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TRIBAL LIVELIHOOD AND MIGRATION: A STUDY IN MANDLA DISTRICT OF MADHYA PRADESH

Abstract

The implementation of Forest Right Act, Land development plans and programmes, setting up global corporations and government expansion policy in tribal areas has been enforcing tribal families to migrate in different parts of central India. The research work was conducted in tribal dominant areas of the State. The present research paper describes the impact of migration on family members of the migrants and also to understand the pattern of tribal migration in Mandla district of Madhya Pradesh. The present study has also explained different cause of migration and the extent of deprivation of employment guarantee. The results of the research have been used to present various recommendations that can assist policymakers within these tribal communities to pursue different development and welfare interventions.

Keywords: *Migration, Livelihood, Education, Health, Change and Development.*

Introduction

The tribal people reside in widely varying ecological conditions in hilly areas, forest, in different concentration with distinct cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Tribals living within and on the fringe of forest areas have derived their livelihoods from forests and other sources. Currently, about 95 per cent of the total forest land belongs to the government, and the legal communal rights of tribal's have been divested. The major practical concern is that the tribal economy is largely biomass-based. For a range of non-commercial forest products for food and fuel, small timber for shelter, herbs and medicinal plants to meet their subsistence livelihood needs, tribals are directly dependent on forests and common lands. There is a continuing high degree of reliance on forests for survival in the absence of alternative sources of subsistence or the opportunity to eke out sustenance from marginal landholdings. But in the present scenario

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there is struggle for coexistence of tribals and forest due to many reasons.

In the forestry sector in India, the relationship between ancestral land rights and tribals has perhaps been most strongly placed into focus and continues to be fraught with controversy as communities encounter new forms of violation of their customary rights through development interventions such as large dams, mining, and conservation. Saxena (2005) states that “nearly [8.5 million] tribals had been displaced until 1990 on account of some mega project or the other reservation of forests as National Parks, etc. Tribals constitute at least 55.16% of the total displaced persons in the country.” Xaxa (1999b) argues that the root cause of the demand by the tribals for the status of “indigenous peoples” is their utter lack of control over natural resources. India’s forest dwellers, who have been disenfranchised so badly, have grabbed the word as a rallying point to obtain development assistance and claim their lost rights back.

Tribals living in such a remote area where facilities are not available, for which they depend on agriculture, forest. In agricultural system they have to follow the traditional method due to lack of modern technique. But, minor forest products, fishing, cattle supplements are their income and a means of livelihood in numerous ways. Most of the tribals in these areas live below poverty line. A large percentage of adult tribals are not educated and not aware of their rights and thus unable to access to various opportunities meant for them. On an average 60 per cent of tribal farmers are forced to migrate in search of jobs, after the harvest season. They are prone to various forms of exploitation when they migrate. Migration also negatively affects the education, health and overall development of their children. The study in such areas has cleared the success and failure of governmental scheme to reduce the problems of tribals. There has been a long-standing migration of tribal communities from Jharkhand, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. The migration was forced in the 18th and 19th centuries as the British hired tribal labour to work in the Assam teagardens. Tribal people from these regions have however, begun to move voluntarily to earn their livelihoods since the latter half of the 20th Century. But they began to migrate to metropolitan cities such as Delhi, Gujarat, Mumbai, and Kolkata from 1980 onwards as their key destinations for finding some lucrative employment/casual labour in the unorganized sectors and as household maids for their livelihoods. The large-scale migration of single women to cities in search of livelihoods has been another new feature of tribal migration from these states in recent years, which is a slight shift from earlier migration trends when only men migrated to urban centers (Mosse 2002: 59).

Theoretical Context and Review of Literature

A voluminous literature is available explaining migration that mirrors the discipline and ideological underpinnings of the researchers. Although sociologist like Lee (1966) conceptualized migration as the play of positive and negative forces that respectively push a migrant from the place of origin to

migrate and pulls him to the place of destination, neoclassical economists constructs dominated the explanations. Locating migration decisions at the household level and arguing that such decisions are based on opportunities and constraints that the households face, the neoclassical theorists propagated human capital theory (Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969, 1980). This construct argued that inclination to migrate is determined by difference in income between source and destination of migration, and may result in equating expected income. Given their skills, decisions about where to live are based on where individuals can optimize the present value of their discounted stream of expected future earnings. Migration according to Saxena (1977) may be motivated by a desire to seek skill and leads to development, urbanization and socio-economic transformation. In the same vein, Strak (1980) identifies transaction cost, imperfect information and imperfect credit, land and labour markets as main determinants of migration.

