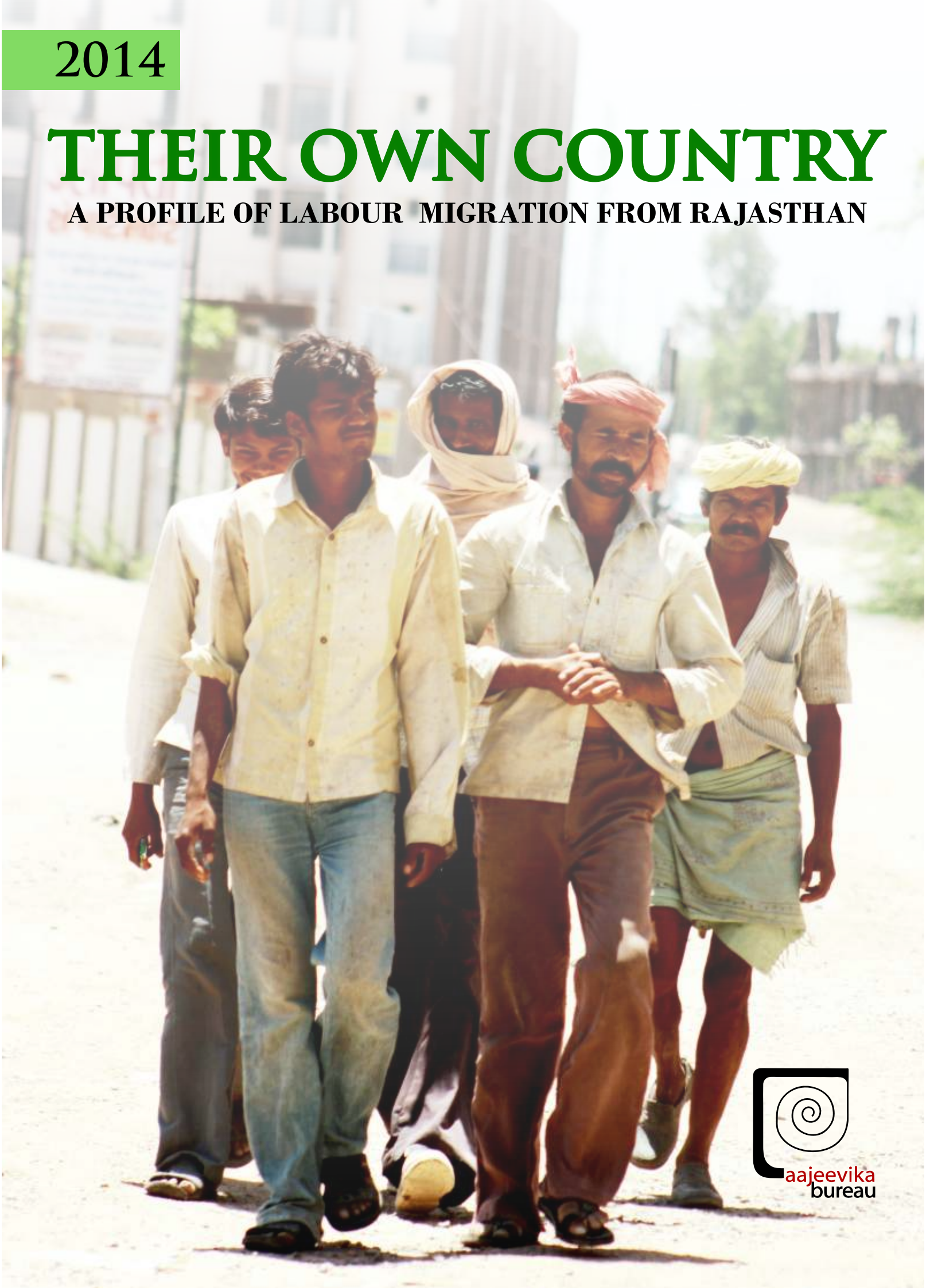
2014

THEIR OWN COUNTRY

A PROFILE OF LABOUR MIGRATION FROM RAJASTHAN



aajeevika bureau

aajeevika bureau

THEIR OWN COUNTRY

A PROFILE OF LABOUR MIGRATION FROM RAJASTHAN

This report is a collaborative effort of 10 civil society organisations of Rajasthan who are committed to solving the challenges facing the state's seasonal migrant workers through providing them services and advocating for their rights. This work is financially supported by the Tata Trust migratnt support programme of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and Allied Trusts.

Research Design, Analysis and Writing	Amrita Sharma Santosh Poonia Zaineb Ali Rajiv Khandelwal
Editors	Ajita Vidyarthi and Dr Elon Gilbert
Research Associates	Jitendra Yadav Devendra Singh
Data Collection	Aajeevika Bureau (Udaipur, Dungarpur) Grameen evam Samajik Vikas Sansthan (Ajmer, Chittorgarh) Shiv Shiksha Samiti (Tonk) Sankalp (Baran) Jai Bhim Vikas Shikshan Sansthan (Jodhpur) Lok Kalyan Sansthan (Barmer) Urmul Khejri Sansthan (Nagaur) Shikshit Rojgar Kendra Prabandhak Samiti (Jhunjhunu)
Gratefully acknowledging written inputs and contributions from	Dr S. Chandrasekhar, Ajay Sharma, Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR) Krishnavatar Sharma, Director Programme, Aajeevika Bureau Rupal Kulkarni, Rajasthan Shram Sarathi Association (RSSA) Dr Pavitra Mohan, Director (Health Services) Aajeevika Bureau Ajita Vidyarthi Manu Sakunia Tanushree Bhushan Sudhir Katiyar, PRAYAS-CLRA
Review and comments	Dr Elon Gilbert, Dr Amita Bhide, Dr Anjali Borhade, Dr Biswaroop Das, Chetan Kapoor, Dr Kajri Misra, Marina Faetanini, Poornima Dore, Dr Sanjiv Phansalkar, Sushil Dwivedi, Umi Daniel, Dr Vanita Vishwanath
Photography	Jyoti Patil
Design and Graphics	Mihika Mirchandani

All communication concerning this publication may be addressed to

Amrita Sharma
Program Coordinator
Centre for Migration and Labour Solutions, Aajeevika Bureau
2, Paneri Upvan, Street no. 3, Bedla road
Udaipur 313004, Ph no. 0294 2454092
amrita@aajeevika.org, cmls@aajeevika.org
Website: www.aajeevika.org

This document has been prepared with a generous financial support from Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and Allied Trusts

In Appreciation and Hope

It is with pride and pleasure that I dedicate this report to the immensely important, yet un-served, task of providing fair treatment, protection and opportunity to migrant workers from the state of Rajasthan. The entrepreneurial might of Rajasthani origin is celebrated everywhere. However, much less thought and attention is given to the state's largest current day "export" - its vast human capital that makes the economy move in India's urban, industrial and agrarian spaces. The purpose of this report is to bring back into focus the need to value this human capital through services, policies and regulation rather than leaving its drift to the imperfect devices of market forces.

Policies for labour welfare in Rajasthan and indeed everywhere else in our country are wedged delicately between equity obligations and the imperatives of a globalised market place. The triggers of poverty and unemployment that push people out of rural areas, exploitative labour practices and neglectful urbanisation places great risk on migrant workers. The report attempts to make a case for lasting improvement in conditions of migrant labour as an essential ingredient of inclusive growth not just in Rajasthan, but also in areas that benefit from the state's highly mobile labour force.

This report is an effort of overwhelming collaboration. The Centre for Migration and Labour Solutions (CMLS) team at Aajeevika Bureau worked closely with its valued partners in Rajasthan to gather data and capture the lived human experiences of migrant workers and their families. Several scholars and practitioners commented on the methodology and reviewed the results to help us arrive at credible conclusions. A large number of friends and colleagues helped with reading through the drafts, editing, and photography for the final publication. Eminent experts - Shri ML Mehta and Dr Ravi Srivastava - came forward at short notice to contribute introductory pieces to the report. Our colleagues at UNESCO, New Delhi office joined hands with us to launch the report and stimulate policy and media discussion on its findings. Without the generous financial support of Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Mumbai it would have been impossible to conceive and execute this ambitious study. Sincere thanks to all for helping us bring this report to a conclusion.

A final word of congratulations and thanks to the CMLS team of Aajeevika Bureau – Amrita Sharma, Santosh Poonia, Zaineb Ali, Ajita Vidyarthi and Manu Sakunia. Your work behind this report and that of your many partners in the field will serve as a lasting reminder of what we ought to do for making labour migration in India more dignified and just.

Rajiv Khandelwal
Director, Aajeevika Bureau

Foreword

Human migration has been taking place since the dawn of civilization. However its nature, speed, and extent has undergone metamorphic changes in recent years due to a number of reasons, including better communication, faster flow of information, easy access to faster transport systems, improved market linkages and a depressed countryside. Migration may arise out of changing aspirations or due to socio-economic distress. However, even in distress led migration, underlying hints of aspirations and hope for better opportunities are often present. Aspirational migration is found among the more literate, and better informed about opportunities, costs and risks at destinations. With few exceptions, vulnerabilities experienced by the category of migrants are relatively low owing to access to forms of risk coping mechanisms. Their world view may also be highly distinguished from those who resort to distress migration. As a high aspirational migrant, I moved from my native village 65 years ago to a town to pursue education and later to a city for a job. Examples of this category can be found among the Indian Diaspora, which mostly consists of high aspirational migrants. Through this type of migration, although the local area loses talent, the host area gains it. However, such migrants also form a high quality human pool for the native area to bank upon for future development. Chinese immigrants, for instance have made great contributions for development of science and technology in their country of origin during the phase of economic liberalization. Similar developments have been witnessed in the development of IT based service sector in India.

The migrants chronicled in this report – Their Own Country – however, belong to the other category of migrants, namely, distress migrants. Such migrants face an uncertain and insecure future at their chosen destinations. Distress migrants generally move out alone leaving their womenfolk behind to manage the household, look after their ageing parents and young children. These women carry the social and economic burden that such a movement of men entails. Remittances from their men are small, irregular and uncertain; local social safety net almost absent; unhelpful police and welfare administration make life still more difficult in the event of unforeseen emergencies. Migrants being mostly illiterate or semi-literate are unable to decipher the code of urban living. Their wage agreements are not well negotiated and carry legal infirmities. In the absence of suitable compensation, job injuries caused by engaging in tough physical tasks are not attended to properly and often lead to permanent injury, job cessation and premature home return. Wages are not paid regularly to them and often withheld on some pretext or the other. With dilatory legal processes for enforcement of job contracts and indifferent officials of labour department both in their home state and host state, migrants are unable to get their due relief. In terms of social groups, these migrants belong to SCs, STs and OBCs. They are resource poor and are landless labour, share croppers or marginal farmers hailing from high drought vulnerable areas. Already cut to the bone, they are financially excluded and do not have significant savings to fall back upon and instead rely on inefficient, costly and leaking informal mechanisms for their financial transactions.

Aajeevika Bureau and other civil society organisations from Rajasthan have done well in putting together in the present book reliable information about migrant labour based on their own field survey, NSS surveys, research findings and other secondary sources of information. Anecdotal references based on the personal history of some migrants included in the volume make it both lively and interesting. This volume brings together detailed information about in and out migration, major inter-state migration destinations, dominant migrant employing sectors, skill levels across social groups, duration of stay, education levels, nature of migration, gender and age composition of migrants, origin and destination, migrants' income, etc.

Extensive work undertaken by Aajeevika Bureau on issuance of identity cards, skill development and financial services to migrants has also been covered in the report. The final chapter talks of extant policy responses and gaps and suggests a road map for action. The report is based on Aajeevika Bureau's rich, varied and valuable experience in the field as well as on in- depth analysis of facts and figures emerging out of different surveys. I am certain that this publication will be found useful for academics, policy planners, researchers, social activists and general readers alike.

M. L. Mehta

Chairman, RSLDC
Retired Chief Secretary, Rajasthan
26th September, 2014
Jaipur, Rajasthan

Their Own Country

An important building block of the growing national discourse on seasonal labour migration in India

Human mobility is as old as human history, and the need to avail of better opportunities for survival has been the main motive for such movement. In recent centuries, the pattern of growth and development/underdevelopment has increasingly conditioned available opportunities for workers. In turn, these workers - many of them migrants - have been the main contributors to growth and prosperity. Despite the increased ability of society and governments to ameliorate the costs of migration, these have been extremely high to many segments of migrants, while at the same time, the benefits of growth and development that has accrued to them have been disproportionately small.

Roughly about 70 to 80 million workers - 15 to 20 percent of India's total workforce are seasonal migrants in the sense that the term is used in this report. Most of these are migrants from rural areas. By all accounts, the number as well as proportion of such migrants has grown rapidly in recent decades. Unfortunately, even as the number of migrants, and along with it, the contribution made by migrant workers, has increased, the condition of the workers themselves has not improved. Seasonally migrant workers remain invisible in public discourse and when they are mentioned, it is generally in a negative light, ignoring their contribution altogether.
It is to the credit of a large number of grassroots civil society organisations working in several parts of India that they have drawn attention to the condition of migrant workers and have worked, often in cooperation with governments, to improve their working and living condition. Their Own Country is a unique, systematic, and highly commendable attempt by non-governmental organisations in Rajasthan to analyse the magnitude, pattern and nature of seasonal migration in Rajasthan and to suggest what could be done to ameliorate the condition of the migrant workers. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first report analyzing and documenting the status of migrant workers in an Indian state in such detail.

A study of migration has to cope with conceptual and empirical minefields. The report is contextualised in the framework of the uneven sectoral, regional and rural-urban growth in the Rajasthan which is described extremely well in a very readable chapter on "Rajasthan at crossroads". This report has also carefully defined the seasonal migrant, subject matter of its study as: *"A worker employed in the unorganized, informal labor market, engaged for 3 months or more at a work destination, away from his/her native rural block."* This definition of a "seasonal" migrant worker is based on pragmatic considerations of working with, and identifying, vulnerable rural out-migrants, and differs from empirical categories used elsewhere, including those used by the National Sample Survey Office in India. In my view, despite relying on distinct definitions of seasonal migration, this report's uniqueness is exemplified by the fact that it conveys a much more accurate picture of the immense magnitude of rural outmigration than that obtained from the NSS estimates.

The report focuses on workers in five most vulnerable occupations viz. construction workers, workers employed in mines, bonded labour in agriculture and brick-kilns, and head loaders working in the transportation sector. The status of women and children migrant workers receives a special mention as an overarching category across these sectors. Some of the characteristics that stand out in this description are the arduous nature of the

work, low wages, poor health and safety conditions, the extensive use of contractors and intermediaries in the construction and mining sectors, and the use of advances to secure labour amounting to labour bondage in mines, agriculture and brick-kilns. Again, it is workers belonging to low social status groups who are over represented in the most vulnerable forms of work. The conditions of work described extend to women and children in some of these industries, while in others women and adolescents are the main workforce. Children accompanying migrants are either unable to access school education or constitute a high proportion of dropouts. The report vividly describes the life cycle and poverty trap in which migrant workers. The workers have low skills enter the workforce in early and tender years. Their hard life work shows up in high attrition rates and early retirement, nullifying the limited impact of employment that they access through migration in their prime years, and setting them back in poverty.

The National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector had described gender, social identity and lack of education as the three main attributes of poor and vulnerable workers, and seasonal migrants, labour bondage and child labour as the three most disadvantaged (and often overlapping) segments of labour. The Rajasthan migration profile clearly shows how these attributes and segments come together in the identity of the seasonal migrant.

This report has also looked at the impact of some of the state government's developmental initiatives and has proposed a framework of supporting seasonal migrant workers. The proposed initiatives are close to the ground and have been put forward from the perspective of civil society organizations. They are as much an agenda for the civil society organizations as they are for the state. These include providing the migrants with identity cards, setting up of migration facilitation centres on the lines of the *shramik sahayata kendras* being run by a network of civil society organisations NGOs in several districts of Rajsathan, phone based helpline services; portability of entitlements across state borders; the need for better staffing and outreach of the labour department; improving access to health and education services; and sharper targeting and focus of training in the RSLDC.

I hope is that this report will draw attention to the importance of seasonal migration in the state of Rajasthan, and serve as a wake- up call for policy makers who wish to make inclusive development a reality.

