jhoti- Paint on the flour drawn with the rice flour paste.

Kania Khia- As the girl leaves the place forever after their marriage, so after Nirbandha, the neighbours invite the unmarried girls for food.

Keuta/Gokha- Fishing community.

Kumar Purnima- Celebrate by the unmarried girls for good husband.

Kumbhara – Engaged in pottery work.

Maka- Maize.

Manasika- Religious offer to God/ Goddess, when wishes fulfill.

Manda Cake- It is prepared by with coconut and rice flour.

Melana- As the congregation of idols of different Gods like Radha and Krishna.

Mochi- Cobbler.

Muga- Phaseolus Mungo.

Nirbandha- Tied of marriage between bride and groom.

Pakhal- Rice Soaked with water.

Pala- A bangle made with mud.

Piria- Oil Cakes.

Poda Pitha- It is prepared by rice flour, small coconut pieces, sugar and backed in cholli.

Prathama Asthami- A festival celebrate for the elder child.

Puskarini- Reservoirs.

Raja- Followed by the unmarried girls in which mother earth is worshiped.

Sabitri Puja- Performed by all the married women, where the women keep fasting for the long lives of their husband and pray Goddess Sabitri.

Sankha- A bangle made with conch.

Sarah- Tanks.

Sradha- Offering of oblation to deceased ancestors.

Tatala- Ponds.

Teli- Oil producing caste.

Tend- Bamboo water lift.

Vapi- Wells.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The process of migration involves different types of mobility both within and outside a country. In almost all the developing countries rural to urban migration is rapidly increasing. In India, though rural to rural migration is predominant, but at the same time we also see an upward trend in rural to urban migration in the post- Independence period. Industrialization and the process of urbanization contributed to such mobility. The new nation-state constructed its policies in order to bring in rapid strides in the process of urbanization. The developmental models implemented from time to time induced economic growth benefitting a minority population but created huge disparities between different social groups across the country. In brief, regional imbalances and underdevelopment has been the central question that Indian state encountered for quite many years. So, developing these underdeveloped sections of the new nation-state became the full time business of the developmental State with its various institutions actively being deployed in the whole scheme of activities. Within this discourse, migration of people from rural to urban areas was taken as a standard for the process of development. But in this process of policy making, a social philosophy emerged which made a binary between the urban and rural, without making a concerted attempt to look into the pre-existing and newly emerging concept of unfreedom within the process of urbanization in general and migration in particular.

In the past four decades a vast literature has emerged dealing with the nuances of the developmental state's policies and its implications on the people, both rural as well as urban. The emergence of this literature (we will discuss about it in the later part of this chapter) has shown the processes through which the top-down models of development have affected people in their social, political, economic as well as moral walks of life. Why migrations occur? What is the pre- and post- migratory rationale of the migrants to lead a certain pattern of life? The above questions were the central beams of these studies. But several studies concentrated mainly on the urban metros while neglecting the newly emerging towns/townships, classified in bureaucratic terms as Class II towns. The present study is an attempt to add to the existing literature on the issue of rural to urban migration.

But the point of departure lies in the focus on a sociological analysis of migration to the Class II towns. The intersection between class, caste, gender, culture, religion, and state has been examined and analysed.

Development: Interaction between Migration and Development

Development is fundamentally a process of change that involves the whole society-its economic, socio-cultural, political and physical structure as well as the value system and way of life of the people. The concept of development has subjective, evaluative, and objective empirical meanings. According to some theorists, development is a process of change from a less desirable to a more desirable kind of society. The purpose of development is to improve the quality of life and guarantee social justice by providing equal opportunities to all sections of the population. Development encompasses not only economic, but also social, political, cultural and attitudinal elements (K.C.Alexander, 1994).

According to Sharma (1986)

“The ultimate purpose of development is to provide everyone with ever increasing opportunities for a better life. It therefore, requires an equitable distribution of income and other social resources in order to promote justice and efficient production, to raise the level of employment substantially, to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing, social and cultural well-being.”

Notwithstanding the nobility of the above definitions of ‘development’, development in terms of rise in instrumental rationality of individuals has taken precedence over emancipatory rationality. The inequalities between different social groups, classes, castes and genders is the result of a ‘Developmental model’ itself. The developmental models give centrality to capitalist growth. This Capitalist growth tends to function at multiple levels and sites, from global to national, regional and local levels emphasizing the role of individual relationships. Beginning with the level of international flow of capital, both labour and finance, neo-Marxist theories provide an explanation of the inequalities between developed and underdeveloped countries.

The Latin American Marxist Paul Baran in his work ‘*The Political Economy of Underdevelopment*’ (1957) has used the concept of economic surplus and has examined

how it has been created and utilized in different social systems. According to Baran, the nature of western capitalism is the main cause for which some countries remained underdeveloped because it fails to improve materially the conditions of the people inhabiting most backward areas. The kind of capitalism in these countries which he terms as 'dependent capitalism' which creates conditions in which industrial production and productivity remain low and the critical phase of surplus generation is not achieved. He says that underdevelopment must be understood in the context of world capitalism, which transformed the earlier feudal system and used the surplus for its own benefits. However, the individuals profited from western capital but these benefits are few and far between, while exploitation and stagnation was more because of the monopoly capitalism. Due to the monopoly of capital the immense profits/surplus in the underdeveloped countries are mainly drained away by the capitalists. Thus monopolistic market structures are the main obstacles blocking the way of privately organized industrial expansion in underdeveloped countries. He gives the example of the feudal mode of production in which the surplus product is extracted from direct producers in the form of a ground rent levied upon them by those who have established a legal right to an appropriation of the surplus. Thus, the direct labour is extracted from the surplus that produced and appropriated by the monopoly of merchant class, land-owning class. According to him, the failure of development is not the result of original backwardness or a lack of capitalism. The real difficulties lie in the existence of an imperialist structure of power in the world economy which places the underdeveloped countries in a situation of dependency. Therefore, he gives importance to the appropriate government policy to bring the changes in the society and to facilitate economic growth.

Taking the debate on dependency capitalism further, A.G.Frank (1967) in his work '*Capitalism and under Development in Latin America*' describes the underdevelopment of the third world countries. Third world countries are underdeveloped mainly because of parasitism within the third world countries and a drain of surplus to the advanced countries. His theory is based on the Baran's formulation of the impossibility of capital accumulation within a closed capitalist system. He develops this theory by presenting the chain of metropolis-satellite or centre-periphery relations, which is the major defining feature of the present world-system of in the form of capitalism. According to Frank, the metropolis-

satellite relationship has its origin in the colonial period, when the conqueror implanted new cities in the third world with an aim to facilitate the transfer of economic surplus to the western countries. Further his study shows that the national capital cities then became the satellites of the western metropolis. This metropolis-satellite relationship however is not restricted at the international level only because it penetrates to the regional and local levels of the third world countries as well. Therefore, just as the national capitals have become the satellites of the western metropolises, so these satellites immediately become the colonial metropolis with respect to the provincial cities, which in turn have local cities as satellites surrounding them. A whole chain of constellation of metropolises and satellites is established to extract economic surplus from third world villages to local capitals, from regional capitals to national capitals and finally to the cities in western countries. The metropolis expropriates economic surplus from its satellites and appropriates it for its own economic development. The satellites in return remain underdeveloped and perpetually dependent for lack of access to their own surplus.

He said that once a country or a people are converted into the satellite of an external capitalist metropolis, the exploitative metropolis-satellite structure quickly comes to organize and dominate the domestic political and social life of the people. The contradictions of capitalism are created on the domestic levels and come to generate tendencies towards development in the national metropolis and towards underdevelopment in its domestic satellites. The exploitative form of the relationship between metropolis and satellite emerges within the underdeveloped formation as a direct result of capitalist penetration. Thus, according to Frank indigenous development can be possible only by the removal of capitalist penetration.

Samir Amin (1974) in his study '*Accumulation on a World Scale*' argues that underdevelopment is not lack of development. It is the reverse side of the development of the rich countries. The rich countries depend on the active exploitation of other countries which renders the latter underdeveloped. Like other dependency theorists, he argues that the global economy systematically favours the continued enrichment of advanced capitalist countries (centre) at the expense of poor countries (periphery). The rich countries create an international division of labor in which they subordinate and exploit other countries.

Development in poor countries in this context tends to be a “Development of Underdevelopment”. They undergo economic growth but in ways, which do not contribute to long-term development. Their surpluses are expropriated by rich countries rather than used locally.

Bringing the debate to recent developments in the decentralized form of accumulation, the American Marxist geographer David Harvey (2005) in his study '*A Brief History of Neo-Liberalism*' hypothesizes that neo-liberalism is in the first instance a theory of political, economic practices which proposes that human wellbeing can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedom within an industrial framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets and free trade. According to him, such an argument is highly ideological in nature and essentially de-politicises the nature of capitalist accumulation under newly emerging conditions. Neo-liberalism is a condition in which by decentralizing the sources and destinations of accumulation of capital, the economic and cultural elites have resolved the perpetual question of capital accumulation and reinvestment. Further he explained that neo-liberalization is a pattern of rising extreme economic and social inequality between regions. Coastal urban areas, where industry and finance are concentrated have become massive epicenters of economic power and activity, sucking in surplus labor from agrarian hinterlands. As a result a pattern of economic and social inequality begins which increases the industrial and capital within certain regions and among certain groups.

The above discussion provides a substantive analysis of world capitalism and the location of third world societies in it. The theory of surplus generation and its transfer from one region to another makes the entire process unidirectional and raises the questions about the role of state in third world countries.

India's began its journey of development in the post independence era with the Nehruvian approach on industrial growth which fuelled urbanisation. Agriculture and rural based occupations would only supplement and feed into industrial growth. However, this model of development instead of absorbing surplus rural labour into industrial employment only provided limited opportunities thus giving rise to growing inequalities. Agricultural growth

was constrained by the lack of adequate land reform implementation and in appropriate green revolution technologies. Therefore, the selective nature of such interventions instead of giving rise to the employment opportunities to the millions of landless and marginal farmers only exacerbated their dependency on the welfare state. The assumption that the process of industrialization would eventually become a pull factor for the agricultural surplus labour did not get realized. The neglect of agriculture in a more inclusive manner thus created conditions of distress and lack of employment in agriculture sector. Therefore, the rural labour had to involuntarily migrate under the conditions of exploitation, low wages and sub-optimal levels of human living.

Thus, research on migration studies indicated several factors that contributed towards individual and collective deprivation. But now the question arises if the migrants' fail to improve their socio-economic conditions after their migration why does rural to urban migration take place on massive scale in India? Some empirical studies on rural to urban migration indicated that to some extent migration has contributed to the improvement of socio-economic conditions of the migrants. (See VNP Sinha 1987, Ram Nath Singh 1989, P. Nayak 1993, Sruti Chaganti 2004 and Yadava 1998). These studies showed that the migrants have improved their socio-economic conditions by repaying family debts, purchasing land, constructing houses, buying household items and by giving education to their children. Although there have been signs of improvement in the levels of living but the migrants faced serious problems at the place of migration. Migrants are the most exploitable and exploited segment of the urban labor force. They are prone to be exploited by the middleman and the employers. However, another set of scholars indicated that the migrants faced the problem of unemployment and low wages after their migration (Y.G. Joshi 2004, Rogaly 2002 and Iyer 2004).

Quite a few geographers, economists, demographers and sociologists focused on the factors, consequences and impact of migration. Very few studies have been conducted on the intergenerational mobility among the migrants. Keeping the above issues in consideration, the following objectives have been formulated for the purpose of this study.

Objectives

1. To examine the patterns of migration particularly the rural-urban migration and how it has structured people's livelihoods in the urban areas.
2. To examine the working conditions of the first and second generation migrants and to assess their world view in the changed context.
3. To analyze the differential impact of migration on the second generation tribal and non tribal migrants.
4. To understand the inter-generational mobility and its dynamics among the migrants in the urban settings.

Rationale of the study

In order to fulfill the objectives, I have taken Bhadrak town of Odisha as my field site. The secondary data indicates that among all the towns in Odisha, Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Sambalpur, Berhampur, Balasore, Puri and Rourkela come under the class-I towns. The major class-II towns are Bhadrak, Bolangir, Jeypore, Jharsuguda, Sunabeda, Bargarh, Bhawanipatna and Jatni while the major class-III towns of the state are Rayagada, Paradip, Dhenkanal, Barbil, Keonjhar, and Parlakhemundi. It is noticed that the population of Bhadrak town has gradually increased and it has doubled over a period of time.

Table No.1.1: Year wise total Population of Bhadrak Town

Year	Total Population	Increase (In %)
1941	15,519	-
1951	18,755	20.85%
1961	25785	37.48%
1971	40487	57.01%
1981	60600	26.05%
1991	76390	20.95%
2001	92397	16.20%

Source: Bhadrak Municipality Office Report (2001).

There is significant increase of population from 1991 onwards due to flow of in-migrants and expanding nature and character of class II towns such as Bhadrak.

Apart from increasing rate of population, recently 23 industries have come up in Bhadrak town which attract people from the other parts of the district to Bhadrak district. Therefore, the slums are expanding near the industrial areas and main market. The increasing population and industries in Bhadrak town indicated that the city possesses certain characteristics that open up various job opportunities. Along with the industrial development, a long line of sea-shore and two important rivers namely the Vaitarani and the Salandi pass through the town. The land surrounding Bhadrak town is deep fertile black soil. The people of this region took advantage of the availability of both water and soil for the development of agriculture such as paddy, black gram, sunflower and groundnuts. Thus, a large number of rice mills and oil mills have sprung up in Bhadrak town in the recent years, which helped to transform the economic condition of the people in the city.

Thus, there are quite a few studies on class I towns but migration phenomenon of the class II towns has been less investigated. Therefore, in order to understand the increasing migration process of class II towns, Bhadrak town has been selected for my study.

Selection of the Field

In Bhadrak town, two particular slums have been selected for the purpose of my study. There are nine slums namely Adivasi colony slum (632), Saha pur slum (1114), Matha sahi slum (568), Bagurai slum (1722), Elkha slum (980), Apartibindha slum (798), Mirzapur slum (1439) Munda sahi slum (455) and Sankar pur slum (1029). Among several residential colonies, I have selected Apartibindha old colony and Apartibindha new colony in Apartibinda slum for my study because of its diversity in population in terms of caste and class. Migrant population comprising different social groups have settled down here. The migrants preferred to settle down in Apartibindha old colony and Apartibindha new colony because these two colonies are very close to the main market of Bhadrak town. These colonies have good access to bus stop, police station, bank, court, block office, postal office and other governmental institutes like schools and colleges. District Industries Center

(DIC) office, state bank, Bhadrak Surya Sikha club and Satya Sai School are also located close to these colonies

Methodology

My study relies on two sources of data i.e. primary sources and secondary sources. For the collection of primary data, I used the methods of interview schedule, participant observation, in-depth interviews and case studies. The interview schedule was designed to collect primary data from my respondents which contained 4 sections. The Section I included questions regarding migrants background at their native places such as place of origin, landholding size, type of house, type of family, amenities of electricity, caste system, education, occupation and wages of both the migrants and their parents. Section II contained questions relating to the present socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, causes and consequences of migration. Section III included the questions regarding the socio-economic conditions of the second generation migrants at their destination places such as patterns of migration, causes and consequences of migration. The section IV included the questions regarding to the socio-economic conditions of the tribal and the non-tribal migrants.

Six case studies among the first generation migrants have been collected to substantiate the process of migration, patterns of settlement in Bhadrak town. Similarly four case studies have also been collected to understand the causes, process and pattern of migration among the second generation migrants. As part of observations, I frequently observed the day to day life of the members and sometimes spending a few days with the migrants' families during different ceremonies and festivals to understand the family ties among the migrants' families.

Data is also collected from in-depth interviews to explore various issues such as different problems of migrants at their native places, sources of information about different places for migration, reasons for settling down in Bhadrak town, problems encountered after their migration, different government programmes available to them and so on. Following the interview schedule, case studies, observation and interview schedules, two focused group discussions (FGD) were conducted in each colony. Ten to fifteen migrants took part in each

discussion. A checklist was used for both FGD and interview of the respondents to ensure that all the major issues for my study are covered during data collection. I conducted my fieldwork in Bhadrak district of Odisha, in two phases during December 2008 to August 2009 and February 2010 to June 2010.

Entry into the Field and Ethical Concerns

As has been described by many sociologists about their field encounters, the establishment of rapport with the participants was a difficult task for me too. Therefore, in order to keep myself ethically aware of their circumstances and not bring any untoward damage to them through my research, both during and thereafter, I tried to engage with them in an ethically responsible manner. Although our interactions began on more formal matters but my own openness towards them like instances in which I explained to them the purpose of my research, my own family background and my likes and dislikes, the gap between the researcher and the subjects if not totally disappeared but certainly reduced. As the migrants were working from 8 am to 5pm, so in order not to bring undue break in their work schedule, I tried to visit their households post 5 pm. My point of entry into the inner lives of my participants occurred through my increased proximity towards their children. After building closeness with the children, the women folk of the households showed much less resistance towards me. Slowly, I started staying till night to spend time with the migrants. Though after several visits, the respondents were friendly with me but again I failed to get information regarding the economic problems pertaining to their occupation because the migrants feared that I may disclose their information to the Government officers. Further, I tried to visit them regularly and engage with them in their different discussions, festivals and ceremonies. I was able to collect information from them respondents by explaining about my research and assured them that the information would not be disclosed anywhere.

In spite of building a good rapport, a few respondents were reluctant to provide any information about their work place and their jobs other than their household information. Even during my interaction with the female migrants of the household, the male members did not let them disclose any information about their job and the difficulties at their work place. It was because they feared that they might lose their job, if they provide any

information against their owner. The respondents who provided me some information regarding their work places and contractors, they forbade me to mention their names in front of their owners. As no outsiders were allowed to enter into some of the factories, so to get information from the zip-manufacturing factory, I had to enter into the factory as a friend of my respondent.

Selection of the Household

For selection of the households, first I did a preliminary survey of the households on the basis of years of migration, place of origin and economic activity of the households. After categorizing the households into three groups, purposive sampling method was adopted for selection of the households. As the study was undertaken to understand the inter-generational mobility among the migrants, therefore, both the first and second-generation migrants were included as part of the research design. Accordingly, 85 households among the first generation migrants and 43 second generation respondents have been part of this study. Various criteria was adopted for the selection of 85 migrant households such as diverse caste composition, poor economic conditions and respondents who settled down more than 10 years after migration from different districts of Odisha.

Among the first generation migrants, I have selected only those households, who had migrated to these two colonies since more than 10 years from different districts, the households comprising two generations and the households from the low occupations. In the case of second-generation migrants, I have selected those respondents who have migrated to states outside Odisha rather than the other districts within Odisha. The data was collected from the second-generation migrants during their occasional visit to their hometown, as well as one particular site, i.e. Hyderabad where several second-generation migrants have migrated.

The study was conducted in two phases. In my first phase, I have collected socio-demographic data regarding the age, family size, educational levels, landholdings, occupation, drinking water facilities, health care etc. To get insights in terms of economic situation, the living conditions and the quality of life at their native places and at their

destination places after their migration, data were collected both from the male and female migrants.

Apart from the 85 respondents, in the second phase, extensive interviews were taken from the factory staff, which includes the zip-manufacturing factory supervisor, rice mill manager, head masons and contractors. To get insights about the occupational problems which the migrants always face at their workplace and the remuneration pattern, I interviewed three head masons and three contractors. Data was collected on the recruitment practices of the companies, remuneration pattern, and facilities provided to the migrants' workers and the migrants' participation in factory associations, Data regarding different programmes and policies particularly implemented by the Government for the migrants labour were also collected from the municipality chairman, councilor, labour officers and local MLA. Similarly, in order to know the district health interventions for the migrant workers, I conducted in-depth interviews with the municipality chairman, Anganwadi workers, and 2 local health personnel. In this study, there were 5 key informants of whom two were landlords (who own houses), one rickshaw puller, one advocate and one doctor.

Table No.1.2: Different Categories of Respondents

Categories of Respondents	No. of Respondents
Total household from first generations	85
Total respondents from second generations	43
Parents of first generation respondents	9
District Industry Center officers	2
Health personnel	2
Angawadi worker	1
Labour officers	2
Local M.L.A.	1
Councilor	1
Municipality Chairman	1
Factory managers	2
Head masons	3
Contractors	3
Total	155

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

Along with the primary data, secondary data is gathered from different published and unpublished documents like newspapers reports, books, journals, magazines and annual reports of the district labor office, district industries center (DIC), Sahitya Sanskrutika Parisad of Bhadrak, NGO reports and reports from the block chairman office. To understand the Government policies implemented for the migrant workers, available policy documents were collected from the municipality offices and labor offices. In order to understand statistics of the migrant workers, documents have been collected from Bhadrak statistical office. All the data and materials were collected in the local language of the region and later translated into English.

Introducing the Field in Odisha Context

The research was undertaken in Bhadrak District of Odisha because of the backwardness of this region, high rate of unemployment and migration drove me to choose Odisha and Bhadrak district as my field site. The familiarity with the language was an advantage for me to build good rapport with the respondents and to conduct study in Odisha.

Odisha state has rich natural resources in the form of vast mineral deposits, forest, fertile land, plentiful surface and ground water resources, and long coastline. Despite the abundant natural resources, lopsided development leads the state of Odisha to become one of the poorest states of the country (Odisha state development report, <http://planningcommission.nic.in>). The backwardness is demonstrated through its low human development indicators, with the high percentage (47.15%) of its rural population living below poverty line. Compared to other states in India, Odisha is one of the least urbanized states in terms of urbanization. Odisha was hardly urban in 1951 with 4.06% of its population in towns. In the following decade, urbanization expanded slowly, rising to 8.4% in 1971, 11.79% in 1981, 13.43 % in 1991 and 14.97% in 2001. In terms of educational status also, Odisha is backward compared to the national level, as its average literacy rate is only 63.61%. One of the major reasons for the backwardness of Odisha is its agrarian base and even today more than 70% of the population is dependent on agriculture for their livelihood (Pattnaik, 2004). Mohanty (1986) also pointed out that in Odisha only 16% of the area under cultivation is

irrigated as against 75% in Punjab and 25 percent in the country as a whole, which demonstrates the backwardness of the state.

The main occupation of majority of the people in Odisha is agriculture, which provides employment to about 80% of the population, and contributes to 70% of the state's gross domestic product. The average per capita annual food grain production is 245 kgs (1988-92) with an annual increase of 2.6% between 1970-73 and 1989-92. Farmers own less than 2 hectares of land, which account for 75% of the land holdings, and cultivate less than 40% of the cultivable land. The annual per capita income in 1990-91 was Rs 1615, which is the second lowest in the country. As per Census 2001, the total number of workers in the state is roughly 14.3 million. The proportion of male workers to male population and female workers to female population in 2001 stood at 52.5% and 24.7% respectively. The backwardness of Odisha is not only found through the cultivable land and from the total annual income but backwardness of the state can also be seen through the birth rate and infant mortality rate. Odisha had the highest infant mortality rate in the country in the year 2001 at 97/1000 live births. This is much higher than the national average of 71/1000 live births. This means that 86,000 infants are dying in the state each year. Even with the backwardness of Odisha, the rural to urban migration rate is very high in Odisha compared to the other states which is 10.97% placing it in second position after Haryana (Please see the Table No.2.1, in chapter 2).

Odisha comprises of 30 districts. Pattnaik (2004), in his comparative study among the districts of Odisha shows the regional inequality that exists among the districts. The class I towns are the coastal towns of Odisha and major employment providers because of their non-agricultural activities. Therefore there is a continuous migration of population from these class II and class III towns to class I towns. Thus class I towns are all located in Coastal Odisha which have more agricultural productivity its linkage with other activities and provides employment. Inequality in terms of development also exists in Odisha. Among all the districts Khurda, Cuttack, Puri, Baleswar and Ganjam and two districts from the highland region namely, Sundergarh and Sambalpur are characterized as developed or advanced districts and the most urbanized districts in the State. On the other side, the KBK region which consists of eight districts namely, Kalahandi and Nuapada (forming part of

undivided Kalahandi) Bolangir and Sonepur (forming part of undivided Bolangir) and Koraput, Malkangirri, Nawarangpur and Rayagada (forming part of undivided Koraput) in the southwestern part of Odisha are also considered to be among the most backward districts in the country. They have been facing recurring drought and famine like situations, which have led to distress and migration of the poor during the non-agricultural seasons. Thus one could infer that a large share of development, took place in the coastal districts of Odisha leaving the inland districts of Odisha into an obvious state of deprivation. Though the inland districts are rich in natural resources but it has failed to bring the development in the inland hilly districts of Odisha and is the main reason behind migration during the non-agricultural seasons (www.planningcommission.nic.in).

Migration in Odisha

Poverty and migration have always been interrelated in Odisha as in different parts of the country. The poverty profile shows that poverty rate is higher in Odisha than in rest of the states of India. The data indicates that in the year 1999-2000, the percentage of people living below the poverty line in Odisha was 47.15% whereas it was 42.6% in Bihar. (<http://planningcommission.nic.in>) As high percentage of people were living below the poverty line, so seasonal migration has become an important livelihood strategy for many Odias. The tribal and the backward classes in rural Odisha are always struggling for their basic needs especially food. In paddy region, after the harvest, the landless labourers and workers who are engaged in paddy field become jobless and hardly get any opportunity in their villages or non-agricultural jobs to survive. So when there is no agricultural activity, some of the farmers leave their villages and start their journey to the neighbouring states for working in hotels, in construction and in weaving. The main cause of migration in Odisha is when workers do not get suitable options for employment in their own state. Therefore, there is some expectation of improvement in the circumstances through migration. The improvement is not only for better opportunities or higher wages but also maximization of family employment or to increase the incomes or consumption over the year. Given this situation, labour migration occurs due to wage differences between the home and destination place (www.ezinearticles.com).

Description of the Specific Study Area of the Bhadrak District

The Bhadrak district in Odisha consists of one subdivision and six tahasils like Bhadrak, Chandabali, Dhamangar, Basudevpur, Tihidi, Banta and it has seven block. They are Bhadrak, Banta, Basudebpur, Tihidi, Chandabali, Dhamanagar, Bhandaripokhari and one municipality such as Bhadrak and one Notified Area Council (NAC)-its Basudevpur.

Bhadrak is an administrative district of Odisha with the geographical area of 2,787.9 sq. kms. Bhadrak district is situated at a distance of 125 km from the state capital, Bhubaneswar. Presently, it forms one of the northern districts of Odisha lying to the east of Indian sub-continent. Due to the close proximity to west Bengal, Bhadrak is mainly influenced with Bengali language, culture and tradition. The district headquarter is beside the river Salandi and the N.H.-5 runs through the city. Bhadrak district extends from 20.43 N to 21.13 N latitude and 86.16 E to 87.0 E longitudes on the eastern coast of Odisha. It is bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the east, district of Balasore on the north, Keonjhar on the west, Jajpur and Kendrapara on the south. Salandi, Baitarani, Mantei, Genguti, Koochila, Reba and Kapali are the different rivers which pass throughout the Bhadrak district. Formerly it was a Sub-Division of undivided Balasore District. In 1828, when Balasore was made a separate district, Bhadrak became one of its sub-division. Bhadrak sub-division was undivided from Balasore district and later Bhadrak became a new district on 1st April 1993 (www.en.wikipedia.org).

Bhadrak is one of the smallest districts compared to other districts of Odisha. Though small in size, the district is thickly populated. The demographic records says that the population of the new district has reached 13, 32,249 by the year 2001. Out of this, the female and male ratio is 49% and 51%. It constitutes 3.63% of the total population of the state and Bhadrak occupies the 13th place. The Table No. 1.3 indicates that the population in Bhadrak district constitutes not only the upper caste but also the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe. Among the total population, scheduled tribe constitutes the lowest percentage of population. The literacy rate of Bhadrak district shows the male literacy rate is highest than the female literacy rate.

Table No.1.3: Socio and Demographic Profile of Bhadrak District.

Geographical area in sq.kms	2,505 sq.kms (1.61% of the total area of the state)	Percentage
No of Tahasils	6	-
Total Blocks	7	-
Towns	3	-
Municipalities	1	-
No of Grampanchayats	193	-
No of villages	1311	-
Inhabited	1243	-
Un habited	68	-
Total population	13,32,249 (3.26% of district population to state)	-
Male	676000	50.74%
Female	658000	49.39%
Scheduled Castes (S.C)	2,86,723	21.52%
Scheduled Tribes (S.T)	25,141	1.88%
Decennial growth rate (1991-2001)		20.61%
Literacy rate	843000	73.68%
Male	488000	85.44%
Female	355000	63.62%
Rural population	1193000	89.42%
Urban population	141000	10.58%

Source: 2001 Census Report of Odisha.

Among the total population of Bhadrak district, the non workers constitute highest percentage where as the total workers is only 29%. However compare to main workers, the percentage of marginal workers constitute very less percentage that is 6.27%.

Table No.1.4: Total Workers at Bhadrak District

Total workers	3,85,119	28.90% (% of the total population of Bhadrak district)
Main workers	3,01,570	22.63%
Marginal workers	83,549	6.27%
Non-workers	9,48,630	71.20% (% of the total population of Bhadrak district)
Cultivators	1,63,799	12.29%
Agricultural labourers	53,918	4.04%
Forestry, fishing	5,641	0.42%
Mining & quarrying	310	0.02%

Source: 2001 Census Report Odisha.

The language spoken by the people is Odiya mostly, though some people speak Urdu. Bhadrak is also home to Ferro Alloys Corporation limited (FACOR) and Dhamara port. FACOR is one of the largest manufacturers of quality Ferro Chrome in the country with an investment or turnover of 190 crores and employs 490 workers. Dhamara port, which is an upcoming newly built mega port in the district. The East Coast railway running beside the headquarters town has made the place a big trade centre from long time past. A long line of seashore and two important rivers, namely the Vaitarani and the Salandi, wash the soil of this region.

The district of Bhadrak depends much on agriculture for its livelihoods. About 79% of its population lives on agriculture. The soil condition in Bhadrak was mostly conducive for agriculture. Bhadrak was divided into three natural divisions i.e. the coastal belt comprising parts of modern Basudevpur, Tihiri and Chandabali block. Secondly, the sub-mountain region comprising parts of modern Bant block. Between them a zone of highly fertile land intersected by a network of rivers known as central alluvial plains comprising modern Dhamnagar, Bhandaripokhari and Bhadrak blocks. The lands fell primarily under three main divisions according to their situation viz-

- a. Jala or the low-lands retaining rain water on which winter rice was grown.
- b. Kala or high lands round the village homesteads devoted to vegetables, jute and cotton etc.
- c. Pala or river-side lands suitable for growing tobacco, cotton, mustard and other rabi crops.

The agricultural lands of Bhadrak on the river side had natural fertilization almost every year due to the silt deposited by the rivers during seasonal floods. The rotation of crops also gave the peasants an important means to preserve the productivity of the soil. Apart from it, the peasants of Bhadrak used dried and rotten fishes as manures in their lands. Cow dung is however, the most important manure for the peasants.

Irrigation of lands: Bhadrak as a part of coastal Odisha is a land of abundant rainfall. Never the less the use of artificial irrigation to supplement rain and flood are also used for cropping. *Vapi* (wells), *Tatala* (ponds), *Sarah* (tanks) and *Puskarini* (reservoirs) are also constructed for bathing as well as irrigational purposes. In low laying tracts water is taken from the small streams and creeks for irrigation by means of *tenda* (bamboo water-lift) and *sena* or *janta* (a sort of basket made of split bamboo). The peasants are also known to have made use of canal irrigation whenever necessary.

Production of Crops: In Bhadrak various crops like cereals, pulses, oil seeds, fiber-crops and other miscellaneous crops are produce. Cereals are most important crop produced. Among the cereals, rice was the predominant crop in Bhadrak. It was the staple crop which occupied 91% of the net-cropped area. Rice in Bhadrak district is divided into three types viz: Baily, Sarada and Dalua. Of these three varieties, the sarada is the principal crop, which covered 96% of the total areas under rice cultivation. Apart from cereals, various kinds of pulses are produced in Bhadrak district. They are muga (*phaseolus mungo*) *biri* (*phaseolus radiates*), *kulthi or kolatha* (*dolichos biflorus*), *chana* (*pani cum millacium*) *maka* (maize) and *barguri* (a description of bean).

Industry: Although agriculture formed the main feature of the economic life of the people but Bhadrak like other parts of Odisha also witnesses the development of various industries. There are few industries in Bhadrak, which are based on various agricultural products.

Important among them are rice industry, sugar industry, oil mills, rope making industry, sugar or gur industry in Dhamanagar. The women are also engaged in making ropes of hems, coir and jungle grass are supplied to markets for sale. Pottery is another profession among most of the villagers among the particular caste like *Kumbharas* who make different types and varieties of cooking utensils dishes, cups, saucers, pots, jugs, and lamps of various designs, bowls, vases and other articles are manufactured by *Kumbharas*.

In Bhadrak district, there is great demand for dry fisher as two ports are situated in Bhadrak district. Most of the villagers near the seashore areas are largely engaged in dry fish industries. The fishermen like *Keuta* and *Gokha* are the particular castes who are mainly involved in this occupation.

Mat weaving and basket making is another occupation among castes such as *Doms* and *Panas*. Palm leaf umbrellas, hoods and hats are made by the *Chamaras* which are used by the cultivators in the fields during the summer and rainy seasons. Milk and various milk products like curd, cheese, ghee and butter are prepared by the particular caste like *Gopal* and *Gauda* caste people (DIC report, 2001).

As my study is confined only Bhadrak town, so profile of it is provided below.

Brief Background of Bhadrak Town

The geographical area of Bhadrak town is 314.02 ha of which 801 ha come under cultivable area, 4,594 ha land put to non agricultural uses, 43 ha is barren and uncultivable lands and there is no forest land. The climate of Bhadrak town is generally hot with high humidity during summer and is generally dry except during the southwest monsoon. Humidity of the town generally ranges from 30 to 35% during summer and 70 to 80% during monsoon. The rainfall during June to October constitutes at least 75% of the actual rainfall of this district.

Demographic Characteristics of Bhadrak Town

This part deals with the details regarding the growth of population, religious composition of the inhabitants, proportion of literates and occupational activities. According to the 2001 census, Bhadrak town have a total population of 92,515 (69.36%) of the total population of Bhadrak district. From the total population, the town has 52% (48,063) males and 48%

(44,452) females. Among the total population in Bhadrak town 6,723 (7.26%) consists of SC population and 2,240 (2.42%) consists of ST population.

According to the 2001 census data report, Bhadrak town has 73 percent literate population. Out of 73% literate population, 80% literates are males and 65% are females. In Bhadrak town, there are many educational institutions where professional and postgraduate courses are taught. In the town, there are 38 primary schools, 17 upper primary schools and 19 secondary schools in total where 469 teachers are working. The total numbers of students in schools are 22,592. The student teacher ratio in schools is 48:1. Besides the large number of schools in the town, there are three Graduate colleges namely Bhadrak College, Bhadrak Womens College and Bhadrak Charampa College. Apart from the three colleges, there is an Industrial Training Institute in Bhadrak and a newly established engineering college namely Barapada Engineering college which provides technical education. In Bhadrak town, the total number of workers are 25,002 and 67,513 are non-workers. From the total number of workers 22,219 are main workers and 2,783 are marginal workers.

In Bhadrak town, there are total 10 medicals and nursing homes and 3 cinema theaters in Bhadrak town. From the total medical/nursing homes, there are 2 government hospitals namely Bhadrak Govt Hospital and Unani Hospital. In Bhadrak town, a number of industrial and other enterprising activities have boomed. There are 23 small and large-scale industries, which are providing employment opportunities to approximately 2,000 people of Bhadrak town.

Bhadrak town has one major industrial zone called the *Charampa* Zone in the Eastern side of Bhadrak. Bhadrak town has a high potential market of its own. People of adjoining towns depend on the Bhadrak market due to its strategic connectivity by surface transport. The transport facilities help the entrepreneurs to market their products in other cities like Kolkata, Cuttack and Bhubaneswar. The major commercial and trading activities take place in the areas of *Charampa* market (Southern part of the town), *Kacheri Bazar* (heart of the town) of Bhadrak town and Banta Chaka market. These areas are known as the core-trading centers of the town. *Charampa* market is the largest market where agricultural equipments, diesel engine, machinery spare parts, automobile spare parts and domestic requirements etc are sold. The *Banta Chaka* market is famous for groceries and other products like wall

paint, cement and TMT steel and *Kacheri* (public notary) market is famous for the agricultural products such as grains, pulses, vegetables, fertilizers and leathers etc. These three markets located in Bhadrak town indicate that the job opportunities are reasonably high particularly for carrying, loading and unloading the goods.

The pre-liberalisation period that is 1993, Bhadrak district was undivided, the industrial centers were very less and the communication facility was very poor. After Bhadrak district separated from the Balasore district, the bus services have increased and the town buses run throughout the small towns and villages. There are mainly five bus stands viz, the new bus stand at *Bypass*, the old bus stand nearby *Kacheri Bazaar*, the *Bantha Chaka* bus stand which gives connectivity to intra and inter city services. *Charampa* bus stand and Tahasil road bus stand remain connected to each other. The development of transport and communication has also influenced migrants remarkably. The means of transport and communication helped in the flow of inter district and interstate migration and it shows an increase of workers. According to VNP Sinha (1987), the development of transport and communication decides volume and direction of migration. Previously migrants used to confine their movement to short distances because of least developed transport facilities but these days transport facility has made almost all areas accessible and reduce short distance migration.

Thus, after choosing Bhadrak town and after getting information about different colonies, I selected Apartibindha and Apartibindha new colony for conducting the study.

Description of Apartibindha Old Colony

Apartibindha old colony is located in Bhadrak town approximately one kilometer away from the district headquarters of Bhadrak. The Salandi River surrounds the west side of the Apartibindha old colony. The south side of the colony is linked with the Apartibindha new colony. In the colony, there are three roads that are connected to the other colonies. One road from the colony connects the *Kacheri market*, national highway, bus stand, railway station and the district hospital. The road in the other end connects to Apartibindha new colony, *Elkha*, *Mirjapur* and *Kurkura* whereas the last road connects to *Banka Sahi*, *Santhia*

women's college, *Gardapur* and to the court. The administrative categorization of the colony shows that the colony is situated one km north from the district headquarters.

The colony has about 345 households and the total population of the colony according to 2001 census report is 3,092. Out of 345 households, 81 households belonged to scheduled caste, eight households belonged to scheduled tribe and 256 households belong to the other castes. The total numbers of migrants households reside in Apartibindha old colony are 122. From 122 migrant households, 94 households have settled down in this colony for more than 10 years from which 57 households are from outside district and the remaining 37 households are within the district. Out of 122 migrants' households, 53 migrant households have been selected based on their migration profile i.e. all of them are from outside the district.

Table No.1.5: Caste Composition of the Apartibindha Old Colony

Caste	Total no of Households	Study Respondents
Brahmin	40 (11.59%)	4
Khandayat	62 (17.97%)	2
Karan	30 (8.70%)	5
Kumbhara	84 (24.35%)	8
Badhei	5 (1.45%)	-
Gauda	10 (2.90%)	4
Mochi	45 (13.04%)	8
Dhoba	5 (1.45%)	-
Keuta	7 (2.03%)	4
Pana	24 (6.96%)	7
Bania	4 (1.16%)	-
Teli,	15 (4.35%)	1
Radhi	6 (1.74%)	2
Scheduled tribe	8 (2.32%)	8
Total	345	53

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The caste composition of the old colony shows that the colony is mainly pre dominated by the people of *Kumbara* caste i.e. 84 households. Their number is so large compared to other castes that this colony is mainly known as *Kumbhara Sahi* rather than Apartibindha colony. The second largest caste group in the colony is Khandayat, which consists of 62 households and the third largest group in the colony are the *Mochi* caste having 45 households. The

Brahmins are very less compared to the Khandayat having 40 households. One can notice that the domination of the Khandayat caste in the municipality politics. The history of previous elections of Apartibindha old colony shows that it is the Khandayat caste group who had always been elected for the municipality chairman election.

The caste composition of 53 migrants household shows that *Mochi* caste and *Kumbhara* caste are the largest group among the migrants in Apartibindha new colony. Similarly, *Kumbhara*, *Pana* and Scheduled Tribe consists of more in number compare to Khandayat, Karan, Brahmin, *Gauda*, *Keuta*, *Teli* and *Radhi* castes. According to the Odisha gazette, the Brahmin, Khandayat and Karana are considered as the general caste category and the *Kumbhara*, *Gauda*, *Teli* and *Radhi* comes under the other backward caste category. The *Keuta*, *Mochi*, *Pana* and *Hadi* constitute the scheduled caste category. Among all these scheduled caste groups, the *Keuta* caste is considered as ritually pure caste group whereas the *Pana* and *Mochi* caste group are considered as ritually impure caste group because of their occupation.

Traces of purity and pollution can be clearly seen among the migrants in Apartibindha old colony. It has been observed that every caste resides in separate segment. The practice of untouchability still exists in the colony. Due to the existing untouchability, migrants belonging to higher castes do not enter the houses of lower castes. It is seen that during the Ganesh puja and Saraswati puja, the lower caste migrants' people are not allowed to participate. Caste solidarity is found among the women in the colony. During the time of *Laxmi* Puja, which is conducted for enhancement of their wealth, the female households from the upper caste do not touch the lower caste people because of the fear that the mere touch of the lower caste people will impede the growth in their wealth. Even with this notion, the upper caste females do not collect flowers for Puja from the lower caste houses and do not touch the lower caste people for seven days until the end of the *Laxmi* Puja.

Caste conflict and the domination of the upper castes is prevalent among the migrants. To explain the upper caste dominant attitude with that of the lower caste during my study in the Apartibindha old colony, a narrative is presented.

A 12-year-old boy, belonging to the Pana caste, went for grazing his cows to a field nearby the agricultural land of the higher caste people. It was winter and the month of Laxmi puja. When he went with his cows for grazing in the fields, he plucked some newly grown rice seeds from the paddy field belong to the higher castes. But unfortunately he was caught by the owner. The owner and his brother beat the boy black and blue and dragged him to his parents to solve the issue. The owner demanded 2000 rupees from his parents as a fine for the crime done by the boy. The reasons for beating the little boy and claiming the fine was not the theft but the superstition that from the next year onwards they won't be able to collect good amount of rice as the lower caste boy had touched them and brought curse.

Thus, the above case describes that the caste restrictions which are strictly followed among the upper caste people. Caste consciousness is not only found regarding food consumption or at the time of entry into the lower castes houses but also persists in terms of touch.

The literacy rate of 53 migrants shows that 12 migrants are illiterate, nine have primary education, 21 migrants have secondary education, seven respondents have higher secondary education and only four migrants have intermediate and further education. The data on the children's education shows that all the migrants provide education to their children.

In Apartibindha old colony, there is one non-Governmental English medium school and one non-Governmental Odiya medium school. The Odiya medium school is run by the colony club. The Odiya medium school gives free education to the poor children till 5th standard. All the migrants send their children to these two schools. When the children complete their primary education, they were sent to Bank school for upper primary education and Government Girls high school and Government Boys high school for secondary education.

Economy of the Colony

The migrants' in Apartibindha old colony are mainly engaged in petty business, construction work and industrial work. From the total 53 migrants households, 21 are engaged in Petty business, 19 are engaged in industrial work and only 13 are engaged in construction work. The migrants who are engaged in different business, eight *Kumbhara* caste migrants are engaged in both pottery and agricultural work, four migrants who are from the fishing community (*Keuta* caste) have their own stalls where they sell fish and work both in Bhadrak and Dhamara port.

Selling milk is the main occupation of the *Gauda* caste group. Though, the *Gauda* caste depends on their traditional occupation but they are engaged in business too. The female members of this caste group play the main role of holding their traditional caste based occupation such as rearing cows and selling milk from door to door both in the morning and evening.

In case of the *Radhi* caste group, the main occupation is to make flattened rice and puffed rice. In the present time, none of the migrant households in Apartibindha old colony are relying on their traditional occupations. For instance: the *Radhi* caste groups in Apartibindha old colony are engaged in industrial work.

However, the traditional occupation of the *Teli* caste groups who used to produce oil but at present none of the migrants depend on their traditional occupation. The migrants are engaged in the oil mill in *Charampa* for their livelihood.

In case of the *Keuta* caste, the traditional occupation is to catch fish and sell them. Dhamara port and *Chandabali* port are the main reasons for the continuation of their traditional occupation. Neither they do any agricultural activity nor do they join in any other occupation. Two households of this caste have fish shops in the Bhadrak market whereas the remaining two households are working as fishermen in the Dhamara port. When there is no work in the Dhamara port during the rainy season, they earn money by catching fish from the Salandi River and selling them in *Kacheri* market. This caste group neither wants to leave their traditional occupation nor accepts any other occupation. In this occupation, not only the male migrants are engaged but also the whole family members work together. The parents engage their children in their occupation from their childhood, so that they can carry forward their traditional occupation. The school going children in this caste group from a very early age stop their education and get engaged in their traditional occupation.

The *Mochi* caste is considered as the most backward caste among all the caste groups. The *Mochi* castes in the colony mainly migrate from the Barampur and Koraput district and all are engaged in their traditional occupations. *Mochis* are considered as the most backward caste among the other castes in the colony. All the eight households are engaged in repairing shoes in the *Kacheri* market. As all the households have migrated from the

western part of Odisha, Odiya language with western odisha regional accent and broken Telugu are the main communicative languages among them. It is seen that the children of this caste group do not prefer to work within the same shop of their parents, as they desire to earn money by their own and spend it according to their wish. Just at the age of 10 or 15, they start their separate business. The female members in this caste group do not help their husbands in their shoe work and mainly engage in stitching mattresses work at their home.

Like the *Mochi* caste, the *Pana* caste is also considered the most backward caste. Out of seven Pana caste migrants, five migrants are engaged in construction work and only two migrants are engaged in the municipality office. The female migrants of this caste group are either working as a sweeper or in the chain factory.

Apart from the above caste categories, there are eight tribal households residing in this colony. All the scheduled tribes have migrated from Keonjhar district. The tribal migrants in this colony are mainly engaged in construction work and in different industry.

Thus, in most of the occupations like the *Mochi* work, fishing work and Pottery the whole family members work together. These caste groups want to neither leave their traditional occupation nor accept any other occupation. The parents also engage their children in their occupation from their childhood, so that they can carry forward their traditional occupation. The school going children in this caste group from a very early age stop their education and get engaged in their traditional occupation.

Table No.1.6: Caste wise Distribution of Migrants

Caste-wise distribution of migrants	No. of Households	Traditional Occupation	Current Occupation
Kumbhara	8	Pottery	Pottery and agriculture
Keuta	4	Fishing	Fishing and fish shop
Teli	1	Producing oil	Engage in oil mill
Radhi	2	To make flattened rice	Work in different company
Gauda	4	Selling milk	Selling milk
Mochi	8	To repair shoe	To repair shoe
Pana	7	To clean the toilet and dead bodies of the animal	Construction work
ST	8	Coolie work	Agricultural work and construction work

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

Types of Household

In Apartibindha old colony, out of 53 migrants' households, 25 migrants have katcha houses, 17 migrants have semi pucca houses and six have pucca houses. The katcha houses are made with wood, bamboo and mud. In the semi Pucca houses, the floor and walls are pucca and the roof is made up of grass, raw grains and tile. All the houses have open verandahs in the front side, and the roofs of katcha houses are slightly raised from the ground level.

Tube well, river and taps are recognized as main sources of water among the 53 migrants. Out of 53 migrants' household, 49 migrants have no personal tube well and tap connection in their houses. In Apartibindha old colony, there is one river namely Salandi and three government tube wells. The migrants' households who have no personal water facilities depend upon the river, Government tube well and neighbours house.

Out of 53 migrant households, 38 household's live joint family system and 15 households live in nuclear family. The existence of joint family system is more found among the families where there is only son and have old parents. However, joint family is survived in almost all castes but it is stronger among the *Kumbharas* and *Mochis* caste. In case of the

Kumbhara families there is often more demand of old parents, as they are the ones who sell the pots in the market. The nuclear family system is mainly found in a family where there is more than one son. Marriage plays an important role for the nuclear family. The data indicates that once all sons are married, the joint family breaks into nuclear family. No migrants' household in the colony are found where the parents stay alone.

It has been noticed that in Apartibindha old colony none of the migrants marry from the migrants' household. The parents do not want to get married their children from the same colony because of their notion that if they will get married their son or daughter in the same colony then their children's marriage life will be disturbed. Therefore, the parents mainly prefer to search matches from their villages. Most of the migrants generally prefer to do their children's marriage at their villages because of high expenditure and no space to celebrate marriage at the place of migration. Only very few migrants celebrate their children's marriage in Bhadrak town. Those who cannot afford money for their children's marriage also resort to temple marriage at Bhadrak town, implying marriage with least expenditure.

The dowry system is prevalent at the time of marriage. The demands of the dowry persist according to the occupation of the male members. However, the dowry ranges between Rs.10, 000 to Rs.20, 000 for the construction worker and agricultural worker. Those who work in different companies or engage in petty business, the parents demand Rs.50, 000 or a bike. The marriage of a girl is finalized once the dowry is fixed. The parents of the grooms first collect the dowry and then they fix the date of marriage. The main reason is the fear of not getting money from the bride's parents after marriage. So to avoid the breakdown of marriage, the parents of the brides agree to give dowry and send their daughter to their in-laws' house with clothes and all the household things. In spite of paying a high dowry, the parents also follow the tradition of giving money and sweets to their daughter's in-laws house in all the festivals for first one year and the amount of sweets is decided according to the groom's family size and with their consent. Due to the rising dowry price of grooms, the parents of those who have more than one girl child, save money for their daughters' marriage from their early age. The dowry system is more found among

the higher caste migrants especially among the Brahmin, Khandayat and Karan caste migrants compared to SC and ST migrants.

In Apartibindha old Colony, petty business and a few institutions are located in order to provide services. There is one English medium and one Odiya medium school in this colony. Apart from these two schools, there is one Yamaha automobile show room, cycle repairing shop, three grocery shops and two pan shops. The migrants from the Apartibindha new colony depend upon this colony grocery shops for their household needs. The migrants mainly depend upon the nearest *Kacheri bazaar* market and *OT market*, for buying vegetables and clothes respectively. *Raja, Saraswati Puja, Laxmi Puja, Kumara Purnima, Prathama Asthami, Kartika Purnima, Kali Puja, Durga Puja* and *Holi* are some of the festivals that are celebrated among the migrants in Apartibindha old colony.

After discussing about the socio-economic structure of Apartibindha old colony, now I provide detailed account of the Apartibindha new colony.

Apartibindha New Colony

Apartibindha new colony has emerged from the old Apartibindha colony during 1980s'. It is on the periphery of Bhadrak town which is followed by rural area, starting with Korkora village (Dhamnagar block). Apartibindha new colony and the neighboring village *Anapala* are connected through the common agricultural land. This new colony emerged by encroachment into the agricultural land that belonged to *Karkora* village. People from Apartibindha old colony and Apartibindha new colony used the narrow foot path to reach the Dhamnagar block through this road than the main road. In fact Apartibindha new colony was a burial ground and it was covered with wild, thick foliage. People were afraid of staying there because there was no proper facility to stay connected with people. FACOR was the first industrial center, which first attracted people from other districts. It was the tribals from the Keonjhar district namely Brunda Murmu, Tikila Murmu, and Chema Mahanta who first started living in the burial ground of Apartibindha colony and named the place as Apartibindha new colony. Gradually five pucca houses built here. They were Prasanta Das (who was a lecturer from the Bhadrak College and migrated from Basudevpur), Bairagi Charana Gahan (a homeopathy doctor from Nalanga), Basanta Kumar

Rout (a businessman from Asurali), Bhaja Gobinda Jena a reporter and the fifth one is Suman Bhaumic (a bus driver from Calcutta) who was the first person coming from outside the state. Later on, people from other walks of life followed suit and that's how new colony came into existence.

In Apartibindha new colony, there are 497 households. Out of 497 households, 160 households are reported as migrant households settling down from other districts and 26 households have migrated from different states like West Bengal, Rajasthan, Bihar and Gujarat. According to 2001 census report the total population of Apartibindha new colony is, 3,482. The caste composition of the colony is given below.

Table No.1.7: Caste Composition of the Apartibindha New Colony

Caste	Total No of Households	Study Respondents
Brahmin	160	-
Khandayat	134	3
Karan	52	-
Teli	32	3
Tanti	5	-
Badhei	12	-
Keuta	25	-
Dhoba	8	-
Pana	10	-
ST	59	26
Total	497	32

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The caste composition of the new colony shows that the colony is mainly pre dominated by the people of Brahmin caste i.e. 160 compared to other castes people. The second largest caste group in the colony is Khandayat caste having 134 households and the third largest group in the colony is tribal households which consists 59. The caste composition of 32 migrants' household shows that scheduled tribe is the largest group among the migrants in Apartibindha new colony.

The housing condition of the 32 migrants in Apartibindha new colony shows that out of 32 migrants' households, 28 migrants have *katcha* houses, two have *semi pucca* houses and two have *pucca* houses. The migrants especially the tribes live at the end of the

Apartibindha new colony. All the *katcha* houses have single room with thatched roof and the walls are made of mud. The *semi pucca* houses have thatched roof with concrete wall. All the migrants have one open cholli in front of their houses and the migrants use their verandah as their kitchen room. It has been found that except four households, none of the tribal migrants have their patta land and all the tribal live in the Government land.

In Apartibindha new colony, 28 respondents have no personal tube well and tap connection in their houses. They depend on tube wells of the neighboring houses for their drinking purpose and use river water for household work. Only four respondents have their own tube well and tap water facilities.

In Apartibindha new colony, the occupational status of the 32 migrant households' shows that 26 tribal migrants are engaged as either agricultural work, daily wage labourer and construction worker. The *Teli* caste group's main occupation is producing oil. Three *Teli* caste households are residing in this colony. At present, the *Teli* caste migrants have changed their traditional occupation and none of them have engaged in their traditional occupation. It is noticed that two *Teli* caste migrants are engaged in chain factory and only one migrant are engaged as contraction workers. In case of *Khandayat* caste, one can find that three households of this caste group are engaged in business and a daily worker in companies.

The literacy rate of Apartibindha new colony shows that 21 migrants are illiterate, eight have primary education and three have secondary education. The data on the children's education shows that the tribal migrants have no choice to give education to their children because of economic compulsion. Out of 26 households residing in Apartibindha new colony, only six tribal households are providing education to their children Fat present. But it is seen that none of the tribal migrants' children have got more than secondary education. On the other hand, all the remaining six migrants' are giving education to their children. The migrants of Apartibindha new colony are sending their children to both Odiya medium school and English medium school. In Apartibindha new colony, there is no school. The migrants are sending their children to the Apartibindha old colony Odiya medium and English medium school. After their children complete their primary education in

Apartibindha old colony schools, the migrants send their children to Government Girls high school and Government Boys high school for secondary education.

Type of Households

Out of 32 migrant households, extended family system is found among 15 migrants households, joint family system is found among 9 households and nuclear family system is found among 6 migrants households. The existence of extended family system and joint family system is mainly found among the tribal migrant families. On the other hand, all the remaining six non-tribal migrants' households live in nuclear family system. Patriarchal family set up exists among the migrant households'. All the migrants follow the patri-local form of residence. In this type of residence, the wife comes and stays at the husband house after their marriage and there is no household found where the matriarchal form of family exists.