On the other hand, researches driven by Marxist ideology (Breman 1985; Oslen and Murthy 2000) identified structural constraints of capitalist system as main sources of economic exploitation of migrant labours. In absence of alternatives, in extreme cases, monopoly creditor also becomes a monopsony buyer of migrant's labour (Oslen and Murthy 2000). But the recognition that seasonal migration also provides a respite from interlocked credit, land and labour transactions was never missing. Breman (1985) also shows that while for resource poor, migration is a coping mechanism that provides means for debt serving, for the well endowed it increases households' earnings, creditworthiness and ability to manage crises. Breaking away from the neoclassical interpretations of determinants of migrations Mosse et al. (2002) argue that migration is not an external factor impinging upon or undermining agrarian society. Existing social relations and inequalities, which define differential opportunities, constraining experiences and social outcome, profoundly shape it. Moreover migration contributes to continuation and intensification of agriculture and social networks on which it depends. Insufficient land, larger dependency within family and poor are more likely to seasonally migrate than others (Mosse et al., 2002).

The new thinking on migration also departs from Marxist analyses and gives more recognition to agency and how complex interactions between structure and agency shape migration outcomes. The concept of social exclusion also addresses a range of economic and non-economic processes and relations to the analysis of migration (Kothari 2002). It helps us to understand the multitude of ways in which certain groups of people are excluded based on their caste, age, and gender are not related to income in a predictable manner (UNDP 1997). The role of interlocked markets (Bhardan 1989) for credit, output and labour is brought into sharp focus. Small and marginal farmers as well as labourers are usually trapped in a situation where they have to borrow money from traders or employers to whom they eventually sell their produce or labour.

This form of selling cheaply and buying expensively, or 'distress commerce', was conceptualized by Bharadwaj (1985) and subsequently a number of analysts have used the framework in understanding the vulnerability of poor peasant households.

Shah (2007) notes that, contrary to common perceptions and incidence of chronic poverty in dry land areas is lower than in higher potential forested areas. Transient poverty is more common in tribal areas. The reasons could be that people living in and around forests have limited access to natural resources which are heavily protected by the government. However, she warns that many of these areas are also heading towards chronic poverty as water tables drop and out-migration becomes difficult with worsening urban poverty (Shah 2007). High migration levels are seen in drought-prone and poorly connected villages in AP. Research on seasonal migration conducted under the AP Rural Livelihoods Project by Samal (2006) in two villages in Mahabubnagar district and two villages in Ananthapur found migration rates to be highest among SCs and STs. These two districts are among the most droughts prone and poorest in the country. While the households in Mahabubnagar migrated to Mumbai and Hyderabad because of past connections and proximity to the state capital, the migrants from Ananthapur district migrated to Bangalore and Ananthapur town, which were the two nearest major urban centers (Samal 2006).

Studies reveal that tribal migration is resultant of displacement due to establishment of various development projects in tribal areas. There are different forms of migration seen among the tribals such as inter-state cross migration, regional and seasonal variation, occupational migration, short term and long-term migration. Besides, these studies still have dearth of information and detailed analysis. Therefore, despite of having a large number of development programmes such as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA), Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY), Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS), Food for Work Programme (FFW), Prime Minister Gramin Swarojgar Yojana (PMGSY), Swarna Jayanti Gramin Swarojgar Yojana (SGSY), The National Commission on Rural Labour (NCRL), a study to be required of importance in migration in tribal India. So, the study was basically conducted in Mandala district of Madhya Pradesh among the tribal communities and observation relating to the migration from the Mandala district to the nearby cities and State for earning their livelihood. The purpose of the present research work was to find out the cause behind the migration and to document how and where they are migrating, their living conditions prior to migration, future planning of migrant tribals, awareness about the development programmes being implemented for their benefit, health and hygienic status, occupational mobility, impact of the migration on their socio-economic status, agencies involved and the extent of deprivation of employment guarantee. The study is also including women migrants from the tribal areas to the neighbour cities of the State. The