My congratulations to the entire team which has worked on this unique, well researched, and a thoroughly readable report.

Ravi Srivastava

Professor (Economics), CSRD
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
Member – National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS)

26th September, 2014
New Delhi

table of contents

List of tables

List of figures

Annexure

Filling a Void - Call for Action

Over the din of India's fast paced growth story, the saga of rural migration still struggles to be heard. This report is an attempt to add substance to the country's migration narrative with facts, figures and findings from Rajasthan - India's largest and possibly the most diverse state. In order to fill the void of convincing official data, this report is based on a primary enquiry mounted by a group of field based civil society organisations, to record the incidence and nature of rural migration. The significance of this report rests not merely in the rigour of its data, but its faithful documentation of the migrant workers' lived experiences as they struggle through the vast informal labour markets across the country. Political attention, public policy and state programmes are often based on credible presentation of numbers underlying a phenomenon of significant scale. "Their Own Country: A Profile of Labour Migration from Rajasthan" is a first serious attempt to put numbers and narratives together in order to make a case for greater attention to the vast and mostly neglected migrant workforce of Rajasthan.

Migration from rural Rajasthan seems to be an outcome of its harsh natural conditions marked by low rainfall, drought proneness and poor agricultural production. Limited local opportunities triggered an early flight of Rajasthan's entrepreneurial class followed by a relentless movement of its rural workforce to urban destinations everywhere in the country. Unlike the relocation of the famed *Marwari* business community, the drift of Rajasthan's rural workers has principally been distress-driven. With limited choice and control, migrant workers are rarely able to dictate the direction of their economic futures and, as this report shows, are forced to return to a life of limited options at an early age.

That the state's economy is principally driven by the work of the rural migrant has adequate proof. Not only is the total number overwhelming (5.79 million), there are large segments of the economy populated mainly by migrant workers. These include construction, agriculture, transportation, mining, brick kilns, hospitality, domestic work, manufacturing, vending and a wide and ever growing variety of urban services. The concentration of migrants in the above sectors follows distinct patterns vis-à-vis their domicile and their flow from rural to urban centres is governed by intermediaries, social networks and entry barriers. The booming and all-pervasive construction sector possibly has the lowest entry barriers which explain the large concentration of migrant workers in this niche. There are also scores of other less visible but highly populated sectors such as head-loading, hotel and hospitality, domestic services, brick kilns, and agriculture that provides seasonal employment to thousands of rural migrants from the state.

Migration from Rajasthan is not a recent phenomenon. However, its present quantum is surely unprecedented. Relatively unknown destinations in Maharashtra and Karnataka that did not exist for the Rajasthani migrant worker till twenty years ago are now firmly on the migration map. Complex arrangements of recruitment, payment and retention have emerged in labour markets whose defining feature continues to be informal and unregulated. Undoubtedly the seasonal migrant workers remain at the bottom of the economic hierarchy and struggle with low and uncertain wages, unstable jobs, no social security and virtually no legal protection in the face of unfair practices and disputes. The question that merits urgent attention therefore is what needs to be done to manage the shifting demography from rural to urban settings in a way that puts the interests of the migrant worker at the centre.

This report is possibly a first comprehensive exploration of the Rajasthani migrant worker's situation. It not only attempts to quantify the incidence of labour migration in the state but also provides insights into the lived experience and vulnerability of the migrant worker in the national economy. The report builds a case for a visionary and powerful state policy, institutional mechanisms and deeper engagement by the civil society to address the hardships of the migrant worker.

The report is divided into seven chapters. Moving on from this introductory chapter, chapter 2 describes the methodology followed in data collection and analysis for this report. Chapter 3 provides a perspective on rural livelihoods and poverty in Rajasthan and attempts to locate rural migration within its rapidly shifting realities. It is followed by Chapter 4 which presents the data and findings from the primary data collection undertaken for this exercise. Chapter 5 narrates the vulnerability inherent in the most significant migration streams of the state and Chapter 6 presents the cross cutting issues of migrant workers that need urgent policy and programme response. The concluding Chapter 7 presents a set of policy recommendations for improving migration outcomes for those who depend on it as a primary means of survival.

Methodology

Putting together a credible seasonal migration profile of a state as vast and diverse as Rajasthan is a complex task. There is also no precedence of an exercise of a similar nature. The official and academic silence around migration meant that we had to construct a picture based on primary data and micro-studies undertaken over several years, attempt scientific derivation from secondary or proxy data available and draw insights from field experience and observation, as a group of field-based organisations.

This chapter describes the methodological framework and tools that have been used to construct the seasonal migration profile for Rajasthan. A number of civil society organizations, led by Aajeevika Bureau, were actively involved in collecting and contributing field studies and data to this exercise. The following sections lay out the research design followed for the study including the main research questions, definitions, selection of locations and the process of data collection and analysis.

2.1 Research Questions

The leading questions guiding the investigation were as follows:

- What is the incidence of migration from/within rural Rajasthan?
- Which are the main migration streams (work sectors, destinations) emerging from the state?
- What is the state of access to basic public services such as health, transportation, food and education for migrant workers and their families?
- What are the key challenges faced by migrant workers, especially at their work destination?
- What is the range of policy options available and how can one enable their greater inclusion in services and welfare frameworks of the State and the labour market?

2.2 Defining Seasonal Migrant Worker

The definition used for identification of a seasonal migrant worker is as follows –

"A worker employed in the unorganized, informal labour market, engaged for 3 months or more at a work destination, away from his/her native rural block."

The given definition has three dimensions – first, qualifying the nature of work – "worker employed in the unorganized/informal sector", second, qualifying duration of stay away from his/her place of origin – "engaged for 3 months or more at a work destination" and third, that gives a spatial dimension to the movement – "away from his/her native rural block", signifying that movement beyond a block's boundary is being considered as migration.

In capturing internal mobility of the labour force, one of the major challenge has been to arrive at a workable definition of migration. The current definition used in the study is primarily driven by the knowledge requirements of the civil society, which commonly seeks to engage with the most vulnerable groups within the larger migrant community. The qualification on informal sector serves as a good indicator of a worker's vulnerability. Workers employed in this sector work under precarious labour contracts, devoid of legal protection and have minimal access to any social security cover. The qualification on the time period helps in ascertaining that migration is a dominant livelihood strategy contributing to the income basket of the household and the third qualification helps in putting a geographical dimension to the movement. In Rajasthan, it is found that migrants moving within the state also face significant issues related to identity and access to basic services and entitlements. Further, most welfare schemes and services are delivered through the block administration and movement away from the block restricts access to these entitlements.

What the definition does not cover?

The census carried out for the study does not include data on children (less than 14 years of age) trafficked for work. It also selects out certain categories of migrants. For instance, students leaving their native villages to pursue their studies, migrant workers engaged in the organized sector (teachers, nurses, army personnel, other government officials) and international migrants crossing the international boundary of India are not included in the study.

Further, this study does not capture labour movement from urban areas. The focus of the study is on rural Rajasthan and so is the site of data collection. The study does not capture urban-urban or urban-rural movement. This study also does not look into magnitude and status of migration into Rajasthan from other states of India.

2.3 Secondary data sets and sources of information

There is no reliable official estimate for seasonal migration in India. No systematic documentation is maintained at any level of government which would help track seasonal labour mobility. Primary data collected by civil society organizations as part of their field interventions on seasonal migration, serves as a valuable resource, forming the base and guiding the course of the study. This profile makes use of multiple datasets created in the course of field interventions by several NGOs.

The largest database is contributed by the household census capturing migration incidence and migration patterns, undertaken by nine civil society organizations. In the past seven years, migration related data has been collected from 309 Panchayats across 12 districts and 17 blocks of the state using a standard format. This data informed the design of the study. The process of selection of a smaller number of study sites is described in the next section 2.4.

In addition to the above, a unique pool of research that this report draws from is micro-studies conducted by field based organizations in Rajasthan. There are over 50 field studies which contribute by way of grounded insights on labour recruitment processes, labour behavior, working and living conditions, and challenges faced by workers at the destination and their families back home.

A large database covering more than 1,07,599[1] migrant workers is also made available through the migrant registration database maintained by Aajeevika Bureau and eight more civil society organizations in Rajasthan.

Among other secondary sources, this study makes use of special theme papers contributed by eight organizations on issues/migrant streams specific to their area of expertise and operational region. A list of their contributions is provided in Annexure I. Further, this report refers to the broader national level scientific investigations by academics on unorganized work sector, NSS survey on migration and NSS employment-unemployment surveys.

2.4 Selection of survey locations and primary data collection

The first basis of selection of survey locations was the NSS regions. Rajasthan is divided into five regions by the NSS[2], which are also known to be congruous with agro-climatic zones, and closely representative of the diversity in natural resources and livelihoods. The overlap between the NSSO region and the region followed in this survey was considered to enable comparability with the NSSO data on migration. There is, however, difference in definitions followed by this study (henceforth, referred as RSMP – Rajasthan State Migration Profile) and the NSS, raising concerns over complete comparability.

[1]Aajeevika Bureau and eight more civil society organizations have been carrying out registration of migrant workers through a wide network of 26 Shramik Sahayataevam Sandarbha Kendras across 12 districts of Rajasthan. This registration is carried out with the help of the PRI head, the Sarpanches.

[2]For the purpose of a comprehensive data collection, NSS divides India into a large number of regions – these "regions are hierarchical domains of study below the level of State/ Union Territory having similar geographical features and population densities" [NSS definition]

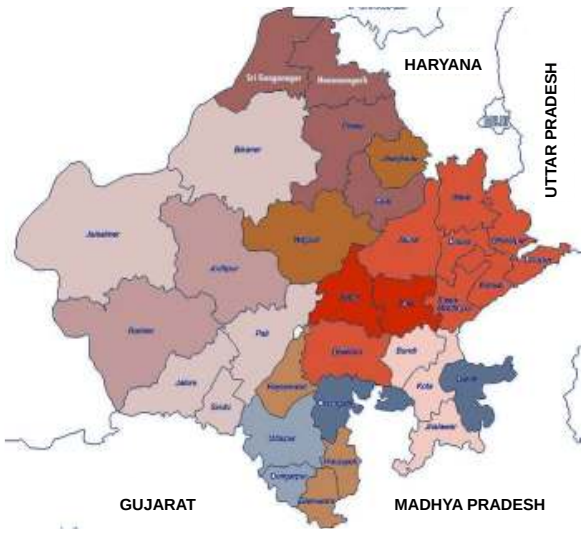
As the next step, we considered the Human Development Index (HDI) scores of the various districts within each NSS region and selected two districts, with 'above average' and 'below average' HDI scores. The rationale behind choosing HDI as a variable was because it is a comprehensive indicator of both economic and social performance of a region, capturing the status across education, health and income. The table giving the HDI scores for all districts is provided in Annexure III. Following this exercise, two districts were identified from each of the five regions covering a total of 10 locations across the state.All the civil society organizations partnering on the research were also consulted in the final selection of the 10 locations, to ensure that the selection was representative of the state and captured the diversity in seasonal labor movements. Table 1 provides a list of the five NSS regions of Rajasthan, the districts falling in each region and the locations selected for the purpose of the study.

Figure 1 depicts the five NSS regions and shows the two districts selected in each region (shown in a darker shade). In each district a block was selected for data collection. The selection of the block was done using a convenient sampling method, based on the presence of an organization from the network. In 3 out of 10 locations, there was no prior presence and new partners had to be identified. A list of organizations involved in data collection in each location is provided in Annexure I.

Table 1: Selection of regions for primary data collection

NSS regions - Rajasthan	Districts under the NSS region	Selected District	Selected Block
North-Eastern	Alwar, Bharatpur, Dhaulpur, Karauli, Sawai Madhopur, Dausa, Jaipur, Ajmer, Tonk, Bhilwara	Ajmer	Masuda
		Tonk	Peeplu
South-Eastern	Bundi, Chittorgarh, Kota, Baran, Jhalawar	Chittorgarh	Kapasan
		Baran	Kishanganj
Western	Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Barmer, Jalor, Sirohi, Pali	Jodhpur	Shergarh
		Barmer	Baitu
Southern	Rajsamand, Dungarpur, Udaipur, Banswara	Udaipur	Gogunda
		Dungarpur	Aspur
Northern	Ganganagar, Hanumangarh, Churu, Jhunjhunu, Sikar, Nagaur	Nagaur	Jayal
		Jhunjhunu	Alsisar

Figure 1: Rajasthan state map showing NSS regions and research locations



Five GPs were covered per block, totaling to 50 GPs across 10 locations. After a rigorous round of data cleaning, the data-set however was reduced to 47 GPs[3]. The five GPs were selected out of a larger set of surveyed GPs from the operational area of the organization. The data-set of 309 Panchayats served as the sampling frame for the selection of 50 GPs. The selection was carried out using a random technique simulation. Panchayats were chosen at fixed class intervals, and the class interval was determined based on the last digit of a randomly drawn currency note.

A migration census was carried out in all the 47 GPs covering all villages and hamlets, using the house-listing method. This census captured primary information on incidence of migration (per cent HHs from which at least one person is migrating), social group, age of the migrant, sex, key work destination, key work sector[4] and type of work performed. This was an **extensive data collection exercise which reached out to 38,828 households across the state.** At four locations a fresh Census was carried out in 2012. For the remaining six, the dataset refers to the period 2010-11.

The migration census was complemented by a more in-depth survey on migration trends, economic benefits from migration, issues faced by workers in the labor market and the state of their access to basic services. The migration survey was administered to **40 migrant households per Panchayat.**The sample was stratified on the basis of caste groups. Respondents from each caste group were selected in proportion to their share in the population; as found in the migration census. **One district had a total of 200 respondents, thus adding up to 2000[5] respondents across 10 locations.**

Thus, we worked with two primary data-sets – a) Migration Census covering 38,828 households, and a more detailed b) Migration Survey covering 2000 households. In the following chapters, this data-set is referred to as RSMP primary survey[6].

[3]In some of the locations we had to repeat the data collection exercise. For instance, in Kapasan in Chittaurgarh, data quality issues came up. Due to resource limitations only two GPs out of the five could be resurveyed, making the final migration Census dataset of 47 GPs.

[4]In cases where migrants work in multiple locations and sectors, information on key destination and key work sector was obtained by asking "where a worker has spent maximum time in the last year". In cases, where we found difficulty in obtaining data using this question, migrant's recent most destination and work sector was considered.

[5]These questionnaires were administered at the household level. If a household was sending more than one migrant, migration details were taken for all the migrant workers. In sum, then the number of migrant workers covered through the migration survey increased to 2496.

[6]The structured questionnaires administered for the migration survey went through two rounds of field-testing. Data collection was carried out with the field teams of participant organisations and volunteers. A visit was made by the CMLS team to all the 10 locations for training of the field investigators on the questionnaires. One person from the Aajeevika research team spent three-four days at each location for handholding of the investigators and for supervision of the data collection process.

2.5 Primary Data Analysis

The study attempts to provide an estimate of the total number of seasonal migrants moving in search of livelihood both outside and within the state of Rajasthan. For this purpose, information derived from the census of 47 Panchayats was extrapolated with the help of qualified assumptions to arrive at a state level figure. Multiple techniques were used in this process which generated the following scenarios –

Assumption I: The ten blocks covered under the survey are the only regions in the state sending seasonal labour migrants. There is no migration occurring from other blocks of Rajasthan. In this case, the total number of migrants from the state will be equal to the number of migrants from the selected blocks.

$$M_S = M_{B,} \text{ where}$$

$$M_B = ? \,^{10}_{i=1} M_{GPi} * P_i$$

M_S = Number of migrants from Rajasthan
M_B = Number of migrants from all the blocks
M_{GPi} = Weighted average of number of migrants per Gram Panchayat (out of 5 surveyed GPs)
P_i = Number of Panchayats in i block, there are a total of 10 blocks

Assumption II: Within the 10 selected districts, there are other blocks in which migration incidence is observed to be similar to the surveyed blocks. In this case the total number of migrants from the state of Rajasthan will equal the number of migrants found in all the blocks with similar migration incidence.

$$M_S = \Sigma^{10}_{i=1} M_{Bi} * n_i$$

M_{Bi} = Number of migrants from i block, we have a total of 10 blocks
n_i = Number of blocks in a district with similar migration rate to i block

The figure 'n' comes from an exercise carried out with all the 10 partner organisations, where we asked them to identify other blocks which showed migration incidence similar to the surveyed block.