It has been noticed that in Apartibindha new colony, except the tribal migrants' households, none of the migrants marry from the migrants' household only. The non-tribal migrants' parents mainly prefer to search matches from their villages or from the non migrant households. Now the migrants who are residing in Apartibindha new colony are celebrating their children's marriage at Bhadrak town, as well, which is an indication of their ability to bear slightly higher express than in the village marriages.

The dowry system is prevalent at the time of marriage. The demand for the dowry of a groom is decided according to his family status, educational qualification and occupation. The parents mainly demand money rather than household things. It is noticed that those who are engaged as agricultural worker, construction worker and daily wage labourer, the dowry starts from Rs.10, 0, 00 and those who work in companies or engage in petty business, the parents demand anywhere between Rs. 50, 000 to Rs.1, 00,000. On the other hand, one can find that there is no dowry prevalent among the tribal families but the custom of bride price is still prevalent. The bride's parents in spite of giving dowry to the grooms, the groom's parents give bride price to the bride's parents during the time of marriage. The groom's parents give money, clothes, silver ornaments or marriage feast to bride's parents during the time of marriage but there is no demand from the bride's side.

The migrants mainly depend on *Kacheri* market for vegetables, grocery items, OT market for clothes, *Bypass* and *Charampa* market for electronic goods and automobile items.

The chapterisation of the thesis is given below.

Chapterization

The second chapter focuses on the trends and patterns of migration in India. Further I have focused on the factors and the determinants of migration. The chapter is divided into seven sections comprising of:

In section-1, I have described the literature on the concept and theoretical perspectives on the trends in migration study at the all India level over the decades,

Section-2, describes the female migration and the problems faced by the women after their migration.

Section-3, explains the characteristics of migration in terms of age, sex, caste, education, land and occupational status of the migrants.

Section-4, describes the impact of migration.

Section-5, describes the inter-generational mobility among the migrants.

The third chapter begins with the socio-economic conditions of the first generation migrants at their native places. I have described the profile of first generation migrants, their education, housing conditions, employment patterns, wage and socio-economic factors that forced people to migrate from their native places. In the second section, I have examined the settlement patterns, nature of job, total income, savings, performances of customs and rituals, frequencies of visit to their native places, access to basic amenities and the problems faced by the migrants at their destination places.

The fourth chapter examines the causes of migration among the second-generation migrants. Further, I have described the social network of migrants at the place of destination and the problems faced by the migrants at their destination places.

In the fifth chapter, I have discussed about the working conditions of the first and second generation migrants at their destination place and to what extent government programme and policies are able to improve the conditions of the migrants.

In the sixth chapter, I have compared the socio-economic conditions of the tribal and non tribal migrants after their migration to Bhadrak town. While analyzing the socio-economic conditions of the tribal and non tribal migrants, I have examined the size of the family, type of family, living conditions, education, food habits, nature of job, income and performance of social functions and rituals performed by the tribal and non tribal migrants.

The seventh chapter, I have discussed the intergenerational mobility among the migrants. To examine the intergenerational mobility, I have discussed the impact of first generation's migration on the socio-economic life of the second-generation migrants. Therefore, I have drawn comparison between the first generation and second-generation migrants.

Finally, the conclusion chapter tries to summarize the findings of the study.

CHAPTER II

TRENDS OF MIGRATION

The purpose of this chapter is to review the available literature on migration in India, and delineate the trends, patterns of migration, factors and determinants of rural-urban migration. The present chapter begins with the discussion of the trends in migration in all India level over a period of time. Further it attempts to explicate the factors, characteristics and impact of rural to urban migration.

SECTION-I

Trends of Migration in India

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another for the purpose of taking permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary. The study of human migration is significant, because of complexity of human life and fast changing socio-economic conditions. There is no universally accepted definition of migration. The word 'Migration', has been derived from the Latin word '*Migrare*' which means the settlement or shifting of an individual or a group of individuals from one cultural area or place of habitation to another more or less permanently.

Eisenstadt (1954) defines, Migration as, "the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one"

According to Mangalam (1968), Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another proceeded by decision making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchical ordered set of values or value ends and resulting in change in the international system of the migrants".

Caplow (1954) says that migration is strictly speaking a change of residence and need not necessarily involve any change of occupation, but it is closely associated with occupational shifts of one kind or another".

It is estimated that the present strength of interstate migrants is around 80 million persons of which, 40 million are in the construction industry, 20 million as domestic workers, 2 million as sex workers, 5 million as call girls and somewhere from half a million to 12 million in the illegal mines (www.imfmetal.org).

The data on the total number of migrants by last residence in India as per census 1971 are 167 million persons, 1981 census 231 million, 1991 census 232 and 2001 census 314 million. According to the 2001 census report, out of 314 million migrants, 268 million (85%) were intra-state migrants those who migrated from one part of the state to another. 41 million (13%) were inter-state migrants and 5.1 million (1.6%) migrated from outside of the country. As per 2001 census report, in India, about 307 million people have been reported migrating from birth places. Out of them 259 million (84.2%) migrated from one part of the state to another. 42 million (2%) migrated to other countries (www.censusindia.gov.in).

Internal Migration and International Migration

According to Murthy (1980), Internal refers to the migration from one place to another place within a country where as external migration or international migration refers to migration from one country to another country. The study of internal migration is gradually gaining importance because the movement of people within its national borders is a necessary element of normal population redistribution and equilibrium (cited in Rao 1996).

In-Migration, Out-Migration, Immigration and Emigration

The terms in-migration and out-migration are related to internal migration where as immigration and emigration are related to international migration. In-migration refers to migration into a place from another place within the same country and out migration refers to migration out of a place to another place within the same country. Immigration refers to migration into one country from another country and emigration refers to migration out of the country. Thus, immigration is movement to a country and emigration is movement from a country.

Duration of Migration

Migration can be classified into short term and long term according to the duration of absence from the village. It may be seasonal, according to demands for agricultural labour in sending or receiving areas. People may migrate repeatedly for short periods, typically in societies in transition, but also due to customs such as young women leaving home for marriage (Chant 1992). Migration may be for longer periods for example: people remaining in the receiving community until retirement and upon retirement returning to the sending community. The migrants are distinguished as 'permanent' 'semi permanent' and 'temporary'. Labour migration belongs to temporary migration, which is likely to stay away from their places of origin for more than a few months in a year. The temporary migrants are also known as short duration migrants, seasonal migrants or circulatory migrants.

Seasonal Migration

Seasonal and circular migration has long been part of the livelihood portfolio of poor people across India. It is now recognized that migration is a part of the normal livelihood strategy of the poor and does not occur only during times of emergency or distress. 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 (Rogaly et al 2001). In the densely populated Asian countries the number of people engaged in seasonal migration vary between 30-50 million people in India; however, the numbers for China are several times higher exceeding 120 million (www.rural-development.de).

Seasonal migration is more among the people due to the cause of economic motives. People migrate to the cities in order to make money in order to lead a comfortable life live comfortably (Hampshire 2002). In short-term or seasonal migration, male members of the family leave their homes and villages after land preparation or planting seasons and come back during the harvest season. In long-term migration, migrants are always away from their families for more than six months or more than a year. They visit their home once in a year or sometimes occasionally for social obligations (Paris 2005).

A number of studies have focused their attention on various aspects of migration in India.

According to Rogaly (2001) the men, women and children who are migrating are poor and landless labourers. Rice cultivation is the major occupation of those who migrate seasonally across the regions. The people who migrate are mainly from scheduled caste and scheduled tribe. The demands of migrant workers are increased because of the reduction in hours of work per day for local labourers. The high wage rates and the number of days work available at the destination place is the important motive for migration. Apart from the number of days, insufficient employment that is available locally provides the main proximate cause of seasonal migration.

Rajuladevi (2001) says that the landless labourer due to the lack of employment for about five months during slack period and extremely low average wages are the main causes of seasonal migration among the landless labourers. Due to extreme poverty and lack of employment during the slack and dry periods, migration is more among the landless labourer.

Sorensen et al (2002) pointed out that migration is most common where survival is a stake, mobile livelihoods or livelihoods involving the geographic dispersal of household members can be poverty reducing and involve the redistribution of resources. And according to him mobility is an important part of people's livelihoods diversification with the potential to manage or reduce risk, smooth consumption, create savings or access to credit in order to prevent risk".

Haan (2002) pointed out that the daily earnings of the migrants at the destination may be only marginally higher and migrants undertake this work to maintain or slightly improve their situation at home. Migration helps to reduce economic inequalities between areas of origin and destination. It reduces the uncertainty of family income, provides investment funds and contributes to livelihoods for those with small plots. Rural to urban migration for wage helps to reduce poverty and insecurity.

Vijay (2005) pointed out that the industries in new industrial towns or semi-urban locales are seen to prefer migrants to local workers because it involves both casual and contractual employment patterns and an assured supply of labour at very low wages in insecure jobs in a high-risk work.

Poorer families are more likely to migrate all together whereas individual adults will migrate from richer family. The poorer are forced into or restricted to certain types of migration and their movement involves access only to badly paid unskilled jobs, poor living conditions or inadequate services. Despite poor living conditions, the poor migrants may do well and reduce poverty (Mosse et al 2002).

There are basically four types of migration, that is, rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to rural and urban to urban.

Rural-Rural Migration

The mobility of mankind from one rural area to another is called rural-rural migration. Such migration commonly occurs in developing countries where most of the people live in rural areas or where there is lack of balanced economic growth. People are found moving from less agriculturally developed region to fertile and relatively more agriculturally developed region.

Rural-Urban Migration

The movement of people from rural areas having agrarian economy to urban areas having non-agricultural economy is known as rural-urban migration. In areas where there is a big gap between rural and urban living, the motive to migrate urban areas are more among the people. In developing nations, this phenomenon has become very common and rural-urban migration is causing a lot of problem.

Urban-Urban Migration

The movement of people from one urban center to another is known as urban-urban migration. This type of migration is similar with rural-urban migration where people move from smaller towns to major urban centers, where urban amenities and job opportunities are better. Sometimes the mobility of people takes place due to transfer and posting and sometimes they intentionally move from smaller urban centers to larger urban centers of their own choice.

Urban-Rural Migration

The movement of urban people to rural areas is known as urban-rural migration. This migration process is not a common one. Only in advanced nations, some people become disgusted with industrial and very busy urban life and want to move out in search of peace. Incidence of such migration is found in United States of America and other developed nations.

Among all the four types of migration that is rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural, rural to urban migration has been dominating. Throughout history, rural to urban migration has played substantial role in the urbanization process of several countries and still continues to play similar role. The rapid transformation of Indian economy, improvement in level of education and shift of work force from agriculture to industry accelerated mobility among people in recent times. It is observed that in most of the countries industrialization and economic development has been accompanied by large scale movements of people from village to town, from town to other town and from one country to another country. At all India level rural-urban migration seems to be modest as 2001 census reveals that net rural to urban migration in 1961-71 had been 18.7 percent, in 1971-81 it was 19.6 percent, in 1981-91 migration was 21.7 percent and in 1991-2001 it was 21.0 percent. Therefore, the figures reveal that there has been continuous rise in the contribution of net migration to total urban growth since the sixties. And there has been slight decline of migration in the year 1991-2001 compared to the previous decade (<http://iussp2005.princeton.edu>). A table presenting rural to urban migrants for the period of 1991-2001 as a % of urban population is given below.

Table No. 2.1: Rural-Urban Migration for 1991-2001 as a % of Urban Population

Different States	Rural-to-Urban Migrants (1991-2001) as a % of Urban Population
Andhra Pradesh	6.72
Assam	7.12
Bihar	6.28
Gujarat	10.63
Haryana	11.45
Karnataka	7.03
Maharashtra	10.41
Odisha	10.97
Punjab	7.63
Rajasthan	6.18
Tamil Nadu	3.34
Utter Pradesh	4.44
West Bengal	4.83
Kerala	6.99
Madhya Pradesh	9.50
Total	7.32

Sources: Census of India 2001.

Table: 1.1 reveals that rural to urban migration rate is highest among the four states namely, Gujarat, Haryana, Maharastra and Odisha. Among all the states in India Haryana occupied first position having 11.45% whereas Odisha is ranked in the second position having 10.97%. Similarly, Gujarat and Maharastra are raked in third and forth position having 10.63% and 10.41%.

Table No. 2.2: Distribution of States according to their % of Rural to Urban Migrants.

Rural to Urban Migrants (1991-2001) as a % of Urban Population		
10% and Above	5% and Above	Less than 5 Percent
Gujarat	Andhra Pradesh	West Bengal
Haryana	Assam	Uttar Pradesh
Maharastra	Bihar	Tamil Nadu
Odisha	Karnataka	-
-	Punjab	-
-	Rajasthan	-
-	Kerala	-
-	Madhya Pradesh	-

Sources: Census of India 2001.

The table 1.2 shows that states like Gujarat, Haryana, Maharashtra and Odisha have more than 10% of rural to urban migrants. Similarly Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Karnataka, Punjab, Rajasthan, Kerala and Madhya Pradesh have more than 5% of rural to urban migrants whereas West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu have less than 5% of rural to urban migrants. Urbanization is the most significant phenomenon of the 20th century which facilitates rural people to urban areas. Urbanization, a worldwide phenomenon occurs when there are increased differences in living conditions between rural and urban areas and people migrate internally from villages to the cities. In Asian countries the urbanization process has been relatively slow compared to any other countries. In 1800, only about 2.5% of the world population lived in urban areas whereas it has increased to 45% by 1980.

The migration data of 2001 reveals that, 285 million (27.8%) population lives in urban areas and 72.2% live in rural areas. The number of people residing in urban areas has increased from 2.58 corers in 1901 to 28.53 corers in 2001. In numerical terms, India's urban population is second largest in the world after china and is higher than the total urban population of all countries put together barring China, USA and Russia. Historically, cities have been the driving force in economic and social development. At present approximately 307 million Indians lives in nearly 3700 towns and cities spread across the country. This is 30.5% of its population, in sharp contrast to only 15% (60 million) who lived in urban areas in 1947 when the country became independent (Upreti 1981).

Table No. 2.3: Urban Population 1901-2001

Year	Urban Population In Million	% of Urban to Total Population	Decade Growth Rate
1901	29.9	19.8	-
1911	25.9	10.3	0.4
1921	28.1	11.2	18.3
1931	33.5	12.0	19.1
1941	44.2	13.9	32.0
1951	62.4	17.3	41.4
1961	78.9	18.0	26.4
1971	109.1	19.9	38.2
1981	159.5	23.3	46.1
1991	217.6	25.7	36.4
2001	306.9	30.5	41.0

Source: Ministry of Urban Affairs

Rural To Urban Migration in India

Gupta (1961) pointed out that persons belonging to upper stratum of society with a higher level of education and economic positions have a higher propensity to migrate from rural to urban areas.

According to Cherunilam (1987) migration of the labour force from village to town is caused by the expanding and better economic opportunities in the urban areas. In developing countries, the current concern with social and economic conditions reflects a growing emphasis on the aspects of population distribution between rural and urban areas. These concerns are well related to the wide disparities in the levels of living and the quality of life and also the increasing trend of migration from rural to urban areas. Particularly in India, unavailability of employment opportunities and low level of income are the most important factors which help in the increasing number of migration from rural to urban areas. Other kinds of migration relates to education, social, cultural and political factors which tend to effect smaller size of population belonging to the economically well off section of the society.

Kaur (1996) says that the region having districts with high rural to urban migration is due to rapid development of mining, industrial activities, service sectors, rapid expansion of administrative and security machinery.

Migration process is characterized by stages, stream and counter stream and rural-urban differentials in propensity to migrate and is influenced by distance, economic motives, technology and communication (Ravenstein 1885). The study by Bague (1969), argues that the push and pull factors at the origin influence migration of people. He cited that migration generally takes place when the positive pull factor at the place of destination is outnumbered by native push factor at the place of origin.

According to Oberai and Singh (1983) the uneven distribution of employment opportunities, the pattern of income distribution and also the development pattern of infrastructural facilities are the important factors responsible for the increasing nature of migration of population from rural to urban areas in developing countries.

Samal (1997) says poorest of the poor in rural areas migrating to urban centers is not necessarily true, the households from better-off households also migrate to the urban center. The level of living of the migrant workers is far better in towns than that in their rural counter parts.

Brijj (1971) pointed that persons belonging to upper stratum of society with a higher level of education and economic position have a higher propensity to migrate from rural to urban areas. But educated migrants are primarily forced by 'pull factors' at the place of destination where as illiterate migrants are primarily forced by the 'push factors' at the place of origin (cited in Kumar 2005).

Mehta (1991) says that "migration of people from rural to urban areas could be an important instrument for achieving economic development. It means that migration can shift the human resources from the areas where their social marginal products are assumed to be zero or negligible to the place where their marginal products grow rapidly because of capital accumulation and technological progress. Sundari (2005) pointed out that rural to urban migration is more than urban to urban migration because agriculture is a seasonal occupation for many rural people. Regions that are not well developed and are drought prone fail to absorb labour and people throughout the year are forced to migrate to urban areas. The Continual failure of monsoon led to drought and exodus of the labour from rural to urban areas.

Causes of Migration

The movement of rural people to an urban centre is not a new phenomenon. Socio-economic and cultural conditions have always governed the phenomenon of population movement. In India, people move for a variety of reasons. Thus, an attempt has been made to analyze the principal causes of migration and some of the problems connected with it.

Iyer (2004) pointed out two major reasons for rural labour migration, one is migration for survival and second is migration for subsistence. Migration for survival reflects the extreme conditions of social and economic problems faced by the labourers in the rural setting. Generally such people are landless, agricultural labourers, illiterate and mostly belong to

lower social strata of the society comprising SC, ST and depressed backward classes. Migration for subsistence which stem from subsistence needs arising out of poverty and seasonal unemployment.

Rural to rural migration is more especially from the drought prone to the agro climatically better-endowed districts because most drought prone districts have relatively higher labour productivity (Gupta 2009).

Rogaly (2001) says that men, women and children who are migrating are poor and landless labourers. The high wage rates and the number of days work available at the destination are the important factors for migration. Apart from high wage rate and the number of days, insufficient employment opportunities are also the main proximate cause of seasonal migration.

Ercelawn (2004) pointed out that large and increasing unemployment in the region and consequent stagnant or declining wages are the main reasons that push the labourers to seek additional or alternative work for some family members.

Migration is more among the marginal farmers because due to low rainfall and chronic drought, there are repeated crop failures and consequential inability in production. Under these situations, those who live on the brink of acute distress are under compulsion of leaving their villages and seeking their future elsewhere (Majumdar et al 1978).

Toppo (2007) pointed out that migration from the place of scarcity to the plenty has always been attracting people individually as well as collectively. Search for means to satisfy different needs of various levels has kept people mobile from smaller distance to large ones and from few days to many years.

Lewis (1954) has described that migration as an equilibrating mechanism, which shifts labour from labour surplus to labour deficit area.

Yadava (1998) says that the decision to out migrate are varied and complex from one country to another or from one region to another within a country depending upon the

socio-economic, demographic and cultural factors of the region on the one hand and upon the conceptualization of migration process and the scale of investigation on the other. High unemployment rates, meager incomes, high population growth, the number of previous migrants dissatisfaction with housing have been considered as some of the main determinants of rural out migration in most countries.

Rao (1990) pointed out migration takes place in every village during the seasons of non-agricultural activities during the famines and droughts. Specially the younger ones, who found that their villages or even nearby towns could not give enough work to subsist and were forced to migrate to urban centers.

Upreti (1981) found that the cultivable land available to the inhabitants are insufficient for their livelihood and as there are few options available to them in their own villages, so as a consequence of the under developed economy of the region, a large number of people leave their villages and move to the urban and industrial centers in search of work.

Chelladurai (2009) found that large groups of landless, unskilled, illiterate labourers and petty farmers leave their villages and go to distant large towns or cities because the region has already reached a saturation point and fail to provide even the minimum services to the migrants.

Brown (1977) in his study found that roughly 30% of the migrants leave their native places because of loss of employment. About 30% to 35% migrants migrated because of the dissatisfaction with their present employment in terms of nature of work, rate of pay or conditions of work. Dissatisfaction with life in the local community and unsatisfactory social relations with family and relatives was the other major reason for leaving the native place.

Thus, literature on migration concludes that insufficient livelihoods, insufficient employment and drought are the different causes for rural to urban migration of people but there are number of studies, which show that the push and pull factors are important causes for the migration of a large number of people.

Push and Pull Factors

Push factors come under those circumstances, which compel a person or a family to leave their previous residence. On the other hand, pull factors constitute those attractions in the town, which induce them to choose it as their new home. Push factors usually include lack of employment opportunities, absence of industries and other non-agricultural occupations in the village. Employment opportunities as well as educational, medical and other services/facilities in a particular place also attract people to migrate.

Cherunilam (1987) says that if people are satisfied where they are, they will not migrate. For migration to take place there must be some factors that pushes people out or that pulls them to a new environment. People have left their native lands for a variety of reasons. On one hand religious or racial persecution, economic deprivation and on the other hand the forces that attract them to new homelands are religious, political freedom, ethnic toleration and economic opportunity.

Sabot (1982) pointed out that the push and pull migration are twin children of inequality in the same sort of village but they are also sources of new inequality. In the push migration, the poor people generally migrate to the short distances. It tends to drive the whole household to quit the rural community of origin and in search of work across the countryside. The pull migration of the better off, on the contrary, aims-often over long distances at a selected town either to obtain education or to exploit the higher urban-rural income differentials. It generates income, skills, knowledge or remittances useful to the family as a whole.

The rural urban migration is a response to both push and pull factors. Some people migrate to urban centers for want of better employment opportunities in the rural areas. The absence of adequate economic opportunities functioned as the push factors and the presence of kith and kin in the city worked as the pull factors (Joshi et al 2004 and Rao 1996).

Singh (1989) pointed out that the out migration is mainly caused by push and pull factors. According to him, the population pressure on land, lack of cultivable land, extreme poverty, family quarrels, social out castes etc are the main causes which push the landless labourers

and small landholders migrate to other places while the pull factors such as availability of employment opportunities and better living conditions in town attract people for out migration.

According to Adinarayanappa (2008) rural to urban migration is increasing due to the push factors like poverty, unemployment, loss of sources of livelihood due to natural calamities like famine, floods and drought, which make large number of people of almost all age groups except very old and invalid people to migrate to the cities in search of livelihood.

Bhagat (2009) says that push and pull factors have dominated much for the migration. The push factors like low income, low literacy, dependence on agriculture and high poverty are associated with place of origin. On the other hand, high income, high literacy, dominance of industries and services are the pull factors associated with place of destination.

Lipton (1996) pointed out that the very poor, landless and illiterate predominantly are pushed from the village and the relatively well off and better educated are more likely to be pulled by urban centers providing attractive economic opportunities (Cited in Kumar 2005).

According to Neekhara (2007) a large proportion of poor migrate from rural and smaller cities in search of employment and better living conditions. Rural to urban migration involves process of change, adjustment, adaptation and assimilation by migrants. Inequality is a major cause of rural-urban migration that better off villagers tend to be pulled and poor villagers pushed to urban areas.

The important push and pull factors, which cause migration grouped into economic (e.g. work opportunities, higher wages), social (e.g. religious freedom, lack of social adjustment, social out caste), demographic factors, political factors and physical factors (e.g. climate, natural disasters).

Economic Factors: of all the factors, which motivate one to migrate, the most important are the economic factors. Several migration studies have emphasized the role of economic factors in migration. Migrants leave their area of origin primarily because of lack of economic opportunities and in the hope of finding better opportunities. He describes that

when individuals or families can improve their position by moving to a new location, they have an incentive to migrate (Mcneill 1978).

Shah (1998) says that the small and uneconomic land holdings, absence of irrigation facilities, absence of alternative job opportunities force the poor families to move out of rural areas in search of more and better employment.

Dahiwala (1997) pointed out that the economic position of the migrants at their native places was miserable and low rainfall, which results in droughts in certain areas, is another cause for migration.

Sarvottam (2005) says that the small and declining size of agricultural land holdings has been the basic cause of out migration. In both time and space, out migration was triggered off especially under lean agricultural conditions caused by periodic droughts, floods and low price of the produce. To improve the standard of living has been another vital consideration, which is vivid in increasing the movement of landless agricultural labourers from rural areas to the urban places.

Mitra (2008) suggested that the main cause of migration is based on economic factors such as lack of employment in areas of origin, low wages and landlessness which force the rural poor to migrate urban areas.

According to Brijj (1971) persons belonging to upper stratum of society with a higher level of education and economic position have a higher propensity to migrate. But educated migrants are primarily forced by "pull factors" at the place of destination where as illiterate migrants are primarily forced by the "push factors" at the place of origin (Cited in Kumar 2005).

Breman (1988) pointed out that although there are push factors behind migration from the hinterland but he gave emphasis on the pull emanating from the central plain. According to him the circulation of labour is by no means a haphazard phenomenon but is systematically planned. They migrate not in order to satisfy a shortage in the area of destination but in order to create a surplus.

However, economic factors are responsible for the migration of people but greater emphasis is also given to the non-economic factors.

Social Factors: although most of the factors of migration are considered to be economic, social factors cannot be considered less significant.

Singh (1989) pointed out that not only the economic factors such as small land holdings, family debts, failure of crops and lack of employment etc but also the social and political factors like social out caste, family trouble, lack of social adjustment, caste riots or religious feeling, social crime or social activities etc also compel people to move out from their places of origin.

Sinha (1987) pointed out that social customs, traditions, social prejudices etc induce people to migrate from one place to another. Rural areas have old or traditional social customs. People remain orthodox and rigid in their traditional social customs and manners that they dislike any sort of social deviance. In case anyone breaks the social barriers, he is socially out casted and it becomes difficult for such persons to reside in the area. Ultimately, he deserts the place of birth for some other destination where he can enjoy social freedom. In most of the rural areas, people are not only guided by village customs and manners but they have to comply with family norms. Sometime people in order to free from the family norms, they migrate to other areas where he can lead independent life.

Rao (1986) says that the economic factors provide only the necessary conditions of migration while the non-economic factors such as the information flow, resource networks, brokers and personality of the migrants provide the sufficient conditions for people's decision to migrate.

Kaul (2005) says that the population displaced from their original habitat due to ethno-religious compulsion and found that the physical, economic and social hardships often force people to resort to migration.

Demographic Factors: Demographic factors that motivate people to move from one region to another include uneven distribution of population, unbalanced growth of literacy, uneven

growth etc. Where there is very high density of population coupled with less per capita land share, people migrate to the places having low density of population. Birth rate and death rate also influence human migration. Areas having low birth rate or high death rate or both experiencing labour shortage attract migrants from other areas for job opportunities.

Political Factors: Political factors also play a significant role for the migration of people. Wars and treaties have time to time forced people to move from one region to another in the form of refugee, population transfer or political asylum etc.

Physical Factors: physical conditions of a region play a vital role in influencing human migration from one region to another. Physical catastrophe, such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, landslides, soil erosion, climatic fluctuations etc and deforestation coupled with soil erosion is considered an important determinant of shifting settlement in humid tropics especially in areas of high relief. Whenever people face these problems, they prefer to move to better areas. Sometimes frequent occurrence of floods and drought also force people to desert their place of origin in favour of safer areas.

Thus, the above review of studies on migration indicates that migration is more among the poor landless labourers and small land holders. Among all forms of migration, rural to urban migration rates are increasing more and more at present. A large number of people generally migrate to urban areas because the availability of social infrastructural facilities, employment opportunities and the sources of income generation are comparatively very less in rural areas compared to urban areas. Therefore, the lower level of wage applicability in rural sector is forcing people to move into the higher wage paid jobs in urban areas. Though a number of studies have given importance to the economic factors as the sole causes for the rural to urban migration but the studies of different authors like Singh, Kaul, Rao suggests that economic factors together with social factors play an important role for the migration of people.

SECTION II

Female Migration in India

Of the different sections of rural-urban migrants, women constitute an important section. The numbers of migrants and the space of migration both have increased since the 1960s. The twentieth century has marked a turning point towards far greater female migration over long distances. In the year prior to World War II, the labour force participation rate of women grew 7% in the 1830 and 12 % in the 1890. According to Cater (1977), the increase of female employment in the post war period was because of the demand and supply factors. He has concluded that while the demand for women workers was growing, women were also becoming more interested in supplying their labour because of income and status.

Women traditionally enjoy a lower status than men because of the structure of the rural society in which they are the non-owners of means of production. Today women account for approximately half of all global migrants. The rise in women's participation in the labour market, since world war two has been documented for many countries around the world due to feminization of the labour. The feminization of the labour has increased the proportions of women in paid employment over the last two decades.

The female proportion is higher in countries including United States, Canada and Australia. Data collected by Government indicate that women now account for almost half of the immigrants around the world. Similarly in India, the migration rate of women is also high. According to the 1961 and 1971 population census of India, the rural to rural migration, which accounted for more than seventy percent of the total migration was dominated by women. The number of female migrants across the world has been increased from 35 million to 57 million between 1965 and 1990.

Table No.2.4: Percentage of Female Migrants among total no of International Migrants.

Geographic Area	1960	1980	2000
World	46.6	47.4	48.8
More developed countries	47.9	49.4	50.9
Less developed countries	45.7	45.5	45.7
Europe	48.5	48.5	52.4
North America	49.8	52.6	51.0
Oceania	44.4	47.9	50.5
North Africa	49.5	45.8	42.8
Sub Saharan Africa	40.6	43.8	47.2
Southern Asia	46.3	45.9	44.4
Eastern/south eastern Asia	46.1	47.0	50.1
Western Asia	45.2	47.2	48.3
Caribbean	45.3	46.5	48.9
Latin America	44.7	48.4	50.5

Source: Nancy V Yinger (2007): feminization of migration

Literature on Female Migration

According to Cherunilam (1987), Women's migration is mostly considered marriage migration. Female migration consequent to marriage is more predominant in the case of migration to rural areas than to urban areas. Nearly 80% of the female migration to rural areas is caused by marriage compared to about 47% in case of the urban ward migration.

Premi (1980) after migration a significant proportion (88.8%) of female migrants engage themselves in economic activity such as manufacturing, construction, maid servants and scavengers.

Mahapatro (2010) states that different reasons other than marriage are also responsible for the migration of female to the urban areas. Such changing pattern of female migration is influenced by a verity of factors. In rural areas factors like agricultural transformation, changing land use pattern, limited development in non-farm sector, environmental degradation, rural urban gap in basic amenities etc raises the incidence of poverty and unemployment for females. On the other hand, in urban areas female migration is influenced because of the emergence of gender segregated labour market that provides employment opportunities to women in the informal sector.

Causes of Female Migration

According to Rao (1997), Male migration actually enhances both the physical and financial burden on women, in terms of overwork, leading to poor health and indebtedness.

Sundari (2005) pointed out that the causes of migration are generally traced to economic, socio-cultural and environmental determinants. According to her, economic explanations centre on the search for better opportunities of income and employment, socio cultural explanations centre on the desire of migrants to break away from traditional constraints and inequalities. Environmental explanations centre on the lure of the cities and migration induced by disaster, displacement and demographic pressures or imbalances.

The international institute for population studies conducted the rural migration survey in early 1966 in Maharashtra. The study concluded that rural migration both in-migration and out migration was dominated by females. Male out migrants left the villages for employment in non-agricultural occupations in urban areas but female out migrants were largely confined to neighbouring areas in their own districts or neighbouring districts.

Rao (1986) pointed out that the economic factors provide only the necessary conditions for migration while the non-economic factors such as the information flow, resource networks, brokers and personality of the migrants provide the sufficient conditions for people's decision to migrate.

Thus from the review of female migration in India, it has been found that migration has opened up new avenues for the women to get engaged in some of the non-agricultural occupation as well. In some cases, wage employment has helped them to overcome poverty and at the same time, it has also exposed them to the vagaries of a new work culture and discipline of the modern industry. But there has been a number of studies conducted in sociological literature on female migration which shows that women faced different hardship at the work place.

According to Vepa (2005), women employed as wage labourers received lower wage than men. Even when women are categorized as cultivators, their ownership and control over

resources such as land, livestock, farm machinery and transport equipment is limited. In addition to it, their access to credit, technology and market information is highly restricted

Eapen (2001) pointed out that in small manufacturing units in the Palghat industrial belt, fresh female recruits were paid Rs.350 per month while their male counterparts with the same level of education got Rs.500.

Sundari (2005) says that the majority of women, whether they are working as skilled tailors or as unskilled helpers do not get even the legally stipulated minimum wage. The employers frequently terminated a woman's service just before completion of five years in order to avoid payment of gratuity. Security of work is one of the most widely reported problems. Women workers are not paid over time for their work. Hence women faced large production targets, sexual and verbal abuse, lack of maternity and other leave, lack of accident insurance, absence of toilet facilities in the garment manufacture industry.

According to Breman (1988), the women often have to work till the last stage of pregnancy and have to resume work soon after child birth exposing themselves and the child to considerable danger.

Vijay (2005) pointed out that the industries in new industrial towns or semi urban locals prefer the women migrant workers because of the payment of low wages to the insecure jobs in a high risk work.

According to Neetha (2004), in Delhi, the female domestic workers are paid low wages for longer hour of work and there is lack of social security for these female workers. The study has also found that the employers show a preference for young tribal girls because they seem to be more reliable, obedient and efficient in domestic work, these women also stick to the jobs for longer period and agree to work on lower wages.

Warrier (2001) pointed out that modern industry is creating a more oppressive set of relations at the work place. Women were sexually harassed and exploited by the contractor and are vulnerable to the depredations of their male superiors on account of the insecure nature of their work.

Rogaly (2002) says that young migrant women continued working even after suffering from fever, depending on the season; labourers encountered extreme heat, cold and heavy rain.

Jha (2005) pointed out that the search for work is the main cause for the increasing number of young women migrants. Tribal people mainly migrated to the cities in search of employment and worked as agricultural labourers. But they are more prone to exploitation not only by employers but also by anti-social elements. The girls lived in an extremely deplorable condition before employment. They are forced to stay in a small and dingy room in extremely unhygienic conditions. Exploitation continued even after employment because they were never paid the full salary. Most often, half of the salary was taken by the placement agencies. Sexual exploitation, trafficking of women and sometimes poor health and disease appear as the consequences of migration.

Women receive lower wages despite contributing to equal productivity. Average earnings of women are lower than that of men because of women's engagement in child bearing and rearing work. Men earn more than women also because they have better access to supplementary occupation or because they own agricultural property which yields income (Mohanty 2005).

Cater (1977) pointed out that the women are preferred in the industries because of specific advantages to employers, for example:-they are willing to work for lower wages and for longer period of time.

Casale (2002) says that the feminization of labour force has brought rising rates of unemployment and insecure forms of employment among women.

Rao (1997) says that with the erosion of traditional livelihood and few local options available, Santhals have been forced to enter into the labour market as migrants. Due to the negative impact on schooling and health care, poor living and working conditions and constant fear of sexual abuse, the entry of Santhals into the labour market is nothing but a survival strategy.

Though in the patriarchal system, serious restrictions were imposed on women's mobility and participation in the labour market, which is especially with the unmarried and young girls but due to the feminization of labour and gendered labour market, the traditional image of women has changed. Throughout history, men have had greater power in both the public and private spheres. To maintain this power, men have created boundaries and obstacles for women. Therefore there is an unequal access to power between men and women. Feminist theory though describes equality for men and women in political, economic and social spheres and emphasizes the relations of gender largely speaking of the oppression women by men. But women workers are always classified as unskilled labourers and are given lower wages than both skilled and unskilled male workers.

SECTION III

Characteristics of Out Migrants

Population movement and its social, economic and demographic characteristics have drawn increasing attention of social scientists in recent years. However a large number of studies on migration indicated that there are certain distinguished socio-economic and demographic characteristics (age, sex, caste, education, income and occupation) of the migrants which play significant role for their migration from one place to another. Therefore, the present section tries to explain the socio-economic and demographic characteristics that exist among the migrants.

Age

A strong association between age and migration is universally noted. Age is a vital factor deciding the flow of migration. Several studies have concluded that the tendency to migrate is to be higher among younger people. A review of the important studies in this regard is presented below.

According Sabot (1982), migration occurs more frequently among youth at the start of their economically independent lifetime than it does at progressively later ages. Zachariah (1960), in his study found that 81.05% belonged to the age group of 15-59. Nayak (1993) in his study *Determinants and Consequences of Inter-state Labour Migration in Orissa* found

that 71.36% of migrants belong to the age group of 15-29. Dahiwala (1997) pointed out through his study in Maharashtra that a majority of 221 migrants (55.3%) belonged to the age ranging between 21-40 years and a considerable number of 119 migrant (29.8%) belong to the age of 14-24. Besides, some 50 migrants (14%) were from the age group of 41-50 years, which shows that migrants are predominantly younger. Reddy (1998), in his study in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh found that about 70% migrants belonged to the age of less than 30 years and only 21% belong to the age group of 30 to 35 years. Shah (1998), in his study found that 55.22% of the migrants belonged to the age group of 15-29 years, 15-15% to the age group of 30-44 years while 4.04% belong to the age group of 45-59 years and 25.59% of the migrants belonged to the age group of 0-14 years. It was thus concluded that 74.41% of the migrants belonged to the age group of 15-59. Thus, the above studies show that the migratory tendencies are higher among the younger people than the aged.

Sex

Sex difference in migration rates between men and women are varied across region in different countries, cultures and periods. Sex selectivity in migration is a very complex phenomenon. According to Marcoux (1987), sex selectivity in migration is determined by the motives for migration. If the purpose of migration is search of employment, then the migration stream is dominated by males but if the migration is for marriage or associational purpose then it is females (cited in Shah 1998). Ravenstein (1885) pointed out that the males were more migratory over long distance where as women migrants are more in terms of shorter distance. Dahiwala (1997), in his study found that a large proportion of 86.3% males and a sizeable proportion of 13.7% female migrants which show that female migration is lower compared to male migration. Shah (1998), in his study found that 93.27 were male migrants and only 6.73% were female migrants. Most of these female migrated for marriage and associational purposes

Caste

Caste is a form of social stratification characterized by endogamy, hereditary transmission of a style of life which often includes an occupation, ritual status in a hierarchy and

customary social interaction and exclusion based on cultural notions of purity and pollution (<http://en.wikipedia.org>).

Some caste groups are more migratory than others. Some studies reveal that upper caste people are more migratory than the lower castes. Yadava (1998), in his study found that upper caste households have a higher rate of migration than the lower caste households. Shah (1998) in his study found that 34% belonged to the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe, while the rest, 71.43% were upper caste. Bora (1996) in his study in U.P found that about 92% of the migrants belonged to high caste Brahmin and Rajput families (cited in Kumar 2005, 30). Nayak (1993) in his study found that 89.2% of migrants belonged to higher caste as compared to the SC migrants (10.8%). Upreti (1981) in his study concluded that the largest %s of migrants constitutes higher caste and the % of untouchable migrants in the study was only 5%. Contrary to the generalization, lower caste groups are more migratory than others, due to poverty, unemployment and other social and economic hardships.

Network

Majumdar et al (1978) pointed out that migration is generally guided by a city based relation or a fellow villager. In his study he found that among the 30 households, 24 were initially helped by relation, 6 by friend and no family came absolutely on its own. Kumar (2005) pointed out that a significant number of migrants pulled into cities because of the help and assistance provided by their friends and relatives in securing employment for the migrants. Yadava (1998), in his study found that the prior migrants provide numerous type of assistance such as food, shelter etc. to migrants at the new places.

Landless

Sinha (1987) pointed out that lack of cultivated land is the most motivating factor for migration. Because of the growth of population per capita, share of land has reduced and it has become difficult for the rural people to run their families with inadequate agricultural land. Therefore, the family members migrate to urban areas. According to Nayak (1993), the higher the landholding size, the lower is the extent of migration.

Education

Educational selectivity regarding migration is a very complex phenomenon. No clear-cut generalization can be made about it. Shah (1998) found that migrants were both illiterate and more educated. Of the total migrants towards seven cities and towns, it was estimated that 27.61% were illiterate, 26.26% were educated up to primary level, and 18.86% were educated up to middle level while 18.86% had education up to higher secondary level. Nayak (1993) pointed out that the educational attainment indicates that a large number of migrants are below higher secondary. Dahiwala (1997), in his study found that the majority of migrants 227 (56.7%) were illiterate and the remaining 173 (33.3%) were literate. Kaul (2005) pointed out that the general literacy rate of Kashmir migrants is very high. Reddy (1998) in his study found that 59% of the head of households are illiterate and 19% have a low literacy that is primary level (class I to V) which shows that literacy rate is not a hindrance for migration.

Occupation

Occupation is an important factor influencing migration. The occupational selectivity of migrants referred to the occupation, which the migrants followed before their migration towards urban areas. Dahiwala (1997) in his study found that at the time of migration some 31(7.8%) persons were unemployed for many days and a majority of 213 (53.3%) migrants belonged to the category of daily wage labourer. Shah (1998) in his study found that 52% of the migrants worked on farm before their migration, while 26.86% were engaged in business such as, small general store, carpentry, blacksmith etc and 20.57% were employed in services like Nai and Jajmani etc and 0.57% worked as agricultural labourers. Thus, the study indicates that most of them came from agricultural sector. Upreti (1981) in his study found that out of 200 respondents, more than half are engaged in low occupations-as domestic servants and mess boys, hotel workers and the class IV employees constitute 30 percent of the total sample. The number of ministerial staff is 29% and 33% employed in technical services. Only 3 persons are engaged in business, 9 in the police force, 6 as school teacher, 2 are doctors and 4 are engaged in administrative jobs which shows the % of

respondents in the lower occupations is the highest while the % of the respondents in the higher occupation is very low.

SECTION IV

Impact of Migration

Yadava (1998), in his study found that high income from urban areas, their standard of living, resources bring about changes in the traditional social pattern and values in people's lives such as their mode of performance of social ceremonies, their status, way of living and occupation etc.

Sinha et al (1987) pointed out that the migrants have improved their economic and living conditions by construction of good houses, purchasing of land and household items etc.

Nayak (1993) in his study found that the migration increases the employment days of the migrant and increases their income. Besides, 91% of households have spent their incomes in various expenditure heads like debt, repayment, children expenditure, productive investments ceremonies, food and clothing, housing and household goods etc.

Singh (1989) pointed out that most of the migrant families have improved their economic condition and social status considerably by paying off family debts, purchasing land, constructing houses and house hold items and providing better education to their children.

Haan (2002) pointed out that the migrants often contribute much to the economy of the host society and have high rates of labour force participation and it helps to reduce economic inequalities between areas of origin and areas of destination. Migration reduces the uncertainty of family income, provides investment funds and contributes to livelihoods for those with small plots. Rural to rural migration for wage work helps to reduce poverty and insecurity. Due to outmigration many labour migrants comeback with some newly acquired skills and help returned migrants to set up trading or other activities and occasionally to improve productivity in agriculture.

However, a few studies indicate that it has adverse impact on the migrants and their families.

Joshi et al (2004) in his study found that a number of migrant workers from Chhattisgarh, Bihar and Odisha who are employed in brick-kilns and building construction work, the wages to the workers were not on per day basis but were based on the work performed. In Sultanpur and Allahabad, the labour contractor received a commission directly from the kiln owner, which varied from Rs.3 to Rs.5 in Sultanpur and Rs.4 to Rs.7 in Allahabad. There was no provision of one day a week holiday.

Salve (1990) in his study found that in Maharashtra, the seasonal migrant workers who work in sugar factories have to stay in huts or in the open space. They have no access to safe drinking water and other facilities like washing. Bathing facilities were totally absent for the migrants workers in the premises of sugar factories.

Mukherjee (2001) pointed out that the workers not always find as much work as necessary to earn a decent living for themselves and for their families back home. Different problems are faced by the migrant women in the work places. They tend to get worried about their near and dear ones who live away from them. Mentally the female migrants can never rest in peace, all the time thinking about the situation back home.

In urban industrial areas, migrants are a major source of cheap labour power. They are the least revolutionary element of the emerging working class. Migrants were the most exploitable and exploited segment of the urban labour force. There are many reasons for migrants to be exploitable and so easily absorbed in industrial urban employment. The main reasons are in many cases their wages have been below the cost of reproducing labour power because they have to continue to rely for part of their subsistence on their family's production in rural areas from where they migrated. They have been highly exploitable because of their lack of formal integration into urban society and often they have lacked necessary work permits or social security cards and thus have been a pitifully weak bargaining power. Due to their poor economic conditions, the migrants are always willing to work for lower wages, which is an impact on employer's ability to maintain low wages (Rogaly 2001).

Iyer (2004) in his study found that the migrants are prone to be exploited by the middleman and the employers. Even they face the problem of unemployment and paid lower wages.

Adinayaranappa (2008) conclude that apart from common day to day problems like fever, headache etc. problems like gastric, arthritis etc are increasing among the migrants because of the changing life styles, working conditions in the city environment, inadequate supply of safe drinking water, nutritious food and unhygienic living conditions.

Breman (2007) in his study found that the labourers receive too low price for their labour power which is not sufficient for them to meet the daily basic needs. So they survive by taking advances and loans from their employers which they pay off by working. Though credit is a normal economic transition but for labourer, receiving credit creates a relationship of dependence that restricts the labourer's freedom to dispose of his labour power freely. As the employers who recruit the migrant workers for an entire season are important source of advance credit. Therefore the employers use them (footloose labourer) for a wide variety of economic activities.

Rao (1986) in his study indicate that rural to urban migration have caused high rate of unemployment in urban areas because the urban centers do not hold out sufficient and attractive opportunities to absorb the influx of villagers. If the employment opportunities are created in the urban areas, the first persons to offer themselves for employment are the marginally employed residing in the urban areas. The locals seek employment in the primary sector, the migrants are found in the secondary sector, further the locals are found in the higher levels of the job hierarchy while the migrants occupy job in the lower levels. The migrant population faces many problems including job stress, working overtime, harsh work environment, lack of work protection and professional harm and it also affects the health and education of the poor children.

Vijay (2005), in his study pointed out that the industries in new industrial towns or semi-urban locales are seen to prefer migrants to local workers because it involves both casual and contractual employment patterns and an assured supply of labour at very low wages in insecure jobs in a high-risk work.

Kapadia (1993), in her study found that the employer-worker relations exhibit a patron-client type of relationship. The employers' central concern is profit and where the workers find it difficult to ensure their two ends meet. The employers generally view worker as lazy shirkers who do not deserve even the wages they get while workers see employers as constantly seeking to exploit them.

Haan (2002) pointed out that seasonal migrants tend to be exploited by middlemen due to the underemployment at the place of origin. But it has been found that areas which experience large rural to urban migration also have a high rate of unemployment.

Mosse et al (2002), provides evidence from tribal western India that poorer families are more likely to migrate all together, where as individual adults will migrate from richer households, sending remittances to support the family. According to him, the patterns of inequality may exist among the poor. The poorer are forced into or restricted to certain types of migration and their movement involves access only to badly paid unskilled jobs, poor living conditions or inadequate services.

Thus the above literature indicates that some migrants are able to improve their economic conditions and social status by paying off family debts, purchasing land and constructing houses, household items, providing better education to their children, food and clothing to their family members. However there are few studies which conclude that in spite of the positive impact of migration, the migrants face different problems at the destination places, for instance the migrants are forced to work in low paid unskilled jobs, inadequate supply of safe drinking water, nutritious food and unhygienic living conditions.

SECTION V

Intergenerational Mobility among the Migrants

Social mobility refers to the movement of people from one status category to another in the society. It is often defined as the movement of people through the social structure and it may involve movement of a class or status hierarchy-upward mobility or downward mobility and it may take place one generation to another. The intergenerational mobility is

mainly stands on the differences between the socio-economic class or status of a person's in the society.

There are very few studies which shows the intergenerational mobility among the migrants in the urban areas

The study conducted by the Behrman et al (2001), in Latin America indicate that schooling attainment of children is higher than that of their parents which eventually translate it into big differences in earnings.

Asadullah (2006), in his study shows that wealth mobility is higher between generations and most have shifted their employment from agricultural wage labour to non-farm sector work. Migrant sons who splinter off from the father's, experience greater mobility in wealth. A comparison of father-son schooling mobility has not increased much in rural Bangladesh.

Treiman (2004) in his study shows that transmission of occupational status was much less and father's occupational status did not improve his son's achievement. Borjas (2006) in his study found that the second generation immigrants tend to improve upon the fortunes of their parents. He estimates the intergenerational elasticity of male immigrants within various ethnic groups, which implies that, the socio-economic status of a family of first generation immigrants shapes roughly a quarter of the socio-economic status of their third generation grand children.

The findings of Havinga et al (1986) in his study concludes that father's labour characters, in particular their occupations, work status and education provide significant and coherent patterns for improvement of economic positions of son. The analysis of incidences of upward wealth and income mobility by working status and occupations has shown the process of transition between present generation and older generation in the labour market from non- wage to wage employment and from low paying and less skilled jobs to more skilled and better paying ones.

Vijnan (1962) in his study found that the economic factor was the most important factor leading to migration. Occupational mobility between the generations was quite low, with no occupational change between the analysis of intergenerational mobility, it is always father to son mobility, as it is directly correlated with patriarchal norm.

Conclusion

The above literature indicates that among all the types of migration, rural to urban migration, rate is more in India. Migration rate is more among the economically poorer section of the society. Usually the younger age groups are predominant in the rural-urban migration. Generally, such migrants belong to the illiterate, landless and having lower occupation strata. The literature also indicated that people move to the urban areas because of the presence of their relatives and friends. Extreme socio-economic conditions, poor agriculture, the absence of non-agricultural means of livelihood and climatic hazards are the main reasons that force the people to leave their native place and in other words, the movement of people tends to be those places where the economic opportunities are more. Thus due to migration, although some families have improved their economic conditions and social status by paying family debts, purchasing land, constructing houses and providing better education to their children. Though migration plays, a significant role in the livelihood strategies of the poor but the migrants face several hardships such as poor living conditions, unemployment, low wages and exploitation from the employers at their destination places both tangible and intangible problems. Government have paid due attention towards miserable living conditions of the migrant workers. Despite the central and state Governments efforts to promote the welfare activities for the workers and policy decisions, the migrants still face different problems at the destination places. Hence in this context Paul Baran and Samir Amin tried to explain migration in terms of western capitalism which fails to improve the conditions of the people inhabiting in most backward areas. Paul Baran has pointed out that although individual are profited from western capitalism, these benefits are few and far between, while exploitation and stagnation is more because of the monopoly of capitalism. Similarly, Samir Amin has argues that though the poor countries undergo economic growth due to western capitalism but it does not contribute economic growth to long term development. However western capitalism

favours the continued enrichment of advanced capitalist countries at the expenses of poor countries. And the advanced capitalist countries create an international division of labour in which they subordinate and exploit the poor countries. As due to western capitalism the poor individual get benefit but the exploitation is more because of the monopoly of capitalism. Likewise though due to migration some families have improved their economic conditions and social status but the migrants face several hardships such as poor living conditions, unemployment, low wages and exploitation from the employers at their destination places.

CHAPTER III

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE FIRST GENERATION MIGRANTS AT BHADRAK TOWN

Certain people are prone to move more than others. Migration is a selective process in which the individuals with certain characteristics tend to migrate. Therefore, it is important to focus on the socio-economic and demographic profile of the migrants. This chapter attempts to analyze the situation of the migrants, before and after their migration to Bhadrak district. In order to compare the situation of the migrants at their native places and at their destination places, the demographic and social characteristics such as age, sex, caste, marital status, education, religion and the economic characteristics such as class, income, occupation and landholding size have been presented here.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The section-I deals with the socio-economic conditions of the migrants at their native places and the section-II deals with the socio-economic conditions of the first generation migrants at their destination place.

SECTION-I

Life of the Migrants before their Migration to Bhadrak Town

In order to analyse the socio-economic conditions of the migrants before their migration and after their migration to Bhadrak town, data has been collected from 85 respondents who have migrated to Bhadrak town from other districts namely Keonjhar, Jajpur, Mayurbhanja, Koraput, Kendra Para and Balasore.

Structure of the Migrants Families at their Native Places

The housing conditions of the migrants' illustrate the economic situation at their native places before their migration. The data shows that all the 85 respondents had *katcha* houses. None of the respondents had *semi pucca* houses or *pucca* houses. From the total respondents, only 38% respondents had 1-2 rooms and 62% respondents had more than two rooms (see appendix table-1). There are some respondents who had more rooms have revealed that their parents and grandparents were generally giving priority to construct the

houses having single room for all their sons. The main reason for constructing single room for all their sons are that the parents had a notion that in future, if any of their sons wanted to live in nuclear family, then they would not face any difficulty for dividing their rooms. As far as the facilities in the houses are concerned, the study has found that none of the respondents had electricity facility, water facility, bathroom and toilet facilities in their houses. As majority of the respondents had no electricity facility, kerosene lamp was used for the household work. The main routine life among the women was to prepare food at night time; whereas the male members either listened to radio or would gossip with their neighbors. The migrants have reported that due to lack of bathrooms of their own, the male and female members took bath either in the nearby pond or in the river. The data revealed that none of the migrants had their personal tube well at their native places. However out of 85 respondents, 33% respondents had their personal well in their farm. The migrants who had their own well, the well water was used for drinking purposes. But the migrants who had no water facility, fetched water from the public or neighbour's wells, pond, stream and river for the household purposes. Most of the female migrants have mentioned that due to lack of personal water facility, they faced a lot of problem to manage the household work. So their major task at their villages was to fetch water from the public pond or river. However some of the female migrants have reported that at their villages they had to walk two to three kilometers everyday even during the heavy rain to fetch stream water in the jungle.

Table No.3.1: Family Types

Family Types	Percentage
Joint family	78(92%)
Nuclear family	7 (8%)
Total	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The data collected from the 85 households shows that 92% had joint family and the remaining 8% had nuclear families at their native places. From the total respondents, 78% respondents had more than 10 members, 21% respondents had 5-9 members and only 1% respondent had 1-5 members in their family. Some of the respondents who had joint family at their villages have reported that their grandparents were playing major role for the

existences of joint family. When there was quarrel at home, their grandparents solved the matter and never allowed them to live in nuclear family. A number of migrants mentioned that due to joint family in their villages, they were getting different benefits. For instance due to joint family system, they developed work ethic and the concept of savings, which was used to improve the household standard of living, medical purposes and for agricultural purposes. Those who had agricultural land revealed that due to joint family, they were not required any labourers from outside for agricultural activities. All the family members worked together in the agricultural activities. Thus, the sense of we feeling, cooperation and the attainment of economic benefits were possible due to the joint family system. The nuclear family also existed among some of the migrants' families because of one or two of them were earning members and the others were dependents. The fact that in a family when there is only one earning members, the earning member prefers to live in nuclear family in order to avoid the family responsibility. The next important cause for nuclear family is large family itself. Majority of the respondents have reported that due to large family size with low income, quarrel amongst themselves also led to nuclear family. Thus, low income and large family size were the main causes for the disintegration of a joint family into a nuclear family.

Migrants and the Educational Background of their Parental Families.

Table No.3.2: Parental Education

Father's Education	Percentage	Mother's Education	Percentage
Illiterate	46 (54%)	Illiterate	69(81%)
Primary	23(27%)	Primary	11(69%)
Secondary	16(19%)	Secondary	-
Total	85(100.0%)	Total	85100.0%

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The above table of the parental education indicates that the literacy rate among the respondents' father are comparatively high than the education of the respondents' mother. The data reflects the patriarchal values of the society. Thus illiteracy and low literacy rate is more among the migrants' parents.