result of the present study is expected to be used in the presentation of numerous strategies that can assist policy makers among the tribal groups to undertake different developmental and welfare interventions. So, it becomes important to study dynamics of tribal migration. The available literature is also scanty. So, against this background a study was done to understand the migration pattern of tribal population in Mandala district of Madhya Pradesh. In the present study, Mandla district was selected and two blocks; Bicchia and Mawai covering 30 villages and 240 families. The study describes the management of the reality of migration and sets out the obligation to deprive people of their right to live. It is also an effort to raise awareness among policy planners and to encourage efforts to prioritize and ensure the implementation of this ambitious scheme is transparent. In order to demonstrate the reality of migration, surveys were carried out to assess that the administration failed to offer the right to work and abused its human rights.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of the survey are:

- To provide a profile of the study areas and economic background of the migrants labour.
- To delve the strategies adopted for the development and use of assets by the migrant tribals.
- To explore the health problem and strategies adopted by the migrant tribals to cure themselves from the diseases.
- To suggest measures for the betterment and policy implication for migrant tribals.

The justification behind the district's selection is this: 1) The tribals of Mandla district live primarily in hilly terrain, predominantly in close proximity to forests that make up more than 58% of the population. 2) The district in which almost all of the Tribal Groups live for centuries, being far away from the mainstream in their relatively isolated, inaccessible, less fertile and less agriculturally productive regions of forests, hills and mountains; 3) The traditional occupation of the tribes is mostly based on the traditional agricultural system. The government plans and policies regarding employment are not sufficient for them to meet their livelihood and collection of wood is a major source of income. 4) The district is not well communicated with the district head quarter. 5) Census provides few characteristics of migration including proportion of rural and urban migration. But it does not provide data on tribal migration. So, it becomes important to study dynamics of tribal migration. The available literature is also scanty. So, against this background a study was done to understand the migration pattern of tribal population in Mandla district of Madhya Pradesh.

Methodology

Field survey was undertaken during the year 2017/18 in 30 remote tribal villages and forests areas among Baiga, Gond, Kol, Pradhan, Dhulia, Bhomia and Agaria tribes in Bicchia and Mawai block of Mandla district of Madhya Pradesh. The researcher took about 35 days to complete this research work. Nearly 90.25 per cent of the population of the district was rural and about three-fifths were tribal. The population density was as low as 89 per cent and 22.44 per cent was the decadal growth rate.

The data of the study comprised of primary data collected through interview schedules, i.e. the tribal beneficiaries and the officials for progress. Data was collected from the respondents of the remote tribal villages and development officials through focused group discussions, observation and interview schedules. 130 men and 110 women were interviewed. Information was collected from participants through multi-stage random sampling process.

The Livelihood pattern of the migrant families:

The researcher has conducted the study in such remote tribal areas where the villages were surrounding by the forest of Sal trees, where the natural beauties fascinate every individual. The water of Sono River brings fertility of land, where the farmers can generate lot of production on their land. A small number of tribals have adequate agricultural land but could not produce lot of production. Tribal farmers concentrate to their agricultural land and hope to produce lot of grains for discharge of the bailey. They have to do hard labour to fulfill their basic requirement. The area covers with biological diversity, which may promote eco tourism. The coming of tourist can develop the area. The tiger, forest and folk culture of tribals may attract the peoples. The tribal directly depends on agriculture and forest to earn their livelihood. To a large extent, more than 90% of the tribals directly depend on forests and forests resources for their livelihood. They have collected small forest products such as *Harra* and *Baheda* (local name) in the month of March, April and May, *Amala* (local name) in the month of October, November and December, *Tendu Patta* (local name) in the month of March, April, May, June, November and December, *Dhup* (local name) in the month of January, February and December, Honny (local name *Saheda*) in the month of January, February, March and April, *Chironji* (local name) in the month of May and June, *Mahua Patta* (local name) in the month of March, April, August, September and October. All the above forest products are collected by them and sell in the weekly village market in very low price rate. They sell it to the small business men. These are the secondary source of income of the tribals. Another secondary source of income of the tribals is that, they domesticate cow, buffalos, goat, pig and poultry farms etc.