Assumption III: The extrapolation was done based on the migration incidence found per household at the regional level. The migration rate per household in the selected GPs covered was assumed to be representative of the entire NSS region. In this case, the total number of migrants from the state equals the sum of migrants from all the five NSS regions, arrived at household level estimates.

$$M_S = \Sigma^{5}_{i=1} M_{Ri}$$

$$M_{Ri} = M_{Hi} * N_{hi}$$

M_S = Number of migrants from Rajasthan
M_R = Number of migrants at the NSS region level
M_{Hi} = Number of migrants per household
N_{Hi} = Number of households in one NSS region

Assumption IV: Extrapolation was done based on migration rate calculated at the Gram Panchayat level. It is assumed that the Panchayat level migration incidence obtained from the 5 GPs per district will be representative of the entire district. Further, a weighted average of the migration incidence found for the five Panchayats will be representative for the entire NSS region. In this case the total number of migrants from the state of Rajasthan will equal the sum of migrants from all the five NSS regions, arrived on the basis of Panchayat level estimates.

$$M_S = \sum_{i=1}^{5} M_{Ri}$$

$$M_{Ri} = M_{GPi} * P_{ri}$$

M_S = Number of migrants from Rajasthan
M_{Ri} = Number of migrants at the NSS region level
M_{GPi} = Weighted average of number of migrants per Gram Panchayat at the NSS region level
P_{ri} = Number of Panchayats in an NSS region

Assumption V: It is assumed that all the districts not covered under the survey have a migration incidence similar to the district with a lower migration incidence, observed of the two districts. Region level figures are generated using a similar methodology as in assumption IV.

$$M_S = \sum_{i=1}^{5} M_{Ri}$$

$$M_{Ri} = M_{Di} * N_{di}$$

$$M_{Di} = [D_H * 1 + D_L * (N_{Di}-1)]/N_{Di}$$

M_S = Number of migrants from Rajasthan
M_{Di} = Weighted average of number of migrants per Gram Panchayat at the NSS region level
P_{Ri} = Number of Panchayats in a NSS region
D_L = Number of migrants in district with lower migration incidence
D_H = Number of migrants in district with higher migration incidence
N_{Di} = Number of districts in a region

We find that the first two assumptions are not realistic and the figures arrived as a result are much below what the size of seasonal migration from the state of Rajasthan. Rest of the three assumptions, which are a combination of heuristics and statistics, lead us to three different figures, all of which hold, given that the underlying assumptions are close to the reality. For Assumption V, there is no supporting evidence for using lower migration incidence statistics for the districts, not covered under the survey. Evaluating the two remaining figures, arrived through extrapolation of household level migration incidence and Panchayat level migration incidence, the researchers find the former to be leading to higher estimation, especially for the southern and the western regions. An extensive presence of NGOs in this region, including Aajeevika Bureau's in the southern region suggests that the figures are on the higher side. We, thus drop assumption III. Given the limitations of the other four scenarios, assumption IV is selected as the best scenario. The estimation presented in Chapter 4 is thus based on the fourth scenario.

Key migrant destinations and work sectors: Whilst arriving at the key destinations at the state level, it was found that within a location, the migrant streams are quite heterogeneous. Same was found to be true for work sectors, which varied extensively. Extrapolating migration trends in such a scenario thus appeared faulty. As an alternative, for both migrant destinations and work sectors, the cities and sectors were listed based on actual numbers and the topmost destinations and work sectors were identified based on frequency.

For a detailed description of this exercise of extrapolation adopted in the study, learning and limitations please refer Annexure IV.

Slow yet steady shifts:
The Landscape of Rural Livelihoods in Rajasthan

This chapter describes the changing context of rural livelihoods of Rajasthan and argues that for the vast majority of rural, low income populations, participation in the wage labour market has come to represent the core means of survival. Local shortages of adequate opportunities in rural areas have made it necessary for the populations to migrate - triggered by distress, or pulled by the lucrative options that exist further afield, often across neighbouring state borders. Indeed, changing social milieus and overall rural aspirations have intensified migration and thus need to be noted to fully comprehend the overall landscape within which rural to urban shifts are occurring.

3.1 Rajasthan – Crossroads of Change

Rajasthan evokes the imagery of incredible colour, windswept deserts and magical destinations for travelers. As the largest state in the country (342,239 square kilometers) Rajasthan is a land of bewildering diversity – the brisk industrial and agricultural prosperity of its northern and eastern plains in sharp contrast to the dry, sandy and sparse landscape of the western districts bordering Pakistan that again, stretch in complete contrast to the hilly, once forested southern region. Marking its landscape are several dialects, folklores and faiths which make it an attractive and sought after reference point for popular literature, film and music.

Rajasthan's history– embedded in highly fragmented feudal rule and caste divide continues to inform its current social and political reality. Traders and industrialists from Rajasthan (popularly known as Marwaris) have flourished in remote corners of the country. Similar entrepreneurial spirit is harder to detect within the state, possibly given its harsh natural conditions, thin economic base, limited private capital and the overall lack of state initiatives for infrastructure. Tourism is brisk but continues to have tremendous unrealized potential as does its rich artisanal heritage which is suffering the competitive disadvantages in the face of modern manufacturing and marketing.

Rajasthan's development is beset with several paradoxes. Coming together as a full state in 1956 – almost a decade after independence – Rajasthan had a late start and faced considerable development gap compared to other Indian states. School enrolment rates were half the all-India average and wide gender gaps existed in literacy through the 1960s and 70s. Through the 1980s and 1990s however Rajasthan achieved breakthroughs in growth rates, school enrolment, literacy and life expectancy all of which increased markedly. The poverty headcount reduced by more than half and in fact by the close of the century Rajasthan's poverty rate was lower than that in several richer states. Yet in the 2000s, economic growth has slowed down, incidence of poverty increased, access to health care decreased and fiscal stress became more acute. Rising investment inflows from domestic and foreign sources are expected to further reduce local employment opportunities.

At present, Rajasthan continues to stand at the lower side of the per capita income level (per-capita income in the state is Rs. 39,967 which is much below the national average of Rs. 54,527 (for FY2011)[7]. Poverty and exclusion in the state are well entrenched along social lines, deepened by the inequities in access to services and entitlements of education, health, employment and social security. Rajasthan's challenge is not merely that of income poverty in rural areas, but is in fact compounded by human development deprivation. This includes lack of access to schooling, quality health services, robust social infrastructure and protection. Migration from Rajasthan's rural areas is thus a composite response to the social, economic and political gaps in the lives of the poor.

[7]Cited from a report Rajasthan State Profile by PHD Bureau, PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry

Table 2: Demographic and socio-economic indicators of Rajasthan vis-à-vis India		
	Rajasthan	**India**
Total population in millions (per cent of national), Census 2011	68 (5.67)	1210
Per cent contribution to national area	10.4	
Per cent contribution to national GDP	4	
Growth rate of NDP	4.1	8*
Per cent population below poverty line – rural (urban)	22.1(32.9)	27.5 (25.7)
HDI (rank out of 23)	0.434(17)	0.590
Female literacy rate	52.66	65.46
Child sex ratio (for 0-6 years)^	883	914
Per cent Urban population#	24.89	31.16
Source: Rajasthan Economic and Human Development Indicators, prepared by UNDP *In case of India, growth rate is of GDP, ^ Children in India -2012 # Economic Review, 2011-12		

3.2 Regional perspectives on livelihoods

The landscape of rural livelihoods in Rajasthan is heavily influenced by the socio-ecological profile of its various regions and the resultant economic choices of its diverse communities. As the largest state in the country, Rajasthan has distinct regions with their unique natural endowments and inherent limitations that affect the local livelihood opportunities available to its people. Technology, investment and migration too have all brought about radical changes.

The communities of the rain deficient and arid western desert districts have traditionally relied on livestock rearing, pastoralism and artisanal production while practicing a highly subsistence mode of farming. There are highly evolved forms of pastoralism in western desert region wherein communities migrate with their cattle to ensure grazing, breeding and sale. Migration among its entrepreneurial class has been a historical feature of this region. Lately, the massive investments in groundwater irrigation in districts like Jodhpur and Bikaner have turned around the fortunes of farming communities and have created for them, a scenario of capital intensive, and commercially attractive agriculture options. The new explorations of natural gas and oil in Barmer district has also put the desert region on the threshold of a large inflow of capital and skilled labour from across the country.

The central region of Rajasthan has rich mining and quarrying potential and has been harvested heavily for marble, soapstone, sandstone and granite. Mining and processing has created pockets of employment for local populations as well as for migrant workers but the vast dry lands of the region otherwise don't lend themselves to intensifying agriculture or livestock.

Table 3: Shifts in rural livelihoods across Rajasthan regions				
Region	**Districts**	**Social Landscape**	**Livelihoods**	**Major Shifts**
North Eastern and Northern Rajasthan	Jhunjhunu, Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Sawai Madhopur, Jaipur, Sikar, Ajmer, Tonk, Bhilwara, Dausa	Dominated by peasantry communities of Jats and Meenas with a considerable presence of Gujjars and Yadavs and various SC groups such as Bairwas and Raigars.	Pockets of high intensity agriculture, industrial clusters and deep mining and quarrying activity.	High diversification in agriculture enterprises and industrial activity in Jaipur – NCR corridor. Increased migration to Jaipur and NCR region in construction and mining sectors.
Western Rajasthan	Ganganagar, Hanumangarh, Bikaner, Churu, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Nagaur, Pali, Barmer, Jalore, Sirohi	Jat and Rajput dominated areas with large presence of SC and Muslim communities.	With the exception of Ganganagar and Hanumangarh, the arid western region has sparse agriculture, very little industrial activity and a declining livestock base. Strong artisanal traditions in embroidery and leather work.	Rapid easing out of population from from agriculture, livestock and artisanal work. Heavy out-migration to mining, transportation and construction sectors within Rajasthan and to Gujarat and Maharashtra.
South Rajasthan	Udaipur, Dungarpur, Banswara, Rajsamand	Bhil and Meena dominated tribal groups with pockets of peasant group such as Patels and Patidars	Small holding farming, minor forest produce, mining based industrial activity	Largest shifts out of agriculture into labour markets of Gujarat and Maharashtra.
South Eastern Rajasthan	Chittorgarh, Bundi, Pratapgarh, Kota, Jhalawar, and Baran	Dominated by peasant caste group with pockets of SC communities. Baran comprises of a intensely poverty stricken Sahariya tribal group.	Diversified agriculture and horticulture with increased agro-based industrial development. Local agriculture wage labour markets well developed.	In migration into agriculture sector. High out-migration among Sahariya tribe groups.

The north and the north-eastern regions have benefitted from infrastructure and investments and have seen pockets of industrial growth – as well as agro-based industrial growth - linked to the National Capital Region and North – West corridor. The fertile eastern part (Kota, Bundi and Jhalawar) of the state has benefitted from widespread canal irrigation thereby becoming a hub of agricultural prosperity.

The hilly, undulating and tribal dominated southern region is possibly the least developed and most constrained in the state. With limited arability, remote locations, backward infrastructure and an almost exhausted traditional forest base, the southern region is a region with poverty concentration and therefore a source of vulnerable migration to labour markets in Gujarat and beyond.

2.3 Agrarian to *MIGRARIAN*

Rural poverty in Rajasthan is marked by the fact that there is a disproportionately high dependence on agriculture for employment. Agriculture's contribution to the net state domestic product (NSDP) has rapidly declined from 48 per cent in 1980-81 to 30 per cent in 2000-01. Latest figures show that the contribution of agriculture and allied activities is less than 23 per cent but it is still stated to provide primary employment to 62 per cent of the workforce. Agriculture is a fragile and risky sector, given its high dependence on monsoons, uncertain returns, and its inability to provide long term, remunerative employment. Majority land holdings in the state range from small to marginal with nearly 59.53 per cent accounting for less than two hectares (NSS 59th round cited in Rawal, 2008). Poor soils, land degradation and lack of assured irrigation implies that for marginal and small farmers crop production remains below par and unable to offer any surplus for market sale. The primary goal of a farmer in Rajasthan therefore is food security and any gaps in household consumption have to be financed by wage labour.

Table 4: Change in percentage share of different sectors in NSDP over decades

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1980-81	47.77	19.49	32.74
1990-91	43.52	20.78	35.7
2000-01	29.73	26.34	43.93
2011-12^ (Quick Estimates)	22.52	28.60	48.88

Source: Rajasthan Development Report, 2006, at 1993-94 prices, ^Economic Review 2011-12, at 2004-05 prices

For the agriculture dependent communities across all regions (except the canal irrigated eastern Rajasthan) there has been a steady decline in incomes derived from agriculture. In the case of central and western Rajasthan where farming in the dry and desert conditions is shifting to a heavy capital investment based enterprise with deep tube-wells and contract farming arrangements. There are documented instances of reverse tenancy wherein the smaller farmers are leasing out their land to the larger cultivator and opting for wage labour in cities or factories (Sharma, 2007). In southern districts there is virtual landlessness among tribal small holding farmers which has served as the big push to migration.

Rajasthan's livestock economy has always been a significant source of livelihoods, particularly in the desert regions where farming activity is very limited. The state has the highest numbers of livestock in the country and it accounts for 40 per cent of wool production and 10 per cent of all milk production in the country (Rajasthan Development Report, 2006). Despite the strong cultural association of cattle wealth with social identity, milk productivity of cows and buffaloes in the state remains amongst the lowest in the country on account of poor breeding practices and availability of nutrition. 60 per cent cattle in the state and 80 per cent of buffaloes are non-descript (ibid). Sheep and goats are the reliable assets for the smaller and marginal farmers as well as of the landless labourers, who are unable to enter more commercial forms of cattle rearing. Except a few peri-urban pockets where dairying has developed on commercial lines, animal husbandry continues to be primarily low-return, subsistence oriented activity for the rural households.

Diversification options outside of farming within rural areas remain generally sparse. Rural businesses and enterprises are stagnant in absence of a robust agrarian economy across many parts. Only in districts where agriculture intensification has occurred (for example in Kota, Bundi, Ganganagar, Bharatpur etc), there are opportunities for non-farm diversification. However, in absence of capital and market exclusion, diversification opportunities are not easily available to the rural poor households. They are more likely to find wage labour options locally within the labour intensive farming and agro-processing sectors.

Table 5: Number of years since migration started

	Percentage respondents
Less than 10 years	29
10-20 years	47
21-30 years	13
More than 30 years	10

Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012 n = 2496
Note: Migrants were asked to share from when did migration start in their family?

Mining and quarrying is another widespread wage labour opportunity available to rural households in several regions of the state – almost 2.5 million workers (MLPC, 2013) are reported to find work in mines and quarries. The wages, work conditions and health risks of mineworkers have continued to be appallingly below acceptable standards. As a sector mining is entirely in the hands of the private urban/rural business class and the benefits of this sector's expansion remains unavailable to its casually employed, largely unskilled rural workforce.

Major shifts have also been afoot for the state's traditional artisans like the leather workers. Because of its enormous cattle wealth, Rajasthan had been a leading producer of traditional leather shoes and articles. A number of communities of Rajasthan such as Bairwas, Khatiks, Raigars and Meghwals etc are considered highly skilled leather artisans. However, there has been steady exit of traditional craftsmen from this sector because of the social stigma attached to this activity. Further, the production of leather goods began to grow in urban areas in factory settings and this rendered traditional leather artisans redundant, unable to compete with standardised, low cost footwear produced in factories. While there are special programmes to protect the returns to the leather artisan and develop their markets, the fact is that there has been massive shift of artisans from their traditional work to wage labour.

This shift from an agrarian to a wage labour market led economy is not very old. While the western part of the state was a labour exporting region for a long time, the movement of labour has become more pervasive as a livelihood strategy across the state only recently. While it is difficult to trace the origins of this shift, one reasonable estimate is around mid-90s, when liberalization struck rural economies full scale. Notably, the respondents surveyed as part of the RSMP study corroborate that the dependence on migration is not more than 20 years old – 76 per cent of the households report migrating for less than 20 years.