Landownership

A number of empirical studies indicate that out migration rates are high in rural areas. Sinha (1987) in his study, *“Migration an Interdisciplinary Approach”*, has pointed out that found that lack of cultivable land is the most important factor for migration. Due to the growth of population, the per capita share of land gets reduced and it becomes difficult for the rural people to maintain their families with inadequate agricultural land. Therefore, the people generally earn money by migrating to the urban centers.

The field data regarding the total amount of land indicates that about 49% households were landless, 29% of the migrants possessed small amount of land less than one-acre, 16% had 1-3 acres of land, and the remaining 6% had more than 4 acres of land. Further the data indicates that from the 51% of respondents who had land, 29% had irrigated land and 71% had un-irrigated land. The landownership also differs on the basis of caste.

Table No.3.3: Caste wise Distribution of Land Ownership

	Land	Landless	1< acres	> 3 acre	> 4 acre	Total
GE	Brahmin	1(7.14%)	2(14.28%)	1(7.14%)	-	14(16%)
	Khandayat	-	1(7.14%)	2(14.28%)	2(14.28%)	
	Karan	4(28.56%)	1(7.14%)	-	-	
OBC	Kumbhara	2(11.11%)	1(5.5%)	5(27.77%)	-	18(21%)
	Gauda	2(11.11%)	-	-	-	
	Teli	1(5.5%)	3(16.66%)	1(5.5%)	-	
	Radhi	1(5.5%)	1(5.5%)	-	-	
SC	Pana	4(21.05%)	3(15.78%)	-	-	19(23%)
	Mochi	5(26.31%)	3(15.78%)	-	-	
	Keuta	1(5.26%)	-	1(5.26%)	2(10.52%)	
ST	Kolha	9(26.47%)	4(11.76%)	-	1(2.94%)	34(40%)
	Santhala	6(17.64%)	3(8.82%)	-	-	
	Munda	2(8.82%)	1(2.94%)	1(2.94%)	-	
	Bhatra	2(8.82%)	2(8.82%)	2(8.82%)	-	
	Total	41(49%)	25(30%)	14(17%)	5(6%)	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The above table indicates that 63% Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe respondents were landless migrants. Due to family responsibilities, when the migrants' parents confronted with financial and social problems such as health and wedding expenses, they had no option but to sell land or any other assets including ornaments of the ladies. In order to cope up with the family responsibilities, some of the migrants who had unirrigated land also sold

out their land. Thus, due to crop failure migrant's parents either had to sell their land or give out the land on lease.

Occupational Background of Migrants' Parental Families

Table No.3.4: Parental Occupation

Work	Fathers Work	Mothers Work
No work	9(11%)	46(54%)
Petty Business	27(32%)	16(19%)
Agriculture	47(55%)	23(27%)
Construction Worker	2(2%)	-
Total	85(100%)	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The above table indicates that a large majority of the migrants' fathers were involved in agriculture and petty business while nearly half the migrant's mothers did not engage in productive employment.

Migrants and their Occupation at their Native Places

The occupational data of the migrants at their native places indicate that 22% had no work, 13% were engaged in petty business, 51% were engaged as agricultural labourers and the remaining 13% were engaged in construction work. When the question was asked to the respondents about their work opportunities at their native places, majority of the respondents revealed that the work opportunities were very low at their villages. There was no choice of doing any work other than agricultural work. All the migrants who were engaged in agricultural work have mentioned that every year they had to remain jobless for more than six months in a year. In that situation, some of the migrants were availing short term work such as casual work, domestic work, selling of *kendu* leave and wood whereas some of the migrants were visiting their neighboring villages in search of work. Few respondents mentioned that they had to do such work as removal of the dead bodies of animals in the village and also sell liquor in their villages to earn a livelihood. If they did not get work, they had to sit idle in their homes. The migrants who were engaged in petty business like selling vegetables or ran fish stalls in their villages earned very little income. Those who ran fish stalls in their villages revealed that due to low income of the villagers

and high price of fish, they did not make much money. Those who ran vegetable shop had to go through losses in summer and rainy seasons because of its perishable nature. It is therefore note worthy that employment opportunities were very less at migrants' native places. Though, migrants were engaged in some sort of work, they always confronted with different sets of problems in their occupation.

Monthly Income of the Parental Families

Table No.3.5: Monthly Income of the Respondents and their Parents

Income	Father's Income	Mother's Income	First Generation Migrants Income
No income	9(11%)	46(54%)	18(22%)
100-499	76(89%)	39(46%)	49(57%)
500-1000	-	-	18(21%)
Total	85(100.0%)	85(100%)	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-10.

The above table indicates that all the migrant parents had meager income of less than Rs.500 per month, implying the poverty situation of migrants' parents at their native places. Further the above table reveals that a large majority of the first generation migrants had an income of less than Rs.500 and a very few migrants had less than Rs.1000. The migrants who engage in agricultural occupation have reveal that as there was no scarcity of workers in the village during the time of non- agricultural season, so some of the migrants had to work for a lower wage of Rs. 20-30 while running wage was Rs. 50. The apprehension that they will remain jobless, if they do not agree to do the work for lower wage, which drove the migrants to work longer hours according to the owners' will. Few migrants who worked as a bonded agricultural labourer in the landlords' houses were given lower wage and were compelled to do domestic work without any remuneration. A few other migrants mentioned that wage was paid in kind. Therefore, the tendency of selling the household items always prevailed among the migrants' families during the time of chronic need of money. When there was nothing to sell at their home, some of the migrants' family mortgaged their agricultural land and gold ornaments. The mortgaging of land and gold provide some additional help to the migrants' family to reduce their economic hardship during the time of no work. Some of the migrants revealed that during the time of no work, the female

migrants earned money by working as a domestic help and other trivial jobs. A case study is presented here which signifies the above point.

Case Study-1

Kedarnath Murmu, 48 years old settled in Bhadrak town for the last 17 years. Kedarnath was born in a tribal family hails from Champua, a village of Keonjhar district, where his father had only 1 acre of non-agricultural land. He is married and lives with his wife, four children (2 daughters and 1 brother) at Apartibindha new colony of Bhadrak town.

About 20 years ago, when Kedara was only 23 years old left his village. Kedara's family at his village was consisted of 17 members including his parents, grandparents, one brother, 2 sisters, his 2 uncle, 2 aunties and their 6 children. Kedara was second of his four children. As he had no interest in studies and due to unavailability of school in the village, he did not go to the school. His father Aaintha had two acres of unirrigated agricultural land and a sizable mud house to live. Like other families in the region, Ainthas earned his living as an agricultural labourer and after a days hard later he got Rs.20 per day from his agricultural activity. In absence of work for continuously for 5 months in the village after agricultural season, Ainthas sometime was earned money by selling mangos, Mahula and berry in the village market. Kedara's first uncle Pyarinath was also engaged with Ainthas as an agricultural labourer in the village. Kedara's father had to support his last uncle Jainath and his family. All together, the total earning of the family was Rs. 30-40 per day. Things were often hard. Having limited income, Ainthas couldnt afford to buy two kg of rice per day for all the family members. It was unbearable when there was no work for Ainthas and his uncle. Somehow, Ainthas managed well from the meager income.

Unfortunately, one day when Kedara was only 13 years old, his father Ainthas met with an accident while he was returning home after grinding flattened rice from the nearby village. Depression soon followed the family. As the condition of Ainthas was very serious, they visited the Cuttack medical for treatment. Due to no money, his uncle had to sell out the possessed land with at Rs. 1000 for the treatment of Ainthas. The money was not sufficient for the treatment. It was essential for Kedara to borrow Rs. 3000 more. Kedara's mother Jhumpi searched her relatives for borrowing money but failed. At last, without any option Jhumpi had to borrow money from the village moneylender and agreed to pay an interest of three paisa. After the treatment of Ainthas, the family situation worst in the village because the income of the family become less as his uncle Pyarinath was the only earning member.

Thus, Jhumpi had to look for a work. Finally Jhumpi assisted her family by selling other's vegetable in the market and sometime, by fetching water from the pond for others. With the four children Jhumpi's day began at early 6 o'clock with sweeping the verandah. Soon after having a cup of tea she left for work. At 12 o'clock, Jhumpi returned home and then she proceeded to cook the morning meals. The combined earning of Pyari and Jhumpi was not sufficient for the whole family members. The situation was very miserable during the summer and rainy season because of no employment opportunities in the villages. Sometime Jhumpi borrowed money from the neighbors to avoid the hunger. To reduce the expenditure on food Jhumpi brought gruel rice because of its low price.

As Kedara was elder son in the family, so at the age of 14 started searching work in the village. Without any option, he had to work as an agricultural labourer with his uncle. However, he was not satisfied with the work because of irregular work. After three years of work in the agricultural field, Kedara could not return half of the borrowed money. He found it very difficult to repay the borrowed money through the agricultural work. During Kedara's stay at his village, his two neighbors migrated to Talcher and worked there.

Therefore, one day Kedara without informing anybody in the house migrated to Talcher. It was for the first time Kedara left his native village.

After reaching Talcher, he found that he had neither shelter nor work and so Kedara started searching for job. In the first day itself, he managed to find a work in FCI fertilizer factory in Talcher. He approached the factory worker for his shelter and finally Rabi a worker in the factory agreed to lodge him. The timing of the work was from morning 10 o'clock to evening 7 o'clock and the wage was only Rs.200. His work was to pack the fertilizer and take care of goods in the go downs. From the total wage, Kedara was able to save Rs.50 every month, which he was sent to his home. When there was need of more money at his home, Kedara sent it by borrowing from his friends. After one and half year when his skin infection increased, he left the job and returned back home.

During Kedara's stay at his home, everyday Kedara searched for work at his village. When he failed to get a job at his village, he started searching for a job in Bhadrak town as it was very close to Keonjhar town. Every day morning, Kedara was left in search work to Bhadrak town. After 2 months, he managed to found a work as a labourer in the TMT bar shop at Bhadrak town. His wage was only Rs.150 per month. Though the wage was very low but he agreed to work in the shop because it was regular job. In the beginning Kedara had to do up and down from Keonjhar to Bhadrak. Everyday Kedara had to go by cycle for 5 kilometer from his village to bus stand and returned home by cycle from the bus stand to Keonjhar. As at that time only one bus plied from his village, so when he missed the bus he spent his night at the shop. However, it was not very difficult for Kedara to do up and down regularly but he faced the difficulty to do up and down regularly in the monsoon. Therefore, he looked for a rented house at Bhadrak town with a low price but he failed to get it. Without any option, Kedara stayed at the shop. Due to no extra room, Kedara built a tent house behind the shop and stayed there.

Kedara was in regular correspondence with sent letter and received letter from his parents. He always consulted with his parents for all the household matters. In the beginning, he rarely participated in the village festivals and ceremonies but every year Kedara was able to visit his home twice. After sending money to his home, Kedara made regular saving to return back the debt of the moneylender. It took almost one and half year to repaying the debt. After three years of work in the shop, the shop closed because of no profit. With the loss of work, it was very difficult for Kedara to find a new work and a shelter suddenly. His friend Abdul who was employed in the potato wholesale shop as a labourer found a job for Kedara. He somehow succeeded in getting job in the potato whole sale shop through his friend Abdul who was employed as a labourer in the potato whole sale shop found a job for Kedara at his shop with the wage of Rs.100. As there was no shelter, Kedara shared room with Abdul. During Kedara's stay at Apartibindha new colony, he made many friends in the Apartibindha colony.

Everyday both Kedara and Abdul had to leave for work at 8 o'clock in the morning. Being a labourer the main work of Kedara was to pack the potatoes and to deliver it in different shop. In the labour work, the wage was so less that he was neither able to send money to his home nor he was able to sustain himself at Bhadrak town. After some months of work in the potato wholesale shop, Kedara managed to find a helping job in a trecker. Kedara received Rs.10 per day as a helper. His duty of helper started at 5.40 am to 10 pm. During his work as a helper, the life was very miserable. Every day, he started for duty without any food and there was no certainty for lunch. After the duty, he took the dinner with Abdul at home. Two years went by and in the mean time Kedara found a helper work in Sushil Sahoo's trecker for his younger brother Patla. Patla's arrival at Bhadrak town brought some changes in Kedara's life. Both Kedara and Patla rented a room in Apartibindha colony, which was nearer to the trecker stand with the price of Rs.50. The house had only one room having no electric facilities, water facilities, no separate kitchen, toilet and bathroom.

After Patla's arrival, both Kedara and Patla lived happily with their income. From their total earnings, they were sent Rs.100 every month and saved the remaining amount for his two sisters who were grown up to the marriageable age. In the mean time before the marriage of his sister, Kedara' got married to Sajani. Due to low income, Kedara did not bring his family to Bhadrak town for first three years. One year later, Reena's marriage was fixed with Sankar with the bride price of Rs. 10000. However, things did not always move smoothly. Unfortunately, before Reena's marriage, Kedara's father died. Helplessly, Kedara spent all his savings for his father's death rituals. Under such circumstances, both Kedara and Patala lost their work after they returned from home. In order to overcome the conditions, both the brothers worked as construction worker but it was a dream for them to save Rs.10, 000 for Reena's marriage within a short period. Therefore, Kedara was forced to borrow money. He borrowed Rs.4000 from Abdul and remaining money he borrowed from his neighbor. After Reena's marriage, Kedara used his wage for the repayment of the borrowed money. It took nearly 2 years to repay all the borrowed money.

After returning all the borrowed money and his second sister's marriage, Kedara brought his family with him to Bhadrak town. As the wage was low and the house rent was high, so all the family members adjusted in their old house. Every day, Kedara and Patla had to sleep in the verandah of the house. After the arrival of his family at Bhadrak town, his income spent in buying food items and paying house rents. To reduce the expenditure on food Kedara's mother Jhumpi brought vegetables after eight pm at night because of the low price of vegetables. Kedara was not able to give education to his children. The income was always short of the family members needs. To help the family financially, Sajani wanted to work as a maidservant but her mother in law did not allow her to work. Sajani's mother in law had a notion that if women earn money then they will not obey anybody at home. In the other hand, her mother in law did not like the place at all because of the lack of intimacy with the neighbours.

In spite of their stay at Bhadrak for more than 10 years, the family maintained a strong link with the village and followed all their village culture. Every year Kedara able to visit his village in Panna Sankaranti and in his father's annual death ceremony. Kedara do not like inter caste marriage but he felt that children should be given freedom to take decision about their marriage. Though, Kedara felt children should go school and get education, as it is necessary to get a better job. Both Kedara and Sajani had not change their traditional believe and visited to Gunia rather than doctor during the time of diseases of their children. Though, Kedara's migration to Bhadrak town had solved the financial problem, there was no change in the social condition of the family. Still Kedara continued to be a construction worker and he had not improved his position.

This case study indicates the economic conditions of the respondent's family at their villages before their migration to Bhadrak town. No work and occasional earnings were the main problems which the migrants were facing at their villages. Therefore, the migrant's family had to sustain by selling their agricultural land or by borrowing money from the money lender during the chronic need of money. But when the respondents were not able to return the borrowed money of the money lender by working at their villages, they were forced to migrate to other places. For instance, Kedar who worked as an agricultural worker for three years at his village and could not return half of the borrowed money of his family, he preferred to migrate to other places with a hope to return the borrowed money of his

family. Thus, some of these conditions were similar to the findings of Kathleen Gough (1989), and unfree labour as mentioned by Tom Brass (1995) and Jodhka (1995).

Social Values Prevailing at the Native Places

Organization of Marriage

The data shows that the younger migrants had very little choice in taking decision about their marriage. It was the parental prerogative to select brides and grooms giving consideration to social and economic factors. Even in some families the young migrants were not allowed to see the bride before their marriage. It was the marriage day when the grooms were allowed to see their bride. Thus, before migration to Bhadrak town, the migrants had more parental control regarding taking decisions about their marriage.

Criteria for Selecting the Bride

The data regarding the selection of bride during the time of marriage shows that in most of the migrants' families, parents generally selected a girl from the low class families. The migrants have reported that their parents had a notion that if they would select a girl from the low status then the girl would never raise her voice in any family decision and would respect all the family members, which would reduce quarrel in their family. Further some of the migrants reported that knowledge of cooking and a sound health were major criteria for selecting a bride among their parents. If the girl was not healthy and attacked with the diseases frequently, the parents would not select the girl. The main reasons are that the groom's family members have to spend money for the treatment frequently and the unhealthy girl will not be able to do the entire household work. However, few migrants have mentioned that their parents were giving preference to a less educated girl because of their notion that less educated girl would do all the household work happily and the chances of quarrel will be less. Thus, low status, low education, good health and proficiency in household work were the criteria for selecting the bride during the time of marriage.

Marriage Endogamy

Caste played a significant role during the time of marriage among the first generation migrants. From the data, it has been found that none of the migrants had married out of

their caste. All the migrants revealed that caste rules were more rigid and strictly followed by their parents and other family members at their home. Parents did not want their sons and daughters to get married outside the caste rules. Few migrants reported that their parents believed that marrying outside caste was a sin. So if anybody in their family was got married outside caste, they were not allowed to stay in their houses and they were debarred from ancestral property. Some of the migrants mentioned that in their villages, the villagers followed some rules in dealing with the family where the children had outcaste marriage. The villagers excommunicated the family in the village. According to the rule, none of the villagers have any relation with that family. The family was not allowed to use the public tubewell, pond, river and the village shop. A case is presented in order to signify some of the issues discussed above.

Case Study-2

Bijaya Parida is a Gauda by caste. He hails from a village of Bancho of Keonjhara district. In his village, Bijaya lived in a joint family with his parents, grandparents, one brother and two sisters. Bijaya's father Gopala was a farmer by profession having 3 acres of land.

Like other children in the village, Bijaya and none of his siblings got education because of unavailability of school in the village. As there was no other source of income, so every year for agricultural activity, Gopala borrowed money from the local Jamindar with an interest of 4 paisa. He returned the borrowed money after getting the yield from cultivation. Due to no irrigation facilities in the village, Gopala was doing single crop only in the rainy season. Every year Gopala had to plough, sow, irrigate and cultivate the whole land. Though Gopala did hard labour the yielded was so meagre that after returning the borrowed money, there remained a little which was only sufficient to feed the family members and no savings.

At the age of 12, Bijaya's father (Gopala) died because of a dog bite and there was no medical treatment in the village. After Gopala's death, the family suffered a lot. None of the relatives supported them financially. As there was no one to take the responsibility of agriculture, Bijaya's grandfather gave the land to Surya Majhi in lease. Every year Surya gave only two quintals of rice. The rice received always short of the family needs. So sometime Bijaya's grandmother and mother "Patia" had to earn money by selling Mahula and fire wood in the market. But the occasional income of the family was not sufficient to meet the household requirements. Six years passed by, Bijaya's sisters Nabina and Maina grew up and were already in the marriageable age. But due to scarcity of money it was impossible for Bijaya to get them married. As Bijaya's elder sister, Nabina had already crossed the marriageable age of 14, the villagers started talking about her. Therefore, to hide the fear of scandal of the villagers, Nabina left home and got married to Panchu who belonged to the scheduled tribe in the neighboring village. As it was an inter caste marriage, Patia's family had to face lots of problem in the village. The villagers excommunicated the family in the village. According to the rule, none of the villagers were talking to Patia's family. Even they were not allowed to use the public pond and shops. Bijay had to buy groceries, vegetables and water from other villages. Even Bijay could not borrow money for agricultural purpose. Bijaya had to stop his agricultural work because of

shortage of money. Without cultivation, Bijaya started looking work in the village but nobody employed him in their villages. Due to no work the family survived by selling the household things. When there was nothing to sell, the family lived in hunger. Therefore, to avoid hunger daily, Bijaya and his family left the village.

As Bijaya's village was near Bhadrak town, they walked 30kms to Bhadrak town. In that evening due to no shelter the whole family members spent their night in a partly built house without food. The next day morning Bijaya and his last brother Badala started looking for work but they failed to get it. As they had no food for two days, Bijaya first earned Rs.15 by removing one dead body in the post mortem center. In those 15 rupees, he brought three meals for his family members. As there was no shelter, Bijaya and his family members spent their night in that partly build house for 20 days.

Later Bijaya and his family moved to Apartibindha new colony with his friend who was working in the post mortem center and stayed in a Apartibindha colony. Bijaya and his family started a new life at Apartibindha new colony. Initially they build a rough shelter with the advice of his friend at Apartibindha colony. It was only Bijaya's occasional income of Rs.10-15 each day and the whole family had to survive. Most of Bijaya's earning was spent on buying foods. After buying rice and vegetables there was hardly any money left for other expenditure. When there was no work for Bijaya the family had to live hungry. After three months of stay at Apartibindha new colony, whatever he earned was shortage for the family, so bijaya started working as an agricultural labourer. As agricultural season was in peak, so everyday he got work. The family lived happily for four months but after agricultural season, it was very difficult to live without money. So in the mean time to earn money, Laxmi and his younger sister Sabita started selling Handia¹ in the Bonth Chaka market. Fortunately, the demand of Handia increased and Laxmi was able to earn Rs 10 per day.

Four years went by, to avoid the irregularity of work; Bijaya started working at a rice mill at Charampa. He got Rs.30 from the rice mill. The timing of the work was from the 9 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the evening. There were no holidays even in the public holidays and Sundays. Everyday Bijaya was left for work at 8 o'clock after taking water rice or Handia. Due to no transport facility, Bijaya had to walk for 3 km. He faced lots of problem to walk three kilometers in the rainy season. However, Bijaya was able to overcome the problem of unemployment but he was always worried about Sabita's marriage. To find a groom for Sabita was not a burden for Bijaya but to arrange money for bride price was the main problem. Whatever wage he got from the rice mill was very less and nothing would be saved for Sabita's marriage. As Sabita was already in 16 years old, Bijaya started searching for a groom in Bhadrak district rather than searching a groom in his own village. Finally, eight months later he got married his sister to Radha Krishna by borrowing Rs.3000 from the owner of rice mill and Rs.5000 from his friend. However, the situation was critical after Sabita's marriage. All the earning of Bijaya was spending to repay the borrowed money. The occasional earning of Badal was not sufficient to run the family. When there was no work for Badal, the family survived by taking Handia. Sometime Bijaya brought groceries from the local shop on credit. Bijaya suffered for 2 years to repay the debt. Those were miserable days in Bijaya's life.

In spite of living for more than 20 years, the family had no BPL card. Though Bijaya tried a lot in the beginning for a BPL card but he failed to receive the card. Every day he visited the block office for the BPL card but he did not receive the card. Often he has stopped visiting the block office for issuing the card. But he was able to avail all the facilities like the local people. All the family members visited to the Government medical when anybody suffered from any diseases and used the public tube well. However he loved his village and

¹ Handia: country liquor

sometime missed his village but he never visited his village after their migration. Bijaya developed friendship with the neighbors and was attached to the colony. They celebrated all the festivals together with the family. However, Bijaya and Badal faced many problems but than they lived in a joint family at Apartibindha new colony. Thus, the things had changed but there are not many changes in the economic conditions of the Bijaya.

This case indicates that due to financial problems when the grown up children (especially girl children) cross their marriageable age at that time to escape from the scandal of the villagers, they were forced to do outcaste marriage. Therefore, to avoid the prevailing rigid rules in the village the family had to migrate to the other places.

Age at Marriage

The data collected from the first generation migrants regarding the marriage rules and restrictions at their villages, the study found that early marriage was prevalent among all the first generation migrants at their native places. Elder members in the family especially parents were playing main role during the time of marriage. Most of the respondents have mentioned that their parents had a notion that the early they will get married their children, the sooner they would be free from the household burden and the sooner they would be able to see their grand children. Therefore, age of 15 for male was considered as the ideal age for the parents to get married their son. When the migrants were reached the age of 12, their parents would start looking suitable match. It is interesting to note that if the marriage was not possible before the age of 20, it was considered as a bad sign for the family. Few migrants have revealed that their parents had a blind notion that if their children's marriage could not take place before the age of 20, then they would remain unmarried for the whole life. So in that situation, their parents tried to finish their children's marriage before the age of 20 and giving no importance about the selction of a suitable bride.

Dowry System

From the data on dowry system, it has been reported by the first generation migrants that most of the migrants did not receive any dowry except a few. Radio, Cycle and Wrist watch was the dowry among the first generations migrants. It was the parents who decided the dowry of their son. In spite of wristwatch, radio and cycle, some of the migrants had

received land during their marriage. The dowry was more among the migrants who were land owning classes.

Tallying Horoscope

Apart from the role of parents, the role of caste and dowry, horoscope tallying was not an important consideration during the time of marriage. It has been observed that tallying horoscope was not mandatory among all the migrants' families. Even the elder persons in the family did not give importance for tallying horoscope of their son. Marriage was fixed, after the parents were convinced about the background. In such cases, they did not give importance for tallying horoscope at the time of marriage.

Thus from the above discussion, one also infers that rules of the caste were the main barriers for the out caste or dalit migrants. Caste endogamy, early marriage and role of parents were the important factors during the time of marriage.

Migrants and their Food Habits at their Native Places

Data regarding the food habits of the migrants' families at their native place shows that rice was the main staple food for all the migrants. Majority of the respondents reported that tea and *Pakhal*² was the common breakfast at their native home. Lunch consisted of rice and curry. It is interesting to note that most of the migrants had never tasted mushroom, paneer, parwal and cucurbit at their native places because of high cost. Non-vegetarian food was only cooked during the major festivals. There are some migrants who revealed that non-vegetarian food like goat meat was a dream for them. They were not able to take it even once in a year because of high price. From the data, it appears that food habits changed according to the family income. As far as the respondents' detailed information about the changing pattern of food habits is concerned, it is found that in summer, due to unavailability and high price of vegetables, *Pakhal* and *Handia*³ were mainly preferred by the migrant families. In the monsoon season, due to limited availability of work most of the migrants consumed gruel rice both for lunch and dinner because of its low cost. The

² Pakhal: usually the left over rice which is soaked with water and consumed for the next day.

³ Handia: country liquor.

situation was more miserable among the families who belonged to nuclear family having large number of children. It has been reported by few migrants that at the time of scarcity of work, their family had to survive for 2/3 months continuously with a single meal a day. Some time the elder members in the family had to carry on with very little food for the whole day.

Thus, the above description illustrates that the food habits among the migrants' families at their native places was totally based on the availability of work and monthly income. The quantity and quality of food depended on the availability of work and monthly income of the family members.

Leisure Time Activities of Migrants before Migration

The data regarding the leisure time activities of the migrants at their native villages reveal that the migrants spent their time by playing cards and other playful things collectively. They spent their time with their friends and participated in the social work of the village like organizing different activities in their village including the temple. Few respondents have mentioned that during the leisure time, they often participated in their village Drama and Yatra.

Health Problems of Migrants at their Native Places

Almost all the migrants reported that there was no health center in their villages. Only 19% migrants had health care facilities in their villages. The migrants, who had no health care centers in their villages relied on their village priest or *Gunia*⁴ during the time of different diseases and epidemics when the diseases were not cured, some of the migrants' family members visited the nearest health centers. However, lack of communication facilities and high expenditure on travel were causes which prevented most of the migrants to visit the nearest health center and forced them to rely on the village *Gunia*. Some of the migrants reported that though they had village health care center. They did not visit the health center during the time of diseases because they did not receive proper treatment from the health center. All the migrants admitted that they always faced the problem of unavailability of

⁴ Gunia: the local healer

medicines and doctors during their visit to the health center. Due to unavailability of doctor the health center remained closed. On several occasions they were managed by the pharmacist even if they were suffering from major diseases. Some other respondents mentioned that due to lack of medicines, they had to visit the nearest town to buy medicines for simple ailments such as fever, throat infection and dog bite. Thus, the above analysis indicates that the migrants faced different problems in their villages due to lack of health care facilities, doctors and medicines.

Migrants and their Participation in Politics in their Native Places

The data on migrants' participation in political activities in their native villages indicate that most of the migrants did not participate in political activities but all the migrants were actively involved in Panchayat elections. They generally spent time in campaigning for the local candidates in panchayat elections. In brief, the migrants indicate that they did participate in voting of local panchayat elections to that of state assembly and parliament elections. However, they were more interested in the political activities of the panchayats.

The socio-economic conditions of the migrants indicated that most of the migrant's parents were from the low educational and low-income group having large family members. The life of the migrants in their native places was too harsh. Lack of employment opportunities, low income, lack of drinking water facilities, and lack of medical facilities were the major problems from which the migrants suffered a lot at their native places.

Having discussed about the socio-economic background of the migrants in their native places, the present socio-economic conditions of the migrants has been presented below.

SECTION-II

Life of the Migrants after their Migration to Bhadrak Town

Profile of the study Respondents

In the analysis of personal background, the composition of age and marital status of the 85 respondents has been examined.

Age

A strong relation between migration and age is universally noted. A number of studies show that migration occurs more frequently among the youth. Nayak (1993) in his study, *“Determinants and Consequences of Inter-state Labour Migration from Odisha”* found that migration is high among the youth because the young generation is likely to be less integrated with village life, and being less encumbered with various family and social responsibilities are comparatively free to move. His study indicates that 71.36% of migrants belong to the age group of 15-29. According to Dahiwal (1997), in his study *“Rural Poverty and Slum”* in Kolhapur city of Maharashtra found that migration rate was more among the adult respondents. A majority of the 234 respondents (58.5%) belonged to the 31-50 years age group followed by 112 respondents (21.1%) who were between 51-61 and above, while some 54 respondents (13.5%) were from the age group between 23-30 years. Upreti (1981) in his study *“Social Organization of a Migrant Group”* found that in the upper age group, the number of respondents is comparatively very small. Out of 200 respondents, the number of respondent between the age group of 46-55 is only 20.

The age profile of the 85 respondents in the present study revealed that 16% are below 39 years of age, 19% of migrants belong to the age group of 40-49 and 63% of the migrants belong to the age group of 50 and above. The respondents' data regarding the age of migrant during the time of migration to Bhadrak town reveal that 24% respondents were in the age group of 20-29, 76% respondents were in the age group of above 30 during the time of migration (see appendix table-2). Thus, the above description corroborates the findings of S. M. Dahiwal. However, it is very dissimilar in the findings of P. Nayak where most of the migrants belonged to the age group of 15-29.

Marital Status

Nayak (1993) in his study *“Determinant and consequences of inter-state labour migration from Odisha”* found that among the migrants, 54.22 % never got married and 45.78% were married. His study also indicates that the migrants do not only maintain social and economic ties but also the norms of collectivity. Upreti (1981) in the study *“Social*

Organization of a Migrant Group” found that migration is more among the married people that include 80 percent of the respondents.

If one takes into account the marital status of the migrants in the present study, it reveals that 79% were married and 21% were unmarried during the time of migration to Bhadrak town. The the migrants who migrated after marriage had left their family back home because of uncertain, insecure job and low wage. Some of the respondents due to the family bond initially shuffled between their home and Bhadrak. However, they never severed the social and the family ties. As and when employment opportunities improved, the migrants brought their families with them to Bhadrak town. During the field work, the point has been stressed that till date some of the migrants still visit their native places and send money to the parents. This shows that even after the permanent settlement, the strong family ties remained. Thus, the above findings corroborate with the Upreti (1981) study.

How the Migrants Moved to Bhadrak Town

From the field study, it has been found that 27% respondents migrated to Bhadrak town on their own while significant proportion of the migrants 42% migrated with the help of their friends and kinship network, 24% of the respondents moved with the help of their relatives and the rest 7% respondents migrated to Bhadrak town through the contractors. All the migrants reported that they were the first among their kin group who migrated to other districts. When the respondents faced problems at their native villages, they first contacted their friends and relatives who were staying in Bhadrak town. After migration to Bhadrak town, most of the respondents first took shelter at their friends and relatives houses. Some of the migrants revealed that after migration their relatives and friends helped them to find work at Bhadrak town where as other migrants’ experiences indicated that they had to find work on their own. The migrants after finding work took separate houses nearer to their friends and relatives houses.

Socio Economic Structure of the Migrants

In the analysis of social composition, information about the caste system, education, family size, religion, language, house type, living conditions and for the analysis of economic conditions, information about the occupation, income, debt, total expenditure and savings

of the first generation migrants has been collected. The living conditions of the migrants after their migration to Bhadrak town, is given below:

Living Conditions of the Migrants

The housing condition of the migrants is the main determinant, which indicates the economic status of the migrants. The data of 85 respondents indicate that 68% have *katcha* houses, 23% have *semi pucca* houses and only 9% have fully built *pucca* houses at present (see appendix table-3). The *katcha* houses are constructed with locally available materials such as wood, bamboo, straws etc. Every house has a small open veranda at the front, slightly raised from the ground level. The walls of the *katcha* houses are made of mud and in some cases of bamboo lattice work, which are usually plastered with mud. The roofs are made of straw, which need to be replaced every year before the rainy season while the respondents who have *semi pucca* houses, the walls are made of brick and thatched roof.

The data on the house type of the respondents' shows that 56% have own houses, 25% have taken houses on rent and only 20% have built their houses in Government occupied areas. When the migrants were asked about their settlement, it has been revealed by the migrants that after coming to the Bhadrak town, they first looked for work. As there was no permanent job or good income among the migrants, work was seen as the primary concern than the house. The migrants who got some work mostly stayed near the work place in a group. The other migrants due to shortage of money and due to lack of permanent work had no option than to commute from their village to Bhadrak town. After coming to Bhadrak town, though the migrants worked and stayed in different places, all of them preferred to stay in Apartibindha colony because of the availability of vacant land. Another reason for choosing Apartibindha colony is because of the easy access to Bhadrak market, medical facilities, police station, railway station and bus stand. In the early stage of their migration due to low income, the migrants faced greater difficulty in getting a house on rent. They also faced difficulty in building a house having access to the drinking water, electricity, toilet and bathroom facilities. The migrants who took a house on rent always looked for a house having cheaper rent. It does not matter for them whether they have access to all the facilities because of their poor economic condition. Some of the migrants have occupied the Government land as they could not afford to pay room rents. Those who stayed in

Government land were compelled to build mud houses with one room. The main reasons being that if the Government decides to shift them to elsewhere, they will not have to regret for the temporary houses and they can easily move from that place.

Most of the migrants' preferred to construct *katcha* houses in Apartibinda colony because of the Salandi River. As the Salandi River passes through this colony, one can easily collect mud and sand from this river without paying a single penny. Later on, few migrants took houses on rent while few migrants have built up new *pucca* houses after they increased their income. The data on the total rooms of the migrants families revealed that out of 85 respondents, 80% of migrants have single room, 14% migrants have two rooms, 5% of migrants have three rooms and only 1% of respondent has six rooms. Due to high price, the migrants could rent only one room. Initially for a single room they paid Rs-100, which later increased to Rs.350. Even those who acquired a piece of land, built a single room because of shortage of land and money. Both the migrants who had their own house and those who stayed on rented houses suffered from different sets of problems.

As most of the migrants have *katcha* houses whether it is rented or own, the migrants faced problems in repairing their roofs every year before the rainy season. To replace, their old roof, the migrants saved money for three to four months to buy bamboo and straw in the summer. The migrants who have very low income and cannot repair their roofs every year covered their roofs with polythene which lasted for two to three years without replacing their old roofs. The migrants who stayed in rented house faced problems like owner's reluctance in repairing the roofs and the pressure of paying the room rents at the very start of a month. It has been mentioned by the respondents that the owner of the house generally did not repair the roof every year. The migrants faced problems like water leakage from roofs during the rainy season. Therefore the migrant, tenants were forced to replace the roof and repair the house with their money. Apart from the problems of the houses, some of the migrants who were not able to pay the monthly rent regularly, the owner charged interest from the migrants every month while some of the migrants tried to compensate it by working in the owners' agricultural fields. Because of the vulnerability of the migrant tenants, owners exploited them by extracting work without pay.

According to one of the respondent, Kabula Das says

I belong to Keuta by caste and the nature of my occupation is to catch fish. As I work in Dhamara port, I need to stay there for four to five months as my work demands and I return home in the rainy season. Thus during my work days at Dhamara port, it is very difficult for me to send money to my family because of my contract work. When I get my wage after the contract, I repay my house rent. However, at the time of paying the house rents, the owner Basant Rout demands Rs.500 extra as interest. If we refuse to give, he will immediately tell us to vacate the room. Therefore, I pay whatever he demands, as it is difficult to find a house in this colony at cheaper rate.

The respondents who have single room with large families have reported about their troubles. Due to large family structure and small sized houses, the male members sleep outside the room. In the rainy season and winter season, all the family members adjust in their single room. Those who have no kitchen, toilet and bathrooms at their house suffered a lot during the rainy season because of water logging around their house.

Household Sanitation Facilities

The facilities of latrines are available only for 13% of respondents and 87% respondents do not have their personal latrine in their houses. It has been noticed that most of the migrants whether they stay in rented houses or have permanent houses, organize a temporary common bathroom. It is also reported that 10 to 15 households have made their bathrooms and latrines by collecting money and no outsider is allowed to use. When the bathroom and toilet need replacement, all the members of the group contribute money for the repairs of bathroom and toilet. In total 73% have no personal tube wells, pond or well whereas only 27% have their personal tube wells and tap water facilities. Those who do not have any water facilities either depend upon the Government tube wells or the nearby river. However, the Government tap water facility is available but none of the migrants has access to it. Irregular timings and inability to pay is the main cause for unavailability of tap water facilities. The data revealed that the Government water facility is mainly supplied in the odd hours, when most of them are on their work. On the other hand, the migrants do not avail Government water facility, as they have to pay Rs.50 every month. Therefore, only a few migrants have access to Government water facilities for the household purposes. It has been noticed that the migrants themselves have dug a tube well in their own Sahi. Due to absence of personal tube well, the working female migrants prefer to fetch water in the early morning because of long queue near the tube well. When they fail to collect water

from tube well, they fetch water from the river. As the migrants had to wait for a long time to fill their pitcher, so most of the female migrants generally collect water from tube well for drinking purposes and they generally depend on the river to wash clothes and utensils because of the difficulty in fetching water. When the tube well does not function, the migrants use the neighbors' tube well or the river for both drinking and household purposes. The migrants from the SC and ST suffer a lot for drinking water when the tube well does not work. Due to the prevailing untouchability, they were not allowed to use their neighbours' tube well. The Scheduled caste migrants either depended on the river for both drinking and household purposes or fetched water from their neighbour's house without anybody's notice which is indicated in the case study 3. Thus the migrants who have no personal water facilities suffer a lot for water when the public tube well does not work.

One of respondents, Basanti Sahoo (42) says that

There is only one tube well for 20-30 households in our Sahi. Everybody depends upon this tube well. Although there is provision for getting water connection from municipal water supply but how will I mobilize Rs.2000 one time deposit and Rs.50 per month to pay the water bill every month, as I cannot save Rs.10 to feed my children every day.

Another respondent minati Jena (49) narrates that

I am working as a construction labourer and every day I go for work before 8 o'clock in the morning. The very first duty of mine in the morning is to collect water as all the household work depends upon water. I face many problems when the tube well does not work. It is very difficult to collect water from the neighbors' houses too as I belong to a Pana caste. The neighbors do not allow me to take water from their tube well. In summer when the tube well does not work, I collect 5/6 pitchers of water from the Elekha colony public tube well which is half kilometer from my house.

Basic Amenities

In total, 60% migrants' households have no electricity facility and only 40% households have electricity. The migrants belonging to the low-income group have no access to the electricity facilities. Some of the migrants have illegally taken electricity connection through the jumper from the pole. However, it has been noticed that those who have no electricity connection use kerosene lamps as main source of energy. The main fuel for cooking used in the migrants' households are wood and coal. But most of the households

prefer to use wood for cooking because of low price. One bag coal weighing 16 kg, costs 70-80 rupees and they require at least two bags of coal. To light this coal they have to buy one Furnace for their cooking. Apart from high price, it takes more time to prepare food. To start cooking, it takes 15 to 30 minutes for lighting it up and in a day, one has to light it twice. As most of the female migrants leave for work in the morning and come back in the evening, it is very difficult for them to spend 30 minutes for lighting the coal especially in the morning time. Therefore, most of the migrants prefer to use *cholli*⁵ (wood) for their cooking purpose.

The respondents Kanchan Mohanty narrates that

I prefer to use cholli to prepare food because if i buy 1 kg wood, it costs 5 rupees and it lasts for 3 days. Sometime when I do not have money, I collect wood from the colony to prepare food. I can not buy Furness every year. The food prepared in the cholli take very less time and money.

Thus, low fuel price and less time required to preparation is the main reason among the migrants for preferring *cholli*. The migrants who have good income use gas and stove for preparing food but few of the female migrants who can afford coal also prefer to make food in *cholli* because of their perception that if food prepared in *cholli* is tastier than the food prepared by other means. However, preparing food in *cholli* is not easy in winter and rainy seasons. As most of the migrant households have *chollis* outside their house the migrants face lot of problems in preparing food. They have to cook outside in the cold. As in the rainy season the water get inside the *cholli*, so they sustain themselves by taking flattened rice or puffed rice due to the water around the house.

Case Study-3

Kalandi Sahoo is Radhi by caste and his village Nuagaon lies in Balasore district. Kalandi lived in a joint family with his parents, grandparents, his elder brother, uncle and aunty, their 5 children, his 3 younger brothers and one sister. Having 2 acres of land, Kalandi's father Hemanta sahuo continued with the traditional occupation of selling flattened rice and parched paddy etc by doing agriculture in his field. The day of Hemanta began at 7 o'clock in the morning. After a cup of red tea and flattened rice, he proceeded for his work and returned home at 1 o'clock. Everyday Hemanta had to visit 2/3 villages with a cycle to sell the flattened rice and parched paddy. However, due to the decline in demand of the flattened rice, Hemanta was only able to earn Rs.50 per month. As the earned income was

⁵ cholli: prepared three brick and mud for cooking purpose.

hand to mouth, Kalandi's mother Suna sometime earned money by working in others house. The combined income of Hemanta and Suna always fell short of the household needs. When he could not sell continuously for 5/6 days, the family had to survive by borrowing money. In this financial situation, Hemant was not able to send his children to school. As most of the time Kalandi's mother Suna had to go to the village market, Kalandi's sister Lata had to cook the family meals.

When he could not sell, there was no saving for agricultural work. Hemanta had to borrow money from his friends. The misfortune came in one agricultural season. When due to heavy rain, the grain was damaged and there was no profit. It was very difficult for him to repay the debt of Rs.4000. In the absence of grain, the business also stopped that year. The wage of Suna being irregular, the family struggled for food every day. With no other sources of income, Hemanta had to sell out his cycle for Rs.50 but it was sufficient only for one year to run the family. Every day morning Hemanta was thinking about how to get money to feed his family members. The income being limited, the food was consisted of water rice, boiled potato and pickle. In the absence of agricultural work in the village, the family suffered a lot. Under such circumstances, Kalandi at the age of 10 worked in a hotel at Balasore town.

In the beginning, Kalandi's wage was only Rs.200 per month. The monthly income was only sufficient for him to stay in Balasore. For the first few months, Kalandi shared the room with his 3 friends by paying Rs.100. As the house demanded half of his money, Kalandi was unable to rent a room with the meager income. Therefore, he requested the hotel owner to allow him to live in the hotel. The working hour in the hotel was from 7 o'clock in the morning to 10 o'clock in the night. The main duty of Kalandi was to open the hotel in the morning. Every month Kalandi's total expenditure at Balasore district was Rs.100 and he sent the remaining amount to his parents. He worked in the hotel for two years. Kalandi had to open the hotel, clean the dish plates without breakfast and after lunch he had to work till 11 pm after closing the hotel, Kalandi took his dinner and before going to sleep he had to clean the hotel.

As Kalandi was the eldest son, he got married when he was only 17 years old, in spite of his unwillingness his mother forced him to get married. The main reason was that from the received dowry, they would marry his only sister. Therefore, at the age of 17 Kalandi got married to Tapaswini who belonged to Bhadrak district. After wedding Kalandi left his wife with his parents, returned to Bhadrak. Three years went by after marriage but Kalandi did not bring his wife because of his small income. In the mean time, Tapaswini had two baby girls. As Kalandi was staying alone and always suffering from diseases, Tapaswini always forced Kalandi to search work at Bhadrak town as her father was a business man at Bhadrak town. Finally, Tapaswini's father searched a work for Kalandi in the Ganesh Mithan Bhandar sweet shop with a wage of Rs.300 and Kalandi migrated to Bhadrak town to work in the sweet shop. Initially he did not rent a room and stayed in the hotel. The days went by, one year later Kalandi suffered for severe Jaundice at Bhadrak. As there was nobody to take care of him, Tapaswini stayed with Kalandi at Bhadrak for his treatment. Due to no shelter initially, all the family members stayed at his friend Mohana's house for the first 10 days. After Kalandi was cured from disease, he searched for a shelter near the hotel side. In search of the house, he reached at Apartibindha new colony and after finding a suitable piece of land; built a katcha house in the Government land with the help of Mohan.

However, in the beginning the family forced with different problems. As there was no water facility, Tapaswini used the river water for both the household and drinking purpose. Every day, she would fetch 6/7 pitchers of water from the river for household purposes. Tapaswini cooked the dinner before the evening because of no electricity facility. Monsoon was the worst season for the family to sustain near the riverside. Due to heavy rain and flood, every year the water came inside the room. With the water around the house and inside the house, Tapaswini faced lots of problems to prepare food in cholli as the water got inside the cholli.

Most of the time they have to sustain themselves by taking flattened rice or puffed rice. During heavy rain, they took shelter at their neighbours house. Apart from the monsoon, the family also faced the water problems during the summer when the river dried.

It is now more than 20 years of their life at Bhadrak town, the family still continued to maintain their traditional believes that they have acquired from their family. For example: Tapaswini still followed the traditional custom of caste system. She never took food from the lower caste people. If a lower caste neighbor come to her house, Tapaswini never allowed them to enter her kitchen because she felts if a lower caste entered her kitchen then the goddess Laxmi would reduce their wealth. Tapaswini still continue to give Sradha every year in her father in law and mother in-law death ceremony and provide food to the small children on that day. To increase the wealth, every day morning she swept her verandah with cow dung and kept a small pitcher of water in front of the entrance door. Due to the traditional believe, he had planted a Bael tree in front of his house for the good health of his family members.

Through all these years' Kalandi and Tapaswini maintained a strong relationship with their village. Every year they visited to their village twice during the Raja and Durga puja. Meanwhile, Kalandi's brothers were married and his two brothers stayed at his village house. Once every year, Kalandi's brothers, sister in law and their children would visit to Kalandi's house. Regarding the education of both male and female children he felt that children should be given education to both male and female. As Kalandi was so anxious about his children's education, he could not give education to his first two children. However, he was able to give education to his second son Nirmala till 10th standard and to his daughter Sarita till 8th standard. However, he wanted to give more education to his children but as they had no interest in studies, they left studies after they failed. Kalandi's three children got married except the last son and the family lived happily in Bhadrak town.

Thus, the above case study indicates that the living conditions of the migrants are very harsh. Though after migration, a few migrants have improved their living conditions, built *pucca* houses or tiled houses over a period of time and have personal water facility, toilet facility but they are very small in proportion. Most of the migrant households could not afford to have a house with facilities such as electricity, drinking water and toilet facility. Housing is the main problem among the migrants, as they have no land of their own.

Caste Composition

The caste composition of the migrant households in the present study indicates that more than half of them (that is 62%) are SCs and STs, another 21% are OBCs while the rest (14%) are from the upper castes.

Table No.3.6: Caste Composition of the Migrants

Caste Category	Total No. of Households
GC	14(17%)
OBC	18(21%)
SC	19(22%)
ST	34(40%)
Total	85(100.0%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

While explaining the relationship between migration and caste, a few studies have shown that migration rate is higher among the upper castes in comparison with others. This kind of argument is more prominent in the work of M. Koteswar Rao's study (1996) "*Rural Urban Migration and Economic Development*". The findings of the study indicates that out of 489 respondents migrating from rural to urban areas, the migrants from low castes accounted for only 24% where as it was about 62% from the higher castes. However, there are some studies which emphasize that migration rate is more among the SCs and the STs. For instance S. M. Dahiwalé (1997), in his study "*Rural Poverty and Slums*" with reference to Kolhapur city of Maharashtra, indicated that the migration rate is high among the lower caste migrants compared to upper caste migrants. His study found that 43% of the respondents belonged to the SC category followed by 12.8% people of OBC category and 21.5% respondents from the upper caste.

Attitude of the Migrants towards Caste Rules and Restrictions

Caste status is very important in day to day interpersonal interactions and transactions among the people. This study brings out that among all the castes, *Kumbhara* caste is considered as the dominant caste and the scheduled tribe migrants are treated with low status. These tribal migrants live in isolation in the colony. One of the most significant dimensions has been that the day to day activities and social life of the tribal migrants is confined to their own Sahi and most interactions are restricted to their own tribal group. Neither the upper caste nor the lower caste non-tribal migrants have close interaction with tribal migrants.

Among the non-tribal migrants, caste hierarchy is quite prominent in their day to day interactions. The caste of the migrants *Keuta*, *Gokha*, *Pana* and *Hadi* which comes under scheduled caste has lower social status. The people from the upper caste do not enter into SC and ST migrants Sahi and do not give their house for rent to the lower caste migrants. During the time of conversation with the SC and ST, non-Dalit migrants maintain distance from them. The issue of purity and pollution manifests itself at the time of exchange of food, weddings, religious and other occasions between Dalit and non- Dalit migrants. The upper caste people do not invite the lower caste migrants to different ceremonies such as wedding and birth ceremonies because their presence is considered ominous. The notion that if the lower caste touches the bride or groom during the wedding and the newborn baby during the *naming ceremony*, then their next life will be full of sorrows. Endogamy form of marriage is mainly prevalent among all the caste groups. Tapaswini Jena, narrates that

I belong to the Pana caste. My friend Sradhangali Gahana is tanti by caste. We both were studying in 8 standards in Banka school. Everyday Sradhanjali, and me were going to school and tuition together. As Sradhanjali's house was next to my house, so every day I was first going to Sradhanjali's house and from there we both were going to the school together. But whenever I was going to Sradhanjali's house and sitting in her verandah during school time, her mother was scolding me by saying "Panuni" why did you sit in our verandah and why did you come to our house? Do not ever come to our house and if you are coming for Sradhanjali than wait outside near the road. By saying this, she will push me out from their verandah and spring cow dung water around her house.

The above narration describes that caste system does matter significantly in the migrants' inter-personal relations. Some of the conventional methods of purification like sprinkling cow dung is still followed by the upper caste migrants, to ward off the impurity caused by lower caste migrants. Caste restrictions are applicable even for the school going children.

Further the data reveals that as most of the lower caste migrants have no TV sets in their own houses, so the lower caste migrants are not allowed to enter into the houses of upper caste migrants. The migrants watch TV from outside through the window or by sitting outside in the veranda. It is observed that the upper caste migrants have a strong unity at the place of migration as they collectively reinforce the caste hierarchy. They organize all the festivals that are celebrated in the colony but the lower caste people are not allowed to participate in the ceremonies and certain events.

The respondent Mithili Munda narrates that

During the celebration of different festivals, we are never allowed to participate because we belong to scheduled tribe. In Apartibindha colony, as the Kumbharaa caste migrants are in large number, the Laxmi puja is the only occasion, which is, celebrated rigorously by them. Laxmi puja continues for seven days and people from the whole colony have to take Prasad for seven days. However, all the people are called to have food for seven days but we are not given Prasad, although my house is near the Kumbharaa migrants' house.

Thus, the above analysis explains that the caste rules and restrictions have not declined among the migrants. Due to the existence of caste rules, they are less friendly with the lower caste migrants. The lower caste migrants are neither invited to the different festivals nor do the upper caste migrants give Prasad to the lower caste migrants' houses even if they are neighbour or friends.

However, some of the migrants who belong to other backward castes closely interact with the lower caste migrants like *Keuta* and *Gokha* migrants. They invite these caste people to their family functions but they do not like the participation of *Pana* and *Hadi* caste in their family function. When the question was asked to the upper caste migrants regarding the importance of the caste rules, one of the migrants Madana Mohanty (47), Karana by caste, said that the caste rules are very important to them. If they do not obey their caste rules, they will lose their dignity.

Caste hierarchy is also seen among the scheduled caste migrants. Within the scheduled caste hierarchy, *Keutas* have higher social standing. After *Keuta*, *Gokha* and *Dhoba* are perceived to be the second and third position respectively. *Pana* and *Hadi* are considered as the lowest castes among all the castes. Although hierarchy persists among the untouchables but it does not operate as rigidly as in the case of inter caste relations. This is not to deny that there is no co-operation among the lower caste migrants. As most of the lower caste migrants are engaged in construction work, they go to the workplace in groups with their caste people and return with them. Sometimes the migrants at the work place irrespective of their castes help each other whether it is physical or monetary help. The lower caste migrants take help from their own caste people in case of diseases and during different ceremonies like the marriage or death ceremony. Social solidarity is more among the female migrants. The female migrants go together to the river for washing clothes and utensils. Social relations based on caste exist among the female migrants. The female migrants share non-vegetarian and special food items with their neighbours who are

generally from their own caste. On days of no work and Sundays, the women migrants, visit the temple and market together. Some times when cooking material like oil, vegetables are out of stock, they borrow from their neighbors. Even the female migrants help their neighbours in their household works, when they are not well.

Thus, the above analysis indicates that the migration rate is more among the lower caste migrants than the upper castes. In fact, untouchability is still practiced by the upper caste migrants at the place of migration. However social solidarity, social interaction and social relationship exist among the female migrants based on their caste and kinship. Thus the findings of the present study corroborate the findings of S.M. Dahiwale (1997) that the migration rate is high among the lower caste migrants compare to upper caste migrants. However, it is contrast with the findings of M. Koteswar Rao (1996) that the migrants from low castes are less propensity to migrate than the upper caste migrants.

Structure of Family among the Migrants in Bhadrak Town

Table No.3.7: Family Types of the Respondents

Family Type	Percentage
Joint	57(67%)
Nuclear	28(33%)
Total	85(100.0%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The joint family system is predominant among the migrants in Bhadrak town. The study data indicates that a significant proportion (67%) still lives in joint family and the rest 33% live in nuclear family. It is important to note that most of the migrants did not bring their family with them immediately after their migration. They took a long time to bring their family to the place of migration. They generally brought their family members with them when their income increased. A very few migrants migrated with their whole family members because of their poor family circumstances at their native places. On examining the conditions of the migrants at Bhadrak town, the field data revealed that the migrants face different problems in a joint family system. It is revealed that initially after they bring their family to Bhadrak town, the migrants used to send back their family to their native villages whenever they faced financial problems.

Looking into the total family size of the migrants, the study found that about 55% have more than 10 members, 35% have 6 to 9 members and only 10% of the migrants have 1 to 5 members. Thus, the study indicates that the migrants in my study have large family size. The female migrants have stated that preference of male child and also the notion that each family requires more children as they are assets to supplement family income within the joint family structure were the main causes for large number of children in their family. A case study is presented here which signifies the above point.