In no way does the terrible living conditions of the tribals suggest that the right to life and a dignified life guaranteed in the Constitution is granted.

In or near the fields, families make their homes under trees. They have dilapidated roof or walls. The clothes are hung on the wall of their roofs. The ropes are tied to make a swing for kids. In the rainy season the rain water enters into their house. Children can wander around in the hot sun to mobilize water and fuel forests and are deprived of adequate acres and food. Most of the tribal families manage to survive on mere roti and chutney and dhal supplements from time to time. Rapid malnutrition results from insufficient food, nutrition, health or treatment. Tribals are unable to spend small amount of private expenditure involved in procuring nutrients food, basic domestic assets, teaching material and clothes due to weaker economic condition (non-food items). It is a serious burden for tribal family to spend small amount of money regarding such prerequisites. Under such circumstances expenditure on non-food items is not a primary factor in the struggle of tribals for their survival. That's why they are unable to pay for this. The importance of food collection is felt more importance for tribal's to be engaged in household works like tending for the younger siblings in the absence of parents, grazing cows, buffaloes, and also supplement family income as child labour to earn small wages which strengthen their family status. The tribal families are living in a darkness of night. They are still frightened by the fear of wild animals. As the sheaves and husk are extremely flammable, even in some study areas electricity facility is not available they used oil lamp light. No effort also seems to have been made to provide any basic facilities to these tribals by the local administration. They do not have access to schools, anganwadi, health centers or fair price shop. The dreadful face of tribals is seen in the fact that families are forced to travel from one location to another to look for jobs.

The prevalence of chronic poverty is alarmingly high in this tribal area. Approximately half of the families in this tribal belt are rated as poor. A fourth of the poor are chronically poor. A major part of chronic poverty is due to lack of access to production resources, population pressure and decline in land holdings, recurring droughts and inadequate access to land-based livelihoods and absence of farm employment income and consumption loans from moneylender, resulting in a debt trap that pushes people into chronic poverty. In this tribal belt, seasonal migration is seen as an important coping mechanism, especially in response to a shock, including crop failure, marriage of son, severe sickness, etc. (Sah et al., 2008)

Migration for survival

Agriculture is the main economic activity of the tribal. The tribals in the study areas have engaged themselves on their agricultural farm only for five to six months and they do not have any work during the remaining period of the year. So, they have migrated to neighboring districts of the State. The main purpose for going to these places is availability of work. These districts have large yield of work in the industry or mines and there is a shortage of labour in those areas. So, they called both men and women for work in the

mines. Agriculture is the main occupation of tribal people in this area. They are engaged in farming, but agriculture does not provide a large number of households with a year-round sustenance even during normal years. Poor land quality, insufficient landholding, low land productivity, restriction haunting and gathering etc are the main reasons that force some households to works in brick-kilns and labourer in industries nearby township and in neighbouring states as migrants. After doing hard work when the yield from the crops is less and insufficient for their survival, it becomes difficult to live in the villages. That is why they have migrated to other areas for searching of jobs. When there is no agricultural season, tribal people have to migrate to some villages of neighbour district. These villages have large yield of work. They come back to their villages after three or four months. The migrants return to their home depends on their need for farming and with the advent of the monsoon. Many who return early do so because of either sufficient earnings or because of the construction of the job, or because of information that there are local labour opportunities in the village. The entire tribal family members are not migrating. Few of them are staying at the home to look after the aged and children of the family. In the study areas it was found that only male members who are capable to do the work have migrated to their neighbour cities, districts and State. Large number of tribal people from villages has migrated to different areas of neighbour districts during the lean period of the year. Generally the millet and rice yielded in the farm is kept for eating. Some tribal people have to go to the forest for collection of honey and forest products. They roamed in the jungles and stayed there.