Social distress and migration triggers

Rajasthan witnesses its share of migration caused by sheer social distress, conflict or bondage. Often these cases receive some limited coverage in media but sight is lost of their longer term impacts. There have been notorious caste conflicts in the eastern Rajasthan districts of Dholpur, Bharatpur and Karauli which have resulted in steady sapping out of youth from backward castes. Possibly the worst was witnessed in 1992 in Kumher of Bharatpur district which witnessed terrible violence against the Jatav community. Over subsequent years the community intensified its flight out of the region to gain more opportunities and visibility in cities like Delhi and Jaipur and assert a new social identity.

The Meghwal community in western Rajasthan, grasped migration out of rural areas as an exit means from traditional, "unclean" occupations. The marginalized traditional performing communities (such as Saansi) saw large scale migration particularly among its women who opted out of the local social stigma against them by entering the underground performance industry of Mumbai. The desperate poverty of the Sahariya tribe in Baran district and their oppression by landed peasant castes in the region means that they have often been pushed into bondage in agriculture work and in mines and quarries on the Rajasthan – Madhya Pradesh border. Groups of Sahariya labour find themselves trafficked to distant locations with little money or support for return. Highly vulnerable groups include child labour from south Rajasthan trafficked to north Gujarat to work on BT cotton farms and ginning factories.

In search of jobs

Rajasthan's population growth rates have been consistently higher than national averages and there has been a continuing gap in creation of jobs and increase in the number of people entering the labour market looking for employment. It is estimated that nearly 7 lakh people become available for employment in Rajasthan annually.

As per a projection (2001-2021) made by Teamlease and IIJT, the annualized growth rate of population (age group of 20-60 years) is slated around 3.1 per cent, higher than the national average of 2.5. In contrast to this the growth in employment presents a bleak scenario. In the first decade of 2000s, employment in Rajasthan grew at a negligible rate of 0.23 per cent annually. The informal sector largely drives employment in the state. The organized sector is known to employ 12.79 lakh persons. Private sector employment in the organised sector (26 per cent) is among the lowest in the country, which is a reflection of the overall slow growth of private enterprise in the state. Employment in the organised sector largely comprises of jobs created by the government and in fact aspirations of the average educated youth are almost universally pegged on securing a government job.

Source: Economic Survey of Rajasthan (2011-12), India Labour Report 2009, India Labour Report 2012, NCEUS 2007

Table 6: Percentage share in organised sector jobs in Rajasthan

	Public	Private	Total
1983	7.59	1.85	9.44
1990	9.27	2.31	11.58
2000	9.94	2.52	12.46
2010	9.54	3.21	12.75
2011 (Upto June 2011)	9.48	3.31	12.79

Source: Economic Review, 2011-12

Skills and education status

A look at the health of Rajasthan's labour eco-system in terms of skill and education levels does not offer an encouraging picture. The percentage share of youth in the age group of 15-24 with formal training is 1.7 per cent. Higher education attainment is quite low. 30 out of 33 districts are said to fall under 'educationally backward districts' with a Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of 7.6 under higher education (age group 18-23).

Labour institutions in Rajasthan

Employment exchanges, which have a critical role in enabling job linkages show a dismal performance. In 2005 out of a total of 1, 70,600 applications, only 7700 placements could be made; mere 4.5 per cent of the total. In contrast, Gujarat placed 48 per cent of its applicants.

Planning Commission Employment Vision 2020, posits Rajasthan to among the top three largest suppliers of labour to the country –

"Depending upon the stage of demographic transition a state has achieved and also on the likely growth pattern, the experience of different states in terms of labour force growth and employment generation is likely to be varied. This would have implications for the inter-state variations in the incidence of unemployment and also on the migration of labour in search of work. In the states of Bihar, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh, not only the unemployment rate will be rising but growth of labour force will also be accelerating. These patterns suggest the states of origin and destination states of migrant labour."

- Planning Commission Employment (Vision 2020), page 15

In the back-drop of this context and the visible shifts in rural livelihoods pan-Rajasthan, how have the State and the civil society responded to address the service needs and welfare requirements of the rural communities? The following section provides an account of State interventions and the response from the civil society over time.

3.4 Government and Civil Society Response

Through most of 80s and 90s, Rajasthan's rural livelihoods programmes saw an overwhelming thrust on improvement of wasteland productivity and watershed management. This included a variety of highly labour intensive activities including soil and water management through construction of bunds, check-dams, anicuts and reforestation. Watershed development became the cornerstone of agriculture production improvement through a variety of state and central government programmes such as National Watershed Development Project for Rainfed Areas (NWDPRA) and Joint Forest Management.

Agriculture research, extension and development remained high priority for state assistance, especially through a series of World Bank assisted programmes through the 90s. However limited impact on crop productivity in rain-fed and semi- arid conditions has cast a long shadow on the ability of extension and research to bring about any meaningful change in the small-marginal farmers' fortunes across the state. State sponsored distribution of seeds, fertilizers and inputs continues to be pervasive without fundamental changes in agriculture research and extension penetration. Water does remain the most uncertain input for farming and thus even small scale or minor irrigation projects create popular enthusiasm and appeal across the state.

In recent times, investments by the state in MGNREGA since 2007 and the more recent large scale state support to skill development under Rajasthan Skill and Livelihood Development Corporation (RSLDC) acknowledges the importance of labour and employment in the economic lives of the rural poor. There is recognition that wage employment must be locally available, hence participation in MGNREGA must be stepped up to create alternative wage employment at home and that the youth must be made employable for the ever-diversifying, yet highly skill deficient labour market. MGNREGA is believed to have a negative effect on rural to urban migration. This correlation is however yet to be confirmed in the context of a household economy which needs substantially more cash income than MGNREGA can offer even under its best performance. A study done by CMF (2012), Jaipur shows that of the 53 per cent contribution of wage labour to the livelihood basket of rural population in Rajasthan, NREGS accounts for a meager 4 per cent.

It is indeed difficult to generalise across the sheer diversity of NGOs in the state and a thorough review of NGOs' livelihood programmes is beyond the scope of this chapter. However it might be said that NGOs have traditionally kept aligned to state priorities and investments, often enthusiastically participating in big ticket programmes such as watershed development, forestry and agriculture development. The state has also seen innovative and collaborative GO–NGO programmes such as PAWDI or PAHAL that aimed to increase land based production through participatory natural resource management. These were externally funded by bilateral donors who steadily lost interest and became marginal as state's own resources grew substantially. The wave of group based community finance models became the cornerstone of NGOs' livelihood promotion success in a few pockets. The world bank aided DPIP (District Poverty Initiatives Programme) used NGO-led SHGs to create rural infrastructure and enterprises in poverty prone districts of the state.

Though the policy documents of the Government of Rajasthan have begun to recognise the increasing importance of the services and manufacturing led employment growth in the state, these shifts are yet to catch the attention of NGOs. Limited as they are in scope and scale, NGOs continue to mine deeper the possibilities of livelihood and enterprise improvement in rural areas without much effort to seize the emerging opportunities for rural poor that may be arising further away in urban labour markets.

Seasonal Migration from Rajasthan:
Magnitude and Trends

As per the NSSO, the total number of short term migrants[8] moving out of Rajasthan in search of work is 7.37 lakh. This figure does not include workers who leave their domicile for more than six months, and is derived from a data set which deals with different kinds of movement in the country, including marriage migration. The study focuses on this gap and is based on the premise that official estimates are unable to capture labour mobility from rural Rajasthan, especially the seasonal and circular migration, in its entirety. Accordingly, this chapter[9] uses well-grounded data to analyze and provide an overview of migration incidence and pattern of labour mobility from rural Rajasthan. Data on migration incidence and trends related to occupation and work destination is derived from household census (migration census) data of 47 Gram Panchayats spread across 10 districts of Rajasthan. The detailed profiling of migrant workers comes from the analysis of a sample survey (migration survey) in the same Panchayats, covering 2000 households[10]. Based on these figures, we estimate the total migrant population from rural Rajasthan, key employment sectors and the prominent work destinations for the migrant workforce.

4.1 Incidence of Migration

Migration for employment, although undertaken by only a few members of a family, is a livelihood strategy for the entire household. It affects the migrant as well as his/her family which is left behind in the source village. From a policy perspective, it therefore becomes critical to evaluate the number of such households in rural Rajasthan that are impacted by migration, including households which may have one, more or all members migrating for work. Henceforth we refer to this parameter as 'household migration'.

[8]A short term migrant is an individual 'who stayed away from the village or town for a period of 1 month or more but less than 6 months during the last 365 days preceding the survey for employment or in search of employment'. Push factors are likely to contribute more to the phenomenon of short term migration rather than the pull factor (Chandrasekhar and Sharma, 2013). Among the various definitions followed by NSSO, short-term migrants are the closest to capturing seasonal and circular migration for livelihood.

[9]We are thankful for the guidance provided by Mr. S. Chandrasekhar from Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR), Mumbai in the process of data analysis.

[10]With a sample of 2,000 households we were able to access information for 2,496 migrant workers as some households sent more than one migrant.

An analysis of 38,828 households surveyed under the study reveals that 17,963 i.e. 46.26[11] per cent of the total households have one or more members migrating for work. Table 7 gives a location wise break-up of migration incidence for the 10 districts spread across the five NSS regions. Notably, there is a significant variation across these locations. The two districts from the western region – Barmer and Jodhpur are the largest migrant sending districts of the 10 locations surveyed. Dungarpur and Udaipur, the districts of Vagad and Mewar regions, from southern Rajasthan follow closely with 56.6 per cent household migration.

Table 7: Household migration across the 10 survey locations in the NSS regions

	Total households surveyed	Migrant Households	
		Number	Percentage
North-Eastern	**9956**	**4081**	**40.99**
Ajmer	5948	2737	46.02
Tonk	4008	1344	33.53
Northern	**7055**	**2223**	**31.51**
Jhunjhunu	2971	364	12.25
Nagaur	4084	1859	45.52
South-Eastern	**7155**	**2745**	**38.36**
Baran	5719	2199	38.45
Chittorgarh	1436	546	38.02
Southern	**7323**	**4145**	**56.60**
Dungarpur	2957	1747	59.08
Udaipur	4366	2398	54.92
Western	**7339**	**4769**	**64.98**
Barmer	3636	2360	64.91
Jodhpur	3703	2409	65.06
Grand Total	**38828**	**17963**	**46.26**

Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n=38,828

This finding is in consonance with the popular understanding about migration trends from Rajasthan. Western Rajasthan, comprising of the Marwar, Jaisalmer and Gorwar regions, which is a highly resource-scarce region with low rainfall (102.57 mm)[12] and limited agricultural potential is an old labour exporting region with a long history of migration. The other districts that fall under this region are Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Sirohi, Pali and Jalore, several of which have a significant proportion (48 per cent)[13] of land under desert or desert-like conditions. Southern Rajasthan follows suit with its hilly terrain and limited agriculture potential (less than 27 per cent land is sown[14]). Southern Rajasthan is also dominated by a tribal population, which has historically depended on forests for their livelihood. With a continuous depletion of forests and forest based livelihoods, the last couple of decades have seen a surge in the number of migrants from the region.

[11] Please note that this figure does not include international migrants and migrants employed in government services. The difference is particularly stark in case of Jhunjhunu, where international migration reaches ~38 per cent. Child migration is also not included in this figure.

[12] Website referred on 1st of May – www.rajasthanstat.org

[13] Website referred on 1st of May – www.rajasthanstat.org

[14] This figure refers to net area sown in the year 2007-08, the state average is 49.89 per cent.

An estimation of the total number of migrants from rural Rajasthan, puts the figure at around 5.79 million, more than 8 per cent of the state population. The number of households that are sending migrants for employment is approximately 4.38 million. It is worth emphasizing that this number does not include child trafficking for work, student migration, urban outmigration, migration into organized sector work, i.e. into government jobs, army service, and international migration. If these groups are added, these numbers swell up further.

Table 8: Number of migrants and migrant sending households in rural Rajasthan

	Number of Migrants			Migrant Households		
	Number of migrants per G.P.	Number of GPs	Total (in millions)	Percentage of migrant Households	Total Number of Households	Total (in millions)
North-Eastern	757	3022	2.29	40	3.10	1.25
Northern	410	1898	0.78	33	1.92	0.63
South-Eastern	610	1092	0.67	38	1.02	0.39
Southern	639	1368	0.87	56	1.47	0.83
Western	651	1813	1.18	65	1.98	1.28
Rajasthan		9193	5.79		9.49	4.38

Source: RSMP primary study. Please refer Annexure IV for a detailed description of the calculation method.

The regional distribution of the estimated number of migrant workers has a slightly different story to tell vis-à-vis the figures on migration incidence (Table 8). North-Eastern region, comprising of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dhaulpur, Karauli, Sawai Madhopur, Dausa, Tonk, Bhilwara, Ajmer and Jaipur, sends the highest number of migrants, accounting for 40 per cent of the migrant population. This does not support the former finding of the region with higher migration incidence – the western and southern region. A possible reason for this difference is the higher population density in these districts (360 persons per sq km, state average 201) of Mewat, Dhundhar and Merwara region, and its major share in the total state population. The north-eastern region also accounts for 33 per cent of the total number of households in Rajasthan.

Secondary data on migration from Rajasthan

The secondary estimates on the number of migrants from Rajasthan are largely informed by the Census and NSS, the two large data collection exercises pursued by the Government of India. The Census 2001 figures are now dated and 2011 migration information is still to be published. The study examines the NSS 64th round, conducted in 2007-08 to capture migration in India. NSS defines migrants based on *usual place of residence* which in turn is defined as *a place (village/town) where the person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more*. In other words, *a migrant is defined if he or she had stayed continuously for at least six months or more in a place (village/town) other than the village/town where he or she was enumerated*. This includes migration undertaken for all purposes, including migration. The dominance of women in migration estimates is explained by large scale movement of women for marriage purposes, although there are scholars who argue that NSS definitions tends to 'camouflage' some labour movement as within the large category of marriage migration (Mazumdar et al, 2013).

In the last round, NSS introduced a special typology of migrants called *short-term migrants* defined as *a person who had stayed away from the village/town for a period of 1 month or more but less than 6 months during the last 365 days for employment or in search of employment*. Calculations on number of short-term migrants show that there are a total of 0.74 million short term migrants from Rajasthan. Table 9 provides a regional and gender-wise distribution of short-term migrants across the state. 84 per cent of the short-term movement is accounted for by male migrants. Across the five regions, we find that northern region accounts for 30 per cent of all short term migrants followed by western and southern regions with 26 and 23 per cent respectively. In terms of absolute numbers, the western region has a large number of intra-district short term migrants, the northern region has a large number of inter district and the northern and southern regions have a large number of interstate short term migrants. 40 per cent of the short-term migrants are employed in construction, followed by 31 per cent in agriculture, fishing and mining, 12 per cent in manufacturing, and the rest in wholesale, retail trade and repairs,transport, storage and communications and others (Chandrasekhar and Sharma, 2013).

Table 9: Short term migrants in Rajasthan (NSS)

	Male	Female	Total
Western Region	0.17	0.02	0.19
North-Eastern Region	0.08	0.01	0.10
Southern Region	0.15	0.02	0.17
South-Eastern Region	0.05	0.01	0.06
Northern Region	0.17	0.05	0.22
Total	0.62	0.12	0.74

Source: Chandrasekhar and Sharma, 2013, NSS, 64th round, 2007-08

The NSS estimates are far below the estimates provided by this study. The patterns across regions also do not match the findings of this study. It can be argued that the comparison is not valid given the differences in definition and in methodology pursued by the two exercises. However, it deserves a mention that the definition on short term migration is the closest official estimate capturing seasonal migration for employment purposes available for comparison. As an official estimate, NSS figures inform policy processes. This comparison helps us highlight that the formal estimates significantly undercount seasonal migration, and need a more nuanced approach. Further, research based on these official figures which claim a fall in migration rates from rural areas, also needs to be revisited.

An important parameter in estimating seasonal migration is the time a migrant spends at the destination in a year. The greater the time spent, the greater is the importance of migration as a livelihood strategy for the household. As per the migration survey, about 77.13 per cent of the migrant workers reported spending more than six months at the destination. The definition adopted in this study covers a movement of 3 months or more from the native block of a person. This accounts for 99.56 per cent of the respondents, making the overall migrant population from Rajasthan 5.79 million.