Case Study- 4

Gagana Jena, Pana by caste hails from a village of Balapatana Jagatsinghpur. Gagana lived in a joint family with his parents, grandmother, one sister, two brothers, his wife and his 4 children. Gagana's father Narendra was a farmer by profession, having 8 acres of land. As Gagana was the first son so he studied up to eighth standard. After eighth standard as Gagana had no interest in education, he left his studies. During the agricultural season, all the elder members of his family were engaged in agricultural activity because of non availability of workers. Gagana after leaving school helped his father in agricultural activity in the age of 15. His grandmother who was nearly 60 years old forced Narendra for Gagana's marriage. To fulfill his grandmother's wish Gagana got married Jhunu at the age of 18.

After the wedding, Jhunu lived happily for one year at his in laws house. Soon after the wedding, a quarrel broke out between Jhunu and her mother in law because Jhunu had no child. The behavior of Subha was very rude towards Jhunu. Seven years went by, all the family members and relatives forced Gagana for second marriage. After eight years, Jhunu gave birth a son but the happiness was for short lived. In the evening of 2st day1 ceremonies, Gagana lost the son because of brain fever. After the death of her son, the torture of Subha towards Jhunu increased. Jhunu had the responsibility to do all the household works. Even Gagana's grandmother scolded Jhunu being ruined Gagana's life. After three years, Jhunu had three-girl children continuously. As Gagana had only daughter and no son, his mother always scolded Jhunu. The quarrel at home increased more and more. For a baby boy, Shubha got married her second son Liton to Snehalata. After one year of wedding, when Snehalata gave birth a baby boy the love of whole family members towards Snehalata increased. Nobody liked Jhunu because of her girl children. One day due to a small quarrel Gagan's mother hit Jhunu in a brass pitcher and did not provide food to Jhunu and her small children till evening. From that day, Gagana left home and stayed at his mother in laws house for one month. During his stay at his in laws house, Gagana met Jhunu's maternal uncle Ashok. He was working at FACOR in Bhadrak town. After knowing the financial conditions of Gagana, Ashok advised him to migrate to Bhadrak town. After eight days, Gagana and his family left for Bhadrak town with Ashok. At Bhadrak town, Ashok first lodged Gagana at his house and helped him to find work at FACOR. Ashok lived with his wife and six children in his own house at Apartibindha new colony. He worked as a daily labourer at FACOR for the past two years. Gagana with Ashok joined as a daily labourer and at first, his wage was only Rs. 300 per month. The working hour at FACOR was from morning 9 am to evening 5 pm. As there were no communication facilities, both Gagana and Ashok had to walk for 4 km to reach the company.

In the mean time, Jhunu gave birth to a son at his parent's house. However, after one and half year later Gagana visited his village to celebrate 21st day ceremony of his son. After the celebration of 21st day ceremony, Jhunu stayed with their in laws. Though gave birth to a

baby boy, her mother in law was not satisfied with the only son. She started torturing Jhunu for another son because her mother-in-law had a notion that if their family had more male child then their family would never face the financial problems. So Jhunu left her in laws house and settled down in Bhadrak town due to unbearable torture of her mother-in-law.

Though Gagana settled down at Bhadrak town but his alone income was not sufficient for their whole family members. So Jhunu managed to find a work in the chain factory. Her main work was to fix zip in the chain. For fixing 100 zips, Jhunu got Rs.10. In this way, everyday Jhunu was able to earn Rs.20-30. When Jhunu was not able to go to the chain factory, she brought the work to her home. However, it was very difficult for Jhunu to manage both the maidservant work and chain factory work together but she never wanted to lose her job. Thus, the combined income of Gagana and Jhunu was nearly Rs.1000. She utilized her money for the household purposes. Both the Gagana and Jhunu lived happily at Bhadrak town but the happiness was for short period. In the year 2001, the family again faced the financial constraint when Gagana lost his work at FACOR, as it closed for uncertain period. Gagana did not find any work and spend his time by sitting idly at his home. As Gagana's elder daughter was grown up to the marriageable age and son was in the ninth standard so it was very difficult for Jhunu to run family. As Gagana had no work, his elder daughter worked with her mother in the chain factory. After seven months, Gagana managed to find a work in the chain factory, which was only meant, for male members.

Seventeen years went by, neither Gagana visited and contacted his family nor did his family members contact him. He cut all his relations from his family members and settled down at Bhadrak town. But the migration had brought some changes in his life for example Gagana felt that children whether they are male or female should be given education as it provide better job opportunities. However, he could not give education to his first two children because of financial constraint but he was able to give education to his last son and daughter. Now Gagana's last daughter stopped her education after tenth standard when she failed twice in the tenth standards whereas his son Rama after his ITI is working at IDPL Company Hyderabad. Now Gagana's two elder daughters are married and for her last daughter she is searching proposal. He believes that the girl should get married at the age of 18 after giving some education. As education for female is very much necessary as they have to take all the household responsibilities. He also believes that if a girl is educated then the whole family will be educated. Still Gagana continued with his tradition and custom, which he had acquired from his village. For instances Gagana never supported the inter-caste marriage and prefers the traditional criteria for selection of mates. He feels that women should be given freedom to work outside the house and to take decisions in the household matters etc. now the family lives happily at Bhadrak town than their village.

There is a perception among the migrants that male child is essential to do certain tasks in the household work as well. The female members were not allowed to eat food until all the family members finish eating. However some female migrants have revealed that they were not allowed to visit their home even once a year. In fact there is a tension when the female migrants' family members come to meet them. Given the joint family system, it was not encouraged at all. The other important factors for the large number of children are cultural notions and demand of the parents. For example: the cultural notion that children are the God's gift is repeated by several respondents. The more number of children in a family means, the Goddess *Laxmi* will always give blessing to their family. And they will never

suffer for the financial troubles, if they have more children. Therefore, migrant families preferred to have more children. Some female migrants desire for large number of children because they believe that more children means more choices in the old age. So for these reasons the migrants have not changed their attitude towards large number of children.

However, there are some migrants who came alone and live in nuclear family in Bhadrak town. This is because of their low paid job and high expenditure, which compelled the migrants to live in nuclear family after their migration. A few of the migrants, who lived in joint family in the beginning but later on they, preferred to live in nuclear family. Enquiring about the reasons behind the migrants living in nuclear family, the study found that the migrants who had several unmarried brothers initially after migration, lived in joint family. When all the brothers got married and the quarrel broke out among the family members, the migrants preferred to lead their separate family. There are some instances when in the beginning the migrants lived in joint family but when they found their family members as a burden due to their meager income, they lived in nuclear family to enjoy a comfortable life. The aged parents suffered the most with the nuclear families. The parents keep taking turns with different sons. In some cases, the parents take care of themselves where there is nobody to look after them. Though, the migrants live in nuclear family after their migration to Bhadrak but migrants have close attachment with their family members. The migrants even if they live in nuclear family help their family members by giving money during the financial needs. Some of the migrants find work for their unemployed brothers at Bhadrak town. Those who live alone after migration frequently send money to their parents and visit their village every year during the festivals. It has been found that about 31% migrants visited their native places 3-4 times in a year, 67% migrants visited their home 1-2 times in a year and only 2% visited their home more than four times in a year. The migrants frequently visited their home whose villages are in the neighbouring districts. They attend all the family functions and ceremonies that are celebrated at their villages. When the migrants can't attend, they send their children to attend it. However, the migrant visits to their villages that live in joint family are less than those that live in nuclear family.

Thus, from the above discussion, it can be concluded that the joint family system among the migrants still exists and the migrants have large family. The burden of a large family along

with low income is seen to play a crucial role in destroying the joint family structure. But the migrants who live in nuclear family have still maintained their close attachment with their other family members. The findings of the present study are in tune with Karida Shah (1998) and Upton's (1967) studies that large migrants have joint families.

Educational Background of the Migrants

Education is one of the most important variables for personal advancement. It provides an opportunity to acquire new knowledge, new outlook and creates a desire to be free from traditional beliefs, thinking and superstition. James Welton (1911) writes that education is an attempt on the part of the adult members of human society to shape the development of the coming generation with its own ideals of life.

The data relating to the levels of education among the migrants indicates that about 39% are illiterate, 20% have low literacy rate that is primary education, 28% have secondary education, 8% have higher secondary education and the rest (5%) have availed their intermediate education. However the literacy rate is very low among the SC and ST migrants than the upper caste migrants. Out of 39% of illiterate migrants, 54% belong to the ST while 22% belong to the SC and the rest (24%) belong to the upper castes. Further data indicates that there is not even a single SC and ST migrant who have availed more than higher secondary education.

Table No.3.8: Caste wise Education

Caste	Illiterate	Primary Education (I-IV)	Secondary Education (V-VII)	Higher Secondary Education (VII-Xth)	Intermediate and more	Total
GC	5(15%)	1(6%)	5(21%)	2(29%)	1(25%)	14(17%)
OBC	3(9%)	2(12%)	7(29%)	3(43%)	3(75%)	18(21%)
SC	7(22%)	4(23%)	7(29%)	1(14%)		19(22%)
ST	18(54%)	10(59%)	5(21%)	1(14%)		34(40%)
Total	33(39%)	17(20%)	24(28%)	7(8%)	4(5%)	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

In general, migrants have lower educational status. The reasons stated were low income, lack of schools in their native places, and persistence of cultural notions. The respondents have stated that due to low income of their parents, they were not sent to school and nobody

in the family gave importance of their education. Those who attended school revealed that due to their parent's poor income, they had to stop their education. Few migrants have reported that during the time of no money, their parents sent them to school by borrowing money. After borrowing money several times, when there was nobody to provide money, their parents also had to stop their children's education. Further the data revealed that due to unavailability of primary and secondary school in their villages, some of the migrants could not continue education immediately after their schooling.

A respondent Benudhara Swain narrates that

I was very much interested in studying instead of working with my parents. My father was an electrician and was able to earn only Rs.10-15 everyday. When there was no work in our village, he had to manage work in other villages. Though my father had some earning, I could not avail education because there was only one primary school in my village. My family members were willing to send me to the neighbouring school, it was too far from my village and no child in my village were going to school. When I forced my parents to get my admission in the neighbouring school, he scolded me saying that the school was not going to provide me food. Rather if I learnt some work, it will be helpful for my future. So I started working at the age of 12 as an electrician with my father. Therefore, I had to stop my education.

The above narration indicates that education for children was not a matter of concern for the parents, rather livelihood options were urgent for sustenance. The low income and absence of the school is the main reasons for the low education of the migrants.

Looking into the educational status of the female migrants' it has been found that compared to male migrants, the literacy rate is very low among the female migrants. Out of 85 respondents, 57% female migrants are illiterate, 36% female migrants have primary education, only 7% female migrants have availed secondary education and none of the female migrants has higher secondary education (see **appendix table-4**). Most of the female respondents have revealed that due to the prevailing cultural notions that "female are only to take care of the family and giving education is waste of money, the girls education was undermined. It has been reported that by some of the female migrants in their villages' girls were confined to their home or work. They were not allowed to go anywhere alone after their menstrual cycle starts. So due to the fear that if their girl children get educated, then they will have to go school alone after their maturity. When the female migrants were asked about their daily activities at home, it is reported that girl children got engaged in all the

household work from the age of 6 or 7 years. Because of their cultural notions, girls are married off within a year of their maturity. Therefore, initiating the girls into household work assumes more significance than sending them to schools. Most of the girls are employed in different household works such as fetching water, sweeping the houses, washing clothes and preparing foods as domestic help. Very few girl children go for outside work as wage labourers. Thus, low income, absence of school and persistence of certain cultural notions and values were the main causes for the low educational status for both the male and female migrants.

While in the earlier section, the study discussed about the educational status of the first generations migrants, in the following section, the educational status of children has been discussed.

Migrants and their Children's Education

The migrants have developed interest in educating their children. The data about the literacy rate of the unmarried migrant children from 6 to 25 ages shows that out of 196 children, 65 children are illiterate and 131 children are literate. From the total 128 boys, 37 are illiterate and 91 are literate. Out of 68 girls, 28 are illiterate and 40 are literate.

In Apartibindha colony, there is one English medium school, one Odiya medium school, which mainly provides education to the children. Among these schools, the Odiya medium School offers free education till 5th standard. The Satya Sai English Medium School is a private school and it charges Rs.1500 for the admission of a student. The school timings of these high schools are from morning 6 o'clock to 11 o'clock. None of these schools have more than primary levels. Hence, for secondary education, the girls have to take admission in Government Girl's High School and the boys have to take admission in Government Bhadrak high school. Large number of migrant children mainly takes admission in the Odiya medium schools, while the children from the upper class family go to the English medium school. Unlike the Odiya medium schools, very less migrant children are going to Satya Sai English Medium School. Most of the parents send their children to the Odiya medium schools because of the less admission fees and low expenditure. Only 12 children from the migrants' families are going to Satya Sai English Medium School at present. It has

been observed that three upper class migrants have arranged rickshaws for their children whereas the rest of children go by walk.

Out of 91 literate boys, 21 boys have primary education, 39 have secondary education, 23 have higher secondary and only eight have intermediate and more education. It is observed that some of the migrants whether from low income group or from the high-income group give importance to their children's education. They regularly check their children's study at night after their work. In fact most of upper class migrants provide personal tuition to their children, when they cross their primary education. In some cases when the parents find their children's poor performance in their school, some of the parents engage tuition to guide their children properly. During the field work it was revealed that from among the total children, three of them have done their study outside the Bhadrak district. A few migrants force their children to drop from the school despite good academic performance due to poverty.

On the other hand, it has been found that some migrants from low-income group who do not give much importance to their children's education because they believe that to earn money higher education is not necessary. Therefore, when their son crosses primary or secondary education, they stop their son's education.

Upa Munda raised the question as to why should I provide education to my children? Even if I send my children to the school they are not going to get any job in future as we are tribes. If I would send them to school, it would be unnecessary wastage of money and time. No way would it be fruitful to us. I have no education. Did it stop me from surviving? If I could survive without education and able to run my family, my children would definitely do the same.

The above narrative elucidate that the parents from lower class still do not want to give education to their children. They apprehend that their children may not get job even if educated. However they further believe that to earn money and to lead a life, education is not the only means.

The data on girls' education revealed that the education among girls is lower than that of the boys. Out of 40 literate girls, a large proportion of 22 girls have primary education, 12 have secondary education and 6 have higher secondary education and more. Most of the migrants continue with notions such as "a girl is not going to get any benefit from their

education. Finally, they have to get married and take care of their family. Therefore, if they learn some household work, it will help them in their in-laws' house". Another reason is that if they get their daughters educated, they will face problem in finding grooms for their daughters. Therefore, as soon as a girl completes her primary education, the parents withdraw their daughter from school.

Gender discrimination in terms of giving education is prevalent among the migrants' families. It has been observed that most of the parents generally prefer to spend money for their son rather than their daughter. When parent undergo some financial crisis, they first try to stop their daughter's education. Even in the financial crisis some migrants may want to continue their son's education by borrowing money, unless their children wish to drop out. It has been found that the migrants, who are from upper middle class, do not hesitate in sending their girl children to school and college. There are four migrants' families who are sending their daughter to colleges. The study found that girls mainly after their education engage in domestic chores like washing clothes, preparing food and cleaning the house or engage in some job as maid servant, construction worker and in the zip factory.

Occupational Profile of the Respondents in Bhadrak Town

Different factors are responsible for the migration of people but a number of studies show that occupation is a crucial factor for the increasing rate of migration. G.S. Mehta (1991), in his study found that the migrants are in a better status and engaged in more rewarding levels of employment available in the city and the average earning of migrants are significantly much higher. H.C.Upreti (1981) in his study found that most of the respondents are engaged in lower occupations than the higher occupations. K.Gopal Iyer (2004), in his study found that the decision to move out of their home in search of relatively more gainful employment is primarily a survival strategy by moving from a state of starvation to survival.

Findings from the present study data indicates that 41% are construction worker and daily wage labourers, 27% are engaged in petty business, about a quarter of them are working in industries (26%), a small proportion (6%) are still engaged in agriculture.

The data shows that after migration out of 85 respondents 36.5% had to wait for one month, 41% waited for 2-6 months and 33% started working immediately after their migration. Unemployment, low income and bad working conditions were the major problems which the migrants constantly faced. However, the condition of the migrants was very harsh initially after migration. Those who had no work, every day were moving from one place to another in search of work. When they faced difficulty in getting work, they accepted the work that knocked first. The migrants who did not stay in Bhadrak town had to go through the tiring journey as daily passengers every day after searching work.

Table No.3.9: Present Occupation of the Respondents

Present Occupation	Percentage
Industrial worker	22(26%)
Petty business	23(27%)
Agriculture	5(6%)
Daily wage labourer	8(9%)
Construction worker	27(32%)
No work	-
Total	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The migrants are forced to do different kinds of jobs at the place of migration. After migration to Bhadrak town, about 75% have changed their traditional caste based occupation and 25% are still engaged in their previous occupation. For example, the migrant of the *Kumbhara* caste whose main occupation is making pot, either got engaged as agricultural workers or as construction workers when they found income from selling of pots is very low. Moreover, the migrants who are engaged as an agricultural worker, after the harvesting season, operate rickshaws to earn money for their families. The migrants who are engaged in shoe making or repairing job, during off-season (both the males and females) got engaged in stitching the mattress at their home. Among all the castes, migrants from the *Kumbharas*, *Mochi* and *Keutas* still follow their traditional occupations and most of the other migrants belonging to other castes have changed their occupations. A case study is presented here in order to elaborate some of the point discussed above.

Case Study-5

Prabhu charan Muduli, Kumbharaa by caste hails from the Purunia village of Keonjhora district. Prabhu lived in a joint family with his parents, grandparents, two sisters, three brothers, his uncles, aunty and there 2 children. Prabhu and his siblings missed their education because there was no school in the village. Prabhu's father Gobinda was engaged in their traditional profession of selling pot. In his village, Gobinda had a business of selling pot near the Tarini temple in Ghata Gaon where as Prabhu's uncle Sarata earned irregular wage by working as a conductor in a private bus. The combined income of Gobinda and Sarata was sufficient to feed all the family members.

When Prabhu was nine years old, his father remarried to Matana in the neighboring village of Ghata Gaon. After the marriage, Gobinda lived with Matan and did not take any responsibilities of his family. Even he stopped sending money to his home. As Sarata had no regular work, his earning was as much as Rs.100 per month. The amount was very small to feed 13 members. There was always shortage of money at his home. Due to scarcity of money, food usually consisted of only rice and pickle. The condition was so worst that some time, there was quarrel among the children for food.

With the unbearable condition, Prabhu's mother Meena started searching for work. Due to no alternative source of earning in the village, Meena started selling the Kendu leaf in the market. Meena's day began early in the morning at 5 o'clock. The first act of the day was sweeping the house and verandah with the cow dung water. Then she would wash the utensils and prepare food. After feeding her last son who was only five years old, she left for jungle with his elder daughter Ragini to collect Kendu leave. For selling 50 Kendu leaf Meena got Rs.1 rupees. By selling Kendu leaf, Meena started earning Rs.5 to Rs.10 per day. However, Meena from the earned money was able to buy some vegetables.

Two years went by, when Sarata's money was very much needed for the family under such circumstances; Sarata separated from the family and stayed separately. Without other source of income, Prabhu's elder brother Alekha engaged in their traditional occupation at the age of 15. Due to less demand of pot in the village, Alekh was able to earn only Rs.10 by selling the pot, which was very low for the family. Therefore, Prabhu at the age of 11 started working as an agricultural labourer in Kadu Khuntia's house of the neighboring village. He was provided with a house by the landlord and for the work he got Rs.5 each day. Every month, Prabhu visited his home and sent Rs.100 to his mother. Sometime during the agricultural season, when he was not able to visit home his brother collected money from him.

Prabhu worked for 8 years in the landlord's house. One day a quarrel broke out between the landlord and Prabhu. In the month of November when all the workers including Prabhu were engaged in harvesting work, one night all the raw rice was stolen from the field. The landlord charged Prabhu as a robber for stolen of rice. The landlord didn't provide any wage for the whole month of work and did not keep him in work. After losing work, Prabhu returned home and searched for work but he failed to get any work. Sometime he earned money as a daily wage labourer. Therefore, to do some income Prabhu with his three friends started earning money by performing Pala⁶. For performing pala, most of the time he visited to Bhadrak district. For doing four nights of Pala, they earned Rs.400. During his stay for pala in Bhadrak town, due to the availability of agricultural activity most of the time he was engaged in agricultural activity after the completion of pala. Therefore, he was staying in the village school during the agricultural seasons. When Prabhu found work

⁶ Pala is just an religious act performed by a group of people in villages during the time of festivals and the attributes generally come from our mahabarat n ramayan.

maximum time at Bhadrak district, he stayed permanently at Bhadrak. In the beginning, Prabhu and his friends took a rented house in a village of Dhusuri. When there was no Pala, Prabhu and his friends were engaged both in the agricultural work and construction work. After agricultural season in the village, they used to work as a labourer under village contractor. Later on, they got offers from Bhadrak town and for the purpose of work, Prabhu stayed nearly 6 months at Bhadrak town. Due to shifting nature of work initially, Prabhu and his friends did not rent room at Bhadrak town. During the work period at Bhadrak, they stayed near the work place in a tent. Finally Prabhu and his friends rented a house at Apartibindha colony because rent of house was cheaper than other colonies. Every month Prabhu and his friend had to pay Rs.100 for house rent. Due to no water facilities, they took bath in the river and to prepared food in a kerosene stove. At Bhadrak town everyday Prabhu was able to earn Rs.20 per day. it was very difficult for Prabhu to visit his village. Continuously for 2 years Prabhu did not get a chance to visit his village.

Three years later, Prabhu brought his elder brother Raghu who had no work and engaged him in the construction work. After Raghu's arrival at Bhadrak town, they rented a separate house. There was no water facilities, no separate kitchen, no electricity facilities and no toilet facilities. The timings of work was 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the evening. The day of Prabhu started at 6 o'clock in the morning and the first act of the day was to prepare meals for both lunch and dinner. Then they proceeded for work at 7.30 am after having their lunch and returned home at 6 o'clock in the evening.

The combined earning of Prabhu and Raghu was Rs. 1000 per month. Every month they sent Rs.500 to their home. In the mean time, Prabhu got married his elder sisters with Jitendra with the bride price of Rs.20, 000. A year after his first sister's wedding, prabhu got married his second sister with Landa. As there was very less savings for the second marriage, Prabhu borrowed Rs.15, 000 from the moneylender with an interest of 3 paisa. It took nearly six months to Prabhu and Raghu to repay the debt. Prabhu after saving some money started his traditional work of pottery business because of the moving nature of work. Those were the miserable days of Prabhu's life. Every day they were able to earn Rs. 50 by selling pots in the Bhadrak market. Their income was more during the festival time. Those were miserable days in prabhu's life. After 7 years of stay at Bhadrak town, Prabhu got married to Kumundini. After marriage, Kumundini stayed with her mother in law at his village and Prabhu lived at Bhadrak town. Four years gone but Prabhu could not bring Kumundini to Bhadrak town because his mother lived alone in his village. In the mean time, Kumundini gave birth two sons namely Ranjit and Tukuna. When Tukuna was only 7 months, he suffered from severe diarrhea. Due to lack of medical facilities in his village, Kumundini lost her son. After that incident, Prabhu brought his family to Bhadrak town.

In the beginning Kumundini faced different problems in the rented house because there was no separate kitchen, no bathroom, toilet and no water facilities. Kumundini faced different problems in the house. Due to absence of water facility everyday Kumundini got up at 5 o'clock in the morning to fetch water for household purposes from the public tubewell, as the tubewell became crowded after 7 o'clock. To make pot, everyday she brought water from the river. Kumundini faced different problems in the summer when there was no water in the river. For the pottery work in the summer, both Prabhu and Kumundini brought water from the neighbors' tube well. However, though Prabhu spent Rs.100 every month but the roof was not repaired by the house owner. In the rainy season due to old roof, water leaked from the roof and it was very difficult to sleep inside the house. As Prabhu had small children, so to repair the roof he paid money to the house owner every month. In the absence of kitchen everyday Kumundini cooked in the outside of the verandah through a removable Chholli. As Prabhu was alone engaged in the pottery work, so after the household work Kumundini helped her husband by making the pots and selling it in Kachery market and in different colonies and neighboring villages.

Now Prabhu and Kumundini managed well with their earnings. Through all these years at Bhadrak, Prabhu and Kumundini had maintained a strong link with his village. They

regularly visited their village twice in a year. After more than 23 years of stay at Bhadrak town migration brought very less changes in their socio economic conditions. However, Prabhu has realized the importance of education but due to less selling, he could not give more education. Now his son was also engaged in his father's pottery work. In spite of different problems in their rented house, they lived in that house because of low house rent.

After migration to Bhadrak town, almost everybody in a family gets engaged in some sort of occupation. Nowadays most of the female members irrespective of their families and castes are engaged in different type of works such as construction workers, maidservants, and agricultural workers and as labourers in different factories. Women migrants also participate in the work to complement the household income. Among all the female migrants about 21% of the female migrant are not engaged in any work and a large proportion of them 79% are engaged in some job. Out of 79% working female migrants, 26% of the female migrants are engaged as construction workers, 22% are engaged as industrial workers, which includes the Zip factory, oil mill, manufacturing industry and rice mills. There are few female migrants, who are also engaged in other occupation like 12% in petty-business, 11% in agricultural work and 8% as domestic maid (see appendix table-5).

The data on the previous work profile of the female migrants in their native places shows that a small proportion of women 27% are engaged as maidservants or agricultural works in their villages while 73% were not engaged in any occupation. The female migrants have reported that lack of work opportunities and cultural restrictions were the major reasons which prohibited them to do work outside their home. The female migrants generally mentioned that due to the cultural restrictions they were not allowed by their parents to engage in any work outside their home. The female migrants preferred to work close to their place residence or in the neighbourhood, so that after work they can easily return home and look after their children. It is observed that a large proportion of female migrants preferred to engage themselves in zip factory which is located close to Apartibindha colony or as a maidservant in the colony. The main reason for this is because of the flexibility of time as wage is based on quantum of work. Therefore with small children, they can perform both the role as homemaker and also complement household income. The female migrants engaged as maidservants were quite contented that they get reasonable wage for the time they work. For instances: a maid has to work only for 30 minutes in a single house and get Rs.50 per month. Those who work in several homes in a day earn the wage crucial for

contented that they get reasonable wage for the time they work. Apart from the wage, they get food and other consumables from their owners' houses. The female migrants who are engaged as maid servants before leaving for work finish half of their own household work like sweeping, fetching water and on their return cleaning utensils and after returning from their morning session work, they do the remaining household work like washing clothes, buying vegetables and preparing food.

The female migrants who are engaged as other than maidservants and in zip factory work, generally leave home in the morning at 8 o'clock and return home in the evening at 5 o'clock. In such case some of the female migrants finish half of their household work at night before going to sleep where as some other female migrants try to finish their household work before leaving for work early morning. When they can't complete all the household work, it is their children who look after the household work. It is observed that all the female migrants who stay out of home from morning 8 am to evening 5 pm take their food with themselves. Soon after returning from work, the female migrants start preparing for the dinner. However, it has been observed that few female migrants as they return home very late after their work, they prepare food only once in the morning for both lunch and dinner. The data revealed that none of the upper caste (Brahmin, Khandayat and Karana) migrants' women are engaged in occupations such as agricultural work or construction work. When asked the reason for not taking up construction work and agricultural work, they revealed that it is due to nature of work (long working hours, strenuous physical labour) cultural norms and restrictions on their mobility. So, all the upper caste female migrants prefer to be engaged as a maidservant or in Zip factory.

A large number of female migrants reported that after migration they faced different set of problems in their familial roles as mother. For instances: those female migrants who are engaged in the work that involves longer working hours, do not find time to take care of their children and elderly people. Most of the times their young children step into undertake household responsibilities. Even during the time of illness for the family members, female migrants have no option to stay at home due to lack of leave and financial needs.

Besides the elder members in the family, the children get engaged in some sort of work to help their parents after their education. The tribal boys of the age group of 10-12, start

working as construction workers, agricultural workers and rickshaw pullers along with their parents. None of the tribal boys are seen sitting at home, after they reach the age of 12. The boys belonging to the castes of *Kumbharas*, *Mochi* and *Badhei* help their fathers in their traditional occupation from their childhood. The children of these castes help their parents in selling the goods during the busy schedule. In fact those who go to the school, sit in the shops to help their parents after coming back from the school and during the holidays. It is observed that in the castes of *Mochi*, the boys are not allowed to go beyond primary school by their parents. Rather they engage their sons in work from their very childhood.

In case of a girl child, it has been found that almost all the girls help their mother in household chores from the age of 12. Only those parents who are involved in construction work allow their daughters to work along with them, so that they can monitor their daughters. Even some of the parents do not permit their grown up daughter to work as a domestic worker, if the owner's houses are far from their houses and if their daughter have to do work at evening session. Therefore, except tribal girls, most of girls generally prefer to work in Zip factory and in rice mill after their education whereas most of the tribal girls are engaged either in agricultural work or in construction work. It is observed that the girls who are employed in work that involves long working hours and distance places leave their work just before their marriage.

Thus, the study concludes that after migration, most of the migrants are engaged in some occupation. Due to the different occupational choices, the migrants frequently change their occupation from low paid work to other jobs. However, to improve their economic conditions most of the migrants are engaged in multiple occupations.

Income

The data on monthly income of the respondents' shows that 47% of them earn Rs.1000 to Rs 1999 per month, 45% of the respondents earn Rs.2000 to Rs.2999 per month and only 8% migrants receive more than Rs.3000 per month. The migrants who are engaged in petty business and in different industries earn more than other migrants. Out of 23 respondents who are engaged in petty business, nearly 83% earn more than Rs. 2000 per month whereas

only 17% earn less than Rs.2000 per month. And those who are engaged in industrial work 90% migrants earn more than Rs.2000 and only 10% earn less than Rs.2000.

Table No.3.10: Work wise Income

Type of Work	Total Wage			
	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000-4999	Total
Petty Business	4(10%)	15(39%)	4(57%)	23(27%)
Agricultural labourers	5(13%)	-	-	5(6%)
Daily wage Labourers	8(20%)	-	-	8(9%)
Construction Worker	21(53%)	6(16%)	-	27(32%)
Industrial Worker	2(5%)	17(45%)	3(43%)	22(26%)
Total	40(47.05%)	38(44.71%)	7(8.24%)	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The income is very low among the migrants who are engaged in agricultural activity. I have found that all the migrants who are engaged in agricultural work earn less than Rs. 2000 per month. The data on the daily income of the female migrants shows that 48% of female migrant make Rs.500-Rs.999 per month where as only 31% female migrants make Rs.1000-Rs.1999 per month. It is interesting to know that none of the female migrants is able to earn more than Rs.2000 per month. The female migrants who are engaged in construction work earn more than 1000 rupees per month but the income is very less among the female migrants who are engaged in petty business like the one selling Handia, pot, stitching mattress, in industrial work and maidservant earn below 50 rupees per day.

Caste wise data of the migrants indicate that the earnings of the upper caste migrants are found considerably higher compared to the lower caste migrants like SC and ST. Out of 17% Upper caste respondents, only 36% of migrants earn less than Rs.2000 per month and 64% respondents earn more than Rs.2000 per month. The income of the 34 scheduled tribe migrants shows 59% migrants earn less than Rs.2000 per month. Out of 19 scheduled caste migrants, 47% earn less than Rs.2000 per month. A small proportion (16%) of scheduled caste migrants are earning more than Rs.3000 per month while none of the Scheduled tribe migrants earn more than Rs. 3000 per month.

Table No.3.11: Caste wise Wage

Caste	Wage			
	1000-1999	2000-2999	3000-More	Total
UC	5(36%)	7(50%)	2(14%)	14(17%)
OBC	6(33.33%)	10(55.56%)	2(11.11%)	18(21.8%)
SC	9(47.37%)	7(36.84%)	3(15.79%)	19(22%)
ST	20(58.82%)	14(41.18%)	-	34 (40%)
Total	40(47.05%)	38(44.71%)	7(8.24%)	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

Having discussed the income, now we will talk about the expenditure of the migrants. It has been noticed that before migration to the Bhadrak town 47% had not taken any credit and 53% had taken credit from friends, relatives, landlord, money lenders and neighbors in times of need. After migration to Bhadrak town most of the migrants have repaid their debt. Major part of the earnings was spent on buying food items and paying house rents. Those migrants, who have their family members at their villages, send money to their siblings when in need. But the migrants who have their own houses either in their native villages or at the migrated place mainly spend their money in replacing their thatched roof and rebuilding their old houses. The upper class migrants generally spend their money for rebuilding their houses, buy consumer items such as TV, fridge, cycle for their children and spend money for their children's education. After spending their income for the household needs, some of the migrants save money in the Bank or in LIC⁷. Out of 85 respondents, a small proportion of migrants 22% have started their savings accounts in bank for their future. Quite a few migrants admitted that they spend money on liquor. However, the female migrants indicated that their priority is to spend money for their daughter's marriage. So when they get their wage, with little savings they spend on utensils, saree, gold ornaments and other household things for their daughter's marriage. The remaining money they spend on household things. Some of the female migrants lend money on interest to their neighbours. It has been observed that most of the working boys and girls generally assist their parents during the financial needs. The boys generally give half of their income to their parents and the remaining money they spend on buying electronic

⁷ LIC: Life Insurance Corporation

goods, dresses and on street food. However, the girls use their money in buying cosmetics, dresses, sarees and ornaments.

Thus, some of the migrants have improved their income and their economic conditions after migration. Yet some of the migrants are unable to meet their daily expenses due to their low income. So during the time of need they take credit from the money lenders and friends. Some of the migrants revealed that after taking loans and their options of getting further credit decreases, they mortgage their household articles for getting credits. The expenditure data of 85 respondents shows that 56.5% respondents spend Rs.2000-Rs.2999 rupees per month and 43.5% respondents spend Rs.3000 and more per month. Whereas the previous expenditure data shows that 80.0% respondents spend Rs.500-Rs.999 rupees per month, 19% had spent 1000-1999 rupees per month and only 1% had spent Rs.2000-Rs.2999 rupees per month. However, the migrants who have been employed in better work but they are exposed to various kinds of exploitations such as discrimination in the workplace, prolonged work hours, bad working conditions and low payment at their workplace. The migrants who are engaged in construction work reported that to be a mason is a process. It takes minimum 5 to 10 years to increase one's position from a labourer to a helper. Then he becomes a mason and from a mason he elevates his position to a chief mason. Though, the migrants are engaged in this occupation for more than 5 to 10 years and good at their work but they are yet seen to be forced to work just as a labourer. They neither increase their position nor do they increase their income. Even to get work regularly, everyday they leave for work before half an hour and wait in the market with a hope to get work from the chief mason but maximum time they fail to work. As the head mason belong to the Islamic community, so every day the head mason first prefer to give work to his own community worker. And the worker who stay near the head masons houses manage to get work soon even if they are not good in work and do not come regularly for work. A case study is presented here in order to elaborate some of the issues discussed above.

Case Study-6

Damodara das, Keuta by caste hails from a village of Preetipur in the district of Jajpur. Damodara lived in a joint family with his parents, grandparents, 3 brothers, 3 sisters and 1 paternal aunty. Having 4 acres of land, Damodara's grandfather Binod and father Khageswara were engaged

in the traditional occupation of selling fish. As Khageswara was the only son, he always spent the earned money by taking liquor and playing card. All the income of the family was drained away by Khageswara. After Binoda's death, Khageswara rarely contributed money to the household expenditure. Even to play the card he sold out the 4 acres of land and other household things. When Damodara's mother "Nayana" reverted his father from selling the household things Khageswara would beat Nayana. The situation was very serious. Under such circumstances, it was very difficult for Nayana to provide food to her children. To support the family, Nayana started working as a daily wage labourer in the village. When there was no work continuously for 15 days, the family needs to starve. Most of the time, Nayana begged rice from the neighbours to feed her children. When there was no work for Nayana, it was very difficult for Nayana to run her family.

Under such financial condition, every day the quarrel broke out between Damodara's father and mother. One day Nayana with her last daughter and son left the house by leaving the responsibilities with Damodara of marrying her two daughters. Therefore, Damodar had to drop out the school when he was in the seven standard and started earning money by working as a labourer. Even Damodara's younger brother Akshya also joined as a labourer with Damodara. However, it was very difficult for them to get work regularly. Everyday both of them earned Rs.10-Rs.15, which was sufficient to feed five members. To avoid starvation in the family, Damodara searched for an alternative work in his village but he failed to obtain any work. Without any option, he tried his luck in the Bhadrak district. Every day morning Damodara got up at 5 o'clock in the morning and his first act of the day was to prepare food before he left for work. Then immediately he proceeded for work at 6 o'clock in the morning. As there was no communication facilities everyday Damodara had to go to Bhadrak town by crossing the village river. But it was very difficult for Damodara to cross the river while returning home at night. The situation was worst in the rainy season due to the flood in the river. Therefore, he decided to stay at Bhadrak town. In search of a rented house, Damodara moved from places to places but failed to get a single room immediately. He spent his first two nights under NH-5 high way bridge. After two days, Damodara with his three friends built a tent house near the work place and stayed there. However, Damodara managed to get work as a labourer in Bainsi Mohapatra's land. So to run the family in the summer, Damodara took Bainsi Mohapatra's land in lease and agreed to pay Rs.2000 every year. In the first year, Damodara made a profit of Rs.3000 from the land. However, they did not face any financial problems after taking land in lease. But he faced different problems with the land owner. When Damodara started growing vegetables, the landowner always took one bag of vegetable without paying any money. Gradually Damodara's daily earning from the vegetable decreased and he did not get more profit. Initially Damodara did not tell anything to the landowner because of the fear of losing land. Finally, when the landowner took vegetables without payment of money a quarrel broke out between the

landlord and Damodara. After two year of work in Bainsi Mohaptra's field Damodara left the work without any option, he worked as a construction worker.

In the beginning, Damodara was able to earn only Rs.40 a day. Out of which Damodara had to pay Rs.10 as commission to the head mason in return for getting work. However, he worked for two years as a construction worker but there was no increase in his income and position. As the head mason was a Muslim, he was increasing the position of Muslim workers even if they were not good in their work. Due to fear of losing work, Damodara never complained to the head mason and he gave commission to get work. However, he succeeded in getting work every day at Bhadrak town. However, in the monsoon due to no construction work he was worked as an agricultural labourer. To increase the income, Damodara started stitching the mattress at the nighttime. Every month he managed to earn Rs.100 by stitching mattress. When Damodara increased his income, he brought his sibling to Bhadrak town but his grandmother due to her attachment with the village did not come to Bhadrak town with them. As his younger brother, Gayadhara had no work, he also joined as a construction worker with his brother. In the beginning due to no water facility, toilet facility Pramila faced lots of problem because of low caste. The neighbours were not willing to give water to Pramila and nobody wanted to talk with them. Every day Pramila fetched water from the river. After the household work, Pramila stitched the mattress in the daytime. However, the combined income of Damodara and Gayadhara was sufficient to run the family. Four years later, Damodara got married both of his sisters Pramila and Urmila together in the Aradi temple of Bhadrak town, to reduce the marriage expenditure.

Thus, those were the miserable days in Damodara's life. Now both the brother lived together in their old house. Damodara is married to Rukbanti and Gayadhar is married to Saraswati. Somehow they over come all the financial problems. After 17 years of stay at Bhadrak town Rukbanti still followed the village tradition and customs. For instance: Rukbanti expecting a son, gave birth to four girl children. She believed that "to give birth to a son will make one to go to heaven". For a son, Rukbanti visited different temple, wore sacred thread and kept fast on Monday for four years. For the good future of her son, she still keeps fast on Monday. In spite of her stay at Bhadrak town, she still held the traditional belief of giving education to the girl child is wasting money. For this belief, Rukbanti did not send her three daughters to school and engaged them in the household chores. Even to get rid of the burden of marriage of her daughter she got married her first daughters when she reached the age of 15. While Damodara's first son is studying in seventh standards and his second son is in fourth standards.

Now Damodara has developed some social attachment with his neighbours in the colony. During the festivals and in functions, he invites his friends for food to his house and distributes the cakes to his neighbours house. Even he

spends time by visiting his friends' houses in weekend. Damodara celebrates all the festivals like Ganesh puja, Saraswati puja and Holi with the neighbours in the colony. Besides this every day Damodara go for work with his friends from the colony and play card in the weekend. Even during the time of crises, Damodara takes monetary help from his friends. Although Damodara and his wife have become used to city life, he always liked his village. In spite of having lived at Bhadrak town for more than 10 years, Damodara still have strong links with his native village. Though nobody stays at his village but every year, he visits his village. Now Damodara has settled down at Bhadrak but there are not many changes in his conditions. Still Damodara works as a construction worker.

Thus, the above case study reveals a situation where the migrants are sufferer because of the head masons. All the labourers do hard work, it is the chief mason who gets all the money after work and it is he who distributes the money among all the labourers. As all the work is provided by chief mason, he deducts Rs.10 from each labourer, which is granted by the owner for food of workers.

Further the study reveals that the migrants who were engaged in agricultural work also suffer a lot after their migration. It is reported that due to no agricultural activity for some months, the migrants are more prone to be deceived by the local people. For example, when there was no work for the migrants, any local person can hire them to do the fence work or to level the soil by just paying 30 rupees or by providing them one time food, while if they do these works out side they can easily earn Rs.60 per day. Further it has been observed that few migrants take land in lease from the landlord for growing vegetables when there is no work but always the landlord takes vegetables without any payment. A.G. Frank in his study “*Development of Underdevelopment in Latin America*” points out that once a country or a people are converted into the satellite of an external capitalist metropolis, the exploitative metropolis-satellite structure quickly comes to organize and dominate the domestic, political and social life of the people.

Apart from the male migrants, the female migrants and children are also exposed to different kinds of exploitations like low wage, more hours of work and bad working conditions. The female migrants, who are engaged in construction work and agricultural work, only get Rs.50 per day where as the male migrants get Rs.70 per day. On the other hand, some of the migrants' revealed that their wages hardly go up and always forced to

work for longer hours without any extra payment. Those who work in construction work, if they hesitate to work after the fixed time of work, the head mason will not provide their wage till they complete the work. Therefore, some of the female migrants do not take leave even during the time of need. Few lower caste female migrants, who are employed as a maidservant, get very low wage that is only Rs.50 per month where as other caste maidservant receive Rs.100 per month. The behaviour of the owners are very rude towards low caste domestic help. They are only engaged in limited work such as cleaning the utensils, washing the clothes and sweeping the houses. It has been reported by the female migrants that during the festivals or functions, they are not allowed to eat food inside the owner's houses. Either the female migrants have to eat food in the veranda or take food to their home. Thus, the condition of few migrants improved but lower caste migrants face discrimination at the migrant place as well.

Women's Role in Decision Making

After migration to Bhadrak town, female migrants have some role in the decision making process at home. The female migrants have mentioned that as male members are busy with the work outside home, they hardly find time to take household responsibility except giving money as and when required. It has been found that the female migrants manage their total household expenses, take decision in their children's education, children's marriage and in buying the durable items at their home. Some of the female migrants have informed that they take decision in buying land, in replacing their house and take decision when to seek loan for the household purposes etc. Thus female migrants have gained in some sense in making decisions.

Food Habits and Dress Patterns of the Migrants

It is observed that a large part of income among the migrants is spent in buying food. As it is very difficult for most of the migrants to buy rations once in a week, they buy rations daily. Only a few better placed among the migrants buy their rations once a month. It is pragmatic for migrants to buy rations daily from the received wage on each day. As purchasing rice consumes half of their income, with whatever is left they buy other items like oil, tea powder, salt, sugar and gram leaves. Except potato, the lower class migrants

give less importance to other vegetables because of shortage of money. It is observed that due to high price of vegetables, some of the female migrants prefer to buy them after 9' clock at night because of its low price although the quality of vegetables is bad. During the time of shortage of money, the lower class migrants buy rations on credit from the local shops. It is observed that when the poor migrants cannot repay the borrowed money of the local shop for long time then migrants tend to mortgage or sell the household things. However some of the migrants do repay the loan to the local shop.

The food pattern of the children shows that children generally take food 3 times in a day. The children from the lower class family take *Pakhal* in the morning as breakfast. As it is difficult to prepare curry and food in the early morning, therefore the small children take *Pakhal* with boiled potato, tomato fry or with fried dry fish. It is observed that when there is no *Pakhal* for breakfast, the children either take tea, flattened rice or remain hungry till their lunch. The migrants belonging to better placed class take milk, flattened rice, puffed rice, roti and *Chatua*⁸ in their breakfast. In most of the migrant families the elder members take their food twice in a day. Both the male and female migrants take only tea as their breakfast. It is observed that the elder members who go for work from morning 8' clock to evening 5 o'clock take *pakhal* in their breakfast before leaving for work. Both the male and female migrants who are engaged as construction worker or in agriculture take *Pakhal* with them for their lunch. The main reasons for preferring *Pakhal* among the elder members is because of the belief that it works as a medicine in reducing the pain after doing hard work and give sound sleep. Further the migrants have a belief that if they will take *Pakhal* then it will give them energy to work without feeling hungry for long time. It has been noticed that the food habits of the female migrants are very poor. In most of the households the female migrants only take a cup of tea in the morning and do not take anything until their lunch. They take their lunch and dinner, after all the family members finish their food. Most of the upper class migrants take chapatti and curry as their breakfast. When the question asked to the migrants about the frequency of taking the non-vegetarian food in a month, it has been found that non-vegetarian food items are rarely consumed among the low class migrant households. Due to high price of the non-vegetarian food, the low class migrants also do

⁸ chatua: mix powder of rice, flattened rice, puffed rice and peanut

not get chance to prepare chicken or mutton once in a month except on festivals. To prepare mutton in the festivals they have to save money prior to the festival. It is observed that the lower class migrants take eggs and dry fish more frequently than chicken, mutton and fish because of low price.

Tarulata Behera narrates that

My children are very fond of non vegetarian food. If I give them non vegetarian food for whole week they can have happily. But as my family consists of 7 members and the price of the non vegetarian food is very high, it is not possible for us to have non vegetarian every week. So when it is not possible to afford non vegetarian food, I buy egg and dry fish. Because if I spend Rs.10 then I can buy egg for whole of my family members as one egg cost only Rs.2. But even if I spend Rs. 50 for mutton or chicken, I can't buy it for my whole family member and if I spend Rs.50 to buy egg, I can prepare egg curry for five to six times in a month. Further I also prefer to buy dry fish instead of buying chicken or mutton because the price of dry fish is low compared to other non vegetarian food. If I spend Rs.100, I can buy 1 kg dry fish which will go for six months and consume less oil to prepare the curry.

Thus, the above narrative describes that the low class migrants first give importance to the cost of the non-vegetarian food. They give importance to buy the non vegetarian food which comes on low price, last for long time and they do not have to spend more spices for preparing it. For example, the lower class migrants prefer to buy dry fish because it lasts for a longer period. The migrants, who cannot afford non-vegetarian food, catch fish in the nearest river and some of the migrants' rear chicken at home to meet their requirement of non-vegetarian food. But the upper class migrants can afford non-vegetarian food twice a week. They frequently take fish and chicken but mutton is prepared only in the festivals. Thus, the above description indicates that low income restricts the migrants from consuming expensive food items for which some of the migrants prefer to take food, which is available at low prices.

When there is no income in rainy season, the migrants sustain by taking monetary help from their friends. If they are not able to borrow money, they manage by taking food once a day. Sometimes due to lack of money, to buy rice they sustain themselves by taking flattened rice because of its low price. The migrants states that for buying 1 kg of flattened rice they have to spend only Rs.10 where as for buying 1 kg raw rice they need Rs.15 and more. Apart from low price for taking flattened rice, they do not need any curry along with it. The food habit of tribal migrants in rainy season shows that the tribal migrants generally

take *handia* which they bring from their villages during their visit and cheap food available in the street.

Raja, Kumar Purnima and *Prathama Astami* are the main festivals in which the migrants have to buy new clothes for their children. It is found that the lower class migrants due to inability in buying new clothes in every festivals, they do not buy clothes for their children until the old clothes are torn. They generally buy new cheap clothes. In some cases where the families have large number of children, the parents buy new clothes for all the children in alternative festivals. Some of the female migrants, who are engaged as maidservants, take the old clothes of the owners' children when they are not able to buy new clothes for their children. The migrants from good economic conditions buy new clothes during all the festivals for their children. It is found that the elder family members rarely buy new clothes. The elder male members from lower class do not prefer to buy clothes every year whereas the upper class elder male members buy new clothes twice or thrice in a year. But the female members whether rich or poor buy new clothes in *Sabitri Puja* for customarily.

Utilization of Health Facilities among the Migrants

The common health problems among the children are cough, cold, fever, scabies, typhoid and diarrhea and the main diseases among the elder members are headache, fever, cold, gastric, stomach-pain, arthritis, diabetes, high blood pressure. During their illness, the frequency of their visit to the hospital varies according to their affordability. The lower class migrants first prefer to apply home remedies when the family members suffer from illness. If the home remedies did not work properly then they would visit hospitals. For example: if the children suffer from cold, they give them juice of basil leaves and honey for two/three days. If the children did not recover from cold after taking the basil juice, then only parents take them to the medical. Whereas migrants from upper class take their children to the hospital relatively quickly after their child falls sick. When the diseases did not get cured, they search for good doctors and give all the prescribed medicines. In case the diseases did not get cured for a long time, then they visit the Government hospital of Cuttack immediately. It is observed that quite a few lower caste and scheduled tribe migrants depend upon the *Gunia*. They neither go to the Government hospital nor visit the private doctor during the time of early stage of disease. The tribal migrants try to apply

their home remedies and if it is not cured then, they go to the *Gunia*, who stays near the village in Randia. When the tribal migrants are unable to visit the *Gunia*, they call *Gunia* to their houses for treatment. There are some rules and restrictions one has to follow to get treatment from *Gunia*. If a person takes treatment from *Gunia*, he/she has to observe fast either on Tuesday or Saturday and do puja to the Goddess *Mangala*, a local deity. During the puja, they are not allowed to take non vegetarian food during the entire puja period. In the case of small children, it is the mother who has to follow all the rules on behalf of their children. When a person gets cured from his/her disease with the treatment of *Gunia*, they give an animal usually a sheep/goat or hen to the *Gunia* as a token of gratitude for religious sacrifice. When a question was asked to the migrants about the reason to depend upon *Gunia*, one respondent Lokanatha Mahanta replied that

In our native village, there was no hospital, we always visited Gunia and we never faced any problems. Here also the Gunia gives good treatment for all the diseases. Whenever we visit the Gunia during diseases, we do not have to wait for long time like in hospital and we do not have to make several visit. And on top of it we do not have to pay the Gunia money immediately; only when the diseases get cured, we can satisfy Gunia with symbolic gift.

The migrants preferred to visit the *Gunia* as they have more confidence over *Gunia*'s treatment and do not have to pay anything immediately at the time of treatment. Once they get cured from *Gunia*, the migrants do not prefer to visit Government or private hospital.

The female migrants generally do not feel the necessity of visiting hospitals during the time of illness. Most of the female migrants mainly depend upon the cultural notions that the diseases are caused by God. So it will be cure according to God's wish and it will not get cured until we satisfy God wish. So due to their cultural notions, even those migrants visit the hospitals/clinics for treatment invariably visit the different temples and keep *Manasika*⁹ to get cured from the diseases. Another reason for the female migrants to prefer *Gunia* over the hospital was about higher expenditure involved in getting allopathic treatment. Except the scheduled tribe women, other caste women do not hesitate to take doctors advice for prenatal and postnatal care during the time of pregnancy. They comply with Government's immunization and polio vaccination programmes for their children. When the female

⁹ Mansika: religious offer to God/Goddess, when wishes fulfill.

migrants were asked about the family planning programme, it is found that none of the first generation female migrants have gone for family planning programme. There is a common cultural belief among the women that family planning is a sin. It is believed that if they go for family planning, they will remain barren in their next life. Some other female migrants reported that they did not accept family planning programme because of elder members' restriction towards family planning programme.

Although the poor migrants visit the Government hospitals during the time of illness but they are not satisfied with the treatment. Unavailability of doctors is one of the major problems that the migrants face during their visit to the hospital. Some of the poor migrants who worked as daily wage labourers stated that as it is very difficult for them to make several visits to the hospital as Government doctors are not available most of the time. After several visits, they are able to meet the doctor, they perceive that the doctor does not check the diseases properly. Without listening about the diseases, the doctor prescribes medicine. There are some other respondents who have mentioned that the prescribed medicines by the doctor are very expensive. Therefore, some of the migrants do not use the medicines at all while a few lower class migrants buy the medicines by borrowing money. It is observed that after several visits and spending more money, when they do not get cured, at that point of time the lower class migrants either visit the homeopathy doctor or rely on *Gunia*. However the upper class migrants visit the private doctor to avail the treatment.

Brundabana Sahoo (54) narrates that

Whenever I visited to the Government hospital by taking leave from my work, I was never able to meet the doctor in my first visit. In every visit, I had to wait for long time to meet the doctor. After long time of waiting in a queue, sometime the doctor did not come and sometime before my turn, the visiting hour of the doctor got over. So I had to visit 3 to 4 times by taking leave from my work to meet the doctor in Bhadrak Government hospital during the time of illness. Therefore, now I prefer to visit the private hospital rather than Government Hospital.

Sourava Gahana (43) narrates that

Two years back, when my son was suffering from fever, I took my son to the Bhadrak Government hospital. The doctor gave him medicine for viral fever. After taking medicine for 6 days, there was no remission. I took him to a private hospital and the doctor declared it as malaria fever rather than viral fever. So I stopped visiting the Government hospital.

Thus from the above description, it is clear that the migrants first preference is the Government hospitals but when they face problems like unavailability of doctors in the hospitals, improper diagnosis and high expenditure on medicines, then they stop visiting the hospitals and turn to other treatment like homeopathy, private clinics or local healers. However a few lower caste migrants and tribal migrants invariably rely on *Gunia* as their first choice of treatment. At second and third level of treatment, they turn to the allopathic doctors (Government or private) but they simultaneously rely on temple visits and other religious healing processes. Even the family planning programme is not accepted by migrants' families in spite of their permanent settlement in Bhadrak town.

Leisure Time Activities among the Migrants

In Apartibindha colony, the unemployed female migrants spend their time in seeing Odiya serials in the afternoon in their neighbors' houses. Some women set alarm to their watches before going to sleep in the afternoon so that they do not miss to watch a particular serial. Those who go for work on the weekdays, on holidays use their time by preparing pickle and *Badi*¹⁰, some of them engage themselves in stitching dresses for their small children and planting vegetables in their land. In every Sunday, the female migrants go to the riverside in the morning time and afternoon time to wash clothes, utensils and gossip there for long time if they do not have any work. Sometimes the female migrants sit together in somebody's veranda at afternoon and engaged in gossip till evening by eating puffed rice, onion and mixture. Most of the male members generally take liquor and stay away from home till evening in the holidays. When the poor migrants have no money to take liquor, they themselves collect the liquid of the palm tree in the holidays and prepare country liquor at home. One significant point has been noted that after doing household work on holidays, both male and female members play cards. Few male members go for fishing to the colony riverside when they do not have any work to do. During the time of festivals, it is seen that both the male and female members go to visit their relatives' houses. The migrants who stay at home go to a movie in a group or prepare non-vegetarian food together.

¹⁰ Badi: small lentil dumplings

Occasionally the migrants collect money from all the households to bring Video Compact Disc (VCD) and watch movie in the open fields for the whole night.