Traditional tribes are also involved in hunting, fishing and collection of chironji (forest products) in a very secret way by protecting themselves from the forest department. Though it has declined over the period, but still some PVTGs tribal people are involved in this business and they go to market for selling. Earlier wood was available in the forest on large extent. So, they also used to do that work. But now they don't go to collect wood as the forest cover has declined. Hence, they only do farming. Earlier they used to make wheels of bullock cart, tatty etc. out of the collected wood. So lot of problems and resourcelessness enforced them for migrating. About 78 per cent of migrants have reported as tribal areas to urban migration. 46 per cent of tribal people reported as outside state migration. Land owning tribals in the village considers seasonal migration during lean season of the year. Medium size landowning tribal households have reported that they would rather do labour around the village then migrate. About 22 per cent of the migration is around the district within 70km to 120 km from the village. About 10 per cent of the total migrants had move outside the districts. Out of the total migrants 74 per cent migrant's main economic activity is laboring in the mines, industry, hotel and shop etc., only 26 per cent of the migrants in the study villages have reported that they were working as agricultural labourer. Migrants who have decided to remain in the district benefit even less, as wage rates are depressed. But those who

have relocated to an outside district and state benefit more because the wage rate is slightly higher.

The extent of migration is different in different tribal areas. Those who have not migrated in the lean season of the years they have faced the food shortages problem than the migrants. The seasonal migration forced about two third of the family members remaining out of the villages. Female usually migrate along with the male in the study areas. The percentage of female migration in the study areas was about 38 per cent of the total migration of the tribal villages. The fact is that households that have resorted to migration have relatively poor resources base. Consequently, a large majority of migration have taken place in tribal areas in every lean season of the year. Most of the migrants have reported that they have migrated due to land fragmentation and their sources of income could not sustain their consumption levels. They have migrated nearby cities/towns and outside States to meet the expenditure of food, shelter, clothes and other domestic assets.

Moreover, migration contributes to continuation and intensification of agriculture and social networks on which it depends. Insufficient land, lack of irrigated land, agricultural production is too less, restriction on hunting and gathering of forest products, larger dependency within the family and poor are more likely to seasonally migrate than others. In a resource-poor economy, the existing economic hierarchy collapse during a shock like crop failure, drought, sickness, death, gift in social ceremonies, adjudication of dispute, pressure of large numbers of family members, etc. In this case, in order to fulfill the requirements, heads of even larger landholding households will have to borrow. Any of the family members of the household must migrate in order to repay those loans. During a shock depletion of assets and related borrowings have strong positive influences on intensity of migration.

Migration for Education, Disbursement of debts and Procurement of Assets:

In the tribal areas, unemployment, hunger, begging and the lack of basic facilities for schooling, health and hygiene remain a major issue, forcing them to move to neighboring towns and cities. The impacts of migration on household and individual wellbeing and wealth vary. Migration money will help preserve or increase food intake in the tribal household and even contribute to greater investment in health, education and productive assets. The tribal households often faced significant non-economic problems, such as withdrawing children from school, doing jobs that they would not have preferred in normal circumstances, sending old family members to relatives, unable to settle hospitalization bills, unable to repay borrowed loans, etc. Taking care of siblings and aged person of the family, the younger tribal children are getting withdrawal from the schools.

Children's schooling is a big challenge for migrants, and not surprisingly, many studies have shown that migrant families belong to the hard core of educationally underprivileged children. Women in poor households are unable to make adequate schooling decisions and supervise school-going children, except in cases where men migrate alone. However, migration may lead to better recognition of the importance of education in the case of slightly better-off migrant households. A particular emphasis must be on ensuring the children of migrant workers have access to education and that they are not forced into jobs. There is space to benefit from the perspectives of initiatives focused on culture as well as government programmes. In most of the studied villages the education is available till 5th standard (primary level). For further studies tribal children have to migrate to nearby town and cities. Tribal parents have an ambition to send their children to the school that they would get employment, knowledge of business, moral education, empower etc. Earlier, tribal girls' proportion in education was less as compared to boys but now they are also started for getting education. It was observed that a number of tribal parents should understand the advantages of education. Like that if they sow crop in the farm they add fertilizer for more production. Similarly they think about education and about their children's future. Education here acts like a fertilizer, enhancing the skill and in getting a better job. If they sow crop and do not use fertilizer, the desired crop production does not come. So, parents are also interested to send their children to schools and colleges for the study. Overall awareness about the importance of children's education is increasing and the tribal people are coming forward but yet their proportion is less. Still the primitive tribes are comparatively less aware about the importance of education. One key informant explains reason for it as: it's like growing trees. If one gets educated others take inspiration from them and go. But when there is no tree at all, how can others trees grow?. It implies that nobody from primitive tribe took initiative in getting education. Some Non-governmental organizations are also trying to raise the educational status of tribal by providing education to drop out children. So the study reveals that most of the tribal children are moving towards cities and town for getting higher education and with a high ambition of employment.