Table 10: Duration of stay at destination (months)

Regions	1 to 3	4 to 6	> 6 months
North-Eastern	0.21	8.56	91.23
Northern	1.61	24.40	73.99
South-Eastern	6.51	29.18	64.31
Southern	1.00	16.67	82.33
Western	2.07	24.17	73.76
Rajasthan	2.28	20.60	77.13

Source: RSMP Migration survey, 2012, n=2,496

Migration patterns across social groups

A closer look at the location-wise trends offers significant insights into migration patterns across social groups. The number of migrants per household (including non-migrant population) is higher among SC and ST households. It is highest in case of SC households (0.92 persons per household) closely followed by the ST community (0.84 persons per household). Data on migration incidence or migration rate also gives a more or less similar trend.

The total number of migrants from the two communities is higher possibly due to a greater prevalence of family migration in some communities. For example, Baran of Hadoti region sends the largest number of migrants per ST household (1.65 persons). This is due to a higher family migration among Sahariya tribes, moving to work in mines and agricultural fields. Notably, the share of south-east Rajasthan in the total tribal population of the state is 12 per cent, but it accounts for 22 per cent of the tribal migrants. In case of Tonk and Nagaur, we observe a higher number of migrants per SC household (1.02) because of a larger number of SC families working in brick kilns as a family unit.

Family migration depicts a more vulnerable kind of labour movement, where the entire family relocates for a substantial period of time. This stream usually comprises of men, women and children employed in brick kilns, mining and agriculture. Herein, questions of access to entitlements (such as health and education), decent shelter and sanitation at destination, etc. get far more exacerbated. Instances of bondage are also found to be common. We shall delve into these aspects in later chapters (5 and 6). The examples of family migration that we see across these 10 locations are driven by a complete lack of opportunities in the source region, equivalent to distress migration.

4.2 Employment Trends - In which sectors are seasonal migrants employed?

Majority of the seasonal migrant workers are employed in the lowest niches of the unorganized economy at the destination. These are sectors requiring a large number of manual labour with low and sometimes no entry barriers, for instance, construction, head-loading, mining, agriculture, etc. The employment trends, however, vary across the 10 locations, mostly determined by the nature of economic opportunities available at the destination. Primary data from the 47 GPs spread across 10 districts shows that there is a high degree of heterogeneity in occupations, making it difficult to extrapolate regional trends. A simple summation of observations covering 25,368 migrants shows that building construction, transportation and mining sectors are the dominant employers of migrants from these 10 locations, employing almost half of the migrant population. Hospitality and agriculture add another 16 per cent. Table 11 provides a list of the top 10 work sectors, which together employ 89 per cent of the migrant population from these 10 locations. The other employers include services, retail sector, domestic work, automobile industry, road construction, etc.

Table 11: Dominant migrant employing sectors		
Work Sector	No. of migrants	Cumulative Share
Construction	5296	21
Transportation	3533	35
Mining	2857	46
Hospitality	2006	54
Agriculture	2000	62
Furniture	1596	68
Textile	1480	74
Factories	1444	80
Micro-enterprise	1199	84
Brick kiln	1155	89
Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n = 25,368		

A location-wise mapping of important[15] work sectors gives a more nuanced picture on employment trends.We find that construction is a key employer across nine of the 10 study locations. In Ajmer, Tonk and Baran, about one-third of the workers are employed in construction. The transportation sector, which includes head loaders, rickshaw pullers, tractors and truck drivers – is an important work sector for 8 out of 10 locations. Micro-enterprise, brick-kilns, and agriculture and animal husbandry follow but are less common (3-4 out of 10 locations). Mining is another major sector for workers from Ajmer and Jodhpur, who undertake short distance migration to find employment.

Some of the sectors are limited to select regions alone. For instance, textile sector workers were found mostly in Udaipur (employed in the textile market of Surat) and Barmer. Hotel and hospitality is a popular sector for workers from Dungarpur and Jodhpur. The celebrated stream of carpenters/furniture workers largely comes from Barmer and Jodhpur districts of the western region.

Table 12 gives an account of the major occupational sectors of migrant workers.

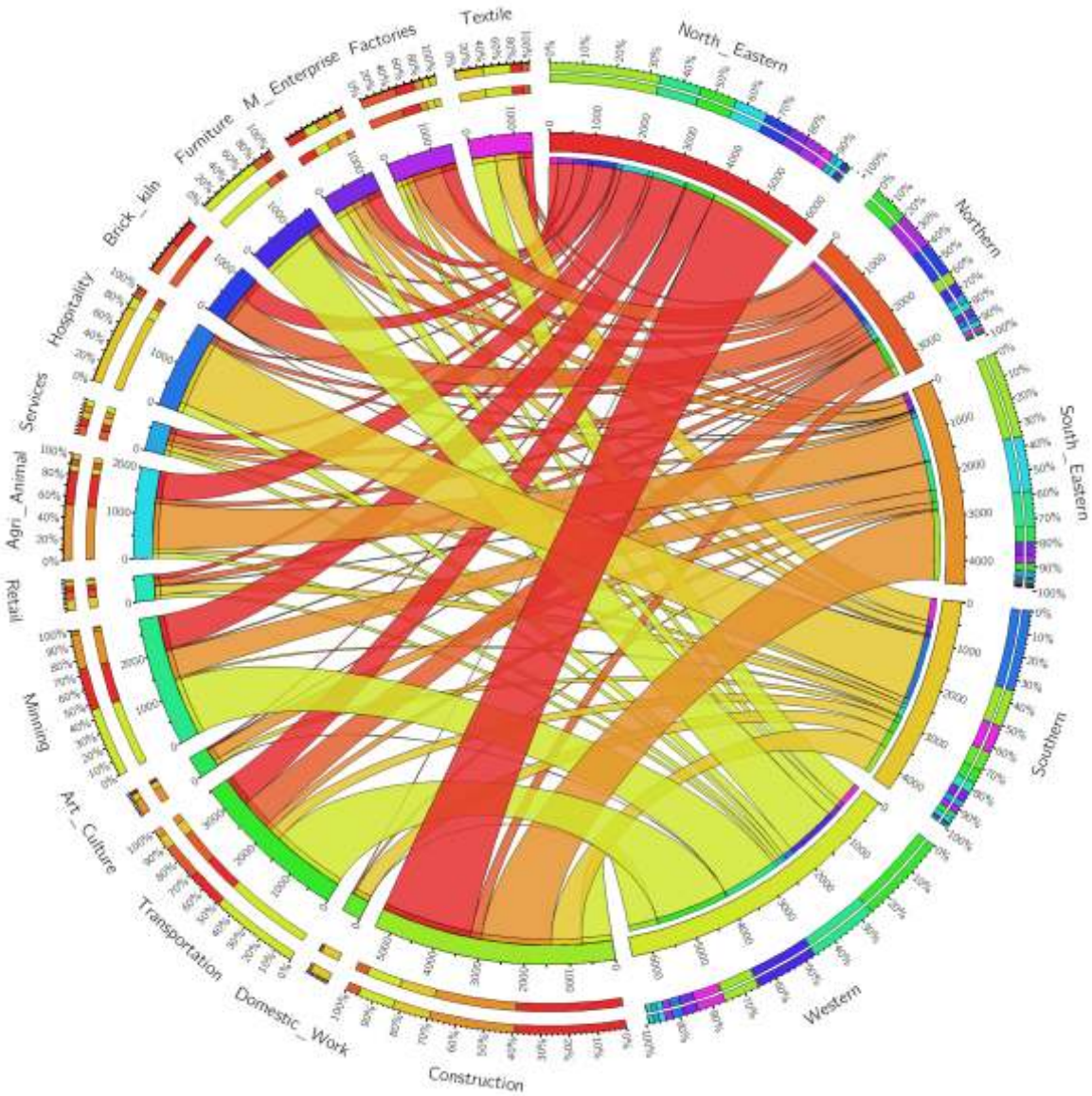
[15]An important sector is defined as one employing 5 per cent or more migrants from the given location. We first mapped sectors which employed more than five per cent of the migrant population in each region. Each of these sectors were then divided into four separate bands, based on their relative prevalence – 1st band – work sector employing more than 30 per cent workers from the location, 2nd band – 21-30 per cent, 3rd band – 11-20 per cent and 4th band – 5 – 10 per cent.

Table 12: Percentage of workers employed in each sector across locations				
Districts	**> 30 per cent**	**21-30 per cent**	**11-20 per cent**	**5-10 per cent**
Ajmer	Building Construction		Mining	Brick kiln, Micro-Enterprise, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry
Tonk	Building Construction		Transportation	Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Factory Micro Enterprise, Brick kiln
Jhunjhunu		Building Construction	Transportation, Micro Enterprise, Services	Factory, Furniture, Retail
Nagaur		Factory, Transportation, Brick kiln		Building Construction, Furniture
Baran	Building Construction	Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	Mining Sector	Art and Culture
Chittorgarh		Building construction, Micro-Enterprise		Transportation, Services, Factory, Mining
Dungarpur	Hotel and Hospitality		Domestic Work	Building Construction, Micro-Enterprise, Transportation
Udaipur		Textile, Building Construction	Hotel and Hospitality	Art and Culture, Factory, Retail, Transportation
Barmer		Transportation, Building Construction, Furniture Work	Textile	
Jodhpur	Mining Sector	Transportation	Furniture Work	Hotel and Hospitality

Source: Based on RSMP primary survey, 2012, n = 25368

Note: Work sectors are divided across four bands in terms of importance – first band employs more than 30 per cent of workers from the location, 2nd band 21-30 per cent, 3rd band – 11-20 per cent and 4th band employs 5-10 per cent

Figure 2: Key Occupational streams emerging from the five NSS regions



Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n = 25,368, Note: Thickness of the bands represents the magnitude of the migration streams

The key occupational streams emerging from the five NSS regions are depicted in Figure 2. If we take an example of the western region, we find that there are three large streams of workers moving into the transportation, mining and furniture making. It is followed by smaller streams employed in textile work, micro-enterprises and more. For the south-eastern region, we find three major streams moving to construction, agriculture/animal husbandry and mining. The same interpretation can be drawn for the remaining three regions. A tabular representation of the graph is presented in Annexure V.

Majority of the given work sectors are dominated by an unskilled workforce. Migration survey suggests that 50 per cent of migrants are unskilled workers and another 14 per cent are employed as semi-skilled.[16] Notably, skill levels among socially vulnerable groups of SCs & STs are far lower compared to the migrant workers from general and OBC category (refer Table 13). The data also indicates a pattern of work sector-caste group associations. 80 percent of workers in the brick-kiln sector, for instance, are from the SC community.

[16]Defining skill in this segment of worker population was a difficult exercise as the formal means of classification did not measure up. Almost none of them (0.62 per cent) have a professional or vocational degree. In most cases, workers have acquired skills on job – learning by doing – helped by their relatives/friends/fellow workmen. The classification pursued in the study is thus based on the dominant perception on skilled/semi-skilled and unskilled work in the labour market, as articulated by workers, and corroborated through FGDs.

Similarly, 51 percent of farm workers are from the ST community. There are several such examples of labour market segmentation across caste groups and gender, which stand in contradiction to the neo-classical economic theory and directly lead to unequal returns to different groups.

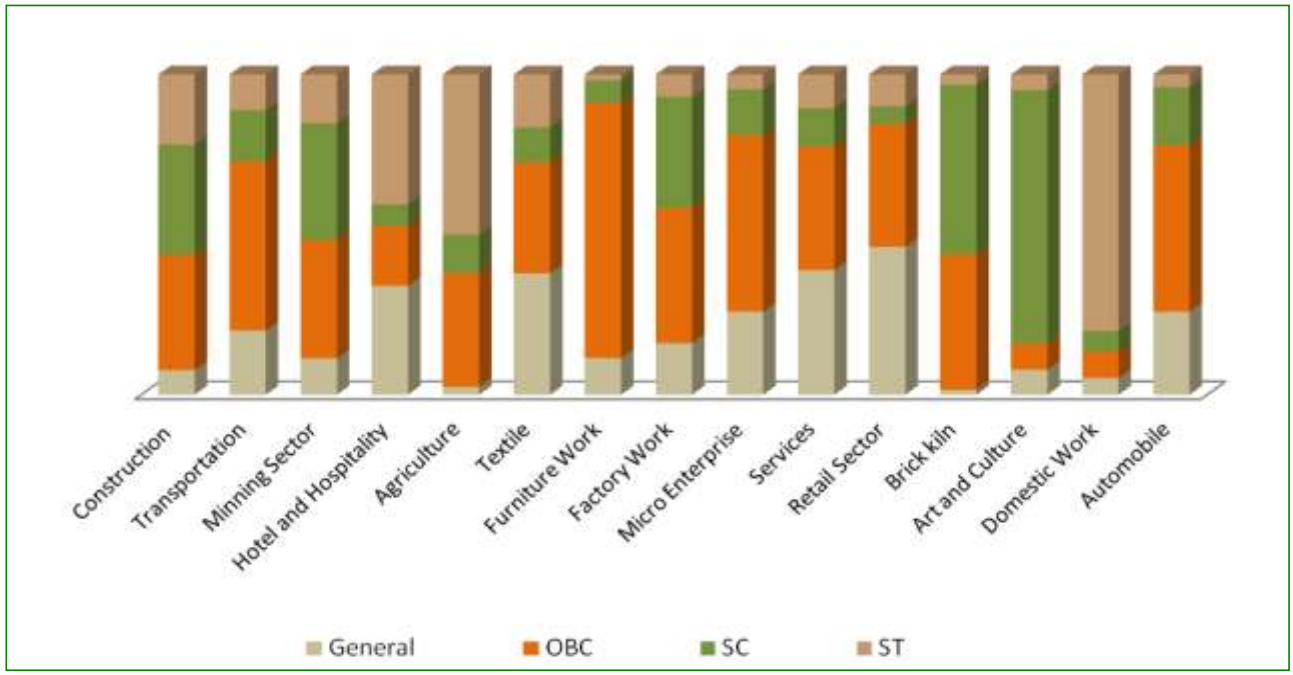
Table 13: Skill levels across social groups

	ST	SC	OBC	General
Skilled	27.59	27.42	44.20	37.03
Semi-skilled	15.37	11.29	10.12	25.71
Unskilled	57.04	61.29	45.68	37.26

Source: RSMP primary survey, n=2,496

There is clear segmentation of labour in certain occupational sectors, based on caste. Sectors such as domestic work and agriculture are dominated by workers from the ST community. Majority of domestic workers are Meenas, a dominant tribal community in southern Rajasthan. The SC community, especially the Madari and Mogiya castes, dominates the art and culture sector which comprises of musicians, magicians, sculptors, road show artists, and handicraft artists. A sizeable number of furniture workers come from the *Sutar* and *Jat* communities, a sector dominated by the OBCs. The OBC community also marks its presence in the automobile, micro-enterprise and transportation sectors.The General community, although less represented among unorganised migrant workers, finds hospitality, textile, services and retail as favorable sectors to work in. Construction, mining, factories and brick kiln are largely occupied by the SC and OBC groups.

Figure 3: Social segmentation in labour markets



Source: RSMP primary survey, n= 17846 (the sample refers to the first migrant from a household for which caste break-up was available)

In certain sectors, the nature of work carried out also varies across social groups. In the textile sector, for example, the unskilled and low paying tasks such as cutting-folding-packaging of *sarees* are carried out by the ST community, but the entrepreneurs or the contractors are from the General community. In the hospitality sector, about 30 percent of workers come from ST and General community each. The work profile, however, is significantly different. The tribal migrants are employed as helpers in kitchen, housekeeping staff and as waiters. Migrants from the General category, comprising the Rajputs and Brahmins, on the other hand, work as cooks, caterers, supervisors, managers and drivers, which are the relatively skilled, prestigious and well-paying jobs within the sector. The workers from other backward castes, though a small group, are found to be employed as sweet makers. A meager seven per cent of the workers are from the SC community, suggesting the prevalent 'entry barrier' for this community into the hotel and hospitality sector.

The construction sector which is the largest employer of migrant workers throws up interesting trends too. The sector employs significant number of workers across all social groups. One finds that the sector is dominated by SC and OBC workers. What is notable is that while their absolute number is high in comparison to others, the ST community has a greater representation within the construction sector with respect to its population. The number of unskilled workers is high among all the social groups except the General community. The latter have a greater share in managerial roles such as contractors and supervisors. SC-ST skilled workers are seen mostly in masonry and flooring work, including marble and tile fitting while OBC workers were found to be working as electricians, plumbers, carpenters, and centering workers.