In case of children, especially the boys spend their time by roaming with their friends in the colony or by sitting with their friends in the colony shop. The unemployed girls spend their leisure time by chatting with their friends, decorating the house and collecting fire wood.

Migrants and their Religious Practices

After migration to Bhadrak town, the migrants follow the religion of their own villages. It has been observed that in all the migrants household, women worship their Gods and Goddesses twice in a day, in the morning before 12 am and in the evening after 6 pm. In most of the migrants families whether they have a single room or more rooms, they have a separate shelf for display of pictures of God and Goddesses. During morning puja they use incense and bell while for the evening sandhya they use wick and conch shell. Most of the female migrants keep fast on Monday for lord Siva where as some of them keep fast on Friday for Goddess *Santoshi Maa*. On Monday, the female migrants in the early morning visit to the Lord Siva temple with milk and Bael leaf and take fruits only.

It is found that most of the unmarried girls also keep fast on Monday because of the belief that by worshipping God Siva and keeping fast on Monday, they will get a handsome husband with good family. They generally worship Lord Siva on Monday because of their belief that their husbands do not die before them and also they will not face any difficulties in life. On Fridays most of the migrants do *Santoshi Maa* Puja and take food only once in the day. Even some of the young unmarried girls follow this puja for their marriage purpose. They follow it for 16 consecutive Fridays and when their wishes are fulfilled, they give food to seven children. *Laxmi* Puja is celebrated among all the Hindu women in their own houses during the November-December. *Laxmi* Puja begins on the first Thursday of November and ends on fourth Thursday. It is seen that all the migrants finish cleaning, sweeping, washing utensils and applying *Jhoti*¹¹ in the entrance of the door on the day before Thursday. In the *Laxmi* Puja all the migrants must draw *Jhoti* of the foot print of the

¹¹ Paint on the floor drwn with the rice flour paste

Goddess *Laxmi* at the entrance of house. It is believed that if the footprints of Goddess *Laxmi* are drawn in front of the house and if the footprints are drawn on the doorstep with the toes pointing towards the entrance of the house, the Goddess will shower wealth and happiness. But if the foot prints are drawn with toes pointing outside it indicates loss of wealth. This is how migrant households get influenced by ‘great tradition’ of Hindu religion.

The female migrants still follow all the rules and practices prevalent in their villages. Every house there is a *Tulasi* or *Basil* tree in front of their house. Most of the migrants do not prefer to keep jack fruit trees in front of their houses because of the fear that if the tree will be in front of the house, it may cause the death of some family member. It is observed that when good things happen and when their wish is fulfilled, the migrants first visit the temple and perform puja. During the time of different festivals like *Siva Ratri*, *Radha Asthami*, *Janma Asthami*, *Sabitri*, *Durga puja* and *the Kali puja*, the female migrants visit the temple. The tribal migrants generally do not worship regularly at home. Even the tribal migrants do not have any idol at their room and do not observe fast. However, the tribal female migrants have belief on Goddess *Mangala* and Goddess *Tarini*. Some time they visit the *Tarini* and *Mangala* temple. When their wish is fulfilled, they visit their village temple and sacrifice a goat. Even some of the tribal migrants visit the *Tarini* temple every year to perform puja. Apart from female migrants, some of the male migrants also visit Lord Siva temple every Monday and Hanuman temple on Tuesday. Though they do not observe fast but do not take non-vegetarian food on these days. Some of the Brahmin caste migrants’ worship everyday in the morning time at home before leaving for work.

Religious Attitude, Rituals and Customs among the Migrants

After migration to Bhadrak town, the migrants celebrate different festivals in the new environment. *Raja*, *Kumar Purnima*, *Holi*, *Kali puja*, *Durga puja* and a few migrants coming from Keonjhar and Balasore district celebrate *Sankaranti* and *Durga Puja*. *Raja*¹² is the most important festival among the Hindus, which takes place during the onset of

¹² Followed by the unmarried girls and associated with the menstrual cycle and fertility, in which mother earth is worshiped, this festival is celebrated for 3 days.

monsoon. This festival is celebrated for three days. It is seen that the migrants from the poor background start saving money before two months prior to the occasion. The female members buy new clothes especially for their daughters. In this festival, the migrants prepare mutton or chicken without fail. The girls spend time by visiting their friends and moving up and down on improvised swing. Most of the migrants tied swing in their own houses for their children. Some of the migrants still follow their traditional customs in this festival such as the custom of not cooking in the first day of *Raja*. Therefore, they prepare food for all the family members on the previous day of *Raja*. Apart from *Raja*, *Kumar Purnima* is another festival, which is celebrated among the migrants. The unmarried girls remain on fasting for the whole day. After seeing the moon they do the puja and take fruits and prasada. In some houses where the unmarried girls do not want fast, their mothers force them to do the puja. Like the girls, the female migrants also observe fast on different festivals like *Sabitri* and *Siva ratri*. In the *Sabitri*, the female migrants do not take anything until the evening. In the evening after doing puja of their husband, they only take fruits. In *Siva ratri*, the female migrants do not take any food for the whole day and take food next day after performing their puja. Among the tribal migrants, *Chaita Parba* during the month of *Chaitra* (March to April), *Makara Sankranti* and *Karama* festivals are celebrated in Apartibindha colony. In these festivals, the tribal migrants cook the non-vegetarian food and all the tribal migrants' gether, eat the cooked meat, drink, sing and dance together in the open field nearby their home. Thus, those migrants who have settled down permanently in Apartibindha new colony follow their tradition and customs, according to the norms of caste and tribe.

Customs are also prevalent in different rituals like marriage, birth and death ceremonies. In the marriage ceremony, of the migrants, the traditional customs like *nirbandha* (tie of marriage between bride and groom), *Bara Dhara* (*bridegrooms' escort*) are celebrated among all the migrants irrespective of their castes. None of the migrants send their son's proposal to the bride's house. The proposal has to come first from the bride's house. Once the proposal comes from the bride's house, the parents of the groom visit the girl's house to see the girl and if they like her, they would give her either a gold ornament or Rs.1000 in token of their liking. After the groom's parents finalize the bride, it is groom who comes to see the bride. However, the parents' decision plays an important role in selecting a girl.

Once the parents and relatives finalize the girl, they do *nirbandha* by giving gold ring and once *Nirbandha* is over the marriage cannot be broken. If the marriage is broken due to any reason after *Nirbandha*, the bride and the groom have to get married with anyone else on the same day. Apart from *nirbandha* some of the migrants from the *Keuta* and *Gokha* castes, whether they are from poor economic background or enjoy better economic status, celebrate the custom of *Dekhakara*¹³. This *dekhakara* custom is meant to declaration of finalization of the marriage to everybody. In this custom, both the families arrange a temple where all the family members, relative and some of the neighbours of the two families along with the bride and the groom gather in the temple. After the puja, they arrange a feast in which all the family members get a chance to see the bride and groom before the commencement of the marriage. The custom of distributing *Kheer*¹⁴ on the eighth day of their children's marriage is still followed by the migrants. In the case of son's marriage, the newly married couple will visit their in-laws house on the eighth day. It has been noticed that some of the Brahmin migrants send marriage invitation cards of their children to the temple for puja and after puja they distribute them amongst others because of the belief that God will shower happiness upon the newly married couple. Some of the high caste migrants do not sent their invitations to the lower caste neighbours, widows and divorcees to attend their children's *Nirbandha* because of the belief that their presence in the auspicious *Nirbandha* will bring grief in their children's married life. The custom of not looking the face of elder brother in laws is still followed by the migrants. The brides are not allowed to go in front of her elder brother in laws and do not touch their clothes, plates during the time of eating and do not talk with them. If the younger brother's wife touches the plate and cleaning the place where the elder brother in law took his food, he must have to take bath immediately.

Apart from marriage, the migrant families follow some rituals during the birth and death ceremony. During the birth ceremony, the family members do not touch the newborn baby and the mother for seven days. The newborn baby and mother are kept in a single room and whoever touches them has to take bath. In the seventh day of purification ceremony, both

¹³. Dekhakara: meeting of bride and grooms with the family members, relatives and neighbors, in this meeting the family members openly declare the marriage.

¹⁴ Kheer: a sweet dish prepare with rice, milk and sugar.

the child and mother take bath and cut their nail and all the family members are allowed to touch the newborn baby. According to the custom, the migrants give new name to the child and arrange a grand feast on the 21st day. During the *Namakaran* (naming ceremony), it is the wife's brothers who sit in the puja along with the child. In the death ceremony, it has been observed that all the family members do not take spicy food, do not apply oil in their head, do not cut their hair and nails and do not touch household things till the 10th day. On the tenth day, all the family members wash their clothes, cut their nails, and before bath, the male members shave their head and the female members take bath after applying *haldi* (turmeric) and oil. According to the custom, they buy new clothes for all the family members who take honey. In the 11th day after taking honey, they wear new clothes and start taking all kinds of food. Thus after migration to the Bhadrak town, the migrants still follow their traditional rules and practices in different ceremonies. When I wanted to know the causes for continuing their traditional customs and traditions, some of the migrants revealed that the main reasons for continuing their traditional customs and traditions because of their believe that if they will follow their traditional customs and rituals then they will not be the part of sin and God will not punish them in their next life. Some migrants have mentioned that they follow their traditional customs and traditions because of their feeling that if they won't follow their traditional customs and traditions than their next generation will not be able to learn it and with the passing of time the traditional customs and rituals will disappear.

Migrants and their Participation in Politics

The data on migrants' participation in political activities indicates that, most of the migrants do not actively participate in the any organization. Very few migrants that is three migrants who work as rickshaw puller and auto driver are the members of auto rickshaw associations and rickshaw association. It is observed that most of the migrants are not actively involved in any political parties. Some of the upper caste migrants like *Kumbhara* and Khandayat actively participate in the municipality election, in Vidhan Sabha and Lok Sabha elections. During the time of election, they join the campaign for the party they supported. For the campaign sometime they do not return home and do not take any household responsibilities. However all the migrants support the Biju Janata Dal. The data gathered regarding the

casting of vote, it has been noted that out of 85 respondents, 79% respondents have cast their vote where as 21 respondents have not cast their vote in last election. The migrants who did not cast their vote belong to the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe groups. It is reported that the migrants due to lack of interest in politics, do not prefer to cast their vote. Some migrants have mentioned that they do not cast their vote because no development made by the political parties. It is observed that the boys who are above 15 are actively participating in municipality elections as the candidates belonged to their colony. The female migrants generally do not give much interest in politics. Very less female migrants that is 22 cast their vote in the last election. Both the lower caste and higher caste female migrants do not show any interest in any elections. Even if they are at home, they do not go to cast their vote and rarely do they discuss about the politics at home.

Conclusion

Therefore, the above description of the socio-economic conditions of the migrants at their destination place concludes that most of the migrants are married and belong to the low educational background. The migrants generally prefer to live in joint family but there are families who live in nuclear family. However, endogamous form of marriage is given importance by the first generation migrants but inter caste marriages are also accepted by the migrants. The caste rules are strictly followed by the upper caste migrants like Brahmin at Apartibindha colony. On the other hand, the lower caste migrants are less rigid about their caste rules. The migrants have realized the importance of education and they are sending their children to school. Migration has not brought any changes in the traditional religious practices, custom and rituals. Still they visit temples, keep fast and follow all the rituals during different festivals. The economic structure of the migrants revealed that most of the migrants have received better occupational opportunities and better income after their migration. Mostly the migrants are engaged in different industry, construction work and in business. The female migrants have obtained opportunity to take off some work at their destination places. After migration, the migrants' participation in politics has been increased. The migrants from the upper castes actively participated in municipality election, in Vidhan Sabha and Lok Sabha elections.

CHAPTER IV

LIFE OF THE SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS AT THEIR DESTINATION PLACES

In the previous chapter, the socio-economic conditions of the first generation migrants in Bhadrak town have been examined. In order to study the intergenerational mobility, the present chapter focuses on the socio-economic conditions of the second-generation migrants at their destination places. Therefore, the data has been collected from 43 respondents who have migrated to other states. The respondents are from different states of India, mainly from Hyderabad, Bangaluru, Kerala, Surat and Delhi. Out of the 43 respondents, majority of them belong to Hyderabad (23), followed by respondents from Bangaluru (14), Kerala (3), Delhi (2) and Surat (1). For the analysis of the social background of the migrants, the data has been collected on various parameters such as their age, housing conditions, family types, educational level, caste system, marriage and leisure time activity. To know the economic condition of the migrants, data has been collected containing their occupational pattern, total wage, details of expenditure and saving pattern in their place of migration.

Case Study-1

Sushanta Sethi aged 32years, educated up to 10th standard, migrated to Bangaluru for the last 6 years. In Bangaluru, Sushanta lives in Joda Nakunji along with his wife and two kids. His eldest son is three years old and the younger one is two years old. As Sushanta is a washer man (Dhoba) by caste, his traditional occupation is to wash the clothes of other upper caste groups. Sushanta's parents, the first generation migrants were running a small laundry shop in Apartibindha Colony. His father used to press the clothes where as Sushanta's mother used to wash the clothes in the river. The money they got out from their shop was very less and was not sufficient for the sustenance of their family. So, Sushanta decided to earn for his family and planned to migrate to some other states in search of a job as he thought he can earn more in other states.

However, Sushant's journey to Bangaluru was very miserable. Sushants was 22 years old when he left his home town for the first time to step into a new place with uncertainty of employment. Due to the family disputes and disturbances at home, he made up his mind to leave his home. After leaving his home Sushanta went to Kolkata where his maternal uncle was a junior engineer. Sushanta reached DurgaPur, at his maternal uncle Radhashayam's house in 2003. Sushanta's uncle Radhashayam bore all his expenses including accommodation and food in his home. Sushanta spent there nearly three months in search of a job. His uncle also tried utmost in several companies to get him some work. After a long struggle, he was finally was able to find a job as a worker in a garment shop at New Alipore in Kolkata. Without other options, Sushanta agreed to join the garment shop for a salary of Rs.1000. As Sushanta had no knowledge about stitching, it was very difficult for him to

complete the assigned work on time. Most of the time, he was scolded by his owner for his bad stitching. The owner even threatened him to throw him out of this work. Though Sushanta got only 1000 rupees he was satisfied with this money as he had to pay little for traveling and sometimes a little for vegetables. His uncle did not ask any house rent from him or any charges for food. Even from this lower wage, Sushanta was able to save 500 rupees every month.

For the first one year, Sushanta lived reasonably happy in Kolkata but the next year was a bad year for him. As Radhashayam was an engineer, so he got offer from Vedanta company at Jharsuguda in Odisha and shifted to Odisha. Sushanta was left with no choice except moving from that house because of high price of room rent. So to get a new accommodation with a roommate he spent two months but wherever, he visited for a room on rent the first question enquired about him was his caste. Due to his caste, he faced lot of problems to get a roommate to share his room. With no option left, he shared the room with Jitendra by hiding his caste. Sushanta and Jitendra had to follow some rules in that rented house. As the owner was a Marwari, so they were not allowed to take non-vegetarian items in that rented house. The landlord also restricted them from bringing their relatives and friends. Even their relatives were not allowed to stay with them more than five days. Moreover, the water supply of the house was only for two hours in the morning.

Sushanta's roommate Jitendra was a Khandayat by caste and from Dhusuri village of Bhadrak district. With little earnings, Sushanta had to pay Rs-500 for room rent and the remaining money, he was spending for traveling and food which was insufficient for him. As the house rent consumed half of Sushanta's income, so he always faced short of money before the month got over. Sometimes he had to borrow money from his roommate to pay the room rent. So to avoid this situation, Sushanta brought his another friend Ranjan to share the room but the condition was no better.

Two years went by in Kolkata; Sushanta came to know about his father's illness from one of his friends. It was almost two years and Sushanta had not been to his home. Without a single penny, Sushanta started towards his home. Before starting, he pawned his wristwatch to his friend and took 500 rupees from him. When he reached home, he found that his father's condition was very serious. After getting his father admitted in the hospital, he came to know that his father had to be treated soon at Cuttack medical college because of one-sided paralysis. It was a shock for Sushanta to arrange money in a short notice for his father's treatment. Sushanta visited all his relatives for help but nobody showed him sympathy except his younger sister Jita. Jita gave him 2000 rupees immediately from her savings for his father's treatment. Initially Sushanta bought some medicines with 2000 rupees. As he needed more money for his father's treatment so finally without any option left, Sushanta visited the house of Bainsi Behera, who lent money to others with Rs. 5 interest for each month. Fortunately, Sushanta got 10,000 rupees from Banish Behera with an agreement of paying Rs.3 interest only.

The next day after getting money Sushanta admitted his father in Cuttack medical college. Every month, Sushanta had to spend Rs.3000 for his father's health check up. With this miserable situation, Sushanta could not join his work in Kolkata for 4 months. After four months' stay at home when Sushanta returned to his work place, he found that he had lost his job. Immediately Sushanta was not able to find any work and was very worried about his financial condition. When Sushanta did not find work for the next one month, Sushanta moved to Bangaluru where one of his friends was working.

After reaching Bangaluru, Sushanta's friend, Bailochana helped him regarding accommodation in Bangaluru. There were two rooms and Bailochana stayed with four of his friends for which they were paying 3000 rupees. The house was too far from the main city. The water was supplied once in a day for one hour in the morning. If they failed to store water in the morning, they had to buy water for the household purpose, which cost 300 rupees per tank. The house hold work was divided among all the members. As all the

members went for work in the morning there was no scope of preparing breakfast and lunch. Only preparing dinner was the major task which was divided among all the members. One member was assigned to prepare dinner for each day along with the tasks of bringing vegetables for that particular day, washing the cooking utensils, keeping water for that day. On Sundays, all the members prepared food together. If somebody did not feel like cooking, he would buy food for others with his own money. By the end of the month, the total expenditures of food would be divided by all the five members.

As Sushanta had no work, he was exempted from paying the house rent and the food expenditure till he got a job. Bailochan and his other friends searched job for Sushanta in their respective companies. Bailochana with his two friends were working in Arabinda Garment industry and the other two were working in a plastic factory. It took nearly fifteen days for Bailochana to arrange a work in his garment industry. Sushanta was employed on a monthly wage of 2000 rupees in the industry. The timings of the work in the company was from morning 8 o' clock till evening 5 pm. His major task was to separate clothes from the damaged clothes, packing of the clothes and coloring the clothes. In the first month, he had to borrow money, so he borrowed 1000 rupees from Bailochana for travel and other expenses. To sustain with that money till the end of the month, he never took his breakfast and some time he skipped his meals too by taking some tea and biscuits in the office. By the end of the month when Sushanta received his salary, he first returned Bailochana's money. From the second month onwards, he used to send 500 rupees every month to his home for his father's medicines and for the grocery. Every month, he paid 1000 rupees for his room rent, food and water. The remaining 500 rupees he spent for his travel and other expenses. In the office majority of the workers were Kannada speakers and very few people were able to understand Hindi. As Sushanta was able to speak only broken Hindi, he faced problems to communicate with his friends. Therefore, he started learning the Kannada language from his roommates as all of them were well versed with it.

As most of the money was spent on his room rent and food, Sushanta could not repay his debt. The financial problem of Sushanta was always an obstacle for him as he had always been in short of money to buy clothes or buying food items. He was not able to visit his home more than once a year. During the time of festivals like Durga Puja and Raja when all his roommates took holidays to visit their homes, Sushanta used to work.

To repay the borrowed money, Sushanta searched for evening work after his office. He visited different companies to get a job but he was not able to find any. So Sushanta pooled up Rs.1000 from his saving and borrowed Rs.3000 from Bailochana, and started a small Odiya food shop (mobile cart) near his house. As his work in the Garment industry was from morning 10 am to 5 pm, so he was opening his shop after returning from office. So before leaving office, he finished grinding black gram, boiling potato, cut some onion and chilies. After coming back from office, immediately he started to prepare wada, alu kasa, pakudi, and sometime sweets to meet demands of some Odiya people. By opening the food vending shop, Sushanta was able to earn Rs. 100 every day. Within three months, Sushanta was able to return the borrowed money of Bailochana. After six months, he started increasing his income from that shop. The shop was in good demand at Joda Nakunji not only with the Odiya people but also from other communities. At times he was not able to meet the demands of the people and had to close the shop by 9 pm. Sushanta was able to save 1000 to 2000 rupees every month. Within eight months, Sushanta managed to clear almost the entire debt of Rs.10000 borrowed with the interest in Bhadrak.

After he returned all his borrowed money, Sushanta got married but did not bring his wife to Bangaluru because of his parents' demand that Madhumita should stay with them. In the mean time Sushanta single handedly raised money and got his two younger sisters married. He also got promotion in his factory, and joined as a helper in the company and gradually his salary increased from two thousand rupees to three thousand. Sushanta started saving those three thousand rupees that he earned from the factory. The economic status of Sushanta improved with time and he brought his family to Bangaluru. He rented a room for

three thousand rupees nearby his old house. Due to the increased demand of food in his shop, his wife helped him in preparing food in the afternoon and selling the food. Sushanta's wife's day started from morning 6 with washing the utensils, preparing breakfast and lunch for Sushanta. Soon after lunch, she proceeded for grinding black gram, cutting onion and other vegetables. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon, she started preparing, alu chap, samosa, bada, gulgula and alu curry for the evening to sell. After Sushanta's arrival from the office at 6 p.m. both started selling the food. The remaining food they took at night as their dinner. Along with helping her husband, Madhumita joined the tailoring class near her home. After the completion of her course, she bought a sewing machine to mend her children's' clothes. During the leisure time, Madhumita started stitching her neighbors' clothes. In this way, she was able to earn 30-50 rupees every day, which she was saving for her children.

Now Sushanta, all total, from his office and part time job was able to earn 10000 rupees per month whereas his total monthly expenditure rose to 5000 to 6000 rupees. The maximum of his income was spent on house rent, provisions, milk for his children etc. Sushanta was able to save every month Rs.3000 from his total earnings. Now Sushanta's first daughter is studying in first standard and going to English medium school at Bangaluru. Every month, he was sending two thousand rupees to his old parents through money order. In spite of living 6 years in Bangaluru, Sushanta and his wife managed to visit their hometown only twice in a year during Raja and Kali Puja. They celebrated laxmi Puja, Raja, Kumara Purnima, Sabitri and Kali Puja at Bangapuru. In Laxmi Puja for the increase of wealth, Madhumita observes fast every fourth Thursday in the month of November and put Jhoti with the foot prints of goddess Laxmi in front of all the doors. During the Kumar Purnima she follows the custom of drawing the moon with lily flower in front of the Chaura and gives palm fruits as the Prasad. In all the festivals Madhumita prepared their traditional cake like Poda Cake in Raja, Manda Cake in Kumar purnima, and endure Cake in Prathama Asthami. Every morning, Madhumita started all the household work after worshipping the God. She observed fast on every Tuesday for Goddess Tarini and did not take any food except fruits. They follow all the customs like when they visit their home they bow down their head in front of their parents and elders. Madhumita never went without veil in front of her father in law. Madhumita still follow the custom of not taking food before her husband. In spite of living for eight years in the city, Sushanta has developed a close contact with the local people.

Sushanta's case study indicates that he was forced to migrate to Kolkata and bangaluru given the limited income of his parents (the first generation migrants). With great difficulty, he was able to find a job and in order to repay the debts he took up part time job.

The long working hours, help from friends and kin networks from his own caste and entrepreneurial skills helped overcome the hardship for the second generation migrants.

While economic mobility was negotiated with patience and endurance in the urban city, their social values combined with that 'Caste' and 'Family' tradition.

Case Study 2

Lipana Gahan is a tanti by caste. Lipana had a family consisting of eight members including one brother, one sister, his paternal uncle and his grandparents. His village is at Champua in Keonjhar district. Though Lipana belonged to Tanti caste by birth but after his father's migration to Bhadrak town, none of the family members took it up because of the less demand for weaving. Lipana's father Babaji Gahan was engaged as a construction worker in Bhadrak town. Lipana, the third child of the family was not engaged in any occupation. The work of his father was uncertain and irregular. During the monsoon that is from June to September, Lipan's father sat idle for three months without any work.

Lipana was educated up to diploma and had certification from Barpada engineering College. He was the only one among his siblings who had good education. After lipan finished his diploma, he spent two years at home but failed to get any work in Bhadrak town. As he had done his diploma, so he had a wish to do some job rather than daily wage labourer. Finally, his father found a work for Lipana in a TV repairing shop with the monthly wage of Rs. 200. Lipana was not interested to work in the TV repairing shop with that meager wage because his friends who were doing diploma were earning more than him after migrating to other states. Therefore, he left the work in TV repairing shop. Without getting any suitable work in Bhadrak, Lipana moved to Bhubaneswar with one of his diploma friend, Nitia to get a job. They stayed in a Paying Guest hostel with the monthly payment of Rs.1200. However, it was difficult for his father to send Rs.1200 every month but he never neglected to send money to Lipan. Sometime when he had no money, lipan's father was sending money by borrowing it from his friends. Lipan and his friend stayed for six months in Bhubaneswar in search of work but both failed to find any job. After spending 6 months when they did not find any work, they returned back home to Bhadrak. As most of his friends migrated to different states and were employed with good salary, so he requested his friend Dilip who was working in a construction company, in Hyderabad to find a job for him. However, Lipana had an interest to migrate Hyderabad but his parents did not agree with him. With disappointment, he spent one year roaming with his friends, playing cards and got addicted to liquor. Every day he was taking 50 rupees from his parents to take liquor. Finally seeing the condition of Lipan, his mother agreed for Lipan's migrating to Hyderabad.

After reaching to Hyderabad, Lipana stayed with Dilip's family in Secunderabad. Lipana searched work for one month and finally got work in Vizag Steel Plant in Patancheru as a supervisor with the monthly income of 3000 rupees. The timings of Lipana's office was from morning 10 am to evening 7 pm. As Lipana's office was too far from Secunderabad, so everyday Lipan was leaving for work at 8 o'clock in the morning. Most of the time Lipana was taking the leftover food for lunch and some time he was not able to take the lunch box. After coming back from office though he felt hungry, Lipan would not ask for any food until the dinner. As Dilip bore all the expenditures of Lipana, so most of the time he brought vegetables while returning from office. After all the expenditure, he was able to save Rs. 1000 every month. There was no holiday in the company except Saturday. Hence, he could visit his home once in a year.

After one and half years of stay with Dilip, as it was too far to travel from Secunderabad to Patancheru, Lipan took a separate house at Miyapur. He shared the room with his other two friends who were working in the same company. In the new place, Lipana was able to save more money than his previous savings. Although his salary has not increased but he was able to earn more income from the customers tips. As Lipan worked as a supervisor, he started getting extra income by passing the contract of sending TMT bar to the customer immediately for which he got Rs.50 for passing one contract. In this way, Lipan was able to earn Rs. 50 to Rs.100 every day depending on the customers. Thus, the migration of lipana to Hyderabad has brought some socio-economic change. Now lipana regularly sends Rs.2000 to his Home. Even after all his expenditure, he saved Rs.2000 every month in bank. From his savings, he has developed his economic status by buying TV, mobile phone and cycle for his father. He contributed 20,000 rupees to repair pucca verandah and had to set up their personal tube well. However, Lipana stayed here for more than 4 years but he visits his hometown twice every year and sometime his father visited him.

Lipana's case study indicates that after his education, when he failed to get good job compared to his education in Bhadrak town and his friends were employed in high paid job after their migration, Lipan also preferred to migrate Hyderabad with a hope to get good job. After his migration to Hyderabad, his friends helped him to overcome the housing problems, food problems and employment problems. In the beginning, though Lipan's income was very low but later he has improved his socio-economic conditions.

Case Study 3

Jada Muduli is 30 years old and Kumbhara by caste. His migration to Hyderabad was not a straight journey from his hometown. Jada was one of the five siblings. He had two brother and two sisters. Jada's father Madana was a rickshaw puller who was able to earn nearly 50 rupees every day. As he hired rickshaw, Madana had to pay Rs.20 to the rickshaw owner where as Jada's mother Padmini worked as a maidservant. The monthly income of Padmini was Rs.200. The combined earning of both his father and mother was sufficient for all their requirements. Jada briefly attended primary school in his village. When Jada failed in seventh standard, he left his education. Jada was the second child among his siblings. However, his elder brother had no occupation but sometimes he took his father's rickshaw. In the year, 2000, Jada's elder brother Bulu Niranjan met in an accident as he was pulling the rickshaw.

As the rickshaw was damaged in that accident the earning source of his father was lost. On the top of that the rickshaw owner was always asking to repay money for his rickshaw. Therefore, to return the rickshaw owner's money, Madana borrowed Rs.5000 from the money lender with Rs.5 interest rate per month. Without any source of income, the family was in need of money all the time to run the family. Bulu started working as Coolie in others house. The occasional earning of Bulu was not sufficient for the family. Therefore at an early age of fourteen, Jada started working in Bijaya Maharana's house as an agricultural worker. His major task was to give fodder to the bullocks and take them to the field. Whenever there was no agricultural work, his main task was to grow vegetables in the field, to clean the grass from the field, to sell paddy and vegetables in the market. For this work, Jada was paid monthly Rs.150 along with lunch. As Bijay Maharana's house was in the same colony, Jada was able to take responsibility of his house too. With Rs 150, the family somehow was able to get their two meal a day. In summer and monsoon when there was no work in Bijaya's Maharana's house it was very hard for the family to buy rice, grains and vegetables. During the rainy season when there was no work for Jada, some time he caught fish from the nearest river and sold them to buy some vegetables. By seeing the conditions of the family, his maternal uncle Nirmala who was working in the Pepson Company found a job for Jada in his company with the wage of Rs.2000. In the beginning though Jada was not interested to move to Rourkela, later on to avoid the financial conditions of his family, Jada agreed to join in Pepson Company.

In 2003 he first migrated to Rourkela and lived with Nirmala for one month. Nirmala's family consisted of his wife, his children and his old mother. Later on, Jada shifted to the company house, which was provided by the company. Jada joined as a labourer in the company and his major work was to take out the melt steel from the furnace and to give them shape. Jada had to stay for 24 hours in the company as his work demanded so. As the work was very new to Jada, so he first faced some difficulty in the company. Jada could not do the assigned work properly. Even he could not work in the night time. However, it took nearly six months to catch up with the work. There were some rules for the company, which restricted the workers to take gutkha, pan, and cigarette during working hours. There was no holiday in the company except Sunday. They had a provision to take holiday once in a month. Company provided health insurance to all its workers.

Three years went by in the Pepson Company. From the total earning of Rs.2000, Jada was able to send Rs.1000 to his parents both to run the family and to repay the credit of the money lender. However Jada was able to manage from his meager income but one day the company workers went on strike. Om Prakash Gupta, a worker in the company who worked for six years, died when he fell down from the machine during his work. As there was nobody from his family to claim for compensation, the company manager wanted to solve the issue by giving just Rs.50, 000. However, the workers' association demanded Rs.5, 00,000 as compensation for his family. Due to prolonged strike, the company was closed for

uncertain period. Jada and his friends waited for two months at Rourkela without work. When the problem did not solve Jada and his friends migrated to Hyderabad.

During their travel to Hyderabad, Jada and his friends met some Odiya people namely Putu, Raju, and Tuna, who worked in Hyderabad as construction workers. Jada talked to them and came to know about the contractor, who was an Odiya namely Hrusikesh from Jajpur. After reaching Hyderabad, it was Putu and his friends who helped Jada for accommodation. With a hope to get work as soon as possible, Jada met Hrusikesh. In the beginning, Hrusikesh denied them to give job but after several requests, Hrusikesh agreed to give them work.

In the beginning, Jada and his friends faced many difficulties. Due to the shifting nature of work, they suffered different health problems. They had to go for work in spite of severe cold and fever. There was no holiday even on Sundays and there was no specific working hours for the workers. Jada was not paid regularly for the overtime work. With his daily wage of 80 rupees, he was not able to save any money to send his home. After more than one years of work with Hrushikesh, Jada had a fight with him for not paying his wage continuously for two months. When Jada received his wage, he left the construction work.

To get some job as soon as possible, every day morning he went in search of work in different companies. Without any option, he joined as a construction worker under the contractor Juli Das. During the construction work Jada met a Bengali girl namely Jyoshna. Now Jada is married to a Bengali girl Jyoshna. In the beginning, both Jada's and Jyoshna family members were not interested for their marriage because Jada was the first person from his family, who was getting married to a girl out of his own community. Even Jada's paternal uncle started threatening his father to stop the marriage. Later on all the family members agree for the marriage without the approval of Jyoshana's family members.

After the migration Jada has not improved his socio-economic condition. Due to his low income, Jada has not brought his family with him to Secunderabad. Even to reduce his expenditure every year he brings raw rice from Odisha because of the high price of raw rice. As all his three children are going school, so some time he sends money for his children's education by borrowing from his friends. In spite of the busy schedule and low income, Jada every year visited his hometown once or twice in a year.

Jada's case study indicates that loss of earning source in the family is the main cause which forced Jada to adopt Job in his early age at Bhadrak town. Due to his low income he was hardly able to meet the daily requirement of his family. To avoid the family problems, Jada preferred to adopt a job by migrating other places in Odisha. When he faced difficulty to get Job in his own state, he migrated to Hyderabad. The feelings of statehood, brotherhood helped him to find a job and accommodation at the new place Hyderabad. In spite of different difficulty in the new place such as low income, long working hours and no holidays, his migration to Hyderabad helped to repay the borrowed money and to improve his socio-economic conditions.

A narrative is emerging from all the case studies that second generation migrants faced enormous difficulties in making a transition from Bhadrak town to cities in other states.

It is caste and kinship which facilitated the network for finding employment. The opportunities available in urban cities provided scope while each individual actor (second generation migrant) had to demonstrate their abilities to perform work.

Case Study- 4

Santu Nayak (26), Karan by caste, migrated to Delhi three years ago. Santu's family consisted of his two sisters, one brother, mother, father, and step mother. He briefly

attended until eighth standard in Bhadrak town. Santu was the last child among the four children. Santu's father Gouranga was working as an agricultural worker and the daily earning was only Rs.50. The earned income of Gouranga was always taken by Santu's step mother. Although, Santu's step mother was staying with them but their kitchens were separate. As quarrel in the family became an everyday issue, so Santu's mother stayed separately in a rented house with the payment of Rs.300. With no income, Santu's mother Malati started preparing cow dung cakes and sold them in the market for one rupee per piece. Also his two sisters helped his mother in collecting cow dung and preparing cow dung cake.

Every day the major task of Santu's mother was to clean the walls of the houses with cow dung water and to sweep the house. Then she proceeds to prepare food for lunch. After all the household work, she went to collect cow dung and wood for fuel. Santu some time was working in as labourer in Huruda Behera's TMT bar shop. For loading and unloading work, he was getting Rs.10 from each customer. Every day he was able to earn Rs.20-30 per day. However Santu and Malati was able to earn nearly Rs.50 per day. The major part of their income was spent in paying the house rent. However, from the meager income, Malati was able to manage to run her family but it was very difficult for the family to earn their livelihood during the rainy seasons. There was no selling of cow dung cake in the market during the rainy season. Even there was no work for Santu in the rainy season.

Due to lack of income Santu's mother was running the family by buying grocery from the local shop with credit. Some time when the shop was not giving grocery in credit, the family had great difficulties in getting food. As it was very difficult to sustain with the irregular income, Santu started searching for a stable work where he could get salary every day. Finally, he managed to find a work in a rice mill at Charampa with a wage of Rs.500 per month. The timing of the work was from morning 9 until the rice mill gets closed. Everyday Santu was going to the shop with a cup of red tea, chuda and sometime Pakhal. For the first six months, Santu returned all the borrowed money. However, the earned money of Santu was not sufficient to run the family. In the mean time, Santu's mother was searching groom for her elder daughter Runu as she was of marriageable age. Due to high demand of dowry, Runu's marriage was not finalized. To save some money for Runu, Malati along with selling cow dung cake, also started selling the oil lamp and coconut near the temple in the morning and evening time. After working whole day and night when Santu was not able to save much money for Runu's marriage, he decided to move to other state to save more money. Santu contacted his friend Sisira who was working in a spice factory in Delhi and requested Sisira to find some work for him in his shop. Sisira took nearly two months to find work for Santu in his company with the salary of Rs.5000 per month.

After migrating to Delhi, as Santu was new to the city, Sisira helped him by providing accommodation where he stayed in. There were different rules in the company for the workers. The workers in the company were bound to work for ten hours a day and they had to sign on an agreement of three years. The nature of the work in the company was to work one week for day shift and the other week for night shift. Despite the difficult work conditions at the work place, Santu agreed to continue because of high income. Everyday Santu was leaving for work at 9 o'clock in the morning and returned home at 7 o'clock in the evening. Though the office hour was 10 hours but most of the time Santu had to work more than the fixed timings. For the extra work Santu was not paid any additional money. In the company as Santu agreed to the three years' bond of loyalty, so he could not leave the work before three years. The major problems that Santu faced due to three years of bond loyalty was that he was not allowed to visit home even during marriage ceremony, birth ceremony and death ceremony of their family members. For this reason whenever Santu was needed at home, his father always sent a telegram to his company mentioning the death news of his family members. As the workers had no option of leaving the job, the workers did not come back easily to restart their work once they visited their home on holidays. To avoid that situation the manager introduced another rule. Instead of giving them the full

salary, he deducted the amount to almost half and repaying the withheld salary after the end of year whoever took leave for their urgent needs. After one and half years of work in the company, Santu started getting half of his salary that is Rs.2500 every month. The major problem Santu faced in his company was that due to bonded loyalty, he was not allowed to go home in festivals and ceremonies. As Santu was not getting leave, so his parents and other relatives sent more than one telegram mentioning the death news or poor health condition of their family members. After receiving the telegram only the manager used to give permission to Santu to visit their home.

Santu's income was spent on his house rent, food and travel. After all the expenditure, Santu was hardly able to send Rs.500 on his home. To save money for his sister's marriage neither he participated in any function like marriage ceremony or birthday ceremony nor did he visit any tourist place with his friends. Even he could not visit his home continuously for two years. However, after three years of work in the company now Santu has increased his income from Rs.5000 to Rs.8000.

Those were miserable days of Santu's life. Now Santu has increased his socio-economic conditions. He got his two sisters married. After migration to Delhi, Santu has also helped his friends and neighbor by providing them work opportunities in different companies. As Santu's mother was staying alone at Bhadrak, in order to fulfill his mother's wish Santu got married to Reena. Now Reena is staying with her mother-in-law and Santu is living in Delhi. Every month Santu sends on an average Rs. 3000 to his home. However, after migration now Santu's income has increased but he wants to return to his hometown after saving some money.

Why do Men/Women Migrate?

People from the villages and towns migrate in search of employment and livelihood options for quite a long time. According to V.N.P.Sinha (1987), among the migrants there are three types of migrations.

- i. Those farm labourers who have been forced out of their places of origin due to recurring famines and droughts.
- ii. At least a few members in every household, especially the younger ones, found that their villages or even nearby towns could not provide ample opportunities of work to subsist on and were forced to turn to bigger urban centers where there were better prospects of carrying on their traditional occupations, be it carpentry, digging earth or breaking stones as in the case of the Wadars.
- iii. Those who were enticed into leaving their native places for a better life in cities by those who had migrated earlier.

So, from the study findings, it has been found that while the first generation migrants moved out from their villages due to push factors, the second generation migrants migrated due to low paying jobs, type of employment and increased needs.

Causes of Migration to Other State

For a better understanding of migration of people to other states from second generation, it is very important to know the factors that are responsible for the migration. During the field survey, several factors have come to the fore front, which forced the second generation migrants to migrate to other state. The most important factors responsible for their migration are inadequate job opportunities, low wage rate, indebtedness, family burdens (marriage, health, etc), family disputes, disturbances and their lure to the city life.

The collected data reveals that the second generation migrants after their education, when they do not find any job opportunities in their respective locality, they start looking for the jobs outside of their district. If in case, they fail to find a job in their neighbouring district, finally they decide to leave for other states/cities to earn their livelihood. It was also noticed that even if the migrants are able to find work in their respective district but the wage they get is very low compared to other states which forced them to migrate.

Apart from the above mentioned causes, some of the migrant families are pushed to the wall with no option for employment/income adequate for the household. To meet their families basic needs the migrant take loans from their relatives, friends and local money lenders. However, due to their lower economic condition and joblessness, they are unable to repay their loan amount with exorbitant interest rates. As a result the adult male members of the family (younger ones) migrate to other states in search of jobs and to earn money, for supporting the poor economic condition of their family. One such instance happened with a person named, Jada, who migrated to Hyderabad, to return his father's loan, as his father suddenly lost his earning source in an accident. Thus, it can be analyzed that the economic circumstances play an important role for migration but the social factors also played a significant role for the migration of second generation. Therefore, the present study corroborates with the study of Singh (1989) and Rao (1986), who have pointed out that not only the economic factors such as small land holdings, family debts, failure of crops and

lack of employment etc but also the social factors such as social out caste, family trouble, lack of social adjustment and caste riots also compel people to move out from their places of origin.

In some of the families, when the parents are not in a position to afford money for different social obligations like their daughters marriage, diseases and death ceremony of their family members due to their poor economic conditions, in such cases also the second generation migrants try to take up their responsibilities by migrating to others states. In some cases family disputes also results in migration, in anticipation of better employment options. Basically, migration to other state is found among the educated males. The educated people generally migrate to other states as they have higher aspirations and lure with the city life. With a reasonable educational status, the youth generally do not prefer to take up for low profile job with a lower salary. As a result, when they fall short to find any suitable job according to their educational qualification and at the same time when they see their friends who are less qualified educationally are engaged in better employment working in other states, soon they also move to other states. One such issue is found in case study-2 where Lipan after completion of his diploma, worked as a mechanic in a TV repairing shop at Bhadrak town. But when he found his friends employed with good salary job after migration, Lipan also got influenced by his friends and decided to migrate to Hyderabad in search of a better job.

Thus, the above analysis shows that the economic conditions of the families are the main causes which always force the family members to migrate to other states. However, along with the economic factors, the social factors such as family disturbances and demand of dowry also forces the second generation migrants to move to other state. On the other end, fascination towards the city life is an added factor of migration. Thus, both push and pull factors are important factors which are responsible for the migration of the second generations.

Nevertheless, friends and relatives those who have already migrated to other states and settled with some jobs, provide the network that facilitates the second generation migrants. The field data indicate that out of 43 respondents, 42% have shifted to other state with the help of their friends, 39% have moved with the help of their relatives and 19% migrants

have migrated by their own without any help. Further, the data revealed that during the initial period of migration, it is friends and relatives who have already migrated and settled in other states bear all the expenditure in terms of food and accommodation of the second-generation migrants until they find a suitable job.

However, there are some cases found among the second generation who migrated to other cities without any prior help. They migrate to different cities on their own or with friends. As they are completely new to the city, their own identity and community feelings help them to adjust and sustain in that new place. The discussion with the second generation migrants indicated that when they do not find any other source of help themselves in the new place, then they start hunting for the Odiya people, by visiting different companies and construction sites. Likewise, they try to establish a friendly environment with a deep regional feeling and make enquiries about the availability of work for their survival and sustenance.

Further, the data revealed that in some cases parents also play an important role in the migration of their sons. When the male child does not get any work after his education and spends time by sitting idle at home, the parents also force their children to migrate to other states. In some instances it was noted that some of the parents even requested their neighbors who work in other states to find jobs for their sons. During the time of migration, the parents who are from lower income group borrow money from their neighbours or friends for their son's migration and send money to their son till they find a job in new place.

Kasiram Jena (M, 32) recalled how his mother supported and helped him to migrate to Bengaluru.

I was the third child among the three siblings and my father worked in a hotel. After I completed my intermediate, I did not get any work at Bhadrak. My father arranged a job for me in his hotel. After three months of work in the hotel, I left the work because the owner of the hotel was rude. He always was scolding us. After leaving the work in hotel, I was jobless nearly for one year and was roaming with my friends. My mother always forced me to join back in the previous work but I did not agree for it. My mother was very worried about me, as I was spending my days by playing cards with my friends and roaming here and there. Raja was the main festival for us to win money by playing cards. I used to take money from my father's pocket. When I was not having money, I played cards by taking credit from my friends. In this way, I borrowed Rs.6000 from my friends for playing cards. When I was not able to return the loan money, my friends started pestering my parents. Often we had big

quarrel in my home. To divert me from playing cards, sometime my parents were sending me to my maternal uncle's house. As I was doing nothing at home, my mother requested my neighbour's son who was working in Bengaluru to help me out. Though my mother was anxious about my bad habits, she forced me to migrate to Bengaluru.

From the above discussion, it has been noticed that when the parents find that their grown up children do not find employment after completion of their education and engage in different activities, then parents persuade/force their children in some work. However, when parents do not see any job opportunities for their children in their own city, they want to send their children to other place for work. The main intention of the parents is to see their children engage in some job. So, they do not step back to take loan for the sake of their children's migration.

It can be concluded that both economic and social factors play a significant role for the second generation migrants to find work in different states.

Age Profile of the Respondents

Most of the respondents interviewed for the study are mainly male members. Age is one important factor that explains various dimensions of the second generation migrants from their lower income, hardships to that of higher aspirations.

In the literature survey it was found that there is a strong relation between migration and age factor, which is universally noted. A number of studies have been carried out, which show that basically migration occurred more frequently among the youth. According to Dahiwala (1997) migration is mainly dominated by the adults. In his study, "*Socio-Economic Background of the Migrant's at Origin*" he mentioned that a majority of the migrants (55.3%) belonged to the age group 21-40 and only 14% are from the age group of 41-50. Upreti (1981) focused on, "*Social Organization of a Migrant Group: A Sociological Study of Hill Migrants from Kumaon Region in the City of Jaipur*", he studied that in upper age group the migration rate of the respondents is comparatively very small than the lower age group. Singh (1989), in his study "*Impact of out Migration on Socio-Economic Conditions*", analyzed that large number of male migrants that is 35 respondents are less than 30 years of age, whereas, only 28 respondents are above the age of 30 years. In this context, taking the above given literature in to consideration, the present study where the

data has been collected from the 43 respondents reveals that 36% are from the age group of 15-20, 43% respondents are from the age group of 21-29 and 21% are from the age group of 30 and above. Hence, it can be explained that the migration rate is more among the age group of 21-29. Thus, the present study also corroborates with the study of Dahiwalla, Upreti and Singh that migration rate is more among the young and adults. Here, the data regarding the migrants' total years of living in other states show that 30% of the migrants are away from their home for around 4-5 years, 49% are away for 1-3 years and only 21% had left their home for more than 6 years.

Socio-Economic Structure of the Second Generation Migrants

Caste Composition among the Migrants

In Indian social setting, caste plays an important role in the life of the people. This was noticed in this present study as well. The caste composition of the second generation migrants shows that 46% migrants are from other backward castes (OBC), 24% belong to the scheduled caste, 21% belong to upper caste and only 9% migrants belong to the scheduled tribes (see **appendix table-6**). The above data substantiate the view that the proportion of non tribal migrants' rate is more as compared to the tribal migrants. Looking at the causes of low migration rate among the tribes, it was found that most of the second-generation tribes are predominantly engaged in low skilled jobs (rickshaw pulling or construction work) in Bhadrak town. Due to strong family ties and close attachment with the family members, the second generation tribal's do not prefer to travel to other places by leaving their family. In fact, it is observed that most of the second generation tribal's do not prefer to migrate to other states because of their lack of adequate skills and kin network.

The social milieu in which tribal migrants operate does not give scope for the second generation migrants to move out to other states. Therefore, second generation tribal migrants normally comply with the aspirations and social values of the first generation migrants. Therefore, they do not prefer to migrate to other states or districts other than their home town that is Bhadrak, as it is not going to benefit them.

The respondent Kalandi Munda (29) narrates that

If I migrate to other state, I am not assured of any work. Here, I am working as a construction worker and after migration also I will engage as a construction worker. So it's wise to work here, so that I can stay with my family members rather than leading a nomadic life by moving to other state.

The data collected on the caste rules and restrictions among the second-generation migrants, reveals that the traditional caste rule and restrictions have not waned away among the second generation migrants. The upper caste migrants still follow their caste rules after their migration to other state. When some lower caste migrants were interviewed, they stated that after migration they suffer a lot because of their lower caste status. For instance: after migration few SC migrants' suffered for a longtime to get accommodation and roommates. As a result, after their migration they have decided to hide their caste identity to get roommates and accommodation. One such instance is found in case study-2, where Sushant has hidden his caste identity to get accommodation. It is also stated by few lower caste female migrants that though both the upper caste and lower caste Odiya migrants live in the same locality but the female migrants belonging to upper caste that is Brahmin, have little communication with them. Even though the Brahmin caste migrants' invite the lower caste migrants to their home during the celebration of different occasions but their attitude (with regard to the concept of purity and pollution) towards the lower caste migrants remain the same, they do not allow the lower caste migrants to enter into their kitchen. According to Brahmin caste migrants' kitchen is a sacred place to them where Goddess *Laxmi* lives in. If the lower caste people enters into their kitchen, then that will result in wrath of Goddess *Laxmi* and they will lose their wealth. Therefore, the lower caste migrants are strictly prohibited to enter into the kitchens of the Brahmin caste migrants' houses. Thus, it is well evident from the above analysis that the upper caste migrants still follow their caste rules but on the other hand it has been found that after migration to other state a sense of statehood, neighbourhood and brotherhood thoughts existing among the migrants and their families. For instance, the migrants who live in one settlement, in spite of their caste restrictions, they celebrate different festivals and functions together. Moreover, when they get any leisure, they also go for movies together. In case of female migrants, it was observed that when any female migrant needs help, other female migrants, irrespective of their caste help each other. For example, in a family when the husband goes out from home

for about two, three days, the female migrant who is alone, spends nights with their other Odiya migrant houses whoever stay near their houses.

Thus, from the above analysis it can be conclude that after migration to other state, the traditional caste based discriminations has not been totally removed from their minds. There is some perceptible change where Odiya identity assumes more significance and therefore one could see little more flexibility in terms of caste.

Living Conditions of the Second Generation Migrants

Amongst the total 43 respondents who have migrated to other states, only 24% respondents are staying with their relatives and the rest 76% respondents are staying in rented houses. The unmarried migrants, due to low income and to mitigate the higher rents of room and other expenditures prefer shared accommodation where three to four members share a single room. The household tasks are divided among all the members on mutual basis. For example, each member is assigned to prepare dinner for a single day along with the tasks of bringing vegetables, washing utensils and keeping water for the whole day. If any member fail to perform his assigned household task (that is preparing food), then he has to buy food for all the members spending his own money. However, the amount spent on grocery, room rent, gas and electricity is equally divided among all the members by the end of the every month. Further, there are some migrants who stay in a group have reported that each of them contribute Rs.1000 for house rent, food and other expenditures in the beginning of a month. The total amount is reimbursed from the collected money. If in case, their monthly expenditure is more than the collected money, then they have to repay. If the total expenditure is less than the collected money then it is carried forward to the next month's expenditure. Even when the migrants feel that their expenses is more, at that time they also do not hesitate to bring more roommates to lessen their monthly expenses. The situation is clearly observed in the case of Sushant, in case study-1 where Sushanta brought his friend to reduce his monthly house rent.

The field data regarding the living conditions of the married migrants' show that in the beginning, the married male members alone migrate to other state. Till the migrants improve their economic conditions they do not prefer to bring their family with them

because of high expenditure. Initially, they stay with their friends and relatives. Once after the migrants improve their economic conditions, they bring their family. Some of the migrants in spite of their better socio-economic condition do not bring wife and children because of the family constraints. The parents do not prefer to leave their daughter-in-law and grand children. It is because of old age of parents, who expect their son to take care of the family responsibility. Therefore the daughter-in-law and the grand children will substitute these roles. When the migrants bring their family with them they prefer to take a house with low house rent that is Rs.2000 to Rs.3000. Very few migrants have rented a house which is more than Rs.3000. Even among those families, some of them who do not bring their children with them, because it compels them to take a house more than one room. To reduce the house rent they only bring their small kids with them and the grown up children live with their grandparents in Bhadrak.

The second generation migrants who had no job and those are engaged in low earning occupations, adjust with their relatives in the place of their migration only to save their house rents. They need not pay back their relatives for their accommodation, food, and for other expenses such as electricity gas and water every month but sometimes the migrants spend money for buying vegetables or some basic household necessities. It is analyzed that, though the second generation migrants are getting benefitted staying with their relative, simultaneously they face different set of problems. The migrants have to adjust with their relatives, follow all the orders of their relatives and they have left with no choice to go against their order. For example, they cannot take food according to their own wish. Even if they are hungry, they have to wait until they are offered food. Most of the time the migrants have to adjust with the less quantity of food and they could not demand for food for the second time.

Coming to the other aspects of the living condition of the migrants, all the 43 respondents whether they are staying with their relatives or rented houses have their own water supply and latrine facilities. The information provided by the respondents revealed that, 79% of migrants have space for separate kitchen and the remaining 21% have no separate kitchen in their houses. The migrants who have no separate kitchen generally prepare food in one corner of their room. The main source of fuel for preparing food is either gas or kerosene

stove. Those who use gas, they buy it privately and no one of them possesses their own gas connection. On top of that, for buying one cylinder, the migrants' generally pay Rs.900 and it lasts for 2 months. Those who use stove buy kerosene outside by spending Rs.15 per liter. Therefore, some of the migrants prefer to use kerosene for cooking purpose instead of gas as it is cheaper than gas. In some cases the migrants, bring the kerosene from home, during their visit state of domicile, where they are the BPL/APL card holders.

Coming to the aspect of the migrants living conditions, the main source of water is piped/tap water. All migrants have their own water connection. However, the water is supplied only for limited period either in the morning or evening time. As most of the respondents leave for their work place around 9 o'clock in the morning, those, who get water supply during the morning time, face lot of difficulty to fetch water. When the migrants fail to collect water in the morning time, then they go to their work place without taking bath and cannot prepare food. When they fail to collect water continuously for 2 to 3 days in that situation some of the migrants' either buy water tank by spending Rs.300 or collect water from their neighbours to manage the household work. The situation is clearly observed in the case of Sushant in case study-1. It is noticed that some migrants stay in their friends houses and the next day they go for work after collecting water. On the other hand, regarding the supply of drinking water, few second-generation migrants avail separate drinking water facility. The drinking water is provided only for half an hour in the morning time. When the migrants fail to collect drinking water, they boil the water and use it for drinking purpose. The respondents who do not have drinking water facility use the water filters.

Marital Status

The data collected on the marital status of the second generation migrants' shows that 52% of the migrants are married and 48% of the migrants are unmarried (see appendix table-7).

Organisation of Marriage

In case of arranged marriages of the second generation migrants, the marriage proposals have come from the bride's side. Once the marriage proposal comes from the bride's house, it is the groom's family members, who first visit the bride's house, take the initiatives

further by discussing it. After the family members choose the girl, the groom visits the bride's house. Though parents take part in the selection of mate but the second generation migrants also take decision about their marriage. It has been observed that the second generation migrants visit the bride's house once their parents select the bride. After they visit the bride's house, if they like the bride then the parents decide the date of marriage. If the second generation migrants' do not like the bride, at that time the parents do not force their son for marriage even if they like the girl and the girl's family.