About one fourth of the tribal families in the study areas reported that they have taken loan from the banias/sahukar to meet the expenditure on food, clothes, education, health, festivals, travel, grow crops in the agricultural field, for marriage of their son and daughter, house building and other miscellaneous purpose. 35 per cent of the tribals reported that they have taken loan for house building and 32 per cent of the households reported that they have taken loan for the purpose of medical expenses. 33 per cent of the households reported they are taking loan for consumption of food related things. Food related things, house building activities and medical expenses are essential things in the tribal areas for which they are taking loan from banias and sahuakar. Banias also supports expenditure on feast in marriage, death and

adjudication of conflict etc. This loan amount is almost one third of the annual income of the tribal. Another noteworthy feature of this loan is that it is being obtained mostly from the banias, money lenders, and co-operative societies. They are in a constant re-lending loop as money lenders charge high interest, and the loan is never an ending issue for them. There is therefore, a need for the welfare department to investigate this issue to convince the money lenders from the inner tribal areas against it. While money lenders can not conduct their business in the tribal areas by law, as 55 per cent of the loan facility is used by the tribals, this is a major problem for the tribals' indebtedness. Most of the tribal households reported that they have to mortgage their property (gold, silver, or any kinds of household materials) for obtaining loan. Only 45% of the tribal households in the study areas are aware of the availability of loan facilities in the banks and they have also mostly taken advantage of their loans, mostly from banks and cooperatives. Remaining tribal households are not aware about the availability loan facilities in the banks. So all the above said problems forced them to migrate and access to earnings from migration. Migrants repay consumption loan directly from the migration earnings. So in some cases migration reduced borrowing from moneylender and reduced the bounded labour. Earnings from migration are used to repay debts incurred at home or in the destination areas.

The repetition of migration to the same destination was one of the key factors that contributed to the accumulation of properties. Due to the relatively higher wages and absence of intermediaries, long-term migration to locations such as metropolitan cities and other States allowed migrant households to accumulate more assets. Those tribal migrants were predominantly from the lower social strata (were mainly illiterate, landless labourers and marginal farmers), mainly were unable to accumulate more wages which affects their accumulation of assets. Migrants have an ambition to have moveable and immovable items in their house for which they have migrated to town, cities and other States to increase their earnings. Most of the tribal (63 per cent) reported that they have only cycle and radio as household assets in their home. Only 15 per cent of the tribal households reported that they have TV sets, motor cycle and mobile phone as household assets. Besides, they have used some handmade material and agricultural assets in their day to day life/households activities. From their miserly income from their professions, they are unable to meet their basic needs and are heavily indebted to the money lenders. In order to meet their regular expenses and occasional functions, they pledge their fixed assets such as ground, mahua and tamarind trees and mobile articles. Migration has led to asset accumulation, an increase in well-being and a rise in group social standing. Migration helped landless households to maintain their standard of living, increase per capital income, saving, and also increase material assets in the house. Migration can deprive the household and rural economy of labour, but remittances can be reinvested in the longer term to increase productivity and produce assets and household income.

Health crisis of Migrants and their family

Migrants suffer from a lack of access to health services both at home and in the work places. Tribals in the study areas are strongly associated with poor nutritional and health problems. The consumption of a wide variety of nutrients food is important for the tribals health. Tribals have a relatively poor diet that is particularly deficient in nutrients. Households in the study areas have a low standard of living are less likely than others to eat each types of food and their diet is particularly deficient in fruits and milk or curd. In general, poor quality of life, endogamy and other cultural practices make tribals susceptible, especially to contagious diseases and genetic disorders, to different diseases. Recently it has been reported that non-communicable diseases such as hypertension, cardiovascular disease, etc., which have not been reported previously, also affect them. The definition of health has remained obscure and ill-defined among them. Because of their separation from the rest of society, their group consciousness and lifestyle, the tribals are more biased towards body function and physical vigor. Most tribals claim that one who is able to do hard work and is free from the power of sprits is not ill.' All these values have driven the tribes away from the optimal usage of various government-launched health programmes from time to time. The three rounds of the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) have reported that the tribe's under-use of health services (Samiran 2014: 1-2).