The transportation sector, comprising of loaders, drivers, transport operators and agents, has a dominance of workers from the OBC community across all kinds of work. The SC and ST communities participate in the transportation sector mostly as unskilled loaders and khalasi (drivers' assistants).

The trends observed among women workers are again quite compelling. Women migrants mostly find manual, unskilled employment in sectors such as construction, agriculture, brick-kilns and mines. Most of them (80 per cent) migrate with their families in search of work. In the Southern region, for instance, one observes a trend of female migrants going for domestic work from Dungarpur. An interesting trend is seen among the women migrants of Baran in South-Eastern Hadoti region, who migrate with their families to work as magicians across India.

Tractor Drivers from Marwar

Villages in Odisha would seem like an unlikely destination for migrants from Rajasthan, but the tractor drivers of Marwar break the norm. Workers from districts of Nagaur, Jodhpur and Jalore migrate across the country, with their tractors, from Rajasthan to Odisha, Bihar, Chattisgarh and other states to work on the farms lands, under-construction roads and for digging of water bodies. Women do not accompany the group but adolescent boys do, who also get trained in the process. The tractor drivers are considered skilled at their work and take up the job willingly, something which is considered highly risky by the locals.

4.3 Migrant Destinations – Where are workers from Rajasthan headed?

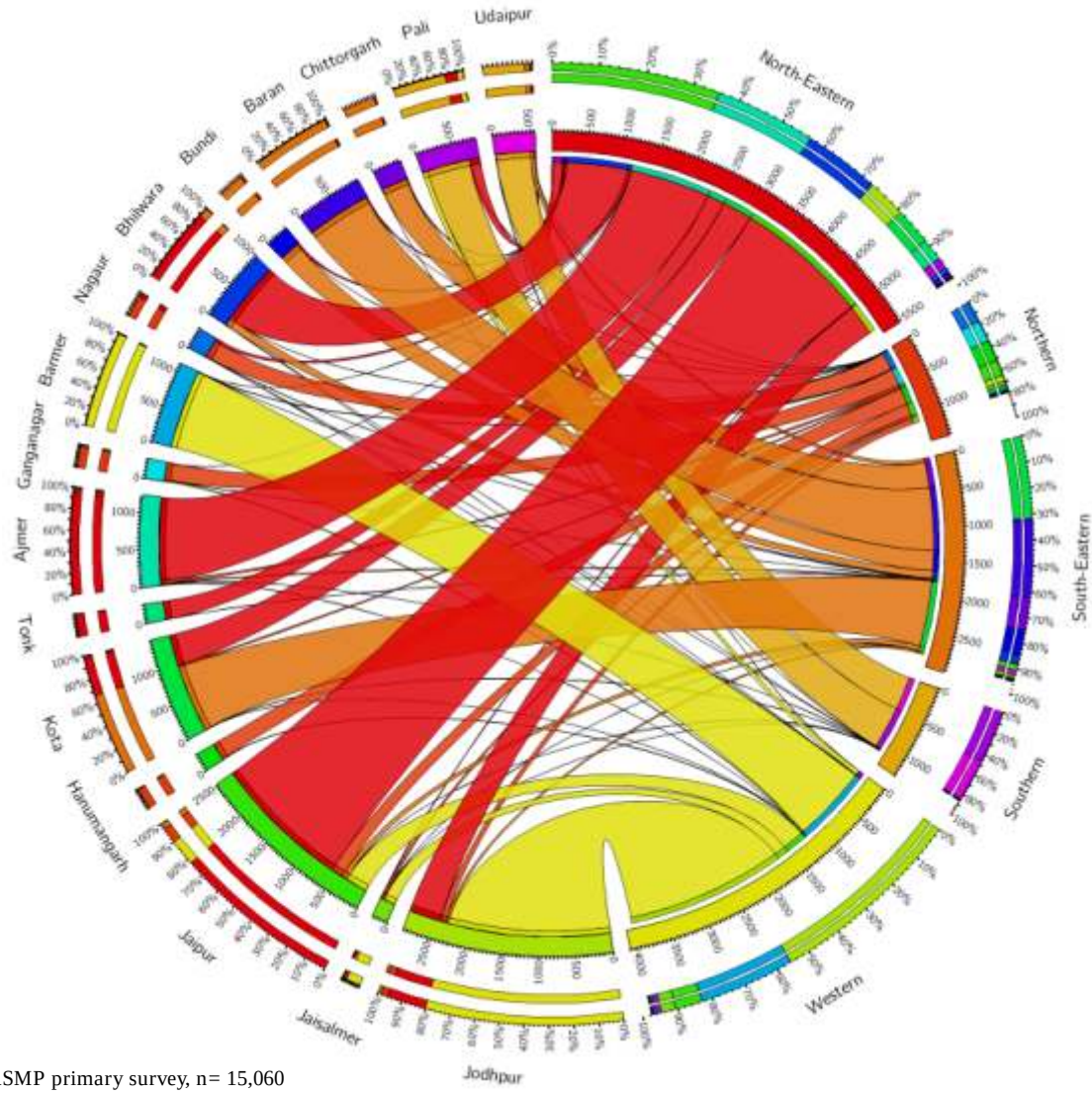
Given the paucity of economic opportunities at home, a larger number of migrants move outside Rajasthan in search of a livelihood – 40.6 per cent of the migrants surveyed through the RSMP primary survey reported inter-state migration (Table 14). Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh are the top three popular destinations, collectively accounting for 83 percent of the inter-state migration. There is a significant amount of intra-state movement as well. Within the state, the proportion of intra-district migrants to inter-district migrants is lower, signifying that the intra-state movement is more across districts and not so much within. North-Eastern region has a high incidence (87 per cent) of intra- state migration. South-Eastern and Western regions follow the trend, reporting 66 and 63 per cent of migration within the state.

Table 14: Inter-state movement of migrant workforce

	Intra-state migrants			Inter-state migrants	Total
	Intra-district	Inter-district	Total		
Number	6252	8808	15060	10302	25362
Percentage	24.65	34.73	59.38	40.62	100

Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n = 25368

Figure 4: Intra-State Migration from Rajasthan (Top 15 destinations)



Source: RSMP primary survey, n= 15,060

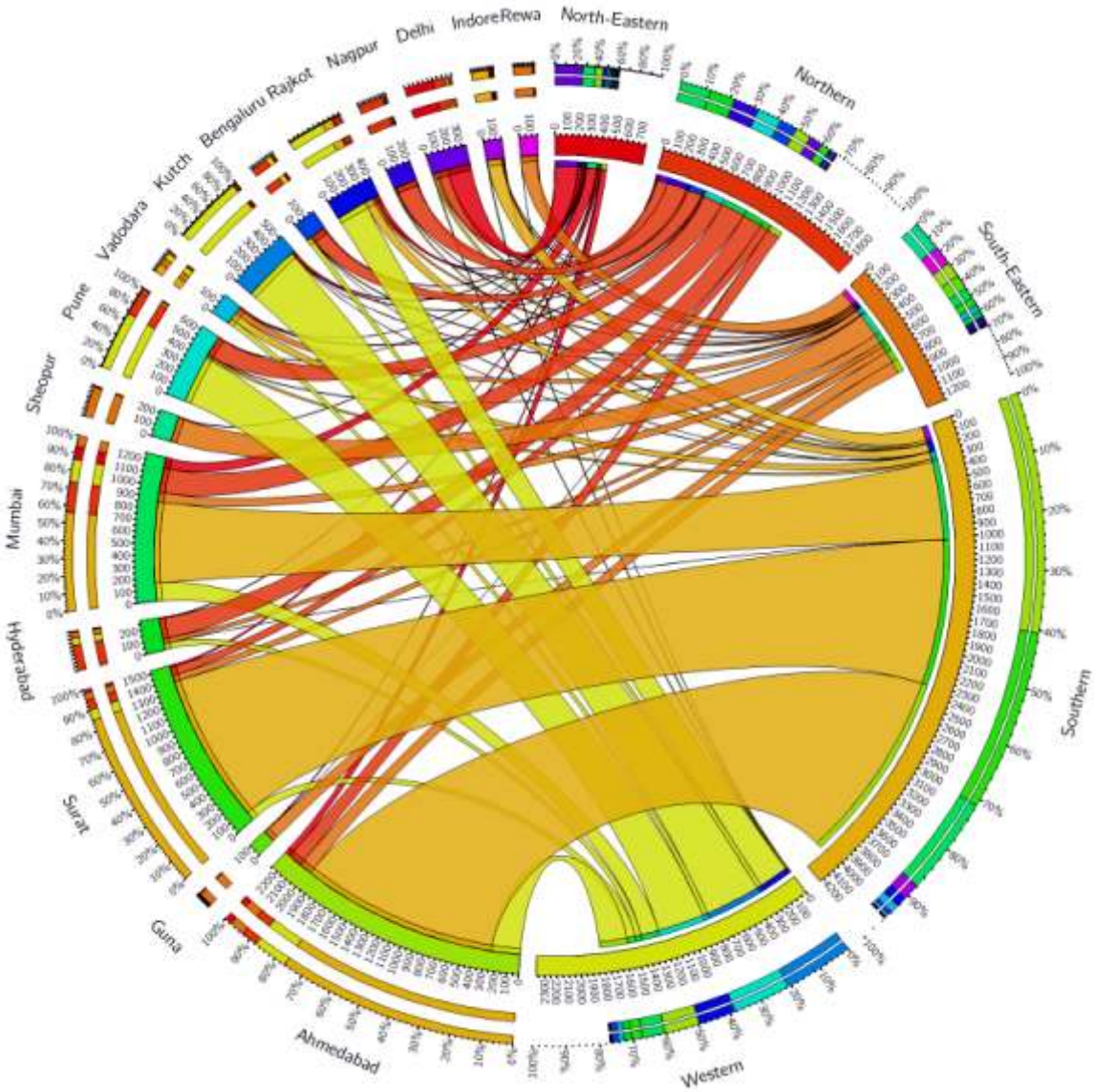
Figure 4 provides the migration flow across the top 15 intra-state destinations of Rajasthan. Together these 15 districts account for 94 per cent of total seasonal migration within the state. Jodhpur makes a popular destination for its own workers as well as for workers from neighbouring districts of Ajmer and Barmer, who find employment in the mining sector. Another significant intra-state destination is the capital city of Jaipur. A clear intra-state migration corridor that emerges in the study sample is Tonk – Jaipur. About half of the workers in the given corridor find work in the construction and transportation sector while some get employed in agriculture and brick-kilns. Another important destination for the North-Eastern region is the mining area of Bhilwara, which employs migrants from Ajmer and other districts.

Ice cream vendors from Mewar

Mewar, Mahaveer and Saanwariya are familiar names of ice creams sold on hand-driven carts in India. Where do these ice cream carts come from? Where do the vendors selling these ice creams and their employers hail from? If you were to ask these questions to any of these ice cream sellers, the vendor would invariably have one answer –Mewar region in Rajasthan. These ice cream vendors are found in many towns and cities of India but most of them hail from the Relmagra (a block in Rajsamand district of Rajasthan) and its three adjoining districts of Chittorgarh, Bhilwara and Udaipur. They migrate to all parts of the country to make and vend ice-creams. Their migration begins at a very young age, when the adolescent boys move out to work as helpers, growing up to eventually running a cart independently. They, however, generally do not own the business.

The intra-state migrants from Baran and Chittorgarh district of south-eastern region find work in Kota and Bundi districts, apart from the districts of origin. The southern region, although with a fairly small population of intra-state migrants, projects Pali as a popular destination.

Figure 5: Inter-state Migration from Rajasthan (Top 15 destinations)



Source: RSMP primary survey, n= 10,302

Figure 5 shows the region wise distribution of migrants across top 15 inter-state destinations. These destinations all together account for 81 per cent of the inter-state migrants across all locations. For Barmer and Jodhpur, from the Western region, Pune, Mumbai, Kutch, Rajkot, Ahmedabad, Mehsana and Bhavnagar come across as significant destinations.

Inter-state migration is particularly high from the Southern region with about 78 per cent of migrants crossing state boundaries to find work. The region is geographically close to Gujarat and also well-connected, enabling inter-state movement of workers. The prominent streams are towards Ahmedabad, Surat and Mumbai. A small stream of migrants from the Southern region finds employment as sculptors and hotel workers in Indore.

Another notable inter-state migration stream emerges from Baran, in South-Eastern region, to Sheopur, Guna and Rewa districts in Madhya Pradesh. These are rural-rural migrants, working in the agriculture sector. Due to proximity to Delhi, North and North-Eastern regions send migrants to the national capital as well.

Mogiyas from southern Rajasthan

It is hard to miss the small groups of idol makers who prop-up the road sides close to any major festivals. Working with Plaster of Paris, they would skillfully sculpt and paint big and small idols of Ganesha during Ganesh Chaturthi, Durga during Navratri and Kali Puja, Laxmi on Diwali and more. Behind the magnificence and perfection of these idols that add to our celebrations are the footloose migrants from the Mogiya community (OBC) of the Udaipur, Rajsamand and Chittorgarh districts in Southern Rajasthan. They migrate with families for about ten months (July to April), who help them in making the idols and selling them.

While most locations have one prominent destination, Nagaur sends migrants to a range of destinations, close and afar. Hanumangarh and Ganganagar are important intra-state destinations with migrants going there to work in the brick-kilns. At the same time, it sends significant number of workers to Bangalore, Hyderabad, Akola and Kolkata where they are employed in furniture work and stone factories.

The study exhibits heterogeneous trends with respect to destinations (as in case of occupations) and in such a scenario, the researchers do not find it suitable to draw state level trends. However, if we undertake a simple aggregation of figures on inter-state migration we find that Ahmedabad gets the highest number of workers, followed by Surat and Mumbai. These three cities also feature most frequently across the 10 locations (Table 15). The tabular matrix lists the source location from across the 10 study locations against the top five work destinations for seasonal migrants from Rajasthan. One finds that out of 10 locations, 8 locations report Ahmedabad and Mumbai as important work destinations. Surat is reported as an important destination in 5 out of the 10 study locations.

International migrants from the Shekhawati region

The Shekhawati region is well known for its havelis and affluent architecture. The region experiences high incidence of international migration to Middle Eastern countries. These are single male migrants employed primarily in the building construction sector as unskilled workers, masons and furniture makers. A smaller group finds work as drivers in the transportation sector. Notably, about half of them come from the general community, along with 30 and 20 percent of OBC and SC communities respectively.

Table 15: Popular City Destinations for Seasonal Migrants from Rajasthan

Inter-State			Intra-State	
Ahmedabad	Mumbai	Surat	Jaipur	Jodhpur
Dungarpur	Chittorgarh	Udaipur	Tonk	Jodhpur
Chittorgarh	Dungarpur	Chittorgarh	Jhunjhunu	Barmer
Udaipur	Udaipur	Dungarpur	Barmer	Ajmer
Barmer	Nagaur	Barmer	Ajmer	Nagaur
Ajmer	Barmer	Jhunjhunu	Nagaur	
Nagaur	Jhunjhunu		Jodhpur	
Jodhpur	Ajmer			
Jhunjhunu	Jodhpur			

Source: Based on RSMP primary survey, 2012, n = 25,368
Note: The destination cities are divided across four bands in terms of importance – first band employs more than 20 per cent of workers from the given study location, 2nd band 11-20 per cent, 3rd band – 6-10 per cent and 4th band employs 1-5per cent

More than 20 per cent	11 to 20 per cent	6 to 10 per cent	1 to 5 per cent

The nature of migration is primarily rural to urban, with 85 per cent of the workers moving towards urban areas to find work. Construction alone employs about 22 per cent of these migrants, followed by hotel and transportation sectors employing about 13 per cent each. Other important employers for urban migrants are factories, furniture and textile markets. About a quarter of rural-rural migrants are workers in the mining sector within the state. Others find employment in the brick kilns (18 per cent), agriculture (17 per cent), construction (13 per cent), factories (10 per cent) and transportation (5 per cent).

4.4 Migrant workers and their demographic profile

A typical migrant from Rajasthan is a young male, in the age group of 18 – 30 years. He has education up to 8th standard after which he leaves school to find work. He usually migrates alone or with other male members of the family, leaving his parents, wife and children behind in the village. In this section, we lay out the basic attributes of an average migrant worker from Rajasthan, patterns in his/her movement and the variation as seen across regions.