Criteria for Selecting the Mate

During the time of selection of a bride, the family status, caste, age of the bride and the behaviour of the bride's family members are mostly taken into consideration. Most of the time a groom's family prefers to arrange the marriage of their sons with a girl belonging to their known relatives or friends. It is because of the notion that if they choose a bride from their known relatives or friends the bride will respect the elders and can manage the family properly. If the parents fail to find a suitable match within their known relatives and friends circle, then only they search for the match outside their circle. It has been observed that some of the upper class migrant families have started searching the match outside of their circle through the help of mediator as within the community. They also pay Rs. 100-Rs. 200 to the mediator for bringing each match. They generally do not prefer to get married to totally an illiterate girl because of their belief that an illiterate girl will not able to adjust with the new people and new environment after their migration to other places.

Marriage Endogamy

Even after migration to other states, most of the second generation migrants give importance to endogamous form of marriage that is marriage within the same caste group. However, the data collected shows that very few of second generation migrants have gone for inter caste marriages. From the 22 married respondents, it was found that only 6 respondents have gone for inter caste marriage. During the time of selection of bride, the parents of the second generation migrants give preference to the girl from their own caste. They do not search proposals for their son out of their caste. Even most of the second generation migrants have reported that they follow their parent's decision and do not prefer

to get married a girl outside of their caste. Thus likewise the first generation migrant, most of the second generation migrants have not changed their traditional attitude towards endogamous form of marriage after their migration to other places. Even in case of inter caste marriage, it is found that the proposal comes from the bride's house. If in case the bride's parents do not agree, the marriage generally happens in the presence of the groom's parents. This situation is mentioned in the case study-3, where Jada was the first person in his family who got married to a Bengali girl after his migration. It has been found that when the parents did not give approval to the inter caste marriage, the couple force their way to get married. In such cases, friends play an important role for the commencement of the marriage. Thus my study is in tune with the study of Rao (1990). In his study "*Social Organization in an Indian Slum: Study of a Caste Slum*" in the western part of Pune he found that all waders rarely married outside their caste. Parents never arranged an inter-caste alliance for their children. The present study also found that after migration to other state, inter caste marriage is found among very few second generation migrants.

Age at Marriage

From the data collected among the second-generation migrants, it has been found that there is an increase in age at marriage as compared to the state before migration. Out of 22 respondents, 65 % got married after 25 years and only 35 % got married between the ages of 20-25. The main reason for late marriage among the second-generation migrants is family burden. Most of the second-generation migrants who have responsibilities such obligation to get their sisters married and to repay the loan taken by his family, in that case the migrants do not bother about their marriage. They prefer to get married after completing all their responsibilities. It is also found that some of the migrants who belong to very low economic background first give preference to improve their socio-economic conditions. Because they have a notion that if they get married without improving their economic conditions, then after marriage they will not be able to perform it well. When the unmarried second generation migrants were interviewed to give opinion about their marriage, it was found that all the second generation migrants belonging to low income group want to get married after they increase their income and family conditions and some of the migrants preferred to get married after having some savings.

Dowry System

After selection of the girl, the groom's parents demand dowry. They try to see whether the girl's status is rich or poor. Till now, dowry system is prevalent in the marriage ceremony. The dowry is decided at groom's house in the presence of groom's father and other relatives. The demand of dowry is more among the grooms' parents, whose son is employed in high salaried occupation. Even the second-generation migrant who has a decent family status or who is the only son, receive more dowry. The dowry starts from Rs.10, 000 based on the income of the second generation migrants. The parents, whose son is earning good, they demand either a bike or a minimum of Rs.1, 000, 00. The dowry is offered to the groom's father before the marriage. If the groom's parents do not receive the dowry before the date of marriage, the promise of marriage is withdrawn. It is seen that among all the 22 respondents, no marriage is terminated because of dowry. There is no demand of dowry from the groom's side during the time of inter caste marriage. When the migrants were asked, whether they agree to receive dowry during their marriage or not, it was found that most of the migrants were forced to take dowry and few migrants were agreed to take dowry according to their own wish.

However, the data collected shows that most of the migrants have taken some dowry during their marriage. It is because of their parents who demanded dowry from the bride side. Hence, it can be analyzed that the parents take all the decision on their children's marriage. The information collected shows that some migrants when they found that their parents have finalized their marriage with dowry, they also agree with their parents' decision. It is because of the thought that if they will go against their parent's decision, it may hurt the parent's feelings. Some other respondents from second generation stated that, when they found that their parents cannot bear all the expenditure of their marriage, at that moment they also agree with their parent's decision to take dowry.

Tallying Horoscope

It has been observed that parents still do not give importance for tallying horoscope of their son. Parents generally agree to get married their son and daughter when they like the proposal. During the interview with the second generation migrants, it has been found that

most of them do not believe in tallying horoscope. They believe that marriage is fixed in Heaven and with God's grace. So by tallying horoscope during the time of marriage, the fortune of one person can't change. Therefore, they do not prefer to tally horoscope during the time of marriage.

From the data it is found that the migrants who have no job security, low income and no accommodation facilities generally do not bring their family with them immediately after marriage. The female migrants, who live at their native places, face different problems in the absence of their husbands. The single women have to manage all the household chores alone. With the household chores such as buying food grains, grocery from the market, they have to pay the electricity bill, visit the hospital when any family members fall sick. It is also noticed that when the received money of their husband is not sufficient to run the family at that time, the women start working.

Kiran Bala Parida narrates that

After my husband's migration to Bangaluru, I am going through many hardships. No one is there to look after the family, except my father-in-law, who is old and also dependent on me for doing his daily activities. Hence, I am looking both the household work and outside work alone. Every day morning I have to manage household work, sending my children to school, getting repaired the household things and during the time of health problems, I have to take my family members to the doctor. As the income of my husband is very low, so to reduce the economic pressure and to fulfill the basic necessities of my children, I started working in the chain factory. After joining my job in chain factory, I am not even getting time to spend for my children and visit my relative's houses. Though I manage all my daily work alone but I am facing hardship with regard to my security. Being a single woman people are taking opportunity on that. When my neighbours quarrel with me, they give me threats by saying that they will burn my house and they will kill me.

Thus the above analysis concludes that the second-generation family, particularly the women face lots of difficulty in managing both the household work and their job together. When they are not able to manage all the works alone they take their neighbours help. Those who have small children, they leave their children in their neighbours house before leaving for work. The women who are not engaged in any work, in fact take credit from their neighbors, when the amount is not sufficient to manage the family. Thus the above analysis indicates that the migration of second generation to other states have brought changes in the traditional roles and responsibilities of the women. In other sense, women are empowered to manage all the household chores and outside work alone.

Though, the migration of second generation empowered the rural women but it is also pushing them harder. Some disputes and also extra marital affairs are found among the second-generation migrants after their migration. During the field survey one such case has come to the picture, where the respondents have done second marriage after his migration.

There is the case of Ranga Lata who narrates that,

My husband Harihara is working in a petrol pump in Delhi. Seven years ago, I got married to Harihara at Bhadrak by giving Rs.30, 000 as dowry. During the time of marriage, my husband's earning was only Rs.2000. As my husband was the only son and nobody was there to take care of my in laws, I did not move to Delhi with my husband. My husband visited home twice and sometimes thrice in a year. Gradually he reduced his visit to home. The only medium of communication with my husband was letters but he was not responding to any letters. Two years gone, and after two years, I came to know about his second marriage from his friend Bagala who was also working in Delhi. Sometime my husband sends money during the time of need and does not visit home regularly. For this reason, I started working in an Ashrama at Puruna Bazar. I prepare badi, pampada and pickle to earn meagre income.

Problems Faced by the Migrant's Family Members

During the field study, it was revealed that the migrants suffer after their migration and also the family members who go along with them face several hardships. Wives of the migrants, who have migrated along with their husbands, have mentioned that after their migration, they faced problems on the grounds of getting adjusted in the new place with a completely different environment. In their initial days of migration, they were confined in the four walls of their houses. This is because of the lack of contacts, lack of local language skills other than Odiya. Therefore, they were not able to communicate with their neighbours and could not able to establish friendship with non-Odiya people. Some of the women respondents stated that just to avoid these problems, whenever they return to their native places, they show their unwillingness to go back to the place of migration. Some other women migrants stated that they brought their sisters with them to overcome their loneliness at their work places. Initially none of the female migrants were engaged in any outside work because of the lack of communication. Just to overcome from these problems, it was noticed that some of the women started learning Hindi and the regional language at their place of migration. Over a period of time they pick up the regional language and few migrants are able to communicate. Those who cannot understand and speak the regional language, try and communicate in Hindi.

Some changes were also marked in the life style of the migrants' family members such as their decision-making abilities and independently managing the household work. Now women from migrant places are able to travel alone to their home town. Thus a form of empowerment of women after their migration in adjusting and coping with a completely new environment has been found.

One of the respondents, Kanak Sundari Rout (27) narrates that,

Neither in my own house nor at my in-laws' house I was allowed to go to market alone. At my home, though I was allowed to go to the market with my friends but in the evenings I was strictly restricted to visit other houses and market alone. As there was no TV in my house, sometimes I used to watch TV in my neighbor's house. However, when I got late, my mother used to send my brother to bring me home. After my marriage when I came to Bhadrak, the restriction was more compared to my own house. When I needed anything, I was not allowed to go outside of home. Always my mother-in-law brought from the market whatever I needed. Even to visit the doctor, I had to go with my mother in law or sisters in law. When there was nobody to go with me, my neighbors were accompanying me. However, in Bengaluru, I am doing all the works myself.

Family Size

The data collected from the second-generation respondents revealed that out of 43 respondents, only 22 respondents are married. From among the married migrants, 65% respondents are residing with their families at their place of migration, and 35% families of the migrants' still live in their native places. Out of the 22 married respondents, 77% have small families having 1-5 members and 23% have large families having more than six members. Thus a large number of migrants have small families having 1-5 members than large families. The study reveals that the migrants started living in nuclear family after their migration. However, it was also reported that, some of the migrants took along their brothers and other relatives immediately after migration, finding some jobs for them as well. They send money to their parents in the beginning of every month. Hence, during the field study, it also came to the forefront that once they get married, they show their unwillingness to bring other family members along with them except their wife and children. When the expenditure of the family increases at the place of their migration, the migrants send money to their parents when they required and prefer to maintain a nuclear family. On the other hand few upper class migrants have revealed that though they wanted to live with their parents permanently at the place of their migration but their parents show

their disinterest to leave their native place because of their emotional attachment. Though, the joint family system is very rare among the second generation migrants but they have close contact with their family members. For instance, the second-generation migrants visit their home once or twice in a year. Even in the case of the migrants who migrated due to the family disturbances and disputes, also visit their home, keeping aside the previous disturbances and disputes.

Out of 43 respondents, 73% of them visit their home once or twice a year where as 27% visits their home three times in a year. The main occasions of visiting their homes are different festivals, ceremonies and poor health conditions of the family members. As the migrants visit their home after long gap, so they carry some gifts for their family members. If in case they are unable to carry gifts for their family members, then in that situation they give them money as a replacement of gift. While leaving their homes they also give some money to their parents. When they cannot visit their home during the major festivals like *Raja* and *Kali Puja*, they send money to their family members to buy new clothes during the festivals. It is also stated by the migrants' that sometime their family members also visit them during the time of sickness and festivals. Out of 43 respondents, when they were asked about the amount of money they send to their family members, it was analyzed that, 56% second generation migrants are sending Rs.1000-Rs.2000 to their home every month, only 21% respondents are sending more than Rs.2000, and 23% respondents are sending money at the time of household needs (ill health, house construction and marriages of the younger siblings).

While coming to the issue of family elder's authority on the lives of the migrants, it was noticed that, parents' still try to have their say in their grand children's education, during the time of diseases and when they face problems in their work place. The second-generation respondents have mentioned that their parents and other family members also take suggestions during the time of financial needs, renovation of houses, daughter's marriage and family disputes. Hence, it can be said that both the migrants and their family members are connected with each other with a strong bond of emotional attachment and mutual relation. As the migrants and their families are simultaneously dependent on each other it shows a strong sense of mutual cooperation and in very few cases conflicts as well.

At the same time it was observed that, the conditions of the women who are still staying with the migrants' family (in-laws house) are very miserable. They are facing lots of hardships after their husband's migration. So, while there is bond between second generation son and father to a large extent, the women have lower social status and authority of in laws is very strong on them

Education

With regard to the education of the second generation migrants, table 4.1 shows that 21% of the respondents studied up to secondary education, 67% studied till higher secondary education and only 12% have more than intermediate education. The data shows that though more than 50 percent of respondents have obtained their higher secondary education but there are varieties of reasons for which the migrants could not go for their further higher studies. Majority of the respondents have reported that due to poor economic conditions of their family, they had to give up their education. The field data shows that irrespective of low wage, most of the parents sent their children to school. Sometime their parents borrow money for their children's education but when they find it hard to spend more money than they could afford for their children's then children will be forced to drop out of the school. It was also reported that quite a few children dropped out due to less interest in education. Due to low interest in studies, when the migrants' children were unable to pass their final exams and studied in the same class for one more year, then they discontinued their education.

Table No.4.1: Educational data of the Second Generation Migrants

Education	Percentage
Secondary education(V-VI)	9 (21%)
Higher secondary education (VII-X)	29(67%)
Intermediate and more	5(12%)
Total	43(100.0%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

Hence, there are few migrants who have obtained higher secondary education, ITI and diploma courses. The respondents have reported that their parents attempted a lot to provide them good education. During the examination time when the migrants were not showing

any interest towards study, their parents used to bribe them like promising to provide cycles or watches for getting good marks in the exam. Irrespective of family burden, their parents fulfilled all their study requirements. At present, most of the second-generation migrants are not happy with their lower educational qualification due to which they are unable to get into the good jobs or compete in the market.

Nitiananda (30) narrates that

As I studied only till 3rd standard I am not able to get any work except unskilled work. Wherever I visited for work, I am employed as a labourer because of my low education. Now I am repenting that why did I not take education seriously? I wish I could have started my studies again."

The data regarding on the education of the children's show that, all the 22 married respondents are sending their children to school. It is noticed that some of the upper class second-generation migrants are sending their children to English medium school after their migration. Even a few migrants who are sending English medium school are also providing tuition to their children for their better performance in the class, so that he/she can compete with other children in their respective classes. Those who are providing tuition to their children are paying extra Rs.1000 to the tuition teacher. It was also noticed that, the attitude of the migrants towards girls' education has changed. All the second-generation migrants are sending their girl children to school with an intention to provide good education to their girl child. Infact, some of the second-generation migrants are sending their daughters to English medium schools. Few of the migrants whose families are residing in Bhadrak, send separate money for the education of their children. The data shows that in almost all families mostly mothers look after their children's study, even if they are not educated or have limited abilities. All the female migrants check the home work of their children's at night time and sit with their children till they complete their lessons. They believe that if they do not sit with their children during the study time their children will not concentrate in their work. However some migrants do not switch on TV during the study hours of their children. Few migrants have mentioned that they have not taken cable connection only for the sake of their children's education. Thus, the attitude of the second-generation migrants towards their children's education has changed. After migration, parents are more concerned about their children's education even if they have low income.

Occupational Profile

The entire second generation migrants belonging to different castes are engaged in different industrial work such as companies, as construction workers, daily wage labourers (workers in the petrol pump, tailoring shops and in the hotels) or petty business (Grocery shop, Sweet shop and Auto drivers). The occupational structures of the second-generation migrants before their migration and after migration are given below in Table-4.2.

Table No. 4.2: Primary Occupation of the Second-Generation Migrants' before Migration and after Migration.

Previous occupation	Percentage	Present Occupation	Percentage
No work	12(28%)	No work	-
Petty business	6(14%)	Petty business	5 (12%)
Daily wage labourer	9(21%)	Daily wage labourer	5 (12%)
Construction worker	12(28%)	Construction worker	8 (18%)
Company	4(9%)	Company	25(58%)
Total	43(100%)	Total	43 (100.0%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The data indicates that prior to their migration to other state, 28% of them were unemployed, 28% migrants were engaged in construction work, 14% migrants engaged in petty business (iron shop, wood shop, cycle shop, flower shop and pottery shop), 21% of migrants engaged in daily wage labour (rickshaw puller, trolley puller, working in cloth store and Hero Honda show room, in mobile store, and as helper in trekker) and only 9% migrants were engaged in different companies in Bhadrak town. However, the present occupational structure of the migrants shows that after migration, all the migrants have engaged themselves in some work. Presently, a large number of respondents (58%) are engaged in different industrial work, 12% are involved in petty businesses such as grocery shops, auto driving, cloth stores and electrical shops, 12% are engaged as daily wage labourers such as working in petrol pumps, tailor shops, auto driver, in hotels and 12% are working as construction workers. Thus, the above table indicates that not a single migrant from the second generation are continuing with their traditional caste based occupation. However, after migration there is an occupational shift found among them.

The data revealed that all the migrants during the initial days of their migration struggled a lot to get into a job. All the migrants have mentioned that due to uncertainty of their job and accommodation, in their initial days of migration they did not give importance to the monthly wage and nature of work. They have accepted any job, whichever came first to them. After some years of experience, they elevated their positions as well as income. The migrants who had no knowledge about the industrial work have mentioned that they faced many problems in adjusting and adapting their new occupation. As they are unskilled and they lack knowledge about the particular skill required. When the migrants were asked regarding the problems they faced to get a job, it has been reported that they waited 2-3 years to get a suitable job. The respondents who have engaged in industrial work have mentioned that to get better positions in their company, some time they have worked over time without any payment and most of the time they stayed in their company buildings during nights for work. However, shifting of occupation is frequently found among the second-generation migrants. The main cause for frequently changing the occupation is to earn a high wage. It has been noted that the moment migrants find work with higher wage then they immediately change their occupation without giving importance to the nature of work. They do not even mind changing their work places if they get higher wage as compared to their existing wage. Further, the data revealed that some of the migrants have improved their positions from ordinary labourers to contractors or supervisors in their companies. Second generation migrants are bold and enterprising in changing from one job to another, even if it means changing from one city to another.

The data also indicated that women initially after their migration were not engaged in any occupation because of their lack of knowledge about the work. As they migrated for the first time, they were afraid of getting adjusted in the new place, facing new people and to travel alone. Due to all these reasons, during the initial days the female migrants preferred to engage themselves only in the household work. But presently the scenario has changed, some of the women are engaged in different works other than their daily household work. It has been noticed that seven women are working outside home like working in tailor shops, construction work and as security guards. Some of the female members help their husbands in their business.

The wages of the second generation migrants has been provided below.

Wage

Table No.4.3: Respondents Income Before and After Migration

Previous Income	Percent (%)	Present income	Percent (%)
No Work	12(28%)	No Work	-
100-999	8(18%)	100-999	-
1000-1999	18(42%)	1000-1999	-
2000-2999	5(12%)	2000-2999	-
3000-5999	-	3000-5999	33(77%)
6000-more	-	6000-more	10(23%)
Total	100%(43)	Total	43(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The data indicates that the income of the second-generation migrants was very low before their migration. A large proportion of the migrants (88%) were earning below Rs.2000 per month and only 12% earned more than Rs.2000 per month. As per the second-generation migrants data 77% are earning more than Rs.3000 and 23% are earning more than Rs.6000 per month. Thus, the present study indicates that compared to the previous income before migration, the migrants have significantly improved their economic condition after migration.

The disaggregated data on incomes indicate that those second generation migrants engaged in different industrial work earned higher compared to the income of the daily wage labourer and construction workers. The migrants who are engaged in petty business have stated that initially after their migration, some of them were engaged in different shops as helpers/sales boy whereas others were working as labourers in different companies. After working for several years in different shops and companies, they have started their own businesses. Though, all the migrants have improved their economic condition but they also mentioned about the various problems being faced by them in their work places, after migration. As mentioned by the migrants those who have opened their petty business, they face the problem of irregular income from petty business and high rent of their shop. In some cases because of the lower output from their business few migrants are even unable to pay their shop rent. In order to make some extra money, the migrants keep their shop open from 9 o'clock in the morning and work until 10 or 11 o'clock late in the night. They do not

even close their shops on Sunday and during the festivals. All the migrants have mentioned that they are not able to keep any helper to assist them in their shop, due to their low income. So, when they suffer with any kind of health problems their shops remain closed until they recover and become normal.

It has been reported that the income of the daily wage labourers who are engaged in hotels and petrol pump are without any extra income. The wages are paid at the end of the month and there is no extra shift of work to earn additional. The migrants who are engaged as daily wage labourers get Rs.3000 per month. The conditions of the migrants who are engaged in construction works are very miserable due to the nomadic nature of work as compared with other migrants. Majority of the migrants reported that most of the time they work longer hours to complete their task but they are never get paid more for their overtime. On an average, a construction worker generally gets Rs.100 per day and there is no increase of wages. All the migrants have mentioned that they do not get compensation when they meet with any accident in their company. As the payment is based on the daily work they will be paid only for those days they work and if they are sick they do not get paid at all. It is also reported that due to shifting nature of work, very few migrants doing this work and prefer to stay along with their family members.

The migrants who are employed in different companies, their wages amount range between Rs.3000 to Rs.4000. They receive their salary by the end of the month. But it has been noted that since the wages are very less, most of the migrants have increased their income by doing over time. For instances, the migrants who joined as workers in iron and steel companies generally get Rs.3000 for nine hours of work per month but majority of the migrants are doing extra work in the night to increase their income. The life of the migrants working in the iron and steel manufacturing companies is not easy at all. To get Rs.3000 per month, they have to work whole day in front of fire. As stated by the respondents, the payment they receive from their whole day of work is not sufficient to run their family, so to earn some extra money some of the migrants go for part time work, but they get a maximum of Rs. 50 for 5 hours of work.

The migrants who work in textile companies make considerable profit by selling the damaged clothes in different shops or by doing their own garment business. Though the

migrants have improved their work, they faced different problems. The migrants who are engaged in textile industries get only Rs.2000 to Rs.3000 for 10 hours of work, which is very low. They have to work all seven days a week as Sunday is also not a holiday. Due to low income, all the workers work in night and during holidays, in order to get some extra money. In spite of low wages, there is no increment in their salary by the company authorities and they are deprived of getting the bonus during festival seasons. Another major problem faced by the workers in the industry is irregular payment of wages. It has been found that some of the migrants do not get their full wage. They have mentioned that their company deducts part of their wage. One of the reasons for it is to retain the workers in the company and they do not leave the work as and when they want. Few workers who have joined as contractual worker in different industry for some specific periods, do not get their full wage and are not allowed to visit their homes even if they have urgent commitments such as marriage ceremonies and death rituals. In such cases the family members of the migrants sometimes send some fake telegrams mentioning the death news of some family members to their work places, so that they can get permission to visit their home town. During the field study two cases has been found where the migrants ran away from the company to earn freedom from their contractual work and drudgery.

Thus, the above analysis indicates that most of the second-generation migrants have improved their income after their migration. Some of the migrants are now doing well in their business. The migrants those are presently working as contractors, in the initial days of their migration were working as labourer under supervision of other contractors. While, working as labourers the migrants have gone through various hardships, they were more exploited at their work places.

The details of the total expenditure of the migrants show that most part of the wages is spent on paying the house rent, food and travelling. The data on the total monthly expenditure of the second-generation migrants' show that 39% migrants spend Rs.2000 to Rs 2999 per month and 61% migrants spend more than Rs.3000 per month. Although the second generation migrants' incomes improved in absolute terms, but it is barely sufficient to survive in the city, given the high cost of living. Some of the migrants from the low-income group have mentioned that due to more expenditure, towards the middle of every

month they run short of money. Most of the time, they borrow money from their friends at the time of scarcity. When they are not able to borrow money from their friends, they ask money from their parents and other family members. So to sustain themselves for the whole month, sometimes the migrants reduce their food items. It has been noticed that the migrants in order to save money, they skip their breakfast and take one meal per day. However, some of the migrants engage in illegal work at their work place. For instance, those who work at garment companies, they steal some garments outside the shop to earn money by selling it in other shops. Those who work as supervisors in different companies take commission from the customers to release the product very quickly. It has also been noticed that some of the unmarried migrants when they cannot sustain with their incomes they tend to reduce their daily expenditure, bring more roommates to share their room to bring down the rent to be paid. To sustain themselves with their earned income, some of the migrants avoid participating in any functions of their friends and do not visit any tourist place.

When the respondents were asked why they do not go back to their home town when they face different problems? It was stated by most of the migrants that after migration they have improved their economic condition to some extent and solved their family burdens (marriage of young siblings and repaid loans). However before migration some of them were not able to get work regularly. Those who were engaged in some work have mentioned that, earlier to migration their income was not sufficient to provide two full meals to their family members. So to satisfy their social obligations they need to borrow money from their friends and relatives, which over a period time became unwilling to give money and their credit worthiness was very low. It is because their friends and relatives were having the fear that they cannot get their money back as the incomes of the migrants were very low. So to meet their basic requirements and social obligations, they were compelled to sell their ornaments and house-hold assets. Some of the migrants who were able to get some money on credit from their friends or local money lenders have mentioned that afterwards they were unable to repay the money. In order to clear up their loan, they worked day and night but still they were unable to repay the loan prior to migration. After migration even though the migrants are facing various problems in their place of migration but they are able to get regular work and have increased their earnings as compared to

earlier. After migration they are also able to save some money which they are sending to their parents. Some of the migrants contribute money for the reconstruction of their old houses and for their sister's marriage. At present as they are economically a bit well off, so they are able to buy their household things (TV, fridge, mobile phone and Gas) and provide education to their children. After clearing the loans, the second generation migrants (65%) have started saving their money in bank and have taken LIC policies.

Food Habits/Dress Patterns

The data on the food habits indicate that most of the second-generation migrants' are still continuing with their previous food habits. Almost all the migrants prefer typical Odiya food in spite of their migration to other states. The migrants generally take food three times a day where as the children take food four times a day. Rice is the staple food among most of the migrants in their work places. The main breakfast popular among the children is chapatti, flattened rice, biscuit and milk. Some of the migrants are giving fruits and other baby foods such as cerelacs, to their children. But all the migrants have mentioned that they are also buying milk for their children. It has been noted that the female migrants have changed their attitude towards their children's food. They are giving more importance on their children's food and try to save some money to provide good food to their children. Among Odiya's *Dalma*¹⁵, which is considered to be one of the healthiest foods, so every day the female migrants' buy vegetable to prepare *Dalma*. When they are not able to buy all the vegetables then they some how manage to prepare *Dalma* with one or two vegetables. The elders generally take chapatti, flattened rice, *Pakhal* and tea in their breakfast. Some of the migrants without taking any breakfast go for work. All the migrants take rice, dal and some curry which is common in their lunch and dinner. Due to high price of rice, most of the migrants from the low-income group bring rice from their hometown. A few migrants have changed their food habits and they have started taking chapatti/roti in their dinner. Most of the migrants take non-vegetarian food like chicken or fish once in a week. All the migrants prepare non vegetarian food during special occasions and festivals. The migrants prefer to take chicken rather than mutton and fish. Very few migrants take mutton or fish

¹⁵ A mixed vegetable curry cooked with Dal, which less spicy and nutritious.

once in a month or during the time of festivals. It has been observed that after migration to other states, some of the migrants have accepted the food habits of the local people. For instance, the migrants who live in Delhi, in spite of taking rice, now prefer to take Chappati both in their lunch and dinner where as some of the migrants who live in Hyderabad and Bangalore prepare Sambar and Rasam occasionally.

The second generations after their migration to other state still give least importance to buy new dresses. Those from good economic conditions and who have small number of children buy new clothes in most of the festivals. The migrants who are from the low-income background generally do not want to spend more money on their children's clothes. The data revealed that those who buy clothes for their children, they do not want to spend more than Rs.300. It is also found that due to high price of clothes at their present work place they prefer to buy clothes in their native places because of low price of clothes. So when they visit home, at that time they buy clothes for their whole family members. It has been observed that the female members whether rich or poor buy new clothes in some specific occasions such as *Sabitri Puja and Raja*. The male members generally do not prefer to buy clothes on festival occasions every year. They generally buy new clothes when the clothes become very old or damaged. However, some of the unmarried male migrants buy new clothes frequently when they get their wages.

Health Condition of the Migrants

The data on the health conditions among the second-generation migrants show that they visit the nearest Government or private hospitals whenever they fall sick. Few migrants when they are not able to afford expenditure of their treatment due to their poor economic conditions, they go to their native places. The migrants mentioned that during the time of diseases, they mainly visit the private hospitals which are near their home. If there is delay in treatment and cure them they consult the other reputed private doctor. The main reason is that in private hospital, the doctor gives more time to check the patient and properly diagnose the diseases whereas in the Government hospital the doctors do not. When the disease does not get subsided, then they take their neighbours suggestion about the good hospitals. However, none of the migrants prefers to visit the homeopathic doctor and

ayurvedic doctor because of their belief that the diseases cannot be cured quickly. It has been noticed that the tribal migrants still do not take treatment from the hospital when they fall sick. Rather, their family members perform some religious rituals at their native place for their speedy recovery. If the diseases cannot be treated after this, they return to their home to visit some *Gunia*. As the tribal migrants are not able to visit their home regularly during the time of disease, they wear the sacred thread given by the *Gunia* which they believe that, it will protect them from diseases.

The female migrants rarely visit the doctor when they suffer with cold, flu and fever. However, after migration, the female migrants visit the doctor during their pregnancy regularly. Even they are taking prenatal and antenatal care. Out of the 22 married migrants, four women have accepted the family planning programmes. When the question was asked to the female migrants who have not gone for family planning programme, only a few migrants due to the fear of family planning procedure did not go through it. Some of the female migrants stated that because of their in-laws fear, they did not go for family planning programme. Thus, it is noticed that after the childbirth, all the migrants whether they are from the high income or low-income, give polio drops and other vaccines of immunization to their children. The female migrants are now more concerned about their children's health. When the newborn baby suffers from any kind of health problems, they immediately visit the doctor. Some of the upper class migrants regularly visit the doctor and take doctor's advice for the good health of their children.

Leisure Time Activities

It is observed that the male members generally spend their leisure by gossiping with their friends and by watching TV. During the holidays, they generally spend their time by visiting their friend's house and shopping. The unmarried migrants generally spend their leisure by going for movies, shopping and preparing non-vegetarian food in their room. The women, those who do not go for work spend their time in watching different TV serials and sometime they spend their time by making pickle, *Badi*, *Chatua* and *rice Papad*. The female migrants, who go for work on the weekdays, spend their time with household chores such as washing the clothes and cleaning the rooms. During festivals, it is seen that both the male and female members visit their friends' houses.

Migrants and their Religious Practices

The data indicates that migrants still continue with their own religious practices, which they acquired from their native place. The first duty of all the female migrants in the morning to offer their worship, only then they takes their breakfast. Apart from the morning worship, all the female migrants from the high or lower caste perform their daily Sandhya in the evening near the *Chaura*¹⁶. Even it has been seen that the migrants due to their religious beliefs keep the *Chaura* in front of their house. The female migrants visit the temple during special occasions and festivals. However, most of the female migrants' visit the lord Siva temple on Mondays and they keep fast on Monday. Some of the female migrants do not take rice for the whole day and stay on by taking some fruits only in the evening on Monday. Moreover, some of the women take rice on Monday but do not take non-vegetarian food, onion and garlic on Monday. The main reason among the migrant women to worship lord Siva and fast on Monday is to get his blessings to secure long lives of their husbands. It has been noticed that some of the female migrants keep fast on Tuesday and Thursday to please Goddess *Tarini* and Goddess *Laxmi*. Apart from Monday, the migrants also celebrate *Laxmi* Puja at the place of migration. In the *Laxmi* puja the female migrants keep fast for four Thursdays in the month of November. They draw the foot prints of Goddess *Laxmi* prepared from the wet rice flour. They do *Laxmi* puja by wearing white saree as they believe that if they perform these acts properly, Goddess *Laxmi* will give them wealth.

All the unmarried migrants who share their rooms with their friends have mentioned that they have the portrait of God and Goddess in their room and regularly they bow before they leave for work. It has been found that the unmarried Brahmins who stay in group still follow different practices during the worship. The Brahmins do not touch anybody, after they take bath and until they finish their worship. Some of the Brahmin migrants light two incenses during the worship because of their belief that lighting single incense during the worship is bad for the family members. Thus, the above discussion indicates that after

¹⁶ Chaura: The Tulsi tree generally planted on a small rectangular podium raised on the ground having three to four layers, each of them diminishing its size proportionately called "Chaura".

migration to other state, most of the second generation migrants follow their own religious practices.

Traditions, Customs, and Rituals

It has been noted that the migrants celebrate different festivals like *Ganesh Puja*, *Durga puja*, *Kali Puja*, *Raja*, *Prathama Astami*, *Sambara Dasami* and *Holi*. Still *Raja* is celebrated in a grand way in their respective places among most of the migrants. It has been found that in most of the families women prepare cakes, buy new clothes for their children and visit one another's houses. The lower class migrants follow the custom of having pan and spend their time by playing cards. The upper class migrants celebrate *Raja* by buying new clothes for themselves and spend their time by watching movie in theater. Though according to the custom, the migrants buy new clothes for their children but they are not able to prepare their traditional cake that is *Poda Cake*¹⁷ in *Raja* because of the unavailability of *cholli*. Therefore, most of the migrants celebrate *Raja* by preparing sweets. Even the migrants are not able to tie swings for their children after their migration to other state. Apart from *Raja*, the female migrants also celebrate *Sabitri puja* after their migration. According to their custom, they buy new clothes, bangles and sindur. They observe fast for the whole day. For the Puja the female migrants collect several fruits and take food after offering worship to their husbands. Even most of the female migrants celebrate *Siva Ratri* for their husbands' secure life. In the *Siva Ratri*, the female migrants do not take food for the whole day. In the evening, they take food after visiting Lord Siva temple.

After migration, the migrants also celebrate different festivals for their children like *Kumar Purnima*, *Prathama Asthami* and *Sambara Dasami*. According to the custom, the migrants compulsory buy new clothes for their daughters and prepare *manda cake*¹⁸. Even the girls follow their custom of keeping fast for the whole day and take food after seeing the moon. Though one of the customs of *Kumar Purnima* is to decorate the *Chaura* with the lily flower but it has been reported that due to unavailability of lily flower and other flowers, now the migrants decorate their *chaura* with rice flour. It has been found that most

¹⁷ poda cake- it is prepared by rice flour, small coconut pieces and sugar and backed in cholli.

¹⁸ manda cake- it is prepared with rice flour.

of the migrants still follow their custom of buying new clothes for their elder child in *Prathama Asthami* and prepare *Enduri cake*¹⁹. But after migration some changes has been found in the custom of celebrating *Prathama Asthami*. It has been noted that after migration the lower class migrants do not buy new clothes for their elder child. Even when the migrants do not find turmeric leaf, they do not prepare *Enduri cake* which is one of the traditions of *Prathama Asthami*. After migration the migrants also celebrate *Sambara Dasami* where they worship God Sun, by preparing the favorite dishes of their children and after worship the dishes in front of God and Goddess, they give them to their children to eat. It is found that most of the migrants prefer to visit their home during *Holi* because of Fair (*Melana*) at Bhadrak. However, *Melana* is known as the congregation of idols of different gods like *Radha* and *Krishna* from different villages in one field and it continues for three days.

The data indicates that after migration to other state, most of the migrants also follow all their rituals in different occasions like birth, death and marriage at their home. The birth rituals depict that the female members are generally sent home when they conceive and remain in their home till the birth of child and purification ceremony. It was evident from the study that, the second-generation migrants still follow all the rituals associated with the birth ceremony. Before the birth of a child, the second generations still celebrate the rituals called ‘*Sada*’ in the seven months of pregnancy. The purification ceremony is still strictly followed by the second-generation migrants. After seventh day the purification of both the mother and child happens, in which they have to cut their nails, hair and get purified by taking bath in turmeric water. Even after migration, the migrants perform the rituals of *Namakaran* (the naming ceremony). According to the custom, all the migrants have do *Satyanarayan puja* in the same day of naming ceremony. It has been found that few changes have been adopted by the second generation migrants. After migration to other state, the upper class migrants do *Satyanarayan Puja* and provide grand feast to their neighbours, friends and relatives in the naming ceremony of their children. Few upper class

¹⁹ endure cake: enduri cake is prepared with a mix of rice flour, black gram, coconut and sugar. This cake is made only in the festival of Asthami

migrants also distribute clothes to their relatives and celebrate their children's birthday grandly by inviting their friends. However, some of the low income group migrants generally do not celebrate the naming ceremony of their children grandly. They only perform the *Satyanarayana Puja* and distribute *Prasad* to their neighbours. Even few low income group migrants due to their poor economic condition celebrate their children's 21st ceremony after one year in the day of birthday.

After migration, most of the second-generation migrants follow all their traditional rituals like *Nirbandha* and *Bara dhara* during the time of marriage. It has been found that the lower class second generation migrants give money to ensure their liking, if they like the bride. In the ring exchange ceremony (*Nirbandha*), though the migrants have a custom to exchange the ring but few lower class migrants in spite of exchanging ring, they exchange clothes to reduce their expenditure. Once the ring exchanges (*nirbandha*) ceremony over, the lower class migrants start distributing cards to their relatives and friends. However, it has been found that the upper class second generation migrants they give a gold ornament to the bride to ensure their liking. Even some of the upper class migrants invite their friends, relatives and provide fies in the ring exchange ceremony like the local people. Few of the upper class second generation migrants have started celebrating Mehendi ceremony and sangeet ceremony after their migration to other state. However the custom of distributing *Kheer* on the eighth day of their children's marriage is still followed by most of the second generation migrants. Most of the female members still follow the kinship usage of avoidance that not looking at the face of husband's elder brothers. They do not touch their clothes, plates during the time of eating and do not talk with them. The migrants even after staying away from their families still follow their tradition of touching the feet of the elders, face the neighbours with veil. It has been stated by the women that they never remove all the bangles from their hands and always wear the white *Sankha*²⁰ and red *Pala*²¹, which is compulsory for a married girl. Though most of the female migrants follow their traditional custom but few upper class migrants have mentioned that after their migration to other state, now they have started discussing the family matters with their elder brother in

²⁰ .a bangle made with

²¹ a bangle made with mud.

laws and take food together in their home. They have accepted the cultures of the local people at the place of their migration for instances, some of the female migrants have started wearing saree in Marwarhi style in different function, salwar kameez and nighty at their home. Few female migrants who stay in Hyderabad and Bengaluru started putting flowers on their head during the different festivals.

It has been noted that the second-generation migrants still follow all the customs and rituals associated with the death ceremony. During the death of the family members, the migrants do not touch the household things, do not cut their nails, hair, do not apply oil in their head and do not take spicy food for nine days after they heard the news. Even the migrants' take food only once in a day for nine days that is before the sunset according to the custom. All the family members start to take spicy food after the performance of purification rites, such as, taking bath with the turmeric paste, cutting hair and nails. On the 10th day, the family members prepare all the favorite foods of the dead person and offer the food near their cremation place. To know the next birth of the dead person, on the tenth day, all the family members sit in a dark room with the sand. It has been found that for the 11th day, most of the upper class migrants buy new clothes for their entire relative and arrange feast for their friends, relatives and neighbors. Apart from this, every year the migrants follow the custom of giving "*Sradha*"²² the same day. However few lower class migrants do not buy new clothes for all their family members and only invite their relatives to celebrate the 11th day. Due to poor economic condition, they only provide fiest to their relatives. Inspite of giving fiest to the colony neighbours, they give Rs.1000-Rs5000 to the local club members.

Thus from the above analysis, it can be conclude that though most of the second generation migrants still follow their tradition, customs and rituals but few migrants have adopted the culture of the local people.

²² Sradha: offering of oblation to deceased ancestors

Migrants and their Participation in Politics

The present study indicates that none of the second generation migrants are involved in any political parties at their work place. Out of 43 respondents, only three second-generation migrants are the members of their workers union in their company and actively participate in the workers strikes. However, it has been noted that some of the migrants take interest in the municipality chairmen election at their hometown. They visit their home to cast their vote during the municipality chairmen elections, Vidhan Sabha and Lok Sabha elections. Due to insecurity of jobs in the informal that most second generation migrants' work, they do not have any unions to participate. They also work for longer hours and some of them work extra time to earn additional income, so do not have time to participate in political activities.

Conclusions

This chapter brings into discussion the economic factors as well as social factors like the family circumstances which are responsible for the migration of the second generation. Relatives and friends are the main influencing factors for the second generation migrants to migrate other states. The study found that urban migration is more among the young age group, married and educated people. After the migration, number of changes is found in the economic, social and cultural sphere. The living condition of the migrants shows that after migration the migrants have improved their housing conditions have personal water connections and electricity facilities etc. Nuclear family system seems to be the norm among the second generation migrants. However, there is a strong bond of emotional attachment with their family members. Though the second generation migrants still follow their Traditional rules regarding caste system and marriage but changes in age at marriage and dowry system has been found. Now after migration the second generation migrants prefer late marriage (from 16-18 to 21-25 years now) and in spite of taking dowry such as cycle, watch and land like the first generation migrants, now the second generation migrants demand money as their dowry. After migration, the migrants have changed their attitude towards their children's education. They do not discriminate among their children to provide education. They try to provide better education both to their son and daughter. Changes also found in the economic sphere. None of the migrants are practicing any of

their traditional caste based occupations after their migration to other state. A large number of migrants have engaged in paid semi-skilled work in different industries. Due to migration, they have improved their economic conditions of their family by sending money to their parents. They contribute money for the reconstruction of their old houses, for their sister's marriage and able to buy their household things (TV, fridge, mobile phone, Gas). Though the migrants have improved their economic conditions but they face different problems in their work place such as irregular payment, over time work and no leave. Thus, the migrants still follow their own religious practices, tradition, customs and rituals but after migration less proportion of them have accepted the urban culture such as some of the female migrants wearing salwar kameez rather than saree, put flowers in their hair in different festivals and few migrants have accepted the food habits of local people. All the migrants try to learn and speak in the local language. So it can be analyzed from this that there is mobility and improvement in the income levels compared to the first generation migrants but the working conditions have become much higher in the city life.

CHAPTER V

WORKING CONDITIONS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS

In this chapter, attempts are made to analyze the programmes and policies specifically designed by the state to address the issues faced by the migrants. The study data indicates that all the migrants are from poor socio-economic background. After migration, although the migrants are able to marginally improve their economic conditions, their living conditions continue to be miserable. Many migrants do not have adequate shelter, electricity facilities and drinking water facilities even after several years of migration. Low occupation, low wage and exploitation are the main problems that the migrants face in their work place. In order to reduce their problems and to improve the socio-economic conditions, Government has initiated a number of policies, programmes and laws.

To provide employment opportunities to the urban poor, the Government has designed several employment generation programmes like PMRY, SJSRY and MGNREGS for the welfare of the migrants. Besides the programmes, the Government has also adopted various labor laws, acts and poverty reduction programmes to reduce the problems of migrants. The principal laws related to wages are the Payment of Wage Act, 1973, the Minimum Wage Act, 1948, Payment of Bonus Act, 1965, and equal remuneration Act, 1976. The Wage acts deal with the mode of payment, payment days, inspections of workers below a certain salary range etc. For governing the working conditions, the main Acts include the Factory Acts, 1948, industrial employment Act, 1946, the Contract Labor act, 1970. The Working Conditions Act, deals with the issues related to health, safety, welfare of the workers and regulates the working condition of labourers. The principal laws related to social security and insurances are Worker's Compensation Act, 1923, the employee State Insurance Act, 1948, the Employee's Provident Fund act, 1952. The Act deals with the employer's payment for injury by accident at work site or occupational diseases. Also employees will be entitled for insurance against sickness, maternity, funeral and disablement.

In order to assess how the Governmental policies and programmes are influencing the migrants in their destination places, the present study analyzes the conditions of migrant workers across different occupations. From the occupational analysis of first generation migrants, it has been found that the migrants are mainly engaged in Construction Work, Agricultural Work, Industrial Work (Oil Mills, Chain Factory, Rice Mills and Coal Factory), Daily Wage Labourer (Loading /Unloading work in TMT bar shop or Cement Shop, Rickshaw Puller and Trolley Puller, domestic workers), Petty Business (Iron Shop, Tailor, Grocery Shop, Flowers shop, Pottery, Carpenter, Shoemaker), Fisheries, Technical Services (Mechanics, Plumber, Welders and Electricians) etc.

Construction Labour

From the previous analysis of the first generation migrants, it has been found that 32% of the first generations are engaged in construction works. The migrants working in construction work are engaged as labourers. Irregularity of payment and seasonal employment are the major problems found among the construction workers. None of the migrants are able to improve their occupational position from labourer to mason. Those who are engaged in construction work, face problems as they do not have holidays. As they rely on daily wages, it prevents the migrants to visit their native places which gradually alienates them from their people. Migrant construction workers also face the uncertainty of work as they depend on the masters (also called Mukaddam). Dictated by the contract on which their work is based, the migrants are forced to work both day and night without rest, as they live near the work sites, they are required to constantly travel with their belongings and move to new locations frequently. As the migrants get their payments at the end of work they run their family with lot of difficulty. There are also cases where the mason does not provide the wage after the contractor illegally deducts money from the stipulated wage amount. Despite these hardships and difficulties, none of the laws or labour offices comes to the rescue of migrant construction workers.

During the time of data collection, it has been observed that none of the migrants were able to improve their position from labourer to mason, in spite of more than 10 years of their work as construction workers. Interaction with the workers revealed that Head Mason is the one who appointed the worker as mason, helper, and laborer and fixed the wages. For a

mason's job minimum ten years of experience is required. If a person works under the same head mason as a labourer for ten years and improves his skill, then the head mason appoints him as a mason or helper. However, the migrants though they have worked more than 10 years under the same head mason, found it very hard to improve their position. Religion, caste and kinsip are main factors for which the workers get or do not get promotion. It has been noticed that Abdul Kala a head mason for instance prefers his own community people for work or promotion in the given work. Due to the religious affinity the migrants do not get work every day whereas the workers from their own community get it regularly. Some of the migrants have mentioned that to get employment everyday, the migrants pay Rs.10 to the head mason as commission after the work. It has been also noticed that the workers get Rs.10 for food from the owners, but the mason collects it and does not distribute the amount to the workers.

GuruvaMunda (53) narrates that

Every morning before going for work, me and my wife pray to god to give work to at least one of us because if nobody gets work then our children will not get food. To get work every day we go to the market one hour before the work and wait for call from the mason. When nobody amongst us is called for work, I pay Rs.10 to the mason for providing work the next day. But sometime even after paying money to the head mason, neither me nor my wife are able to get any work.

To get work each day is an endless struggle for the migrants. With a hope to get regular work they try to experiment all the possible methods like giving commission to the head mason and they do what the mason asks them to do. For them giving commission does not matter but getting work is most important.

During the data collection it has been found that most of the children both boys and girls are engaged in the construction works along with their parents from their early age. They are mainly engaged in lifting bricks, sand for which they are only paid Rs.30-Rs.40 based on their nature of work. The children are preferred as labourers because of the low wages. As the head mason gets the work done with cheap labour, he prefers to engage the children in the work. Though the child labour is prohibited but as the head mason gets the same work with low price, he prefers to engage the children to get more profit. It has been noted

that in construction work unequal payment of wage is still prevalent. The female migrant gets only Rs.50 whereas the male migrants get Rs.70 for the same work.

From the interaction with the headmason Abdul Kala, it was found that the existing labour laws such as minimum wage act, equal wage act, and abolition of child labour act do not have any impact in the work sites. Also the compensation money during the time of injury and accident of the worker exists in the rule book but it is not implemented in the work place.

Despite several acts by the Government, the workers are exploited by the employers in the construction work. In spite of exploitation, the workers are not in a position to lodge a complain against the employers because of the fear of losing work. More ever, the women migrants get low wage than the male workers. It has been noted that in construction work where a man get Rs.70 for the same work that women migrants are paid only Rs.50. Women migrants feel more vulnerable to demand higher wages. Thus from the above analysis it can be conclude that though Child Labour Prohibition Act, Minimum Wage Act and Equal Wage are prohibited but it is still prevalent in construction work. The Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service Act, 1996 is mean to regulate the employment and conditions of service, provide for safety, health and welfare matters, but in reality it is not implemented to the extent that it should be. The migrants are also not aware of the exiting laws. And even if they are aware, it is too difficlut for them to fight for their rights.

Agricultural Workers

In Bhadrak town, the study data from the first generation showed that a small proportion (6%) of them is still engaged in agricultural works. Low income and seasonal unemployment are the main problems for these workers. The migrants suffer a lot after harvesting season. Due to seasonal nature of work, agricultural workers are compelled to shift their occupation. After the harvesting season when there is no agricultural work, the migrants hire rickshaws to earn money. It is found that due to no agricultural activity for some months, the migrants are easily deceived by the local people. For example, when there is no work any local person can hire them to do the fences work or to level the soil by just paying Rs. 30 or by providing them one time food. If they do these works outside they

can easily earn Rs.60 per day. The agricultural migrants get Rs.60 wage per day and most of them have mentioned that the wage is quite low for them. Differential wage is prevalent even in the agricultural activity. It has been revealed by the women migrants that they only get Rs.50. There are no fixed hours for the agricultural work. During the agricultural seasons, they have to work from 6 am to 6 pm in the field during heavy rain and scorching heat without any extra payment. The earning of the agricultural workers is too less to meet their requirements of food, clothing and other social obligations. Due to poor conditions of the agricultural migrants, their bargaining power is weak. They are always exploited by the landlords at the time of payments. Some time the wages are paid in kind.

Their working hours are longer in the agricultural work. During certain agricultural cycles, they have to work from the morning 6 till evening without getting extra pay. The migrant workers in some ways are bonded to the land owners as they advance credit. Therefore, they face many problems at the time of negotiating their wages. Sometime they do not get their wage for a long period of time and sometimes the landlord deducts the wages if the workers are unable to finish the assigned work. The migrants are supposed to work in the field during the heavy rain and severe illness.

The above discussion indicates that the labor law such as the Minimum Wage Act is not helpful for the workers. Though, they stay in miserable conditions, exploited by the landlords and other employers, the migrant workers do not receive any support from Government agencies.

Industrial Workers

A large number of first generation migrants are engaged as industrial workers in different industries such as oil mills, chain factory, rice mills, FACOR and coal factory in Bhadrak.

Oil Mill Workers

Some of the first generation migrants in Bhadrak town are engaged in oil mills. The main works are drying the mustard in the sun, to separate the mustard covers from the seeds and finally packing the oil etc. It has been seen that the migrants in the oil industry, work from 8 am to 5 pm and the workers only get about Rs.2000 per month. In the industry, except

public holidays, there are no holidays for the workers. There is no discrimination found among the male and female workers during the time of payment of wage. All the workers generally get their wage at the end of the month. It has been reported by the migrants that they do not get any compensation during the time of accident and injury in the factory. Unlike the construction and agricultural work sites, there is no deduction in wages. The industry does not adhere to the minimum wage act to their workers.

Zip Factory Workers

The study data from the first generation showed that most of them are engaged in Zip factory. Earlier there was only one Zip factory near *Charampa*, where both men and women were working. Now the Zip factory is divided into two parts, one for men and the other one for women. It has been noted that there is no fixed timing for work in the Zip factory which is meant for women. The women migrant generally go for work after the completion of their household work. Some of the women migrants bring work to their homes. The wage to the women is generally paid on the basis of work. The main problem faced by the women migrants in the Zip factory is lower wages. It has been revealed by the women migrants that the main work involved in the Zip factory is to separate the Zip according to its colour and to fix zip in the chain. The workers only get Rs.10 for separating 100 Zips and for fixing 100 zips in the chain, a job which is perceived as low by the workers. The workers are only able to fix 300 to 400 zips in a day for which they only get Rs.30-40 per day. So sometime to earn more money they take the work to their houses. Though child labour prohibition act is enacted by the Government but children are engaged in the chain factory.

The work timings for male migrants in the Zip factory is from 10 am to 6 pm. The workers only get Rs.2000 per month. In the Zip factory the workers get drinking water facilities, washing facilities and they have separate working shade but the male migrants face different sets of problems in the zip factory. Irregularity of wage is mainly found among the male migrants. They do not get their wage continuously for two three months and sometime they get half of their wage. In the Zip factory the male migrants do not get leave even on Sunday. They are not paid any assistance during the time of accident. Thus, the Minimum Wage Act, which is not followed in the chain factory, comes into question.

Rice Mill Workers

As agriculture is the main occupation, there are many rice mills in Bhadrak town but the working conditions in the mills are very poor. The main works of the migrants are to dry the paddy in the sun, to separate the paddy from its grass through machine, to separate the rice from paddy and lastly to pack the rice grains. The working time in the rice mill is from morning 8 am to 5 pm. In the rice mills, there is arrangement for drinking water and washing facilities. No children are employed in the rice mills. Though existing labour laws like equal remuneration act and child labour act are followed in the rice mills but it has been reported by the migrants that they face different sets of problems. Though, the timings in the rice mills are fixed that is 8 am to 5 pm but it has been observed that most of the time, the workers do overtime without any extra payment. The migrants have to work all seven days of the week and do not get any weekly holidays or public holidays. The workers have to work in the scorching heat everyday as there is no shade which can protect them from heat and dust. They do not get any health coverage or compensation for chronic diseases or emergencies like accidents.

Coal Factory Workers

There is only one coal factory in Bhadrak. The migrants who are working in the coal factory have revealed that in the beginning they joined the factory with the wage of Rs. 200 but now it has been increased to Rs.1000-Rs.2000. The payment in the coal factory is based in accordance with the nature of the work. The main work of the migrants in the coal factory is making small pieces of the coal stone, giving it shape and drying it in the sun and finally packing the coal. The timing of the coal factory is from 10 am to 5 pm. In the coal factory, the workers get the facilities such as drinking water, latrine facilities and washing facilities. In the coal factory both men and women workers are engaged and no children are allowed. It has been found that the migrants face different sets of problems at coal factory. The wages are not paid on daily but monthly basis. The working conditions are very harsh and hazardous. In the coal factory, the migrants neither they get leave on Sundays nor public holidays. It has been reported by the migrants that they are not paid regularly. Sometimes they do not get their wage continuously for two to three months during which they face many problems. In this situation, to run the family, they either borrow money

from their friends or mortgage their household thing. Even the migrants do not get any compensation for any accidents, injuries during the work in the company.

Rickshaw Pullers/ Trolley Pullers

From the data of the first generations, it has been found that some migrants are engaged in rickshaw and trolley pulling work at Bhadrak town. The rickshaw and trolley pullers face different set of problems after their migration. The life of the rickshaw/trolley puller is very miserable in Bhadrak town. Most of them have rented rickshaw and trolley from the local owner. From the total earning every day the migrants have to pay Rs.30 per day to the owner. So they work for the whole day and night to earn adequate money without taking rest. All the seasons are very painful for them. Summer is the worst season for the rickshaw/ trolley puller. Often they are harassed by the owner when they cannot pay the rent. So in the summer, when they are not able to earn even Rs. 30 per day, at that time they pay the rickshaw and trolley rent by borrowing money from others. It has been reported that when the rickshaw gets damaged due to accident, it is the migrants who have to bear all the expenditures for getting it repaired. The migrants who are engaged in rickshaw pulling work in the age of 50 years face additional problems. In the old age, they have to drag the rickshaw in the scorching heat a minimum 20 kms every day. However, rainy season is the only season where the rickshaw puller can earn more and the daily earning ranges between Rs.100-Rs.150. Some of the rickshaw pullers said that the customers pay less money after reaching the destination places. They are also exploited by the rickshaw owner. For instance, sometimes the owner uses the rickshaw and trolley for his personal purposes without any rent but the migrants still have to pay the daily rent by using it rest of the day or night. It has been noticed that to save some money, the rickshaw pullers do not go home for food in the daytime but eat out and take rest in the rickshaw.