In the study areas it has been observed that it is a dream for tribal to get a better treatments like injections, saline, tablets because of which the patient gets cured soon. The major health problems faced by the tribals in the study areas are fever, vomiting, loose motions and stomach pain. Tribal people don't take immediate treatment for any ailment. Still many people prefer herbal medicines since it remains available in the vicinity. If not then they go to the nearby public health facility. During last year the incidence of the diseases was more. People suffered from vomiting, loose motions and malaria. Generally, people seek health care after three to four days of the onset of the disease. Primary Health Center (PHC) is available at the district head quarter and those Primary Health Centers are available in the tribal areas, where doctors are not available. The diseases are cured by nurse and compounder. Tribal people generally go there for treatment. In the case of serious conditions, the patients are either taken to the Community Health Center (CHC) or to the District Headquarter hospital which is also 50-70 K.M distance. Many tribal people also seek health care treatment from the ARMPs (Ayurvedic Registered Medical Practitioners) or quacks. Many ARMPs visit to the villages and give medicines and charge rupees 50-70 from each patient. Tribal people also have belief that medicines can cure disease earlier than medicines. The government health facilities remains far away and most of the times there is absence of doctor or other staff. So, the people prefer to go to ARMPs, who are readily available and also charge less money. But the ARMPs are not properly trained

and also do not have valid qualification for treating patients. Then they practice under any qualified doctor. Afterwards they start practicing on their own as ARMPs.

First aid facilities are not available in the work site for the tribal's sickles hurt. Tribals are working in extremely iron and bauxite areas. As there are iron and bauxite the possibility of tetanus is high. Most of the tribal's in the study areas are working in the mines. The employer gets the employee treated in case of significant injuries such as loss of limbs and sends them back with some paltry payout. In this regard, there does not appear to be any role for the State Administration. So the working condition and the situation faced by the migrants in the working sides are very miserable. However having these entire problems in the working sides, they are doing the work for earning their livelihood and to overcome health problem.

Migration and transformation

In the last few decades, a noticeable change was visible in the nature and pattern of tribal migration. They have started migration to the big cities and there has also been a large-scale migration of single women to cities in search of livelihoods, a slight change from the earlier trends of migration when only men migrated to urban centers. The remote forested tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh show similarly high levels of out-migration. Migration changes the social, economic, educational, cultural, technological attitude and awareness of the tribals. Migration gives tribal people an exposure to outside world. They learn the language, customs, and traditions of other surrounding cultures. They develop desire to educate their children. The impact of mass media and communication, modernization and globalization also gave them exposure to the outside world. They are learning new techniques as well as acquiring the cultures of others. Agricultural technology, working as labour in mines, industry, MNREGA scheme, etc helps them to continue their income and improve their economic condition to some extent. In the study, it was also found that lot of changes have seen in case of rites and rituals of tribal marriage. Awareness comes out among the tribals through migrations. When they have migrated to other places, they come in contact with the people of different culture, higher education, mass media communication, modernization, globalization, and technologies etc., which affect their entire social and cultural life. Outmigration can also drive qualitative improvements in current tribal labour relations, and thus affect the speed of transition. There is a change in their life style due to the migration of the tribal men in general and women in particular.

Migration and Development

The primary cause of migration was unequal growth. Along with inter regional inequality, disparity between different socio-economic groups and the development policy adopted since independence has intensified the process of

seasonal migration. Intrusion by foreigners, the trend of settlement, relocation and deforestation has also played an important role in migration in tribal regions. Most literature on migration distinguishes between 'pull' and 'push' variables, which, however do not function in isolation from each other. Mobility arises when there are no adequate employment/livelihood choices for workers in source areas and there is some expectation of change in circumstances by migration. Better jobs or higher wages and incomes may be the development desired, but also maximization of family employment or smoothing of employment, income and consumption over the year.