Seasonal migration from the state is predominantly male, with 88 per cent male migrants. Women migrate for work and it is prominently with family. In most migrant households, it is observed that women stay behind to take care of the family, landholding, and other immovable assets. The cost of living at an urban destination is also higher. Men therefore tend to move alone to optimize the benefits and women stay back to support the family. State level figures show that about 80 per cent of the migrant workers move alone, while 20 per cent migrate with family (Table 16). Family migration is relatively higher in the North and South-eastern regions, where the entire family moves to work in the brick kilns, agriculture and mining sectors.

Table 16: Nature of migration- alone/with family, male/female						
	North Eastern	Northern	South Eastern	Southern	Western	Rajasthan
Single	70.77	79.28	59.11	93.96	97.51	79.74
With Family	29.23	20.72	40.89	6.04	2.49	20.26
Male	78.79	93.45	69.93	98.03	99.74	88.03
Female	21.21	6.55	30.07	1.97	0.26	11.97
Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n= 2496 (for single/with family migration), n=25368 (for male/female migration)						

There is a significant regional variation in incidence of male/female migration - an aspect that becomes visible with analysis of gender disaggregated data (Table 16). For western Rajasthan, the number of female migrants is negligible. The number of female migrants is considerably low for northern and southern regions too but south-eastern and north-eastern regions have relatively higher percentage of female migrants. This closely follows the trends on family migration in some locations. Most of the women - 84 per cent - report moving with their family. Notably, there are very few sectors employing single women migrants such as cotton ginning factories, cotton pollination work in agricultural farms; and the ones that exist, are limited to tribal southern Rajasthan. Single women workers are seen in the construction sector as well, where they work largely as commuter labour.

The average age of the migrants from Rajasthan is 31 years. This finding is also consistent across regions. When workers are disaggregated across different age brackets, one finds that about 2/3rd lie between the ages of 18 to 30. The percentage of migrants in older age groups shows a consistent decline. This indicates that typically the migration cycle starts at a very young age; 18 – 30 years being the prime of their active work life and phases out with an early retirement by 45 years of age. Often the nature of work is such that it presents fewer opportunities of growth and is laden with heavy physical work.

The study didn't capture migration of children below the age of 14. It is not to say that there is no child migration or child labour in the state, but it is a subject that needs to be dealt with in a different light. The study did capture migration in the age group of 14 – 18 years of age and found that nearly 3 percent of all migrants fall in this range. Baran and Udaipur have a higher incidence of adolescent migration, almost twice and 1.5 times the state average respectively. Notably, 25 per cent of the adolescent migrants were females. This trend is particularly visible in Baran. Jhunjhunu has only 0.5 per cent of adolescent working migrants and it could be correlated with the relatively higher level of education among the migrants from the district.

Adolescent girls found employment in the construction, agriculture, brick-kilns and mining sector and the young men were engaged in textile, hotels and transportation sectors additionally. Construction, agriculture, transportation and mining are popular employers with migrants on the other end of the age spectrum, i.e. in the age group of 41 and above.

Data on education is particularly telling of the nature of employment enjoyed by the migrant workers (Table 17). Close to one-third of the workers are illiterate, a similar number have education up till primary and 33 per cent have secondary education. Most of the women workers – 92 per cent – are illiterate. This lack of education manifests in poorer or no upward mobility for women workers, who continue to toil as manual workers all their working lives. Women workers are mostly employed in building construction, agriculture and brick kilns, and generally undertake unskilled work as helpers to male workers. Among men workers too, a large number is illiterate and works in construction, mining, transportation and factories. Less than 5 per cent have done senior secondary or graduation; and most notably less than 1 per cent have a formal vocational training or a professional background.

Table 17: Education levels of men and women migrant workers			
	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	23.32	91.58	28.85
Primary (till 5th)	31.26	6.44	29.25
Secondary (6th - 10th)	36.14	1.98	33.37
Senior Secondary (11th - 12th)	4.45	0	4.09
Graduate or more	4.10	0	3.77
Professional degree/ diploma		0	0.68
Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012 n=2496			

Region-wise disaggregation of data on education shows that the south eastern region is particularly behind in terms of education (44 per cent workers are illiterate). In contrast, north eastern and northern region show a higher proportion of workers with secondary education education (refer Annexure V, Table 5). There is also a discernible association between education, work sectors and type of work performed therein – with illiterate and less educated workers crowding the lower end roles within construction, mining, agriculture, transportation (mostly head-loading) and brick kilns.

Education and skills levels impact the nature of work performed and the earning levels of migrants. We find that the income levels of workers vary from one sector to another. The range of earning is also quite large. However, a simple aggregation of income levels shows that migrant workers earn a monthly wage of Rs. 5060 (inter-quartile mean).The income levels are poorer in agriculture, brick-kilns and hotel and hospitality. Earning of men and women vary significantly, men earning more than twice on a monthly basis in some cases.

Income centrality of migration

It is worth mentioning that for most migrant workers, home is still the village. Most of the migrant families own land. As per the primary survey, 85 per cent of the workers owned land. But, on an average only 1 bigha (0.4 acres) was irrigated, which is not enough to support a household. Contribution of migration income is thus quite significant to the overall income basket of these migrant households. When asked to rank the top two sources of income, migrant workers spoke of migration and agriculture as their two main sources. Notably, 83 per cent of migrants said that migration income was the topmost source of income for them.

Vulnerability and Migration In Rajasthan

This chapter[17] describes five of Rajasthan's most important migrant streams, notably construction workers, mine workers, agricultural labour, workers employed in brick-kilns and head loaders working in the transportation sector. The main consideration in the selection of these streams was the level of vulnerability faced by them. Specific criteria included their significance in terms of the number of migrants; participation of disadvantaged groups (SC/ST); challenging working conditions; and employment practices that adversely affect the health of workers[18].

The description presented here include the major characteristics of the migrant groups associated with each occupation; migration patterns; the recruitment systems, including relationships with business owners and contractors; incomes, living and working conditions; and major challenges. The status of women and children migrant workers receives a special mention as an overarching category across these sectors. The occupations expose vulnerabilities of migrants from disadvantaged groups, but there are important differences depending on the locations (urban or rural) and the scope for advancement associated with experience and skills. The chapter draws upon primary and secondary data as well as narratives of experiences, as shared by organizations working in the respective domains[19].

5.1 CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

Construction is one of the few sectors which has seen an increase in employment in the last decade[20]. It is also the largest employer of migrant unorganized labour moving out from Rajasthan. Of the 25,368 migrants surveyed in this study, 21 per cent workers were employed in the construction sector. Construction also emerged as the most important occupation for migrants in 9 out of the 10 locations covered by the survey.

Migrants from Rajasthan are involved in a range of specialized and unspecialized jobs including construction of buildings, sewerage and drainage lines, laying of telephone lines, tiles laying and marble work, etc. Some regions of Rajasthan send workers for specific trades. For instance, most of the marble fitters come from Jodhpur and Jaipur, plaster and masonry workers are from Dungarpur, and tile layers and polishers are from Udaipur. Karauali and Sirohi are sources of workers who specialize in stone carving, and Ajmer is known for its specialization in Reinforced Cement Concrete (RCC) work. This regional specialization is an expression of socially networked migration, where an early mover from the village community serves as the gateway, introducing young migrants to a work sector and passing on specific skill-sets that he possesses to his protégé.

[17] The author would like to acknowledge the inputs and contributions from Mr. Sudhir Katiyar from PRAYAS-CLRA and Ms. Ajita Vidyarthi in writing of this chapter.

[18] This selection is based on a collective brainstorming exercise among 12 organizations working with migrant communities in Rajasthan – Aajeevika Bureau, PRAYAS-CLRA, Jatan, JBVSS, KAS, Jandaksha, GSVS, LKS, Sankalp, SSS, SRKPS and UKS.

[19] In particular, the chapter draws upon a set of unpublished occupational profiles prepared by Aajeevika Bureau

[20] A study on India's labour markets during the 2000s shows that employment in most sectors has declined in the last decade, except for construction (Thomas, 2012).

Education levels among construction workers are low with 44 per cent respondents stating that they were not literate (RSMP primary survey). Further, the number of migrant workers undertaking skilled work is lower (39.43 per cent) than those engaged in unskilled work. Women form 17 per cent of the work force in construction. However, there are almost no women among skilled workers. Out of 79 women workers in the survey, only four reported working as masons; the rest were employed as construction labour. Migrants from OBCs, SCs and STs accounted for 89 per cent of workers surveyed. A profiling of construction workers from Rajasthan in Ahmedabad shows that the jobs entailing unskilled hard physical labour are mainly done by people from the tribal community (Mehta, 2007). The relatively skilled jobs of masonry, plumbing, electrical work are taken up by people from the SC community[21].

Workers use one of two approaches for finding employment. In Ahmedabad[22], day laborers congregate early in the morning at pre-designated labour gathering sites strewn across the city while other construction workers live and work at construction sites. The sites where the day labourers gather everyday are known as "Nakas" or "Choktthi" and there are about 200 small and large choktthis in Ahmedabad city. Some even specialize in a particular branch of construction. For example, the site at Raipur, perhaps the oldest, now harbors construction workers who specialize in marble fitting. While employment is more or less guaranteed at building sites, the wages offered at Nakas or Choktthis are higher.

In a highly uncertain labour market, where employment is not guaranteed, women find it more difficult to find jobs than men. The RSMP primary survey shows that women find work for a lesser number of days (22.5 days) in comparison to men (25.7 days). Besides difficulty in finding work, there are also significant income disparities. These are found to exist between skilled workers who tend to concentrate at the *choktthi* and non skilled workers who are often floaters. The skilled *choktthi* workers get as much as Rs. 7000 to 8000 per month while the helpers may make half that amount. There is also serious discrimination of wages between men and women for the same type of work. When segregating for wages received by the two sexes, we find that on an average, a male construction labourer receives Rs. 194 for a day's work and women do not earn more than Rs. 138 (range – Rs. 50-300).

Table 18 provides an overview of the earning range of workers in the construction sector. It shows how the more skilled workers earn a higher monthly wage on an average as opposed to low skilled workers. Majority construction labourers (73 per cent of respondents in the category) earn a monthly wage of Rs. 5000 or less, whereas 75 per cent of the more skilled plumber respondents and 66.6 per cent of centering workers earn between Rs. 5000 and 15000. 57 per cent of construction contractors earn above Rs. 15000 in a month.

Table 18: Average wages in construction sector

	Average (median) monthly income range of workers = Rs. 5000 Range (Rs. 4343 to 22500)					
Type of work	**Number of workers**	**1000-3000**	**3001-5000**	**5001-10000**	**10001-15000**	**Above 15000**
Construction labour	305	114	110	79	2	0
Marble and tile fitting	35	5	11	17	2	
(RCC) Reinforced cement and concrete work	13	2	4	5	2	0
Painting	12	0	6	6	0	0
Mason	130	16	27	66	21	0
Plumbing	8	0	0	6	0	2
Centering work	6	0	2	2	2	0
Construction contractor	7	0	0	1	2	4

Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n=525

[21]This observation is based on registration data collated by the Ahmedabad centre of Aajeevika Bureau. 72 per cent of the SC respondents were engaged in skilled work in the construction industry, while 43.6 per cent of the ST respondents were skilled workers.

[22]RSMP primary survey suggests that Ahmedabad is the biggest destination for Rajasthani migrant workers, followed by Mumbai, Surat and Jaipur.

Low monthly incomes that are commonly recorded in the survey are a consequence of the chronic problem of lack of regular employment that workers in the construction sector face. In several months, labourers would not get work beyond 10-15 days a month, finding it difficult to sustain themselves in the city. Irregular work translates into reduced earning, averaging at Rs. 5000 per month in the construction industry. This makes survival difficult especially as the estimated bare minimum monthly expenditure to live in Ahmedabad is between Rs. 3500 and 3800[23]. This problem is more common among construction workers who find work through labour posts.

Workers in this sector frequently complain of cheating with regards to wages – either in the form of delayed payment, holding up of wages till they return in the next season, or lower payment than what was promised. Nearly all workers interviewed complained about irregularities in payment of wages, especially workers who do not maintain any written record of their work as is usually the case when they are hired on a daily basis from the market or on short contracts. The day labourer often doesn't know who he is working for. There is a long chain of contractors/sub-contractors in which it is difficult for the worker to fathom, who the real employer is. The case of Dhannaram Garasia, given in the box below is particularly illustrative.

Though there is the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970 which regulates contractor-labour relationship, it is ineffectively enforced.

Dhannaram Garasia is a labour mate from Chitrawas Panchayat in Gogunda, Udaipur. In July 2009 he completed a two year road construction work with the help of labour sourced from in and around the region. This road was constructed under the Public Works Department (PWD) contract issued to a Jaipur based company M/s Sardar Singh. The company sub-contracted this work to an Udaipur based contractor Neelkanth who further reached out to a local petty contractor from Gogunda. At the end of two years, a payment worth 2 lakh remained pending. Neelkanth slowly wound up his work and took away all the construction machinery. When workers began to mobilize support to access their dues, they found that each party blamed the other for siphoning off money. There was no clarity about who the principal employer was and as a result there was no direct source for grievance redress. Workers neither had a way to reach out to the Jaipur based company, which had initially let out these contracts, nor did they fully understand the role played by PWD. The case depicts how poor measures for grievance redress and lack of clarity around responsibility for wage payment works against the interest of construction workers.

Uncertain work relations are accompanied with poor living conditions at the work site. These lack even the most basic of facilities. Women and children suffer the most. Either they stay in make shift sheds or occupy the empty rooms that they themselves construct. The *chokthi* workers live in cramped conditions close to their respective *chokthi* sites. Those who have not brought their families, often share a room with several others. Those with their families stay separately. Such migrant quarters are found on public/government lands that have been "encroached" upon, and are therefore, illegal. Workers employed at construction sites generally lack access to basic amenities at work place. The day-workers at *chokthis* also face abuse and humiliation from the local shopkeepers. There are no arrangements for workers to wait at the *chokthis* - no sheds, drinking water or provision for sanitation are available. In the absence of sanitation facilities, women workers find it particularly difficult to wait at the *chokthis*.

[23]This figure is based on field estimates of current costs of food, shelter, local conveyance, mobile charges, and average medical and entertainment expenses in the city of Ahmedabad.

Serious health issues resulting out of poor working and living conditions, abound among workers. Twenty eight per cent of workers reported chronic health problems – skin diseases, injuries incurred on work site, and persistent back and joint pains (RSMP primary survey). Long exposure to cement led to skin problems – rashes and burns for instance accounted for one-third of health concerns of this community. Another common ailment was continuous pain in the bones, especially in the back and the joints on account of harsh manual labour being the norm. Accidents at work place are also quite common, reported by more than 11 per cent of the surveyed workers (ibid). In Tonk, several migrants reported slipping from parapets during work and incurring serious injuries. Sometimes the employers would pay for treatment but compensation for loss of person-days of work is unheard of.

Gopi is a construction worker from the Padrada Panchayat of Gogunda,Udaipur. On 7th February 2013 he suddenly fell from the 3rd floor of an under-construction building and was rushed to the hospital. The contractor paid Rs. 5000 for the medical expenses and thereafter vanished from the scene. On 21st February, Gopi died succumbing to his injuries. An FIR was filed with the local police station. Although the investigation was completed, no arrests were made as it lay outside the police's jurisdiction. The case fell under the Workmen's Compensation Act, about which the victim's family had no information. Logarlal, the contractor and the owner of the building, Shobha Jain shirked all responsibilities and refused compensation.

5.2 Hamaals (Head Loaders) from Rajasthan

"*Hamaara to bail ka kaam hai* (We do the work of an ox)", said a *hamaal* in Ahmedabad city when asked to describe his work.

Hamaals include workers who are engaged in the work of physically loading, unloading and transporting different kinds of goods in factories, markets (*mandis*) and mines. Significant numbers of migrants from Rajasthan (especially south and west Rajasthan) enter labour markets as *hamaals* in both big cities as well as smaller towns of Gujarat and Rajasthan. They mostly belong to the Scheduled Tribes, while their contractors and/or employers are usually non-tribals. Some of the major streams of *hamaals* that originate from the state are from Kumbhalgarh block of Rajsamand district to Ahmedabad, Mumbai, Udaipur and Unjha (in the famous *Zeera mandi*/Cumin market in Gujarat), from Barmer to warehouses of Ahmedabad and Kandla port of Gandhidham, from Pali and Jhalore to fruit, cereals, and spice *Mandis* of Ahmedabad. Within Rajasthan, Jaipur employs a large number of loaders, most of who come from the adjoining districts of Tonk, Jaipur and Dausa.