The migrants who are engaged in trolley pulling work face different problems. The trolley puller generally gets work in the TMT bar/cement shop or vegetable shop. If they do not leave for work early in the morning then they face difficulty in getting work in the shop. Sometimes they get injured during the time of lifting the TMT steel bars and cement but do not get any compensation from the shop owner.

Petty Business

Out of 85 respondents among the first generation migrants, 27% are engaged in petty business. It has been mentioned by the migrants that immediately after migration, they did not start their business. They were engaged in agricultural and construction works. The migrants started their petty business after saving some money. Some of the migrants borrowed money from their friends and relatives to start their business. The migrants have mentioned about different problems in their business like low or no sales and cheating. The migrants from the *Kumbhara* caste who are engaged in their traditional business of selling pots have mentioned that due to less demand for pots in their shop, they sell the pots by going door to door of the different colonies and villages in and around Bhadrak. The migrants who run fish shops have mentioned that when there are hardly any sales in the shop at that they sell the fish at low prices to earn some money. However, they frequently get cheated by the customers in their business. Sometimes they sell their stocks in credit to the customer and do not receive money for a long period. During crisis such as health problems, heavy rains, they can not sell any goods and therefore face lots of hardship.

Fishery Work

Those migrants who are engaged in fishing work mainly belong to the *Keuta* and *Gokha* castes. They continue their traditional occupation of fishery by working in Dhamara port, which is at a distance of 213 kms. In this port, there are two types of ships a big and a small ship. Initially the workers get appointed in the small ship, who are given two months of orientation classes. After some years of experience, they get a chance to work in the big ship. The migrants who are engaged in fishing work at Dhamara port have mentioned that they face different set of problems. It has been revealed by the respondents that to catch fish the workers have to go inside the sea and stay their more than one month till they fulfill their target. For instance: once the fisherman starts fishing, they have to catch fish minimum worth of Rs.50, 000, the target which is assigned by the owner. They have to stay in the sea until they fulfill the target. It has been mentioned by the migrants that once they

fulfill the target, they receive a wage of Rs.3000. Though the migrants get Rs.3000 per month but most of the time they are exploited by the owner. It has been reported by the migrants that though they work in the deep sea for whole month but sometimes they are paid less when they cannot fulfill the target. Neither do they get extra money, when the workers catch more fish. The life of the migrant is very dangerous during the time of catching fish in the port. Apart from the low wages, most of the workers suffer from allergic and skin diseases as they work inside the sea. Though, the migrants suffer from different diseases but they don't get any compensation even if they meet an accident during the fishing work. As the workers are not provided with accommodation facilities, they stay in the tent house near the port, where they do not get drinking water and electricity facilities.

As the workers have to go deep inside the sea for fishing work, they remain unemployed in the rainy season. Due to the seasonal nature of work, when there is no work at Dhamara port the migrants return to Bhadrak town. During their stay at Bhadrak town, they either engage as labourer in fish shop or work as agricultural worker.

Thus, the migrants working in the informal sector such as construction work, coal factory or fishery, encounter lot of hardships and get low wages where Government interventions have no significance at all.

Technical Services

In the technical services, I have included the mechanics who are working in the motor repairing garages. The migrants who work as mechanics in the garages every day start their work from morning 9 am till 11 pm in the night. Occasionally when they get more work, they have to work in the shop till late night and sleep in the shop. The migrants generally get their wages by the end of the month. Every month, the migrants get Rs.1000, which is very less compared to other works. Due to low bargaining power, the migrants have to work for day and night with the low wages. The migrants have to work all seven days of the week and do not get any weekly holidays or public holidays. Though the migrants do extra work almost everyday, they never get paid any additional money. It has been mentioned by the migrants that they do not get any compensation when they meet with any accident and

injury during their work. Thus violation of government laws on social security is found in technical work.

In the fieldwork it has been found that 11% migrants had injuries during their work but none of the migrants filed complaint against their employer. It was observed that due to lack of job security, they dare not to think of complaining against the owner. The migrants were not aware of the existing Government laws. A few migrants who are aware of the existing laws are not capable of filing any complaint because of job insecurity. Thus, lack of awareness of the existing laws and fear of losing work are the main reasons for their lack of assertion in their work place.

In the interview with the district labour officer, Suresh Kumar Swain, it has been found that i). if any labourer was not paid at his/her company ii) if s (he) met with accident in his/her work place and if s (he) is not given any compensation, in that situation if anybody complains in labour office then the labour officer will enquire about the matter and help the labourer to get back the total unpaid wage and the total expenditure for the injury. Further it has been found that when a new company starts at Bhadrak town without license from the labour office, they are not allowed to recruit anybody in their company. If any company recruits any labour without license then they have to pay penalty for it. Under 16 companies and contractors, the total numbers of licence holder labourers in Bhadrak town are 392.

Working Conditions of the Second Generation Migrants

The Second Generation migrants are mainly engaged in business (14%), Industrial work (58%) and construction work (28%).

Petty Bussiness

Among the second generation migrants, it has been seen that 14% migrants are engaged in petty business like auto driving, clothe shop and grocery shop. The second generation migrants faced many problems when thy started their own business. Due to no sale in the beginning, they were not even able to earn Rs.500 due to which they faced problems in paying the rent of the shop. Most of the time, they took money from their parents and

friends to pay the shop rent. There is no restricted working hour among the migrants. They start their business from morning 8 am till 11pm. Due to less earning, they have not employed any worker to help them in their work. Some of the migrants mentioned that as their shops are far from their houses, they did not go home for lunch.

Industrial Workers

The second generation which migrated to other states is mainly employed in iron and steel company and textile industries. The migrants who were employed in iron and steel plant worked for 10 hours. As the migrants' work involves giving shape to the melted iron and cutting work, so they are expected to work the whole day near the furnace for earning Rs.3000 per month. The data indicated that the company took two years of bond from the workers so as to secure their employment with the factory but was inconsistent in paying their salary till the contract was over. Even if the workers pleaded with the management to give part of the salary in order to visit their parents or meet different social obligations, the management did not oblige. Although there is a provision for the workers to get Rs.150 for extra time, they got only Rs.100 even after working the whole night. For those who engaged in extra 'shift work' at the steel plant faced miserable problems at work. As workers have to give shape to the melted iron, they are required to work during the nights. If they take leave during the time of ill health or for any social obligations, the company deducts money from the salary accordingly. Though the company has the provision to give compensation if a worker meets with any accident, the migrants do not get this benefit. Those migrants who were employed in textile mills worked for nine hours a day to earn Rs. 3000 per month. In spite of the fixed work time, the workers need to put in extra time. In this company, the workers can avail a maximum of 20 leaves including public holidays. The migrants reported that this company provided accommodation to them but put many restrictions on their mobility. They were not allowed to go outside their compound even during the night. Suspecting that the workers will not return for work the management of the company restricted their mobility including visits to their parents. It was extremely difficult for the workers to get permission to visit their native places for social occasions and obligations.

In Textile industry there is no system of maintaining registers. The workers don't get the medical facilities but are compensated during the time of accident and injury. The working conditions are very hazardous. The workers in the industry normally work more than 12 hours and there are no holidays. Most of the migrants who are working in the textile industries face problems related to lungs, gastric channel and piles. Though, the workers are exploited by the owner but nobody has complained about it. Thus, the common problem among the migrants in the textile industry includes lack of housing facilities, low wages and long working hours.

Construction Workers

It has been seen that 28% of the migrants are working as construction workers after their migration to other states. The conditions of the migrants are very miserable in terms of safety and health. Due to the shifting nature of work, they always live near the work place with temporary tent where there are no toilet and drinking water facilities. It has been mentioned by the migrants that most of the time to complete a contract, they have to work day and night but they only get Rs.100 per day. Sometimes the migrants' do not get their payment even after the contract is over. There is no compensation paid to the workers during the time of accident, injury and diseases.

Thus the way first generation migrants moved from rural to urban (village to Bhadrak town), the second generation migrants moved from Bhadrak, a small town, to metropolitan cities.

In all the cities, most of the migrants indicated that their working hours are 10 or more than 10 hours. The bargaining power of the second generation migrants is very weak as they have not formed any workers' union. While wages are certainly higher compared to Bhadrak town but the cost of living is also high. A few respondents indicated that they take part time jobs (self employment/petty bussiness) after the working hours and also work on all Sundays. Although there is an increase in their earnings, but relatively speaking the migrants' conditions have only slightly improved. It is true that they are able to send their children to school and partly take care of the parents but beyond they are not able to improve their conditions.

From the above analysis of the first and second generation migrants, it has been found that the existing labor laws have not had any tangible impact in protecting the migrant labour and improve their socio-economic conditions. The migrants encounter different problems such as exploitation by the employers, over time work without payment and no compensation during the time of accident at their destination places.

Welfare Schemes Designed by the Government

In addition to the above Government laws, the Government has also launched several welfare schemes and programmes to improve the living conditions of the migrant workers. Interviews with the municipality chairman and councilors of Bhadrak town indicated that to improve the socio-economic conditions of the migrants and to tackle their problems, Government has implemented a number of welfare programmes like Public Distribution System, Pradhana Mantri Rojgar Yojana, Swarna Jayanti Sahari Rozgar Yojana and Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme.

Public Distribution Systems

The public distribution system (PDS) in India is an important public intervention for enhancing food security. The PDS provides subsidized food grains to the poor people. Under the PDS, the Government provides the Below Poverty Line card and Above Poverty Line card to the poor people based on the economic status of the households. There are two sub-categories of the Below Poverty Line card holders namely Anthodaya Anna Yojana card holders and Annapurna card holders. The cards are distributed to the migrants according to their socio-economic conditions and the monthly income. Annapurna card is given to the migrants who have some source of income. In this card, the poor people get 10 kg of rice per card free of cost. The Anthodaya Anna Yojana card is given to the poorest of the poor people. Through this card, the migrants get 35 kg of rice per card at the cost of Rs.2 per kg.

Table No.7.1: Type of Card among the Respondents

Card type	Percentage
No card	46(54%)
BPL card	28(33%)
APL card	11(13%)
Total	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The table 7.1 reveals that out of 85 respondents, 33% of migrants have BPL cards whereas only 13% have APL cards and a majority of the migrants that is 54 % have no cards. The migrants who have received the BPL and APL cards have revealed that because they have access to PDS, they do not have to buy rice in the open market. It has been mentioned by the migrants that they get more benefit during the rainy season when there is no work and no income. Unfortunately there are many amongst them who neither have the access to the PDS nor have the cards which make them eligible to buy food at subsidized rates.

Kali CharanaKhuntia narrates that

I am the resident of Bhadrak town for past 20 years. My family consists of 9 members, having 6 children and my mother. I applied for BPL long time back but still have not got my card. I visited the municipality office several times. Whenever I went there to ask about my card, the officers assured me about it but still I am suffering because I do not have the card. Therefore I have stopped visiting the municipal office.

Another respondent Nirmal Das (50) said that

Though I have BPL card and I am supposed to get 25 kg rice, 4-liter kerosene and 2 kg sugar, I hardly get a chance to receive my food grains. Now it is going to be 3 months, I have not received anything from the controller. Whenever I go to collect my provisions to the civil supplies shop, the Kailash Rout will say about the unavailability of food grains. So to receive my provision every month, I have to make 3 or 4 visits to the controller shop.

There is always a problem in the identification of the families for issuing the card. Further it has been reported by the migrants that some of the local people in spite of their good economic conditions have a BPL/APL card and receive food grains every month. There are major loopholes in monitoring the PDS and making it accessible to the genuine people.

It is observed that some of the migrants, who have APL card, sell the wheat and rice, which they received from their card, to the local people and use this money to buy other household items. In some cases where the local people have close relationship with the controller, he informs them about the availability of the food grains or sends food grains to their houses. Thus, due to the inability of the poor migrants to raise their voices against the corrupt people and the system, they are unable to benefit from the PDS.

As most of the migrants are living in very unhygienic conditions with acute problems of housing and drinking water, Government has made a new colony named ‘*Pandhia Bandha*’ in ‘*Charigharia Sahi*’ and provided Indira Awas Yojana houses to the migrants. The selection of providing these houses to the migrants is mainly based on their social and economic conditions. The Indra Awas Yojana houses are distributed first to those migrants, who are from the poor socio-economic condition and who have no houses of their own. During the field study, it was found that although Indra Awas houses are meant for the poor migrants, most of them are not able to get these houses because of corruption and most of the beneficiaries are those with better socio-economic conditions. It has been observed that to receive Indra Awas houses, few upper class families used their relatives, who have been staying in the slum for some time. Few poor migrants who were allotted Indra Awas houses at ‘*Pandhia Bandha*’ colony have given their house on rent and moved back to the Apartibindha colony because *Pandhia Bandha* colony is very far from their work place. The Government has designed many programmes to provide housing facilities for the poor migrants but due to lack of proper infrastructure and implementation these facilities are either misused by the people and the system or are not able to reach as many people as it should.

Apart from the housing facilities, Government has provided water facilities to the migrants through tube well and tap connection. For those who cannot access water from tube well, Government has supplied tap water to the poor families at a low cost that is Rs.50 to prevent the water problem among the migrants. Even for the poor migrants who cannot access the tap water with the monthly payment, they are supplied with tank water every day. Thus, Government is providing drinking water facilities to the migrants to reduce the water problem but still the migrants face different problems in accessing Government facilities.

Minati Jena (42) narrates that

Me and my husband, both are working as construction workers. The timing of the work is from 8 am to 5 pm. Every day we leave for work at 7.30 am, so I fail to preserve the tank water, which is provided by the government in the afternoon. There is nobody at my home to collect the water in the afternoon. So every day before going for work, I collect 6/7 bucket of water from the public tube well for the household purposes.

Damage of the tube well, inconsistency in payment for receiving tap water and improper timings of distributing water are the main problems faced by the working women migrants

As the migrants are living in very poor and unhygienic conditions, in order to improve the health conditions of the migrants and to prevent them from chronic diseases, Government provides free health care facilities. To prevent childhood diseases among the newborn babies, the health personnel provide free immunization like BCG injection, DPT injection, hepatitis, measles injection and oral polio. Even the pregnant women receive all the facilities like the local women during the time of the delivery. Government provides Rs.1500 to the pregnant women who are going for the delivery in Government hospital. Recently Government has started MAMATA scheme to help the poor pregnant women. It aims not only at reducing the infant mortality and maternity rates but also helps in improving the nutrition status of pregnant women and newborn babies. The beneficiary will receive a total incentive of Rs. 5000 in four installments, subject to the fulfillment of specific conditions. Payment will be made by e-transfer from the CDPO to the beneficiary's account. To avail the benefits under this scheme, a pregnant woman has to register herself at the Anganwadi Center in her area. Registration at the Anganwadi Center should be done within 4 months of conception. Though Government has started MAMATA scheme but it has still not been implemented in Bhadrak town.

I have observed that Government has appointed an Anganwadi worker in Apartibindha colony to provide the awareness to the women migrants. She informs women about the programmes regarding the family planning, prenatal and antenatal care, and nutrition and health education especially to the pregnant women. She encourages those pregnant women, who hesitate to visit the doctor during the time of pregnancy.

Though Government has developed a number of programmes for the benefit of the health of a newborn and pregnant women but during the field study, it was found that out of 85 respondents, only 7 women migrants went for the family planning operation. The cultural belief is that the children are gifts of God and if they will prevent a child birth through family planning programme, they will take rebirth in hell. Apart from the cultural notions, the elder female members in the family prohibit the women migrants to accept the family

planning operations. It has been observed that the mother in law never allows their daughter in law to visit the male doctors. Thus, the cultural notions, lack of awareness and elder women members in the family are the main reasons for avoiding the family planning operations.

Annapurna Rout (27), health personnel of the Apartibindha colony reveals that

For the children Government provides free immunization programme like BCG injection, DPT injection and oral polio but on the day of giving polio, most of the women migrants don't come to our camp to give polio drops to their children. So after distributing the polio drops in the camp, we visit their houses.

Apart from housing facilities, free medical facilities, drinking water facilities, the Government has also opened a new school to provide free education to the lower caste children that is SC and ST children. The school has first to tenth standard class. This school is situated near the college road. To attract the children, the school also provides midday meal and free books. Even hostel facility is available for those children who are far from the school. Those whose houses are far from the school can stay in the school for free of cost. But, I have found that not a single low caste migrant has sent their children to this school.

It has been observed that the PMRY loan is provided to the educated youth for those who have passed eighth standard and belong to the age group of 18-35 years for general category and there is 10 years age relaxation for lower caste people. From the field study, it has been noted that out of 85 families, only 2 male migrants have availed the PMRY loan to start their stationary shop and one Scheduled Caste female migrant has accessed the PMRY loan to start her tailoring shop. However, some of the respondents have mentioned that they cannot get any loan due to lack of property to mortgage in the bank; whereas some other migrants said they do not prefer to start their business by taking loan from the bank. However, some of the migrants could avail PMRY loan because of their low education.

In Bhadrak town, Swarna Jayanti Sahara Rojgar Yojana (SJSRY) is implemented by the Government to improve the quality of living condition for the poor living in the area. Under the SJSRY, urban self-employment programmes (USEP) and urban wage employment programmes (UWEP) are the two-core programmes to address the issue of unemployment.

Interaction with the respondents indicated that most of the lower class migrants are not aware of the SJSRY programme of the Government. Some of the migrants have mentioned that due to SJSRY, they are receiving training on mobile repairing, motor repairing, TV repairing and tailoring courses but none of the migrants have started their own work after getting training because they face problems to get loan. In order to get loan from the bank, they have to mortgage some property, so most of the migrants fear to take loan by mortgaging their houses. Though, Government has implemented SJSRY programme to improve the quality of living but it is not helpful for the migrants.

Apart from PMRY and SJSRY programme, Government has started NREGS programme to enhance the livelihood security of people in rural areas by guaranteeing hundred days of wage employment in a financial year but NREGS programme has not started in Bhadrak town.

Conclusion

The Government has implemented different laws, programmes and policies to improve the socio-economic conditions of the migrants. In order to address the problems of the migrant labourers in their work places, Government has implemented Payment of Wage Act, Minimum Wage Act, Payment of Bonus Act, Equal Remuneration Act, Industrial Employment Act, Contract Labour Act etc, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Employees State Insurance Act and the Employee Provident Fund Act etc. However, it has been found that none of these acts brought any significant change in the working conditions of poor labourers. Still the migrants are exploited by the employers at their work places. They are forced to work under lot of compulsions, including long working hours and cheap wages. On the other hand, though Government implemented different policies and programmes, meant for the welfare of the migrants, these programmes have failed to bring any significant change in their living conditions. Therefore, one can conclude that the migrants working in the informal sector are in a deplorable condition where the State is not able to do much.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF TRIBAL AND NON TRIBAL MIGRANTS

In the study data of 85 respondents, there are considerable (40%) tribal migrants. Therefore, a comparative analysis of tribal and non-tribal migrants is presented in this chapter.

Personal Profile of the Tribal and Non Tribal Migrants

The respondents for the present study are mainly the male members in which a description of their personal profile, the criteria of age and marital status of the tribal and non tribal migrants is presented below.

Age

The study data indicates that out of 34 tribal respondents, 35% were in the age group of below 30 years and 65% migrants were in the age group of above 30. In contrast, out of 51 non-tribal migrants only 16% were under the age group of 30 and 84% were in the age group of above 30. Thus, a large number of migrants migrated to Bhadrak town in their young age below 30 years while (84%) migrated to Bhadrak town when they were above the age of 30.

Marital Status

The marital status of the tribal migrants' in this study revealed that 82% were married and 18% were unmarried at the time of their migration to the Bhadrak town. The data on the marital status of the non-tribal migrants shows that 76% were married whereas 24% were unmarried during the time of migration. Thus, the above data substantiate the view that a large number of tribal and non tribal migrants had moved to Bhadrak town after their marriage.

Socio-Economic Structure of the Tribal and Non Tribal Migrants

In the analysis of social composition of the tribal and non tribal migrants, the study tried to examine, the living conditions, family size, education, practices of marriage and tradition,

custom and rituals of both tribal and non-tribal migrants. For the analysis of economic structure, information has been collected about their employment opportunities, income, total expenditure, savings and credit of the tribal and non-tribal migrants.

Living Condition of the Tribal and Non Tribal Migrants

The housing conditions of the 85 respondents' revealed that 68% of the migrants had *katcha* houses, 23% have semi-*pucca* houses and only 9% have fully built *pucca* houses. The disaggregated data indicates that 97% of the tribals owned *katcha* houses indicating the lower economic condition compared to non tribal migrants. The data from the non tribal migrants revealed that out of 51 respondents only 47% had *katcha* houses. Furthermore, the data revealed that a small proportion (3%) of tribal migrants owned *pucca* houses whereas 37% of non-tribal migrants have semi *pucca* houses and 16% non-tribal migrants have fully built *pucca* houses.

In terms of the total rooms in the house, tribal migrants only had single room. While among non tribal migrants, 14% had two rooms, 5% had 3 to 5 rooms and the remaining (1%) had six rooms. It is found that the non tribal migrants who are living in *katcha* houses also had roofs made of straw and the walls made of mud. Those who have semi *pucca* houses, the roofs made of straw and the walls made of bricks. In the *pucca* houses, the walls made of bricks and have tiles. The housing pattern of the non tribal migrants showed that each and every house, whether it is *katcha*, *pucca* or semi *pucca* house had a small open *veranda* in the front, indicating their cultural notions of a housing. As the tribal houses made of mud floor and walls, every day morning all the tribal women plaster their floor with cow dung.

The tribal migrants constructed house either in Government land or stayed in rented houses. Except very few tribal migrants, that is 3% who constructed houses on their own land. As nearly half of the tribal migrants live in Government land, so they were compelled to build temporary houses made of mud. The main reason being that if the Government decides to shift them to somewhere else, they will not have to regret for their houses and they can easily move to other places. Interestingly, it was found that none of the non tribal migrants have constructed their houses in Government land. All the non tribal migrants reside either in the rented houses or their own houses. The upper class non tribal migrants who have

constructed fully built pucca houses have also the boundary wall made up of bamboo around their houses.

Thus, the above analysis of the housing conditions of the tribal and non-tribal migrants indicates that the housing conditions of the tribal migrants are very poor with compare to non-tribal migrants. The non tribal migrants live relatively in better quality houses with multiple rooms that are *semi pucca* or *pucca* houses.

Household Sanitation Facilities

The data on the availability of latrine and bathroom facilities among the respondents shows that most of the tribal migrants have no personal bathroom and latrine in their home. They have not even made a temporary common bathroom and toilet by themselves. Both the male and female tribal migrants defecate in the open spaces. The male children and some of the female migrants take bath in the nearby river and some of the female migrants generally take bath in the backside of their houses. When the tribal migrants were asked the reason for not constructing their own latrine and bathroom, it was stated that, as they do not have personal water supply, they can not think of having their own latrine and bathroom and also they face a lot of difficulties in fetching drinking water from the public tube well.

The data on the availability of bathroom and toilet facilities among the non tribal migrants revealed that 22% of respondents have their personal bathroom and latrine facilities in their houses and remaining 78% respondents have no personal latrine and bathroom. However, most of them have constructed a common bathrooms and latrines by collecting money from their fellow migrants.

Water being main source of livelihood, it was found that 97% of tribal migrants have no personal tube well, well or tap facility. Due to the lack of water facilities, the tribal migrants particularly women work harder and spend lots of time in fetching water. They mainly depend on the river water for all the household work while on the other side they use the public tube well for drinking water purposes. When the public tube well does not work, they fetch water from the river for all purposes. But in the summer when the river gets dry, the tribal women fetch water from the public tube well of other colonies in Bhadrak town.

As it is very difficult to collect water all the time from the neighbouring colonies, so a few of them dig small ditch near the river side and use it.

The data on the availability of drinking water facilities among the non-tribal migrants reveals that 31% have their own tube well, 12% have both tube-well and tap facilities and 57% families are left with no personal water facilities. Though, the Government tap water facility is available, none of the migrants have access to it, because they need to pay Rs-50 per month. It has been observed that those non tribal migrants, who have no water facilities, have constructed a common tube-well in their respective cluster (*Sahi*) by collecting money. When the tube well does not function, the migrants use the neighbours' tube well or the river water both for drinking purpose and other household use.

Considering the availability of electricity facilities among the tribal and non tribal respondents, it was found that out of 34 respondents, only 14% households have electricity facilities and majority of the tribal migrants have no electricity facilities. Those who have no electricity connection use kerosene lamps during the night time. As it is very difficult to prepare food at night without electricity, so some of the tribal women prefer to prepare food in the day time itself and in the evening before sun set they finish all their household work. The data on the availability of electricity facilities among the non tribal migrants showed that majority of non tribal migrants 53% families have electricity facilities and only 47% respondents are left without electricity facilities. Those who have no electricity facilities also use kerosene lamps during night times as like the tribal migrants. However some of the migrants have illegally taken electricity connection through the jumper from the electric pole, which is a common practice in most of the poor settlements both in rural and urban India.

Among the tribal migrants, wood is used as the main source of fuel for cooking. None of the tribal migrants use gas or coal for the cooking purposes. All the tribal migrants have their own *cholli* in front of their houses. Most of the tribal migrants stated that to prepare food in one *cholli* it takes long time, so they have two *chollis* in front of their houses or in their veranda. Every day, they buy fire wood for cooking purposes while returning from their work. Some of the tribal women collect wood from their workplace and from the road side and river side areas nearby to their colony.

It has been noticed that the non tribal migrants generally use wood, cow dung cake, coal and gas for their cooking purposes either in combination or separately. Specifically, the lower class non tribal migrants who prepare food in *cholli*, they use cow dung cake as their fuel. Due to shortage of money and having less work during rainy season, majority of the lower caste women with low-income; stored dried cow dung cakes, for the cooking purposes in the rainy season. The upper class migrants use gas and coal for preparing their food. Thus, both the tribal and lower class non tribal migrants prefer to use *cholli* because of low expenditure but they face different set of problems in the rainy season and winter season. For instance, with the intense cold and heavy rain, the migrant women find it hard to cook outside in the open as they do in other seasons. In the rainy season the water gets inside the *cholli*, due to which the tribal migrants sustain themselves by taking one time meal or flattened rice where as some time the tribal migrants sustain by taking *Handia*.

However, very few tribal migrants use cow dung cake for their cooking purposes because of the cultural notions that it takes long time to prepare food with cow dung cake. Thus, the above description on the living conditions of the tribal and non tribal migrants' shows that the living conditions of the tribal migrants is miserable compared to the non tribal migrants. Most of the tribal migrants have *katcha* houses and they are deprived of water facilities, electricity facilities and bathroom and latrine facilities. Even after permanent settlement, very few tribal migrants have improved their living conditions. Though after migration till now some of the non tribal migrants are unable to build their own house with all the basic facilities such as electricity facility, drinking water facility, sanitation facilities but some of the non tribal migrants have improved their living conditions by the replacement of mud houses with *pucca* houses or tiled houses, with personal water, electricity and sanitation facilities.

Social Status of the Migrants

Among the tribal migrants, the *Santals* and *Munda* tribe possess higher social status compared to *Bhuyian*, *Kolha* and *Mahanta* tribes. Though hierarchy is prevalent among the tribals also but they do not practice purity and pollution. Even no restrictions are practiced in terms of food and marriage. They are practicing exogamous marriage among the tribal groups. The tribals have more close contacts between its members. Because of their harsh

conditions of liking, they are cooperative with each other well. For instance; when a woman suffers from some illness, their neighbours come forward to prepare food for all the family members. Active participation among the tribal male and female members is found during the time of festivals. However mutual assistance is also found among the migrants when a tribal male cannot perform his task such as replacing the old roof and renovate the old houses. Thus cooperation and mutual assistance are much found among the tribal migrants. But it has been noticed that the tribal migrants are segregated by the non tribal migrants in Bhadrak town. The tribal migrants live in isolation in the colony. One of the most significant dimensions has been noted that the day to day activities and social life of the tribal migrants is confined to their own cluster or *Sahi* and their own tribal group. Hence, there is very little social interaction between tribal and non tribal migrants. They maintain distance from the tribal migrants. The non tribal migrants do not enter into the houses of the tribal migrants, do not take any eatables from them and the non tribal migrants do not invite them to their houses on different occasions and ceremonies. Even the tribal migrants are not allowed to participate in any of the non tribal festivals such as Ganesh puja and Saraswati puja, which are celebrated in the colony.

Kartika Mahanta (M. 46) narrates that

When I was working as a construction worker in the houses of non tribal migrants in the colony, I was not allowed to take drinking water into their houses. When the owner was giving tea, I had to clean my cup and they were not taking the cup inside their houses.

Thus the above narration describes the non tribal migrants' discrimination towards the tribal migrants. It also shows that the non tribal migrants treat the tribal migrants as not equal on par with them.

The data on the prevalence of traditional caste rules and restrictions among the non tribal migrants shows that among all the non tribal migrants, *Kumbhara* caste is considered as the dominant caste. In the caste hierarchy, *Keuta*, *Gokha*, *Dhoba*, *Mochi*, *Pana* and *Hadi* are the lower caste. The vertical social relation in term of exchange of food exists among the non-tribal migrants themselves. The people from the upper castes do not accept food from the lower castes. Apart from the food, caste identity is more prominent during the time of ceremonial and religious occasions. The higher caste people do not invite the lower caste migrants on different ceremonies such as marriage and birth ceremonies.

Thus the above analysis explains that the caste rules and restrictions have not declined among the migrants.

Family Size

By looking into the family type of the tribal migrants, it is found that all the migrants have joint family and not even one with nuclear family. Regarding the total family members of the tribal migrants, the data shows that out of 34 respondents, 56% have more than 10 members where as only 44% have 6-9 members. The main reasons for continuing joint family was because of no work and lack of money. After migration when the tribal migrants were able to find a job, then they brought all their family members with them. Due to joint family, there is a strong family bond and close attachment within the family members. It has been reported that most of the tribal migrants have large family size because of the prevailing cultural notions in terms of preference for male child, children as God's Gift, and apprehensiveness about family planning programmes. Even the second generation migrants have also not changed their attitude towards large family size. During the field study not a single case reported, where the tribal migrants have gone for family planning programme.

The family type of the non-tribal migrants shows that out of 51 respondents, 45% have joint family and 55% have nuclear family. The total family members among the non tribal migrants show that 55% have more than 10 members, 29% have 6-9 members, and only 16% have 1-5 members. It was found that after migration, some of the non tribal migrants have started to live in a nuclear family. This is because in the beginning some of the migrants who came alone and due to low paid job and high expenditure, they were compelled to live in nuclear family at Bhadrak town. Only those migrants, who had several unmarried brothers and migrated together, lived in joint family. When all the brothers got married, differences erupted that led to breaking up of the joint families into nuclear families. However there are some instances such as in the beginning the migrants used to live in joint family but in the later stage they were unable to take the burden of all the family members due to their meager income, so they started living in nuclear family.

Most of the non tribal migrants also have not changed their attitude towards large number of children. Low income, cultural notions and demand of the male child among the parents

were the main causes for the large number of children among the non tribal migrants. Due to low income, non tribal migrants have a belief that if they have many children especially sons then they will be able to increase their family income and will not suffer in their old age. The demand of the male child among the grandparents and parents is also another reason for the large number of children among non tribal migrants.

Only a few second generation non tribal migrants have changed their attitudes towards the large number of children due to the educational attainment and awareness. They have accepted family planning programmes. The field data indicated that 7 out of 51 non tribal migrants have accepted family planning programme.

Education

The literacy rate among the tribal migrants shows that out of 34 tribal respondents, 48% are literate and the remaining is illiterate. Even among the tribal migrant literates, a large proportion (60%) of them is educated only up to primary level or secondary level. During the field survey, it was found that due to free education in Apartibindha colony school and mid day meal programme, some of the tribal parents send their children to school but when the children finish their primary education or secondary education, children are dropping out. Those tribal boys who are not going to school spend time either helping their parents in their work or spend time by themselves till they reach the age of 12 or so to start working in different occupation such as construction work and daily wage labour. The education of the tribal girls is still very lower compared to that of the boys. Most of the parents do not prefer to give education to their daughter even if it is free because of their cultural notions that girls do not need education. Due to non attainment of education the tribal girls engage in household work or with other work from their childhood.

The educational status of the non tribal migrants shows that out of 51 respondents, only 29% are illiterate and 71% are literate. Out of 71% of literate non tribal migrants, 20% have primary education, 69% have secondary education and higher secondary education and 11% have beyond higher secondary education. The educational status of non tribal migrants' shows that compared to tribal migrants the proportion of higher education is more among the non tribal migrants. After migration to Bhadrak town, it is found that a majority

of non tribal migrants send their children to school. A few upper class migrants are sending their children to English medium school. Even some of the migrants whether from low income group or from high-income group, give importance for their children's education. They regularly monitor their children's studies in the nighttime after their work. In fact most of upper class migrants are providing personal tuition to their children for better performance in their class. During the field study, it was found that from the total children, three of them have completed their studies outside Bhadrak district. A few migrants though they are from the lower economic background, do not hesitate to stop their children's education, even if they are doing well in their studies. A few of them continue by taking loan from their friends to support their children's education. At the same time it was also found that some migrants from low-income group do not give more importance to their children's higher education because they believe that to earn money higher education is not necessary. Therefore, when their children complete their primary or secondary education, they stop their childrens education.

The data collected on girls education, shows that the education among girls is very low than that of the boys. Among the total non tribal girls only 40 girls are literate. A large proportion that is 55% girls have completed their primary education, 30% have completed their secondary education and 15% have attained their higher secondary and higher studies. However, some of the second generation migrants also started sending their daughter to English medium school.

A discussion with the migrants indicated that "a girl is not going to get any benefit from their education. Finally, they have to get married and take care of their family. Therefore, if they learn some household work, it will help them in their in-laws' house". Therefore, girls are instructed is to work quite early rather than education. Another reason for not providing higher education to the girls is gender discrimination. It was observed that most of the parents generally give importance to the education of their son rather than their daughter. In the family, whenever they face financial crisis, they first try to stop their daughter's education.

Thus, compared to the literacy rate among the tribals, literacy rate is more among the non tribal migrants. After migration non tribal migrants started taking education of their

children particularly boys more seriously. However the tribal migrants have not changed their attitude towards children's education. A few of non tribal migrants started providing higher education to their daughter's by sending them to the college as well.

Prevailing Rules and Restrictions on Children's Marriage

Differences are found in the existing marriage rules and regulations among the tribal and non tribal migrants. The data regarding the marriage rules and restrictions among the tribal migrants revealed that they do not prefer to get their children married outside their own tribe. They generally select the brides or grooms from each one's tribe. Like tribe, clan is an important crucial factor for selecting a bride or groom for marriage. None of the tribal migrants agreed to get their children married from the same clan because of their notion that the children from the same clan are considered as siblings.

The data regarding the age of marriage shows that early marriage norm is still prevalent among the tribal migrants compared to the non tribal migrants. The migrants' believed that ideal age for their children's marriage is 15-20 years. As most of the tribal children do not go beyond primary education, so their parents look for appropriate match for their 15 years old child and get them married.

During the time of selection of bride or groom, the parents generally select the bride or groom from their relatives and friends. It has been observed that most of the tribal parents prefer to get their daughter married in the vicinity of their native places. So they first search proposal in their villages. When they do not find any proposal from their village, only then they move to other villages. The parents have a notion that if they will get marry their daughter in the nearest place, then after marriage when their daughter will face any marital problem at that time they can easily solve it. During the time of selection of groom, the tribal parents generally give preference to the land ownership. A piece of land is always considered as a security for the younger couple.

While collecting data on dowry among tribal migrants, it has been noted that the custom of bride price prevails. Before the marriage an agreement is made and the dowry is fixed and there after the groom's parents provide money that is Rs.5, 000 to Rs.10, 000, utensils or clothes to the bride's parents during the time of marriage.

It has been observed that the tribal migrants do not give importance to look at children's horoscope for finalizing the marriage. Once the bride or groom is selected from the same tribe and different clan, then they look at other compatibility in terms of economic status and family background.

The data on the marriage rules and restriction of the non tribal migrants shows that caste rules are more rigid and strictly followed by the parents and other family members. They do not search matches for their children from out caste category. During the time of marriage, the proposals generally come from the bride's side. In the beginning the bride's parents send the photo of a girl to the groom's parents. If the groom's parents like the photo, then they will proceed to visit the bride's house. After visiting the bride's house if they will like the bride and the family members, then only they will send their son to finalize the marriage. It has been observed that it is parental choice that finally matters not the bride groom's choice in finalizing marriage. However in spite of different caste rules, few second generation migrants have gone for inter caste marriage because of unavailability of beautiful and educated girls in their own caste. When the groom's parents do not agree for the marriage, in that case the marriage generally happens in the presence of friends.

After migration, most of the non tribal migrants have changed their attitudes towards early marriages. Most of the migrants do not prefer to get their son married before the age of 20 and until they settle in one or other occupation. The main reason for late marriage among the second generation migrants is family burden. Most of the second generation migrants who have obligation towards their sisters' marriage expenses and to repay the loans taken by his family, in that case the migrants do not bother about their early marriage. They prefer to get married after completing all their responsibilities. It is also found that some of the migrants who belong to very low income background first give preference to improve their socio-economic conditions. However, early marriage among the girls is found less among the non tribal migrants. Except few lower caste migrants, all the migrants prefer to get married their daughter after the age of 18.

The demand of dowry is still prevalent among the non tribal migrants. The demand of dowry is more among the grooms' parents, whose son is employed in salaried job. The

dowry starts from Rs.10, 000 and those who earn good income either demand 1 lakh rupees or bike along with household goods, motor cycle.

Thus, the above analysis indicates that after migration still the tribal migrants follow their traditional rules and regulation. Early marriage and custom of bride price is still prevalent among the tribal migrants. However, after migration to Bhadrak town some changes have taken place in terms of marriage rules among the non tribal migrants. Most of the non tribal migrants have changed their attitude towards early marriages. Now they do not want to get married their son before the age of 20 and their daughter before the age of 18. Some of the migrants have started temple marriage to reduce their expenditure whereas few migrants have started celebrating Mehendi and sangeet ceremony after their migration.

Occupational Profile of the Tribal and Non Tribal Migrants

The data on the occupational profile of the tribal migrants reveals that out of 34 tribal migrants, 15% are agricultural worker, 23% are daily wage labourer like rickshaw puller and about 62% of tribal migrants are engaged as construction worker. However, it is found that all the tribal migrants are engaged in very low occupation and not a single migrant have engaged in any skilled work. Due to seasonal nature of work, some of the tribal migrants are engaged more than one occupation. For instance; the tribal migrants who work as an agricultural worker as there is no work in the rainy season, hires a rickshaw to earn some money. Shifting of occupation into different jobs is also found among the tribal migrants. It has been observed that initially after migration due to no work, the tribal accepted whatever work they were offered first. After migration to Bhadrak town, everybody in a family engage in some sort of occupation. Out of 34 tribal female migrants, 15% are engaged in petty business such as selling *Handia* in Bantha Chaka market, 65% are engaged as construction worker and remaining 20% are engaged as an agricultural worker. The data indicates that the tribal female migrants are engaged neither as maidservant nor in any factory. The tribal migrants have mentioned that they do not aspire to work as a maidservant in others houses as it does not fit into their consciousness. The data on the children's occupation indicated that none of the tribal boys are seen sitting at home, once they reach the age of 15. I have observed that most the tribal children follow the traditional occupation of their parents such as construction work, rickshaw puller and agricultural

work. Very few tribal children are engaged as daily wage labourers in rice mills and in coal industry. In case of girl child, it has been observed that most of the girls work with their parents as construction workers or agricultural labourer before their marriage.

The tribal migrants have mentioned about different problems that they face at their workplace. As all the tribal migrants speak their tribal dialect, so initially after migration the tribal migrants started learning Odiya language to get work. Though all the migrants have employed in different work but they are exposed to various kinds of exploitative practices such as discrimination in the workplace, prolonged work hours, bad working conditions and low payment at their workplace. The migrants who are engaged in construction work have reported that to become a mason for tribals is a very tedious process. It takes minimum 5 to 10 years to increase one's position from a labourer to a helper. Then he becomes a mason and from a mason he elevates his position to a chief mason. Though, the tribal migrants are engaged in this occupation for more than 5 to 10 years and acquire skill in their work but they are yet seen to be forced to work just as a labourer. They neither increase their position nor do they increase their wages. It is reported by few tribal migrants that due to lack of agricultural activity or construction work for some months, the migrants are more prone to be deceived by the local people. When there is no work in rainy season, local people hire them to do the fence work or to level the soil by just paying 30-40 rupees or by providing them one time food, while if they do these works outside they can easily earn 70-80 rupees per day.

The occupational profile of the non tribal migrants shows that 45% are engaged in petty business, 43% are engaged in industrial work and 12% are engaged in construction work. Thus, the data shows that the tribal migrants are engaged in very low occupations compare to non tribal migrants. The non tribal migrants are mainly engaged in petty business, industrial work and very few non tribal migrants are engaged in agricultural work or construction work. In analyzing the occupational situation among the migrants, I have come across several instances for which the migrants have changed their traditional caste based occupations. It is observed that when the migrants do not get their preferred work and do not get adequate wage rate then they immediately changes their job to sustain themselves in the destination place. Among all the castes, migrants from the *Kumbharas*, *Mochi* and

Keutas still follow their traditional occupations. Some of the non tribal migrants have opted more than one work. For example, the migrant of the *Kumbhara* caste whose main occupation is making pot, either get engaged as agricultural workers or as construction workers when they find income from selling of pots is very low. Moreover, the migrants who are engaged as an agricultural worker, after the harvesting season, when there is no agricultural work hire rickshaws to earn money for their families. The migrants who are engaged in shoe making or repairing, during off-season both the males and females get engaged in stitching the mattress at their home.

The data on the occupational structure of non tribal female migrants shows that after migration, a good number of women are engaged in different work. Out of 33 respondents, 57% female migrants are working in the Zip factory, 15% are engaged in petty business, 22% are engaged in maidservant and only 6% are engaged in agricultural work.

Looking at the children's occupation, it is found that very few children from lower caste and lower class are engaged in agricultural work and construction work. The boys belonging to the castes of *Kumbharas*, *Mochi* and *Badhei* help their fathers in their traditional occupation from their childhood. Some of the boys do not engage in any occupation till they get better paid work. So when the boys do not find any paid work in their own place, they prefer to migrate to other places. It has been found that after migration most of the boys have engaged in different companies and some of the migrants have improved their position from unskilled to semi skilled work in their companies. In case of the occupation of non tribal girls, the study found that most of the non tribal girls are engaged in the Zip factory, in construction work or as maidservant. The data revealed that only the parents who are employed in construction sector allow their daughter to work with them, so that they can monitor their grown up daughter. Some of the parents from the upper caste do not permit their grown up daughter to work as a domestic worker if the owner's houses are far from their houses and also if their daughter have to do work at evening session. Thus, most of the girls prefer to work in Zip factory.

Thus, the data revealed that the non tribal migrants are relatively better engaged in occupation compared to the tribal migrants. However, the non tribal children have engaged in better occupation such as in petty business or semi skilled jobs in different companies.

Non tribal migrants have improved their occupational positions after their migration compared to tribal migrants. Most of the tribal children follow the occupation of their parents and very few tribal migrants have engaged in skilled work after their migration to Bhadrak town.

Income

Further the earning profile of the tribal migrants' reveals that out of 34 respondents, 59% migrants earn Rs.1000-Rs.1999 per month and only 41% migrant are earning Rs.2000-Rs.2999 per month. The income profile of the non tribal migrants' shows that out of 51 non tribal migrants' 39% respondents' income ranges between Rs.1000-Rs.1999, 47% non tribal respondents get Rs.2000-Rs.2999 and 14% respondents get more than Rs.3000 per month. The above data reveals that all the tribal migrants earn below Rs.3000 per month after their migration. None of the tribal migrants are able to earn more than Rs. 3000 per month where as few non tribal migrants are able to earn more than Rs.3000 after their migration to Bhadrak town. Most of the tribal migrants have revealed that when they do not have any work, they face problems to sustain themselves. At that time they survive by taking groceries in credit from the local shop and some time they borrow money from their head mason and friends. The tribal migrants generally spend their money in returning their previous loans, buying food items and repairing their old houses. It has been also noted that most of the tribal men as well as the tribal women spend on liquor. However majority of the tribal migrants have not started saving money. The non tribal migrants generally spend their income in buying consumer goods such as TV, cycles, dresses and some spend for their children's education. However a few upper class non tribal migrants that is 22% have started their saving money in bank and LIC.

The income profile of the second generation non tribal migrants shows that most of the non tribal boys earn more than Rs.3000 per month after their migration to other state. Though the second generations are facing problems such as insufficient income, irregular payments at the work place but still some of migrants are able to contribute savings for the reconstruction of their old houses, repayment of their parents' loans and for their sister's marriage. At present they are able to buy their household things such as TV, fridge, mobile phone, Gas for their home and provide education to their children. Some of them (65%)

have started saving their money in bank and have taken LIC policies. The data regarding the income profile of the tribal second generation migrants show that still most of them earn less than Rs.2000 per month. The incomes generally are adequate for household expenditure.

Thus, the income profile of the tribal and non tribal migrants concludes that the income of the non tribal migrants is more than the income of tribal migrants. After migration some of the non tribal migrants have improved their economic conditions by replacing their houses from *katcha* houses to *pucca* houses and able to buy the household consumables which indicates economic mobility among the non tribal migrants. However most of the tribal migrants are not able to improve their socio-economic conditions after their migration to Bhadrak town.

Food Habits/ Dress Patterns

The data regarding the food habits among the tribal migrants shows that a large part of income among them is spent in buying food. Among all the items, the migrants generally spend more money in buying raw rice. The tribal migrants purchase their food items daily after the completion of their work. Rice, oil, turmeric, salt, and vegetables are the items, which they purchase every day after getting their wage. Though the migrants have settled down permanently but the tribal migrants have not accepted the local food. *Pakhal* and *Handia* are the main staple food among the tribal that are taken regularly by them. The food pattern of the migrants shows that the elders take food twice a day where as the children take food three to five times a day. The main breakfast, lunch and dinner popular among the children is *Pakhal*. Very few tribal children take flattened rice or tea occasionally in their breakfast. During the time of no work, *Handia* is mainly chosen for both lunch and dinner because of its low cost. It has also been noted that when they are not able to buy any vegetables to prepare curry, the women collect different leafs from the river side and prepare curry. Due to high price of non-vegetarian food, fish, chicken and mutton are only consumed during the festivals once in three months or so. In the festivals when some of the tribal migrants cannot afford non vegetarian food, then they hunt the birds and take as their non vegetarian food. However some of the tribal migrants rear hen and prepare egg curry every week.

The non tribal migrants generally take food three times a day where as the children take food four times a day. Rice is the staple food among most of the migrants in their work places. The elder members generally do not take anything in their breakfast and leave for work whereas some of the migrants take red tea in their breakfast. The common breakfast among most of the lower class non tribal migrants children are *pakhhal* and flattened rice but some of upper class children take chapatti, flattened rice, biscuit, milk and other baby foods such as cerelacs, lactogene and health drinks such as Horlicks and Complain to their children. Even some of the upper class female migrants have changed their attitude towards their children's food. They are giving more importance on their children's food. Among Odiya's *Dalma* which is considered to be one of the healthiest foods, so every day some of the women give *Dalma* to their children. It has been noted that they feed their children before leaving for playing in the afternoon and some other migrant feed their children in the early evening as their children go to bed before dinner. Rice is the main food among both the upper and lower class non tribal migrants. Further the data revealed that non tribal migrants are able to afford non-vegetarian food such as fish and chicken once in a week but the upper class migrants generally take non vegetarian food twice in a week. Non vegetarian food such as mutton is prepared occasionally in the festivals because of its high price.

The data on the dress pattern of the tribal migrants shows that very few migrants' buy new clothes for their children on different festival/occassions such as *Chaita Paraba* and *Karama* Festival because of their low income. They generally buy new clothes, which come in at low price and whenever the old clothes are torn. The tribal male generally do not buy new clothes until their old clothes need to be replaced but some of the second generation working tribal male and female buy new dresses when they get their salary. Further, the study found that the tribal men and women have not changed their traditional dress patterns. The tribal women wear saree in their traditional method whereas the tribal men wear lungi.

The non tribal migrants buy new clothes for their children during the time of festivals. In some cases where the families have low income and large number of children, the parents buy new clothes for all the children in one or the other festival/occassion. Some of the female migrants who are engaged as maids and are not able to buy new clothes for their

children, they accept the old clothes of their owners' children. The upper class migrants generally buy new clothes for their children almost in every festival. The elder members generally do not prefer to buy clothes in different festivals. They generally buy new clothes when the clothes become very old or damaged. However most of the unmarried second generation male and female migrants buy new clothes frequently when they get their wages. It has been noticed that some of the second generation female migrants have accepted the dress pattern of the local people. They have started wearing saree in Marawarhi style in different functions and have started wearing salwar kameez or nighty at their home after their marriage.

Health Condition of the Tribal and Non Tribal Migrants

Looking into the utilization of health facilities among the tribal and non tribal migrants, it is found that the tribal migrants neither visit Government doctor nor visit private doctors during the time of illness. When the tribal migrants suffer from any disease, they prefer their home remedies. If they cannot get rid of the disease, they go to the *Gunia*. The tribal migrants visit the *Gunia* because of their belief that due to bad spirit, they suffer from different diseases. The perception that *Gunia* can cure the diseases effectively than the doctor prevails even now. When they are unable to visit *Gunia*, they call the *Gunia* to their houses for treatment. The migrants sacrifice one goat to the God as a token of gratitude, when a person gets cured.

There are different reasons for the tribal migrants not visiting the hospital. One of the strong reasons is to do with availing allopathic treatment. Some of the tribal migrants who initially pay visit to the hospital have mentioned that though the treatment is free in the hospital but the prescribed medicines by the doctor was expensive. On the other hand, the diseases were not cured in the first visit to the doctor. So the tribal migrants who were engaged in either agricultural work or construction, when they were finding the expenditure on medicine was more compare to their earnings at that time they preferred to visit the *Gunia* rather than visiting the hospital. The tribal women migrants do not visit the doctor during the time of antenatal and prenatal period and have not accepted the family planning programme. It has been reported by the health personals that when they visit the tribal pregnant women's house and try to persuade them to the hospital for child, at that time all the family members

strongly resent the pregnant women to the hospital for delivery. The elder female members play an important role during the time of delivery. The tribal migrants do not give polio and other vaccines for immunization to their newborn children because of their belief that if God wants one to suffer in any diseases than no medicine can prevent one to suffer from those diseases. So for this reasons the tribals do not give any immunization.

The data on the utilization of medical treatment among the non tribal migrants revealed that majority of non tribal migrants visit the Government hospital during the time of diseases. When the diseases does not get cured by taking treatment in the Government medical, then migrants consult the private doctors. During the time of data collection, it has been observed that the non tribal women migrants whether from high-income group or low-income group rarely visit the hospital during the time diseases. Most of the women migrant apply the home remedies to get cured from the diseases and when the disease does not get cured, they visit the medical. However, few women migrants are accepting the family planning programme. It has been observed that 7 non tribal women migrants have accepted the family planning programme. Some of the women migrants visit the hospital for prenatal and postnatal check up during the time of pregnancy. Thus, it is noticed that after the childbirth, all the non tribal migrants whether they are from the high income and low income group give polio drops and other vaccines of immunization to their children. The women migrants are now more concerned about their children's health. When the newborn baby suffers from any kind of health problems, they immediately visit the doctor.

Thus, from the above description it is clear that after permanent settlement at Bhadrak town, most of the non tribal migrants have changed their attitude towards health care facilities. Although all the non tribal migrants are not able afford the private treatment but most of them visit the Government hospital. Only those non tribal migrants who have relatively improved their economic conditions visit to the private hospital. But both the first generation and second generation tribal migrants do not prefer the hospital but still rely upon the *Gunia*.

Leisure Time Activities

The leisure time activity of the tribal migrants shows that during the time of no work, the tribal women migrants generally spend their time by collecting wood and by taking *Handia*. The leisure time activity of the tribal male migrants shows that they spend their time by taking liquor and by repairing their old houses. The non tribal female migrants' who do not go for work and stay at home spend their time by seeing Odiya serials in the afternoon. Some of the women engage in preparing pickle, *Badi* and those who have land of their own engage themselves in planting vegetables. The women migrants, who go for work, during the holidays, get busy in washing their clothes and stitching the old dresses of their small children. Some of the non tribal women go to the riverside in a group after their lunch and gossip until the evening. The male members generally spend their time by playing cards and roaming with their friends. During the time of festivals, it is seen that both the male and female members go to visit their relatives' houses. Some of the migrants from the low-income group during the festival time arrange video by collecting money from the entire household and watch movie in the open field for the whole night.

Rituals, Customs and Tradition

The tribal migrants continue to follow the customary practices such as celebration of *Chaita Paraba*, *Makara Sankranti* and *Karama* festival in Bhadrak town. In all the festivals, the tribal women migrants prepare the non-vegetarian food collectively. There is collective gathering where they eat the cooked meat, drink *Handia*, sing and dance in the open field near their home. Some of the tribal migrants visit their native village during the time of festival to celebrate in a grand manner.

The tribal migrants also follow all their rituals on different occasions such as birth, death and marriage ceremony.

The data regarding the birth rituals depicts that after the birth of a child, the tribal follows purification ritual. No family members touch the newborn baby and mother for seven days. In the purification ceremony, the mother and new born child cut their nails and take bath for

first time. After they take bath on the seventh day, the other family members touch the newborn baby and mother.

In the marriage ceremony, the tribal migrants follow their customary practices *nirbandha*. According to this practice, the groom's parents give saree, gold ornament and sweets to the bride and declare the marriage of their son. The tribal migrants also follow their traditional customs of giving feast to their clan people on the marriage day. It has been noticed that the groom's parents give bride price to the bride's parents during the time of marriage. The groom's parents either bear the total expenses of the feast money to the bride's parents as part of bride price. The tribal migrants also follow their custom of taking liquor on the occasion of marriage. It has been observed that after the marriage, the groom can take the bride to their house once the bride and groom take liquor together.

In the death ceremony, the tribal migrants follow different customs. It has been observed that according to the custom, all the family members do not take spicy food, do not apply oil in their head, do not cut their hair and nails till the 10th day. On the 10th, all the family members wash their clothes, cut their nails, cut their hair before they take bath. They buy new dresses for all their elder family members and give a feast to all their relatives either on the 11th day or on the 13th day.

The non tribal migrants generally celebrate different festivals like *Raja*, *Kumar Purnima*, *Prathama asthami*, *Durga Puja*, *Sabitri*, *Laxmi puja* and *Holi*. They prepare their traditional cake like *poda* cake in *Raja*, *manda* cake in *Kumar Purnima* and *enduri* cake in *prathama asthami*. Even after migration to Bhadrak town the non tribal also follows all their traditional rituals during the time of birth ceremony, marriage ceremony, and death ceremony. They follow the rituals of purification ceremony, naming ceremony in birth ceremony, *Nirbandha*, *Haldi* and *Mangali* in marriage ceremony and *Kasa khia* and *Dasa ghara* in death ceremony. Even the second generation migrants follow all their traditional customs and rituals in different festivals and in different ceremonies.