Labour policies, few other government strategies and policies have begun in favour of the poor migrant workers. Nevertheless, migrants also refuse to take advantage of this. Participatory evaluations of poverty in study areas indicate that migrant workers are unwilling to participate in gram sabha meetings recognizing beneficiaries of government programmes (Praxis 2002). In cases where whole families move out this is especially true. The governmental organizations in the study areas are relatively less active in organizing these workers to protect their own rights. Some of the development strategies have taken by the government in tribal areas reinforcing the status of the poor who turn to migration for survival. This includes helping the poor resolve two significant constraints they face; food and credit. Via a more productive public distribution system, through grain bank networks, or through 'food for work' programmes, access to food can be increased. It could help to improve access to credit by organizing the poor into self-help or savings groups, explicitly tailored to the requirements of migrants. Regional political parties and organizations (non-governmental/voluntary organizations) are often ascribing economic and social problems to the presence of migrants. Some organizations are actively involved in helping to improve the wages and poor working conditions of migrants, and in the areas of origin, to improve the sharing of communication and credit to migrant workers, to safeguard their rights, and to strengthen these areas in order to minimize migration distress. Different routes have been taken by NGOs and governmental authorities to strengthen the knowledge base and negotiating power of migrant workers. Some of the NGO in the study areas have taken the execution of public works, issue identity cards to workers and negotiate with contractors.

Conclusion

Tribal migration in search of employment has a long tradition. The present study reveals that the migration rate has increased over the years. Migration from tribal areas is not uniform; in contrast to other regions, certain locations have substantial migration. There are many causes imposing them to migration. Migration in absence of a sustainable livelihood has become unavoidable in remote tribal areas. The present research work highlights chronic poverty in terms of multiple deprivations, such as lower socio-economic

status and geographical position, a lack of alternatives and insecurity. Within the large category of the chronically poor, we use prominently to quantify changing levels of poverty and insecurity in terms of change in food consumption, willingness to send children to school, better housing, decreased dependence on money lenders and expenditure in productive assets.

Migration offers a way of coping and survival for those with little properties, education or social networks, providing income for consumption and paying off debt. Migration will bring in enough cash to put the household on an upward accumulative trajectory for people with more expertise, social networks and assets that can ultimately lead to an escape from poverty. The existing evidence indicates that sending areas benefit from migration first by improving the lives of migrant households and over time, through knock-on effects on the whole village, through enhancing agricultural productivity and increased economic activity. However it would be fitting to carry out further investigations to establish a comprehensive representation of the effect of migration on the transmission of villages. The difficulty of the migration process is such that in the overall social, political and institutional context of the remote tribal areas, it is important to take account of its costs and benefits. Although it is clear that migration is not a desirable or easy way to earn money and improve the standard of living of the family, in areas that have suffered from disadvantageous log jams, it is often the only option. A combination of weak governance, leakage and corruption, social exclusion, physical isolation, minimal access to natural resources and low rainfall have affected the remote tribal villages.

Migration expenses are high, including the risk of sickness, disability and not being able to send children to school. Given an option, migrants will not risk the future of their children or their own wellbeing, but they are forced to do that because, when they migrate, they cannot properly look after themselves or their children. The concern lies with the structural and policy context and not with migration. The case studies also show that for economically poor and socially deprived groups, the distinction between employment, bondage and trafficking is distorted. Economic responses that can support the most vulnerable migrants, not just migrants who work legally, need to be formulated. Policy emphasis should be focused on minimizing migration costs and risks and maximizing their returns. There is a need to provide information regarding employment, wage rates and about their rights. There are now a range of NGOs in the study areas rendering assistance to the migrants however, they work with insufficient resources on a small scale.

It is unclear about the future of circular migration. As long as regional disparities exist, it will continue, but the rate of growth and urbanization in the sending states is now rising, so it is very likely that commuting will rise rapidly. The process of encouraging migrants in the course of migration is therefore just as relevant as reducing migration. How to make migrants' lives less stressful, provide them with basic facilities there and improve their status is just as critical as improving

agriculture and increasing migrants' borrowing ability at the place of origin. Breaking the debt trap that causes migration and improving the area's agriculture are two crucial measures that could contribute to a reduction in migration.

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