Though, both the first and second generation tribal and non tribal migrants follow all their traditional customs and rituals in different festivals and ceremonies but it has been found that after migration to Bhadrak town, the non tribal migrants celebrate all their festivals

with the local people. Like the local people now they have started inviting their friends in different festivals and ceremonies to their home, distributes their traditional cakes to their neighbours house in different functions. However, the tribal migrants celebrate all their functions with their tribal people only. They do not invite the non tribal people to participate in their function.

Participation in Politics among the Tribal and Non Tribal Migrants

The scope for participation in politics for the tribal as well as non tribal migrants is very less. The tribal migrants do not participate in any political campaign during the time of municipal chairman election, Lok Sabha election and Vidhan Sabha elections. Though all the tribal migrants have their voter identity card but very less migrants cast their vote during the time of elections. Out of 34 respondents, only 17 tribal migrants had cast their vote in the last municipality chairmen election. Most of the tribal migrants have mentioned that as they do not get any benefit from the Government in terms of road, electricity and water, so they are not interested to cast their vote. Some of the tribal migrants have mentioned that as they get their wages on daily work wise, so they do not show interest to cast their vote by taking leave from their work. The data on the political participation of the non tribal migrants shows that some of the non tribal migrants give more importance to municipality election than other elections because the contested candidates belong to the Apartibindha colony. Maximum non tribal migrants supported the Biju Janata Dala party and few migrants supported congress party. Some of the migrants, who are from the upper caste, participate in the election campaign with the local people.

Conclusion

Thus, migration has both positive and negative impact on the second generation tribal and non tribal migrants. The data on the tribal migrants show that they have not still improved their socio-economic conditions after their migration. There is marginal change that occurred in the socio-economic conditions of the tribal migrants. After migration to Bhadrak town, still a large proportion of tribal migrants' have poor housing conditions, no electricity facility, no water facility and unable to meet their essential needs such as needs of food, clothes, education and health care. The occupation profile of the tribal migrants' indicates

that the tribal migrants are engaged in low occupations that is rickshaw puller, construction worker and agricultural worker. The second generation migrants still follow the traditional occupation of their parents, so very few second generation migrants are engaged in industrial or semi skilled work. But after migration all the tribal migrants were able to get some sorts of work. The income of the tribal migrants is very low which is below Rs.2000 per month and very few migrants earn more than Rs.2000 per month. Due to low income, they take credit from the local shop, and from the friends. Migration has less impact on the marriage, health care system and customary practices. Not a single case was found in terms of inter tribe marriage among the tribal migrants. The tribal migrants follow their traditional method of seeking treatment for diseases. Their first preference is *Gunia* during the time of diseases and very few migrants visit the hospital. Thus, the tribal migrants still follow their own religious practices, traditions, customs and rituals. Although tribal migrants have not adopted the culture of the local people such as food habits and dress patterns but all the tribal migrants have learnt to speak in Odiya language.

The impact of migration on non tribals reveals that after migration to Bhadrak town some of the non tribal migrants have improved their socio-economic conditions. Though some of the non tribal migrants still live in miserable conditions having *katcha* houses, no electricity facilities and no water facilities but majority of the non tribal migrants have improved their socio-economic conditions compared to tribal migrants. Non tribal migrants are able to move from *katcha* houses to *pucca* houses have electricity, and drinking water facilities. The economic profile of the non tribal migrants reveals that a large proportion of non tribal migrants are engaged in better occupation and the earnings are significantly higher than the tribal migrants. After migration some of the women have also engaged in different occupations. They provide education to their children, visit the doctor during the time of diseases and get participate in the local politics. However, the non tribal migrants also follow their religious practices, traditions, customs and rituals. Therefore, one can conclude that the socio-economic conditions of the tribal migrants are still lower compare to non tribal migrants. The non tribal migrants have relatively improved their socio-economic conditions as compared to the tribal migrant.

CHAPTER VII

INTER GENERATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG THE MIGRANTS

As migration rate is increasing everyday, so it is important to focus on the impact of migration on the socio-economic condition of the migrants. Having discussed the socio-economic conditions of the first and second generation migrants, this chapter focuses on the impact of migration on both these sets of migrants.

Impact of Migration on Social Conditions of the First and Second Generation Migrants

In order to know the social conditions of the migrants, the data of the family, caste, marriage and education of the first and second generation migrants have been included.

Impact of Migration on Family

The data analysis on the structure of the family among the first generation migrants shows that migration has not affected the traditional family structure. The parental data of the first generation migrants show that before migration, 80% of the first generation migrants had joint family and only 20% had nuclear family. However, after migration to Bhadrak district, most of the first generation migrants had their joint family system. The data revealed that out of 85 respondents, 67% migrants still live in joint family and only 33% migrants live in nuclear family and maintain a close relation with their other family members.

The data on the family structure of the second-generation migrants showed that all the second generation migrants live in nuclear family. The second generation migrants do not prefer to live in joint family in their destination place due to high expenditure. Even some of the married migrants do not take their family with them and adjust with their friends because of high expenses. Thus, migration has significantly impacted on the joint family system. However, the second generation migrants do maintain a strong family ties with their family members. Every year once or twice, they visit their home. Some of the second generation migrants when they can not visit their home then make their parents visit them.

Thus from the above discussion, it is clear that though most of the first generation migrants have continued with their joint family system after their migration to Bhadrak town but nuclear family system is coming among the second generation migrants. Thus, the data collected from the study is similar to the study of Sinha (1987) and Majumdar (1978) that migration leads to disintegration of joint family system.

The second generation migrants visit their homes once or twice in a year. They carry some gifts for their family members during their visit to their home. If in case they are unable to carry gifts for their family members then in that situation they give them money as a replacement of gift. While leaving their homes they also give some money to their parents. When they cannot visit their home during the major festivals like *Raja* and *Kali Puja*, they send money to their family members to buy new clothes during the festivals. It is also stated by the migrants' that sometime their family members also visit them during the time of sickness and festivals. While coming to the control of family members on the lives of the migrants, it was noticed that they take their parents' suggestion regarding their children's education, during the time of diseases and when they face problems in their work place. The second generation respondents have mentioned that their parents and other family members also take suggestions from them during the time of financial needs, renovation of houses, daughter's marriage and family disputes which shows that the migrants and their family members are connected with each other with a strong bond of emotional attachment and mutual relation.

Looking into the total family members of the first generation migrants, it has been found that out of 85 migrants about 55% (47) have more than ten members, 35% (30) have 6 to 9 members and only 10% of the migrants have only 1 to 5 members. Thus the study indicates that the migrants are mainly belonging to large families and very few migrants have small families. The data of the second generation migrants shows that out of the 22 married respondents, 77% (17) have small families having 1-5 members and 23% (5) have large families having more than six members. Thus, a large number of migrants have small families having 1-5 members than large families. Therefore, it can be conclude that after migration the migrants prefer to have fewer children than more children.

From the above discussion, it is clear that though most of the first generation migrants have continued with their joint family system after their migration to Bhadrak but nuclear family system is coming among the second generation migrants. Thus, the data from the study is similar to the study of Majumdar, Benerjee and VNP Sinha. Prasanta S. Majumdar found that the joint family disintegrates after migration with the passage of time due to the physical separation. Benerjee in his study found that social and economic ties are maintained both by the married and unmarried migrants after their migration. VNP Sinha in his study found that migration leads to the disintegration of joint family system by changing the composition of family and reducing its size.

Impact of Migration on Caste Systems

The data on the caste system of the first generation migrants revealed that the traditional caste rules and restrictions are not declined among the first generation migrants. The upper caste migrants have not changed their attitude towards the low caste migrants. The practices of untouchable are still prevailing among the first generation migrants. The people from the upper castes do not accept food from the lower caste migrants and do not enter into the houses of the lower caste. Caste feeling is more prominent during the time of ceremonial and religious occasion.

Whereas as looking into the caste system of the second generation migrants, it is found that traditional caste rule and restrictions are not totally reduced among the second generation migrants but it is still followed by the upper class second generation migrants. However there is a sense of statehood, neighbourhood and brotherhood thoughts existing among the migrants and their families. It has been found that the migrants who live in one settlement, in spite of their caste restrictions, they visit each other's house, celebrate different festivals and functions together. Moreover, when the migrants get any leisure, they also go for movies together.

Impact of Migration on Marriage

The data collected from the first and second generation migrants show that migration has brought some changes in various aspects of marriage such as organization of marriage, age at marriage, criteria of selection of the mate and dowry system.

Organization of Marriage

The data of the first generation migrants shows that the elder members in the family especially parents were playing main role during the time of marriage. The migrants had no choice to take decision about their marriage. It was the parents, who decided the brides and there was no freedom for the grooms to decide their marriage. Even they were not allowed to see the bride before their marriage. It was the marriage day when the grooms were allowed to see their bride. Thus from the above analysis it can be conclude that the first generation migrants had no freedom to take any decision about their marriage.

From the data of the second generation migrants, it has been found that though the parents of the second generation migrants take part in the selection of mate but the second generation migrants also get freedom to take decision about their marriage. After parents decide the bride, the second generation migrants visit the bride's house. If they like the bride then the parents decide the date of marriage and if they do not like the bride, at that time the parents search for other proposals. However, marriage is finalized once the second generation migrants agree for the marriage. Thus, changes in the organization of marriage have been found among the second generation migrants compare to the first generation migrants.

Criteria for Selecting the Mate

Low status, low education, good health and proficient in household work were the main criteria for selecting a girl during the time of marriage among the first generation migrants. The parents had notion that if the bride will be from the lower status and lower education compare to the groom then the bride will give respect all the family members and the quarrel in the family will reduce. Apart from status and education, good health and cooking were another criterion for selecting the bride. If the bride was not healthy, the parents were not choosing the girl for their son's marriage as they have to spend money for the treatment frequently. Thus low education, low status and proficient in household work was the main reason for selecting the bride during the time of marriage.

The data regarding the selection of mate among the second generation migrants' shows that some of the second generation migrants have changed their methods of mate selection. The

family status, the behaviour of the bride's family members and education are mostly taken into consideration during the time of selection of a bride. Most of the second generation migrants give preference to the girl's educational status. They generally do not prefer to get married to a girl who is illiterate because of their notion that literate girl will be able to manage the house properly than an illiterate girl. However, the groom's family prefers to arrange the marriage of their sons with a girl belonging to their known relatives or friends. It is because of the notion that if they choose a bride from their known relatives or friends the bride will respect the elders and can manage the family nicely. The families of the upper class migrant have started searching the match through the help of mediator. They also pay some money to the mediator for bringing each match. Thus, after migration the second-generation migrants have changed their traditional method of mate selection.

Marriage Endogamy

The data on the marriage rules of the first generation migrants showed that they had no freedom to take any decision about their marriages. Importance was given to the traditional caste rules and regulations during the time of marriage. Caste endogamy was strictly followed during the time of selection of mates. Inter caste marriage was considered as a sin. None of the first generation migrants were into inter caste marriage. Even after migration to Bhadrak, most of the migrants gave priority to the caste endogamy during the time of marriage. The data collected from the second generation showed that caste endogamy is not totally undermined in the selection of mate. Still the second generation migrants give importance to endogamous form of marriage. However, few second generation migrants have gone for inter caste marriages. Out of 22 married respondents, it has been found that only six respondents have gone for inter caste marriage. Thus, still both first and second generation migrants give preference to the endogamy form of marriage. They have not changed their attitude for the inter caste marriage.

Age at Marriage

Regarding the age of marriage, among the first and second-generation migrants, the data showed that early marriage was prevalent among all the first generation migrants at their native places. Out of 85 respondents, 73% migrants got married between the age of 15-20,

where as 22% got married between the age of 21-25 and only 5% got married in age the of 26-30. Age of 15 was considered as the ideal age for the first generation migrants to get married. When the migrants were reaching in the age of 12, their parents were searching proposal for them. If the marriage was not possible before the age of 20, it was considered as the bad symptoms for the family. Due to free from the responsibilities and blind notions, early marriage was found among the first generation migrants.

The data regarding the age of marriage among the second generation migrants shows that early marriage has gradually reduced. Out of 22 respondents, 65% got married after 25 years and only 35% got married between the ages of 20-25. The main reason for late marriage among the second generation migrants is family burden. The second generation migrants who had the responsibilities such as to do their sisters marriage and to repay the loan taken by his family, in that case the migrants do not bother about their marriage. They prefer to get married after completing all their responsibilities. It is also found that some of the migrants who belong to very low income background first give preference to improve their socio-economic conditions. Because they have a notion that if they get married without improving their economic conditions, then after marriage they cannot able to perform it well. Even the parents are also agreeing with the decision of their son. Therefore, late marriage is mainly preferred among the second generation migrants. Thus, the above analysis corroborates with the finding of Ramnath Singh (1989) that most of the migrants were willing to get their sons and daughters married at an early age but after migration their attitude has considerably changed.

Dowry System

The data regarding the dowry system of the first generation migrants revealed that those who had some land or engaged in some job received dowry during their marriages. The consumer items such as Radio, Cycle and Wrist watch were the main gifts as part of dowry among the first generation migrants. Demand of money was totally absent among the first generation migrants. The second generation migrants' data showed that the demand of dowry has increased considerably among them. Like the previous dowry system of first generation migrants, cycle, radio and wrist watch are no more the demand of dowry for the second generation migrants. In the present system, the families mainly prefer cash rather

than household assets. According to the occupation and income, the parents negotiate the dowry of their children. The dowry ranges from Rs.10, 000 to one lakh depending on the income of the second generation migrants. Those migrant grooms who earn relatively good income, their parents either demand a bike, household things or Rs.1,000,00 along with household things.

Tallying Horoscope

It has been observed that tallying horoscope was not mandatory among the first generation migrants. Even after migration to Bhadrak town still the migrants do not give importance for tallying horoscope during the time of their children's marriage. During the data collection, it has been noted that some of the first generation migrants have accepted the new method of marriage by seeing the local people after their migration to Bhadrak town. The poor migrants who cannot spend more money for their children's marriage are doing temple marriage. Even the migrants from the upper caste with high income follow the marriage practices of the local people like the practices of Mehendi and *Kaniya khia*²³ etc.

The above analysis indicates the changes in the age at marriage, organization of marriage, criteria for selection of mate and dowry system among the second generation migrants.

Impact of Migration on Education

Education, as a social institution has a great social importance in urban societies. It has brought changes in every aspect of man's life. Samuel Koenig says, "Education is a process whereby the social heritage of a group is passed on from one generation to another as well as the process whereby the child becomes socialized, that is, learns the rules of behavior of the group into which he is born" (cited in kavitha 2009).

The educational data of the first and second generation migrants have given below table no.7.3.

²³ .Kania khia: As the girl leaves the place forever after the marriage, so after the Nirbandh, the neighbours invite the bride for food in their house and provide some gift like saree, ornaments and bangles.

Table No.7.3: Educational Profile of the First and Second Generation Migrants

Educational Profile	First Generation Migrants	Second Generation Migrants
Illiterate	33(39%)	-
Primary education(I-IV)	17(20%)	-
Secondary education(V-VI)	24(28%)	9(21%)
Higher secondary education(VII-X)	7(8%)	29(67%)
Intermediate and more	4(5%)	5(12%)
Total	85(100%)	43(100.0%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The data on the educational attainment of the first generation and second generation migrants' showed that the gradual improvement in the educational attainment among the migrants particularly the second generation migrants. The literacy rate among the first generation migrants shows that 39% of the first generation migrants are illiterate and very less migrants that is only 5% have intermediate education or higher education. After they migrate to Bhadrak town, most of the first generation migrants have developed their interest to educate their children. Almost all the migrants send their children to school. They regularly check their children's study in the night time after their work. Now some of the migrants who improved their economic condition spend money by providing tutorial help to their children for better result. Thus, the first generation migrants have changed their attitude towards education but still they have not developed their attitude for giving higher education to their children. Very few migrants give higher education to their children. Positive impact of migration has been felt on the education of girl children. Some of the first generation migrants provided education to their daughters. However, some of the migrants from the low-income group and tribes do not prefer to provide education to their girl child.

The educational data of the second generation migrants showed that out of 43 respondents, 21% of the respondents studied up to secondary education, 67% studied till higher secondary education and only 12% have more than intermediate. Thus, the educational profile of the second generation migrants have improved compared to the first generation migrants. Hence, there are few migrants who have obtained technical education such as ITI and diploma courses. After migration, the second-generation migrants have changed their

attitude towards giving education to their children. The data regarding on the education of the children's show that, all the second generation migrants send their children to school. It is noticed that some of the upper class second generation migrants are sending their children to English medium school after their migration. Even a few migrants, who are sending their children to English medium school, are providing private tutorials to their children for their better improvement. Positive impact of migration has been felt on the education of girl children. All the second generation migrants are sending their girl children to school. Some of them are sending their daughters to English medium schools. Even to give higher education, all the female migrants check the home work of their children's at night time.

It is evident that that the educational status of the second generation migrants have improved. Compared to the educational status of the first generation, most of the second generation migrants have higher secondary education or intermediate education. S. M. Dahiwale (1997), in his work "*Rural Poverty and Slums*", which was conducted in Kolhapur city in Maharastra, compares the socio-economic condition of the native places and after the settlements in Kolhapur city found that the educational status of the migrants seems to have noticeably improved.

Impact of Migration on Economic Conditions

In order to know the impact of migration on economic conditions of the migrants, the study has included the data of housing conditions, occupation and income of the migrants.

Impact of Migration on Housing Conditions

The data regarding the housing conditions of the first generation migrants at their native villages show that all the respondents had *katcha* houses with no electricity facilities. Very few migrants' that is 33% respondents had water facilities such as well and pond at their houses. The analysis of the housing condition of the first generation migrants revealed that after migration to Bhadrak town, most of the first generation migrants still lived in *katcha* houses with no electricity facilities, drinking water facilities, personal latrine and bathroom. Out of the 85 respondents, 68% first generation migrants stayed in *katcha* houses. Further, the data on the availability of different facility shows that, 60% households of the migrants

have no electricity facilities. Looking into the availability of drinking water facilities the data show that 73% have no personal water facilities and depend on the river and Government tube well. On the other hand, few first generation migrants have improved their living conditions after their migration. Out of 85 first generation migrants, 28% migrants managed to buy land and 32% migrants live in *semi pucca* and *pucca* houses. It has been found that 40% migrants have availed electricity and 27% have their personal water facilities. Thus, from the above analysis it can be conclude that the migrants have negative impact on the housing conditions. After migration most of the migrants live in very miserable conditions having no electricity, water facility, bath room and latrine.

The analysis of the housing condition of the second generation migrants in chapter 4 shows that the second generation migrants are living in a better quality of houses compare to their native places. All the migrants live in *pucca* houses with water facilities, electricity, personal latrine and bathroom. Inspite of higher house rent and monthly expenditure, a significant proportion of married migrants' that is out of 22 married migrants, 65% are staying with their family at their destination places.

Therefore, the above description indicates that few first generation migrants have improved their living condition after their migration to Bhadrak town compared to the living condition at their native places. The comparison of the housing conditions of the first generation and second generation migrants shows that the second generation migrants have better housing conditions. Kishore. C. Samal (1997) study "*Migration of Workers to Urban Informal Sector: A Study of Class-I Towns in Orissa*". In his study, he has found that urban informal sector migrant workers though staying in slums but the housing conditions are better in towns than that in their rural native places. Thus, my study is quite similar with the above findings that urban migrant workers have better housing conditions in towns than those in their rural native places.

Impact of Migration on Occupation

The father's occupation of first generation migrants shows that 55% of them were engaged in agricultural work, 32% engaged in petty business and only 3% engaged in construction work. The occupational data of the first generation migrants' at their native places shows

that 51% of them were engaged in agricultural work and the rest were engaged in non-agricultural activity such as 13% engaged in petty business work and only 13% engaged in construction work. The present occupational data of the first generation migrants showed that 32% are engaged in construction work, 26% are engaged in different industries, 27% engaged in petty business, 9% engaged as daily wage labours and only 6% in agricultural work. Therefore, after migration to Bhadrak town, all the respondents are employed in one or other occupation. However to improve the economic conditions, most of the migrants are engaged in multiple occupations. For example, the migrant of the *Kumbhara* caste whose main occupation is making pot, either get engaged as an agricultural worker or as construction worker when they find income from selling of pots is very low. Moreover, the migrants who are engaged as an agricultural worker, after the harvesting season when there is no agricultural work hire rickshaws to earn money for their families. The migrants who are engaged in shoe making or repairing, during off-season both the males and females get engaged in stitching the mattress at their home. Most of the migrants have shifted from their traditional caste occupation to earn more income. Very few respondents belong to *Kumbhara*, *Keuta*, *Dhoba* and *Badhei* castes are engaged in their traditional caste occupations. Even after migration, the female migrants also started working in different occupations.

Table No.7.3: Occupational Mobility among the First and Second Generation Migrants.

Types of Work	First Generation Migrants Father's Work	First Generation Migrants Work	Second Generation Migrants Work
No Work	9(11%)	-	-
Petty Business	27(32%)	23(27%)	4(12%)
Agriculture	47(55%)	5(6%)	
Daily Wage Labourer	-	8(9%)	4(12%)
Construction Worker	2(12%)	27(32%)	6(18%)
Industrial Worker		22(26%)	19(58%)
Total	85(100%)	85(100%)	43(100.0%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The data of the second generation migrants indicated that before their migration to other states, 28% of them were unemployed, 28% migrants were engaged in construction work, 14% migrants engaged in petty business (iron shop, wood shop, cycle shop, flower shop and pottery shop), 21% of migrants engaged in daily wage labour (rickshaw puller, trolley puller, working in cloth store and Hero Honda show room, in mobile store, and as helper in trekker) and only 9% migrants were engaged in different companies at Bhadrak town. However, the present occupational structure of the migrants shows that after their migration to other states, 58% have engaged in different industrial work, 18% have engaged in construction work, 12% have engaged as daily wage labourers and petty business. None of the second generation migrants were engaged in agricultural work. Due to industrial work, the migrants acquired new skills working in different industries and the quality of work has improved. They help their relatives and friends by way of searching employment for them in their companies. The change in occupational status has also been noticed among the second generation migrants. Few migrants who worked as labourer improved their position from that of labourer to helper and to supervisor.

Thus, one can say that both the first and second generation migrants improved their economic position compared to their earlier occupations. Relatively the second generation migrants have faced better and acquired different skills. Asadullah (2006) in his study *“Intergenerational Economic Mobility in Rural Bangladesh”* pointed out that most sons have shifted their employment from agricultural wage labour to non-farm sector work. Havinga et al (1986) in his study *“Intergenerational Mobility and Long Term Socio-Economic Change in Pakistan”* analysed that occupational profile has shown the process of transition between fathers and sons in the labour market from non-wage to wage employment and from low paying and less skilled jobs to more skilled and better paying ones. Vijnan (1962) in his study *“Spatial Mobility between three Generations in Rural Households”* showed that the economic factor was the most important factor leading to migration. Occupational mobility between the generations was quite low, with no occupational change between the generations. Thus the present study corroborates with the study of Asadullah and Havinga which showed that the occupational mobility among the second generation migrants but it is dissimilar with the study of Artha Vijnan.

Impact of Migration on Income

The analysis of the first generation migrants' fathers' income showed that 11% had no work and only 89% were earning a wages of Rs.100 to Rs.999. The data regarding the total income of the first generation migrants showed that before migration to Bhadrak town 57% had an income which was below 500 hundred, 22% had no income and only 21% earned Rs.500 to Rs.1000 per month. The present income of the first generation migrants showed that 47% earned Rs.1000 to Rs.1999 per month, 45% respondents earned Rs.2000 to Rs.2999 and only 8% respondents earned Rs.3000 to Rs.5999 per month. Thus, the data showed that the income of the first generation migrants are higher compared to their fathers' income and compared to their previous income. It has been found that most of the migrants have repaid their borrowed money and old loans. Few migrants are able to buy their own land and have built their own houses while other migrants have improved their economic status by bringing household consumable things such as TV, fridge, cycle for their children. However, few migrants (22%) are able to save money but other migrants have developed saving motives. For instance: the first generation migrant in order to save money, bought vegetables in the night because of its low prices. Some of the women migrant saved money from their total expenditure and hid it for the future needs inside the rice pitcher. Thus, the first generation migrants felt positive impact on the income but there are some migrants who could not save any money due to their low wages. Most of the time, they borrowed money from their friends and relatives during the time of household needs.

Table No.7.4: Income Status of the Parents, First Generation Migrants and Second Generation Migrants

Wage	Fathers Wage	First Generation Wage	Second Generation Wage
No Work	9 (11%)	-	-
100-999	76(89%)	-	-
1000-1999	-	40(47%)	-
2000-2999	-	38(45%)	-
3000-5999	-	7(8%)	33(77%)
6000-more	-	-	10(23%)
Total	85 (100%)	85(100%)	43(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-2010.

The income profile of the second generation migrants revealed that before migration 88% earned below Rs.2000 per month and only 12% earned more than Rs.2000 per month. The present income of the second generation migrants shows that 77% of them are earning more than Rs.3000 per month and 23% (10) are earning more than Rs.6000 per month. The data shows that after migration, the second generation migrants have increased their earnings as compared to their earning prior to migration. However, they have also increased their income compared to the first generation migrants. They send money regularly to their parents and financially help their parents during the time of family occasions such as sister's marriage, to repair their old houses and repay their parent's debt. To increase the economic status, some of the second generation migrants indicated that they purchased the household items such as TV, radio, watches, video player, mobile phone and table fans to their parents back home and while few others buy Rickshaw and Trolley for their parents, so that they do not have to depend on the local owners. The data of the second generation migrants shows that 68% migrants are able to save money to put it in LIC policies and postal savings. Some of the migrants mentioned that in spite of regular income, they do not find much change in their economic conditions due to high expenditure in the cities. Such migrants said they borrow money from their friends and repay it later to accommodate some of their parent's obligations/ demands.

Therefore, the above analysis indicates that monthly wage earning of the second generation migrants are relatively better compared to the first generation migrants.

Impact of Migration on Culture

In order to know the impact of migration on culture, the study included the data of food habits, dress patterns, religious practices and tradition, customs and rituals of both the first generation and second generation migrants.

Food Habits and Dress Patterns

The data on the food habits of the first generation migrants showed that migration has brought very few changes in the traditional food habits of the respondents. Even now *pakhal* is the staple food among the migrants. Most of the children take *pakhal*, stuffed rice and black tea in their breakfast. Some of the migrants go for work without eating anything

except black tea. However, some of the first generation migrants from the lower income group have opined that they are not able to afford non-vegetarian food even once a month. Some of the women migrants do not take the non-vegetarian food due to cultural notions. It has been noted that the tribal migrants still consume *handia* compulsory in their lunch and dinner. There has been slight improvement on food habits among the upper class migrants. Now a few upper class migrants provide milk, chapatti, and other food to their children.

The data regarding the dress pattern of the first generation migrants showed that after migration still most of the migrants are not able buy new dresses for themselves and for their children in every festival. It is seen that most of the migrants buy new clothes for their children once or twice in a year until the old clothes are torn.

The data on the food habits of the second generation migrants showed that most of them still continue with their previous food habits. Rice is the staple food among most of the migrants in their work places. Almost all the migrants are able to relish non-vegetarian foods such chicken or fish once in a week. Very few migrants have accepted the food habits of the local people. For instance, the migrants who live in Delhi, in spite of taking rice, now prefer to take Chappati both in their lunch and dinner where as some of the migrants who live in Hyderabad and Bangalore prepare Sambar and Rasam occasionally. The second generation migrants are more conscious about their children's food. All the migrants are giving milk and other food to their children.

After migration to other state still most of the migrants give least importance to buy new dresses for themselves and for their children. Most of the migrants do not want to spend more money on their children's clothes. They prefer to buy clothes for their children not more than Rs.300. It has been noticed that some of the women migrants have adopted the dress pattern of the local people. They have started wearing salwar kameez or nighty at their home.

Thus, the above discussion indicates that migration has positive impact on the food habits and dress patterns of the second generation migrants but most of the first generation migrants have not improved much in terms of traditional food habits and dress pattern.

Impact of Migration on Religious Practices, Tradition, Custom and Rituals

From the data of both the first and second generation migrants, it has been depicted that the migrants after their migration also, still continue with their own religious practices, which they acquired from their native place. It has been observed that all the female migrants worship their deities twice a day. Due to their traditional religious belief, the female migrants keep the *Tulsi* tree in front of their houses and worship the *Tulshi* tree every morning and evening at their destination places.

The data of the first generation migrants revealed that migration has very less impact on the traditional culture of the first generation migrants. The different region migrants have maintained their own village culture even after their permanent settlement in Bhadrak town. Most of the migrants follow their own religious practices, tradition, customs and rituals. The religious practices are largely followed by the migrants. The migrants celebrate different rituals such *Nirbandha and Dekhakara* in marriage ceremony and *Kasa Khia, Dasa Ghara* and *Sradha* in the death ceremony. According to the customs, the female migrants cover their face with veil when they go in front of the elder brother in law and do not touch them. A few changes in terms of language and entertainment have been found among the first generation migrants. After migration, all the tribal migrants have adopted the Odiya language. Some of the tribal migrants converge in Odiya language with their family members in their homes instead of tribal dialects. Apart from language, most of the migrants have developed an interest in watching movies. During the festival and holidays, some of the migrants visit the theatre for watching movie during the time of festivals and some of the migrants arrange video by collecting money from all the migrants.

The data regarding the tradition, customs and rituals of the second generation migrants showed that after migration to other state most of the second generation migrants still follow their own religious practices, tradition, customs and rituals, which they acquired from their home. But some changes regarding the tradition, customs and rituals has been found among the second generation migrants. It has been found that after migration some second generation migrants do not prepare their traditional cakes in different festivals and celebrate the festivals by buying sweets. The migrants who can not visit their home during the birth ceremony and death ceremony of their family members, they sprinkle Ganga water

in all used household items and clothes inspite of washing it. Even few lower class migrants do not celebrate the rituals called '*sada*' because of high expenditure. So now they have started celebrating it by distributing sweets to their friends and relatives houses, in spite of inviting them to their house for the celebration of '*Sada*'. However, few upper class migrants have started celebrating their childrens birthday grandly by seeing the local people.

Impact of Migration on Health

The health facilities for the first generation migrants in their native places, was very poor and had to travel long distance to access health services. Infact, the temple priests and *Gunias* (the local healers) provided services for various illnesses. Very few migrants had visited nearest health centres. However, after migration, most of the first generation migrants availed the health facilities, mostly the Government health services and sometimes the private doctors as well. Quite a few women migrants reported that they consult the doctor during their prenatal and postnatal period. They give polio drops and other vaccines of immunization to their newborn children. None of the female migrants have gone for family planning programmes because of the cultural belief. However, there is not much change found among the tribal migrants. They neither go to the Government hospitals nor visit the private doctors but rely only on *Gunias* when they suffer from any diseases.

The data on the utilization of heath facilities among the second generation migrants showed that they visited the hospitals during the time of illness. It was reported that their first line of treatment was private doctors as the Government hospitals are not reliable in the cities they worked. The women migrants changed their traditional attitude towards family planning programme. Out of the 22 married migrants, five of them have accepted the family planning programmes. They consult the doctor regularly during their prenatal and antinatal care and provide all the Government mandated vaccines for immunization to their children. Thus, women migrants are now more concerned about their children's health. When the newborn baby suffers from any kind of health problems, they immediately visit the doctor.

The above analysis indicates that both the first and second generation migrants have considerably changed their attitude towards allopathic health care and are initializing the services of health.

Impact of Migration on Politics

The data collected from the first generation migrants showed that there is some improvement in the participation of politics among the migrants. However, none of the migrants are the members of any political organization. A few first generation migrants engaged in rickshaw pulling and trolley pulling are the members of respective unions. Most of the migrants did not actively participate in any elections. However, few migrants actively participate in the local Municipality chairmen election, Vidhan sabha election and Lok sabha election. The data on the second generation migrants revealed that none of the migrants is involved in any political parties at their destination places. None of the migrants have voter identity cards. Due to their long working hours and weak bargaining power in the work places, there is no chance for unionizing themselves and hence they have less political participation.

Thus, migration has not brought much change in the political activities among the migrants. The political activity of the second generation migrants is much weaker than the first generation migrants.

Conclusion

The first generation migration to Bhadrak town has positive effect on their son's socio-economic conditions. The second generation migrants were able to improve their educational status, housing conditions, occupation and wage after their migration to other states. Apart from it, changes have been found in joint family system, marriage and health status. Most of the second generation migrants have acquired their higher secondary education and intermediate education compared to their father's education. They have improved their housing conditions from *katcha* houses to *pucca* houses and have better access to electricity, drinking water facility compared to their parents housing conditions. The occupational status of the second generation migrants revealed that most of them have improved their occupation from low paying daily wage labourer to high paid industrial

semi-skilled work. But the political participation among the second generation migrants is quite weak after their migration to other states.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Uneven development and impoverishment of different social groups in India is explained as a direct consequence of growth oriented models within capitalist development process. Explaining the crisis and changing focus of capitalism in third world countries, several scholars (Samir Amin, 1974; Hamza Alavi, 1982) pointed out that it is 'dependent development', that is pushing the poor further to the margins. Scholars such as Barbara Harriss White (2007) indicated that Indian economy is socially regulated economy, as state and market is controlled by the same class and caste groups while petty commodity producers constitute nearly 90% of the workforce. Given this situation, migration has been one of the coping strategies of both rural and urban poor with scarcity, lack of employment and livelihood options in India.

The review of literature indicated that migration as a strategy, in Indian context today has mounted more pressure on the first generation (rural-urban migrants) as well as the second generation workers (urban-urban). Jan Breman (2007) points out that the exploitative conditions exist for the migrants particularly semi and unskilled labourers, in terms of extremely miserable conditions of work, low wages and employers' preference for outside cheap labour in south Gujarat. Similarly, Kapadia (1993) indicates that the employer-worker relations in both rural and urban India exhibit a new form of patron-client relationship. The employers generally view workers as lazy shirkers who do not deserve even the wages they get while workers see employers as constantly seeking to extract work and exploit them. Taking some of these issues into consideration, the present study was conducted in order to capture the changes and transition both among the first generation and second generation migrants.

The objective of the study was to assess the process how first generation migrants particularly the rural-urban migration has structured people's livelihoods in the urban areas and examine whether significant changes occurred in the intergenerational mobility among the migrants. The present study emphasized only on those migrants who have settled down

permanently for more than ten years in Bhadrak town. The information was collected from 85 first generation migrants and 43 second generation migrants in two selected colonies.

A close examination of the phenomena ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors that are responsible for rural-urban migration has been examined. The push factors in the present study include lack of cultivable land, extreme poverty, unemployment, family disputes and social outcasting processes. The pull factors include diverse employment opportunities given the various industries and services in Bhadrak, and subsequent increase in income were the main causes for the rural-urban migration. Thus both the economic and social factors are most important causes for the migration of first generations to the Bhadrak town.

The study findings indicated that migration rate is higher among the SCs and STs compared to the upper caste migrants. In general all the migrants cutting across the castes are from the poor socio-economic background. The first generation migrants preferred to migrate to Bhadrak town due to the presence of their kin network and friends. Very few first generation migrants without any social networks came to Bhadrak town on their own. After migration, presently a large number of first generation migrants continue to live in their joint family system (67%) while a small proportion (33%) of them live in a nuclear family. It was reported that the migrants initially faced different problems in Bhadrak town. The first generation migrants could not find a house of their own. So, they stayed on Government land, by putting a temporary shelter illegally. Over a period of 10 years, quite a few were able to build their own *katcha/pucca* houses, while others stayed in rented houses or continued to live on Government land. Even after more than 10 years of migration, about 60% of them still do not have the basic facilities such as electricity, drinking water, toilet and bathroom facilities. The main source of water for majority of the migrants is public tube wells, public tap and river water.

The study noted that after migration to Bhadrak town, a majority of first generation migrants have not engaged in their traditional occupation. Most of them had to wait for a few months without any particular job in the initial stages of their migration. Circumstances compelled them to do different kinds of jobs which ever came in their way. Therefore, it was not easy for them to improve their economic conditions as their wages were low. A few

of them improved their conditions by engaging themselves in more than one occupation. The migrant workers narratives at the work place indicated the following: the migrants who are engaged in construction work are forced to work longer hours due to their contract nature of work. The study indicated that most of the time, the mason did not provide the full wage as agreed with some pretext or the other. There are several occasions when the mason deducted partial amount at the time of settling the wage. Whenever there was scarcity of work, the first generation migrants had to bribe a small amount (say Rs.5) to the mason each time, to get employed for maximum possible work days. Due to the contract nature of the work, they frequently moved different places for their work. As there is no accommodation available, they stayed near the work place in temporary tent houses. The food, water they took at the construction sites was cause of frequent ailments and illnesses. So the migrants have mentioned that they suffered from different diseases and did not get any additional money for the treatment.

The first generation migrants who are engaged in agricultural work, also worked for 9-10 hours without any extra payment. Further, the landlords exploited the migrants by paying much cheaper wages as they normally provide cash advances for the workers thus binding the workers to agree for the terms of employment. At times even when the migrants completed the stipulated work, the landlords deducted part wages in the pretext that they have not obliged extra work. The migrants reported that they worked in the fields during the heavy rain and illness periods as well. Those migrants who were employed in oil mills worked for nine hours all seven days except public holidays. These migrant workers did not get compensation during the time of accidents and injuries in the factory. Similarly, those migrants who were employed in rice mills worked for nine hours earning a wage of about Rs.2000 per month. In spite of fixed timing of work agreed, most of the time the migrant workers had to work over time without any extra payment. The working conditions in the rice mills were very harsh. Every day the workers had to work in the scorching heat in order to dry the paddy in the sun, to separate the paddy from its grass through the machine, to separate the rice from paddy and lastly to pack the rice grains. The workers did not get compensation when they are met with any accident in the mill and when they suffer from any diseases. Similarly, the working conditions of the migrants in coal factory were also very harsh. They worked under very hazardous conditions with coal for eight hours a day

on all seven days including public holidays. The first generation migrants, who were engaged as rickshaw and trolley pullers, had to pay Rs.20 rent per day to the owners because they took rickshaws and trolleys on rent. In order to earn adequate money, they worked at least 10 hours during the day and night, depending on the demand for its services. Whenever they were not able to earn adequate money they had to pay the rent by borrowing money. Those migrants, who were engaged in selling pots, continue to do so by going door to door in different colonies and villages as there is less demand for earthen pots. Those migrants who were employed as mechanics in different garages worked about 12 hours a day (from morning 9 am till 10 Pm) and earned only Rs.1000-1500 a month.

Thus first generation migrants who worked in the construction industry, coal mills, Zip factory, and self employment activities such as rickshaw pulling, trolley pulling, pot making and selling, including the agricultural work sustained in Bhadrak town with lower wages. The conditions in their native villages were much harsher and did not have job security as much as they got it in Bhadrak town. The narrative of the workers in all these workplaces has a commonality: the working conditions were harsh in terms of long working hours, lower wages, denial of extra pay for additional work, had to work on all days including Sundays except public holidays, lack of security in terms of accidents and injuries in the work places. The women and children in the family took up different jobs to supplement the household income.

The first generation migrants were engaged as daily wage labourers, contract workers mostly in unskilled or semi skilled jobs, and their bargaining power was very weak. The vulnerable position of workers in the work place in fact gave more scope for the employers to make the workers live in a state of servitude. For instance, the practice of providing cash advances to the workers in times of their social needs, actually creating interlocking situation leading to new forms of bondage in the urban spaces.

The first generation migrants initially moved alone to Bhadrak town without their family members, only at a later stage the family members joined them. The caste rules and restrictions are still followed by the first generation migrants at the time of exchange of food, wedding and other occasions. However after migration, most of the migrants have

changed their attitude towards education and aspired to educate their children. In few cases, the migrants tried to send their children to English medium schools. But the education among the girls is very low compared to the boys.

Similarly, the first generation migrants' attitude towards health also changed to some extent. They were inclined to approach Government and private hospitals during the time of illness. However, quite a few lower caste and Scheduled tribe migrants still depend upon the local healers (*Gunia*). The women migrants belonging to different castes also now visit the doctor during the time pregnancy. They take doctors advice for prenatal and postnatal care and give polio drops and other vaccines for immunization of their children. However, the first generation migrants have not accepted the family planning programme because of their cultural notions. The first generation migrants' attitudes towards religious practices, traditions, customs and rituals have undergone very little change. They celebrated different festivals such as *Raja*, *Kumar Purnima*, *Holi*, *Durga puja* and *Kali puja* like the way they did in their native villages. Their attitude towards traditional food and dress pattern has undergone some change. A few upper class women migrants have started wearing salwar kameez and wear saree in Marwari style. All the tribal migrants have learnt Odiya language and communicate in Odiya with their friends and family members.

The study examined the impact of migration as well. At one level, rural-urban migration brought some improvement in their socio-economic conditions by increasing the work days, and subsequently the income, which helped some of them pay their debts, purchased small piece of land, household items, better education and health to their children. On the other hand, it has adverse impact on the migrants and their families. The migrants faced different problems such as lack of employment for one third of the year, low wages, poor living conditions and exploitation by the employers. The study data also indicated that migrants are left totally unprotected and quite a few did not have any residential accommodation, adequate drinking water and proper health facilities. Thus the argument here is that although the poor migrants have improved marginally their socio-economic conditions due to rural-urban migration, but still migrants continue to work under deplorable conditions at their place of destination.

The data on the migrants participation in politics revealed that majority of the migrants are not actively participating in politics because of their insecure jobs and lack of any unions for contract workers. Only a few migrants from upper class said they did participate in municipality elections.

The data of the second generation migrants revealed that the inter-state migration rate is more among the young upper or middle caste migrants and very low among the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe migrants. Inadequate job opportunities, low wage rate, indebtedness, family disputes and their lure to city life are responsible for the second generation migration to cities such as Bangalore and Hyderabad. The second generation migrants preferred migration to only those places where they had their friends and kin network.

Data on the living conditions of the second generation migrants revealed that majority of the migrants lived in rented houses. Nuclear family is mainly preferred among the migrants due to high expenditure and low income. Therefore, most of the migrants did not take their family members along with them. It is found that most of the migrants lived in nuclear family but they have strong family bond with their parents. They continued their links with their families by sending some money every month and visited their parents once or twice in a year on different ceremonies and festivals. Many a time the second generation migrants helped each other to find jobs but caste and kinship affinity mattered a lot in these matters.

The traditional caste rigidity in terms of purity and pollution, untouchability is still followed by the upper caste second generation migrants. To some extent, the traditional caste based discrimination governs their behavior even now. Therefore, the traditional practices associated with the caste system have not totally waned away in their day-to-day life among the second generation migrants. Endogamous form of marriage is still followed among the second generation migrants. There have been very few cases where the second generation migrants entered into the inter caste marriage. The age at marriage for second generation migrants increased from 16-18 to 21-25 years. The data regarding children's education revealed that there is improvement in their attitude towards their children's education. No discrimination has been found towards providing education to their girl child. In fact, some

of the second generation migrants have been sending their daughters to English medium school.

The present occupational structure of the second generation migrants showed that none of them were engaged in their traditional occupation. Shift from the traditional occupation has helped most of them adopt different jobs in different industries. Very few second generation migrants are engaged as construction workers, daily wage labourers and in petty business. After migration to other states, a few second generation migrants over a period of time improved their positions from ordinary worker to that of supervisors in their companies. It has been observed that women migrants are also engaged in some occupation or the other to run the family. Though the migrants are able to improve their positions but they faced different problems at their work places. The migrants who were employed in steel plant worked for 10 hours. As the migrants work involved in giving shape to the melted iron and cutting work, so they are expected to work the whole day near the furnace earning Rs.3000 per month. The study data indicated that as most of the workers in this factory leave the work frequently, so the company took two years of bond from the workers. Therefore, the factory management does not provide full wage to the workers every month till their contract is over. Even when workers pleaded with the management to give part money that is deducted either to visit their parents or meet different social obligations, they were not obliged. Although there is a provision for the workers to get Rs.150 for extra time they put in the night time but the workers reported that they get only Rs.100. The life of the migrants was miserable, for those engaged in extra 'shift work' at steel plant because the migrants have to stay till late in the night at the workplace. As workers have to give shape to the melted iron so they do not get any rest the whole night time. If the workers took leave during the time of ill health or for any social obligations, the company deducted their money according to the days they were absent. Although the company has the provision to get compensation when the worker meets with any accident and injury but it has been mentioned by the migrants that they do not get any compensation. Those migrants who were employed in textile mills worked for nine hours a day to earn Rs. 3000 per month. In spite of the fixed work time, the workers needed to put in extra time. In this company, the workers can avail a maximum of 10 leaves including public holidays. The migrants reported that this particular company provided accommodation to them. The company

accommodation in fact curtailed the freedom of the workers. They were not allowed to go outside their office premises (compound) even during the night time. Suspecting that the workers do not return to the work, the management of the company was restricting their mobility including visits to their parents back home. It was extremely difficult for the workers to get permission to visit their natives' places during different social occasions and obligations. The migrant workers did not get compensation when they met with any accident or injury at their work place.

In the field of political participation among the second generation migrants, the study findings indicated that there were neither any unions nor any scope for them to get unionized. None of the migrants were involved in any political party's activities.

The differential impact of migration on the socio-economic conditions of the tribal and non tribal migrants has also been discussed. The migration rate is highest among the married illiterate tribal people. The living conditions of the tribal migrants showed that after migration to Bhadrak town most of the tribal migrants living conditions have changed very little compared to the tribal migrants. They did not have access to water, electricity and toilet facilities that are commonly available to non tribal migrants. It is observed that there is very little interaction between tribal and non tribal migrants. The day to day activities and social life of the tribal migrants is confined to their own cluster or sahi.

In the field of education too, the educational status among the tribal children is very low. After migration to Bhadrak town, most of the parents did not prefer to give education to their girl child because of their low income and cultural notions. The educational status of the non tribal migrant's children was found to be much better compared to tribal migrants' children.

The tribal migrants did not prefer to get their children married outside their clan. The traditional practices of early marriage are still prevalent among the tribal migrants. On the other hand it has been found that after migration to Bhadrak town, few changes in marriage rules and regulations occurred among the non tribal second generation migrants. Some of the upper class migrants have accepted the culture of the local people. For instance, some of the non tribal migrants celebrated Mehendi and Sangeet ceremony like the local people.

Few lower class migrants adopted the practice of conducting wedding ceremonies in temples. The occupational structure of the tribal and non tribal migrants showed that the tribal migrants were engaged in very low occupation (as agricultural labourer, daily wage labourer and construction worker) compared to the non tribal migrants.

The intergenerational mobility among the first and second generation migrants has been the focus of this study. Impact of migration is not only felt in the social life but also on the economic life of both the first and second generation migrants. After migration to Bhadrak town, most of the second generation migrants have improved their socio-economic conditions compared to their previous socio-economic conditions. However, considerable changes in structure of family, marriage, and education have been found among the second generation migrants compared to the first generation migrants. Disintegration of joint family is more found among the second generation migrants. After migration to the other states, most of the second generation migrants preferred nuclear family than joint family due to high expenditure. The caste rules and restrictions are still followed among both the first and second generation migrants but a sense of Odiya state identity exists among the second generation migrants. Changes in various aspects of marriage such as criteria of selection of the bride, age at marriage and dowry system has been found among the second generation migrants. In the field of education too, the second generation migrants aspired to improve their status compared to the first generation migrants. Most of the second generation migrants have higher secondary education compared to the first generation migrants. Few second generation migrants also have received technical education such as Industrial Training Institute (ITI) and diploma courses. The economic mobility among the second generation is not only found in the housing conditions but also in terms of occupation and income of the second generation migrants.

To sum up, it is difficult to classify the work of first generation or second generation migrants' work places as either formal or informal sector. However, all the migrant workers worked for low-wages and that their bargaining power with the employers is weakest. Despite some upward mobility for the second generation migrants, their capabilities to negotiate with the employer for better wages and work conditions has not improved at all.

Although one cannot deny the improved condition of the second generation migrants in terms of their housing, children's education, and basic amenities but one notices a certain form of bondedness or interlockedness that existed for the second generation migrants in the steel plant and textile industries. To earn additional income, the second generation migrants were forced to do petty business or some odd jobs in the night and on Sundays. These findings are in tune with what Breman (1979) points out in his study in south Gujarat that despite improvement in their standard of living it has also increased the neo bonding of labour relation between the employers and the workers. In the present study, the second generation migrants have been entrapped into this neo-bondage.

Therefore, understanding the changing nature of capitalist development provides certain clues regarding the new forms of extraction and exploitation. The impact of migration on economic and social domains in the urban spaces provides some mobility but new forms of bondage reinforce exploitative relations. On the other hand, there is very little mobility for the tribal migrants as they find the urban space much more or equally alienating both in the workplaces as well as residential spaces.

The present study was able to focus on certain issues of inter-generational mobility but requires further research to capture the complex changes in both rural and urban areas on a much wider scale.

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Appendix-A: List of Photographs



3.1 Housing conditions of the migrants



3.2 Migrants cover their Roof with polythine for rainy season



3.3 Bathroom facility in the houses



3.4 Bathroom which is commonly made by the migrants



3.5 Cholli which is used for cooking purposes in the houses



3.6 Girls collecting water for household purposes



3.7 Waiting place for the construction workers to receive work from the head mason



3.8 Male members engaged in part time job



3.9 Tribal migrant women engaged in selling Handia



3.10 Customers waiting to take Handia



3.11 Girls are going to school



3.12 In the absence of elder members, young girls engaged in preparing food



3.13 Young girl taking care of her younger sister in the absence of her mother



3.14 Migrant women applying Jhoti in Laxmi puja

Appendix-B:

Table No 1. Total Room of the First Generation Migrants at their Native Places

Total Room	Percentage
1-2 rooms	32(38%)
3 and more	53(62%)
Total	85 (100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-10

Table No 2. Age of the First Generation Migrants during the time of Migration

Age of the respondents	Percentage
20-29	20(24%)
Above 30	65(76%)
Total	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-10

Table No 3. House Type of the 1st Generation Migrants

House Type	Percentage
Kutchha	58(68%)
Semi Pucca	19(23%)
Pucca	8(9%)
Total	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-10

Table No 4. Educational Status of the Female Migrants

Literacy Rate of Female Migrants	Percentage
Illiterate	48(57%)
Primary Education	31(36%)
Secondary Education	6(7%)
Total	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-10

Table No 5. Present Occupation of Female Migrants

Present Occupation of Female Migrants	Percentage
No Work	18(21%)
Petty Bussiness	10(12%)
Agriculture	9(11%)
Maid Servant	7(8%)
Construction Worker	22(26%)
Industrial Worker	19(22%)
Total	85(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-10

Table No 6. Caste Composition among the Second Generation Migrants

Caste Composition	Percentage
Other Backward Caste	20(46%)
Scheduled Caste	10(24%)
Upper Caste	9(21%)
Scheduled Tribe	4(9%)
Total	43(100%)

Source: Field Work Data, 2009-10

Table No 7. Marital Status of the Second Generation Migrants

Marital Status	Percentage
Married	22(52%)
Unmarried	21(48%)
Total	43(100%)

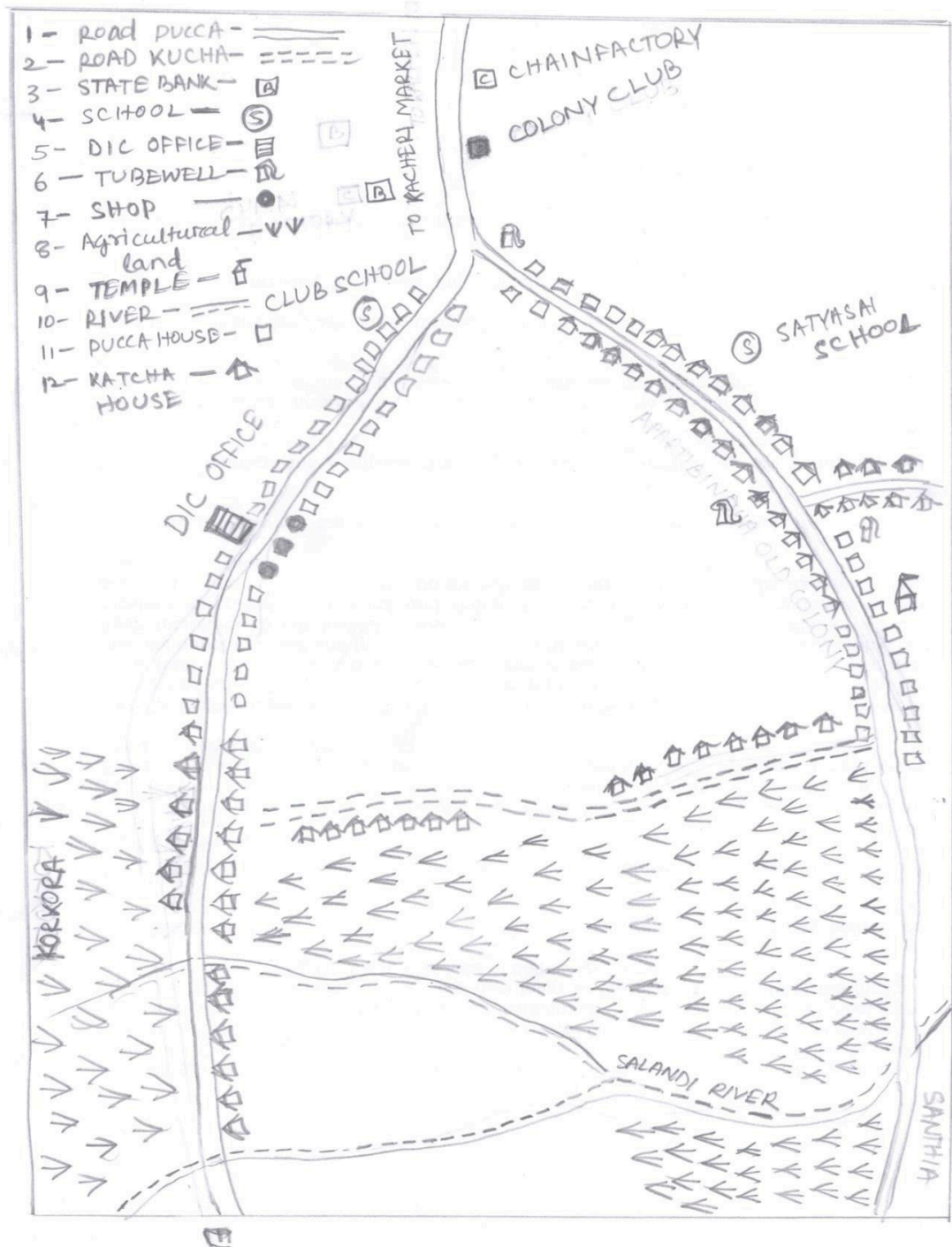
Source: Field Work Data, 2009-10

Map 1.1. Bhadrak District Map



[illegible]

Map 1.3. Apartibindha Colony Map



Map 3.1. Odisha Map indicating First generation migrants from different Districts.



Map 4.1. India Map Indicating Second Generation Migrants

in different states of India