The work is physically demanding and requires high stamina and strength. Studies done by Aajeevika Bureau on loaders shows that they do not use any mechanical supports and load goods that sometimes weigh more than twice their own body weight (Bhushan, 2008). Physical (read load bearing) capacities hold the key to their successful and continued engagement in this vocation. As a loader gets older, he tries to shift to other physically less strenuous occupations or in many cases, he stops engaging in income generating activities altogether. The duration of a loader's career is short, often not lasting more than five-ten years. Most loaders (68 per cent) are between the ages of 26-35 years, with just a handful of loaders who are older than 45 years.

Jagdish Prasad Gurjar, age 25 years, educated till 10th standard has been working as a head-loader for the last 10 years in Jaipur market. Facing severe health problems at this age, Jagdish complains of regular back ache and lack of stamina. He does not see himself being able to continue in the profession for long. His co-worker, Sher Singh is also a head-loader. Once while carrying a heavy sack, he fell from the truck and hurt his left leg badly. There was no one to attend to him. Co-workers from within the Jaipur market collected Rs. 25,000 and got his treatment done. No help was extended from the employer's side.

The migration cycle of loaders and porters depends largely on the nature of commodities and/or loads that they are hired to handle. In case of agricultural produce, loaders are required to work for six-seven months a year, in migration cycles that last one to one and a half months each. The annual requirement of loaders working in stone quarries is longer - generally six to eight months in a year in two to three month long cycles. The work typically requires daily engagement at the work sites and there is no written agreement between the contractor, employer and the loader. *Hamaals* interviewed in Ahmedabad reported staying for 20 - 25 days a month and, due to the strenuous nature of their jobs, return to their village for a few days before they resume work in the city.

In the loading sector, there are well-entrenched systems of labour recruitment and sourcing. Younger migrants enter the city and find employment via family connections, social networks or labour agents/ contractors. Contractors play a key role in initiating and continuing the engagement of a migrant as a loader in a *mandi* or a construction site. These contractors usually engage middlemen for labour scouting, for distributing wages to loaders, and for other tasks requiring direct interface with migrant labourers. The middlemen invariably belong to the same community and/or village from which labour is sourced. A number of them are literate and experienced individuals, who have worked with their contractors for several years and are trusted by them. Only a few loaders rise to the ranks of a middleman; the majority continue to engage in short duration migration cycles (of two to three months), as loaders. In many cases, the middleman prioritises the appointment of his own kith and kin as loaders with the contractors that he himself works for in order to put together a dependable and more pliable work group.


PROCESSED & PACKED BY:
GUJARAT AGRO PROTEINS
UKARDI - DAHOD - 389 151
Ph No: 02673 - 291110, 291525
Store in a Cool & Dry Place
Clean
COMPUTERISED SORTEX CLEAN

Hamaals earn up to Rs. 350 a day (depending on the amount of work available) and are able to earn about Rs.7-8000 per month. Wage calculations are made by the contractor/employer, with little room for negotiation. For example, in Ahmedabad, the loaders in Jamalpur market earn more as most of their work is that of head loading. In other markets, loaders work on a piece rate basis, per sack or tonne rate. Others get paid a daily wage. Irrespective of their wage rates or the nature of payment, *hamaals* commonly lack any mechanism for resolving payment related grievances. In addition, they are often forced to pay for any damage caused to the goods that they carry. In cases where loaders use carts to transport goods and if the cart breaks or over turns and the goods are damaged, the losses are the loader's responsibility. In cases when goods are damaged, a loader can be in dire need of financial help. If he is unable to cover the cost of the damaged goods, he is expected to work until he has repaid the shopkeeper in full. Most carts are rented by loaders at Rs. 120 to Rs. 150 a week, depending on their physical condition.

Hamaals work in the toughest conditions - in crowded, hot, noisy and extremely polluted market and factory spaces where they are often required to toil without breaks. More than half of the respondents stated that their workday ranges from 12 to 14 hours with the minimum number of hours worked reported to be nine (Bhushan, 2008). More than 40 per cent also reported not taking a weekly off (ibid). Many *hamaals* state that there are no fixed working hours and it depends on when there is work or when the trucks arrive with goods that need to be transported. Field observations also indicate that certain *mandis* such as the vegetable *mandi* at Jamalpur in Ahmedabad are open through the night and loaders are often called during the night, if trucks arrive. In such cases, *hamaals* are seen to work in shifts that are informally fixed. *Hamaals* thus run the risk of working long hours without breaks and at odd hours of the day and night without getting adequate rest.

The living conditions of *hamaals* are also amongst the most difficult. Many live in the open and those who own carts sleep on them. Others live in makeshift camps and temporary residences in or near their work sites. A few also live in night shelters or in barracks provided by their contractors. There are no toilets, nor is there access to safe drinking water and often there is not even a place to cook a meal. Almost all *hamaals* interviewed in a study by Poonia et al (2012) said that they paid for sanitary facilities - paid toilets and bathrooms that have sprung up in the neighborhoods near markets and yards. Cramped and unhygienic living conditions, lack of any drinking water facility and other civic amenities make these living spaces a hub of infectious diseases.

More than one third of a *hamaal's* total income is spent on food. They generally buy food from wayside stalls, which can be expensive and unhealthy. Poor living and working conditions and inadequate diets significantly increase health risks that *hamaals* face. Accidents are common especially as majority of the workers do not use helmets, gloves, hooks or any other protective gear (Bhushan, 2008). Though the nature of their work is often hazardous (for example, loading and unloading of iron beams and electric poles), no accident coverage is provided. Health hazards include respiratory problems associated with continuous inhalation of dust, jute fibres, cement dust, traffic fumes etc. while at work. Overtime, a *hamaal* can develop Chronic Occupation Lung Disease (COLD) where the lung capacity is reduced. Crowded spaces and a dusty atmosphere (as observed at the workplace of loaders) are breeding grounds for tuberculosis. Manipulation of heavy loads requires high muscular and skeletal force and loading incurred over a long period of time promotes degenerative disorders, especially in the lower back area. These tasks put a strain on the muscles and bones and over time lead to skeletal damage and muscle injury, including hernia. Immediate symptoms include backache and prolapsed discs. Many years of work as a loader can even lead to a situation where the worker may be completely bed ridden and unable to work. A head loader in Ahmedabad said - "*Is Kaam se jeevan kam ho jaata hai*" meaning "This work reduces our life span". Despite this realization, tens of thousands of workers continue to labour as it ensures a minimum income for themselves and their families in their village.

Women migrant workers in the wage labour markets

Women workers are at a greater loss in the labour markets, and are frequently paid less for the same work as men. Their primary identity is that of a woman, who is unable to deliver on the said manual tasks as men do, with equal strength. There is widespread discrimination in wages, women are rarely seen in skilled roles and in most cases their access to social security is far lower than their male counterparts. Migration adds greater complexity in their experience as workers, as lack of a decent shelter, access to water, sanitation which is not readily available exacerbate her workload and vulnerability.

The worker population ratio of rural females in Rajasthan as per NSS 66th round Employment Unemployment survey (2009-10) comes around 34.5 per cent. Migration census of 50 Panchayats conducted at ten locations of the state shows that 12 per cent of migrant workers are women. They are mostly employed in construction (3.51), agriculture (2.46), and brick-kilns (1.14). A good number of workers are also employed in mining, domestic work and art and culture. Majority of the women (94 per cent) are intra-state workers, 24 per cent not moving beyond a district. 92 per cent of women workers are illiterate. 54 per cent of women workers surveyed were from ST and SC background, 35 per cent came from OBC households.

There are hardly any skilled workers among women. This significantly mars their upward mobility within a sector. While male workers are seen acquiring more valued skill-sets and moving up the value chain, women are confined to the lower end roles, taking up manual work and stagnating at the bottom. Most women work as helpers and operate in groups – either with their husbands, or known ones – relatives/village contractors. Overall we find that women earn Rs. 135 per day on an average, against men earning 242 per day.

In an occupational profiling of four streams of women workers in Jaipur– rag-picking, construction, textile dying (rangai-chhapai) and head-loading by Vividha and Aajeevika, the researchers find women to be in an abysmal state –earning less than minimum wages, bearing the burden of fending for and bringing up their children, facing abuse (also sexual abuse) at work place and struggling every day to access basic facilities such as water, and decent sanitation. Almost half of the respondents did not have even an ad hoc arrangement for a toilet and had to relieve themselves in the open. Access to water was again a significant problem and most families fulfilled their daily requirement by purchasing it from a private supplier. Almost half of women workers are forced to cook in the open/on the pavement (46.5 per cent) for lack of a hygienic option. 17.5 per cent women reported to have no proof of identity; rag pickers formed majority of this group (52 per cent).

Labour Unions, have also failed to reach out to women workers effectively. There are hardly any women workers in the trade unions functioning in the state and where they are present, they have no voice. Rajasthan State Policy also leaves much to be desired on inclusion of women workers' interests and concerns in planning.

5.3 Mine workers of Rajasthan

Ramchandra is a 56 year old resident of Gandero ki Dhani, a mining suburb outside Jodhpur city. He has been suffering from silicosis. He is illiterate, and belongs to the Meghwal caste, one of the Scheduled Castes. He has a large family to support - a wife, 3 sons and 2 daughters. He started working as a mine worker at the age of 12 and worked for over 20 years in the mines where towards the latter years, he was paid around Rs. 80 per day. There were no holidays, no social security. The only day when no one worked in the mines, as it is even prevalent today, is on a moonless (Amavasya) night, and hence no wage either for that day. Ramchandra stopped working in the mines 15 years ago after being diagnosed with silicosis. Silicosis is a painful, incurable disease where lung power fails gradually, making it impossible to breathe. His symptoms have included difficulty in breathing, heavy cough, headaches and pain in his lungs. Since then he has piled up a debt of Rs. 5 lakhs due to high medical costs and has no steady income. Both his sons aged 18 and 22, had to forego education and take up work as mine workers. He has no health insurance. He has no recourse to law for compensation since he cannot prove his employment. The mine workers are employed as daily wage workers and have no identity proof to state where they work. The employer fails to comply with the law and the medical practitioners who diagnose diseases like silicosis do not inform the concerned authorities even though it is a mandatory requirement by law.

-Mine Labour Protection Campaign (MLPC)

As per the Indian Bureau of Mines, the royalty earned by Rajasthan for minor minerals was Rs 502.77 Crore in 2009-2010; the highest in the country (MLPC, 2012). Rajasthan is a state that is extremely rich in natural resources. Records available with the geological database of India suggest that it has around sixty-four kinds of metallic and non-metallic minerals, ores and deposits. Other compounds that are extracted in the state include marble, fuller's earth, siliceous earth, white clay, limestone, lignite, asbestos, sandstone, etc. It is also rich in zinc and copper (Bose, MLPC, 2009).

Being a labour intensive industry, the number of workers employed in mining is second only to agriculture and comprises more than 2.5 million workers, most of who are migrants (ibid). This sector also employs women in large numbers – almost 37 per cent of the workers are women and close to 15 per cent are children (Deccan Herald, 2003). In the the RSMP primary survey, a total of 11 per cent of the 25,368 workers covered in the study worked in the mining sector.

Most regions where mining takes place have been documented to be backward areas dominantly inhabited by scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. SC and ST workers in a majority of cases are victims of land displacement and are often left with no choice but to make ends meet by entering the mining profession (HAQ SAMTA, 2010). Of the RSMP primary survey respondents among mine workers, 91 per cent belonged to the SC, ST and OBC categories. According to another survey by MLPC (2013), 98 per cent of the total 2.5 million mine workers in Rajasthan are SC/ STs. Another report (GRAVIS, 2010) suggests that 86 per cent of women in the sector belong to the SC/ ST group. They are found to join the work force to supplement their meager family incomes, repay debt or support their families in the event of their husbands' death or occupation induced illness. With regards to age groups of mining workers, a downward trend in participation rates is observed. 62.5 per cent RSMP primary survey respondents fell between the ages of 21 and 35. 26 per cent respondents were between the ages of 36 and 45 and 10 per cent were 46 years and older.

Most of the workers employed in mines work as manual labourers and about 10 per cent are involved in skilled/ semiskilled work as heavy machine operators in the mines, as supervisors and as tube-well drillers. Low education levels of mine workers ensure that there is limited upward occupational mobility in the sector. 37 per cent respondents to the RSMP primary survey were illiterate, while 41 per cent had only completed their primary education. 21 per cent had completed secondary or higher education.

Work in the mining sector peaks up in winters, moves at a slow pace in summer and comes to a standstill during monsoons when water fills up in the mines. Workers in the sector have been documented to prefer seasonal employment. A leading cause for this is the oppressive and hardship induced nature of work which makes it a difficult source for year round income generation. For the seasons in which miners find employment, RSMP primary survey data shows that on an average 25 days of work is secured per month. 41.5 per cent respondents receive work for 26 days or more, 34.8 per cent miners work between 21 and 25 days and 23.6 per cent worked less than 20 days in a month.

Mine workers are mostly recruited with the aid of existing social networks. There are instances of male migrant workers traveling with their families to find work. They are accompanied by their spouse and children who have equal employment opportunities in the mines. From among the RSMP primary survey respondents, 14 per cent migrated with their families. Even as the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 is well in place, it is an established fact that children form a significant part of the labour force across the mining sector (Burra, 2009). For marble, stone mining and quarrying, etc. children act as the cheapest source of labour and have been documented to join their parents in work to supplement the family income (ibid).

On an average, mine workers are employed for a daily wage rate of Rs. 70-120, depending on the season and demand for labour. Wages for women are even less, at Rs. 45-55. The children employed in the sector are paid a meager sum of Rs. 30-40 per day. If incomes were to be discussed in monthly terms then according to the RSMP primary survey data, of the total respondents, the majority (53.85 per cent) earned between Rs. 5000 and 10,000, while 22.5 per cent earned between Rs. 3000 and 5000. A significant percentage (20 per cent) earned a small income of less than Rs. 3000 a month. On account of low incomes, taking cash advances against 'pledged labour' is quite common in the mining sector and this often leads to bondage. A survey carried out by MLPC in 2001 (MLPC, 2013) revealed that 97 per cent of workers in sandstone mines remained in the sector due to debt taken by their family members. The RSMP study team came across several workers who had raised advance money of the order of Rs. 10,000-15,000 from their contractors/employers. This amount then laid a foundation for exploitation, suboptimal labour contracts and debt bondage. This is also an explanation for the trend of continuation in the same occupation from one generation to another in mining work.

Interviews with the Kherwa community from Baran working in Kota stone mines reveal that in case an advance is taken by a worker, he has to work at a reduced rate. For instance, a person who has taken an advance would have to work for Re. 1-1.50 per foot, as opposed to Rs. 2-2.5/foot, the going rate. In the group of 5-600 workers, 80 per cent had taken an advance from their employers. In course of their work at the mines, further advances are raised against earnings; which can result in a huge debt. The prevalent wage rates are so low that a worker is never able to come out of the debt cycle. There is hardly any instance of a worker being able to pay back the debt to their employer/contractor. The result is a forced labour relationship of perpetual bondage.

"Bhatta todo, Bhatta khao" (work in mines, eat mines) is the anecdote that runs across the 500-600 families of Kherwa Community in Village Peenjna, near Bhanwargarh (Baran district) where almost 60 per cent of the population is working as stone cleaners, stone cutters, loaders (Hamaal) prominently in mining and construction industries as bonded labour. Almost all the families are from the ST/SC community.

Mohanlal started working on mines as a child, when he would accompany his father to the mines. Today he himself works as a bonded labourer in those very mines because his father could not repay the debt of Rs. 12,000 he had taken from the owner during his work life. The debt has only grown over time to Rs. 70,000. His father contracted tuberculosis due to unhealthy working conditions and now Mohanlal too is a victim of TB. They have no medical support or social security cover by the government or the employer.

Workers in the mining sector of Rajasthan are made to toil for long hours of between 12 and 13 hours per day in scorching heat and biting cold conditions that are prevalent at different parts of the year in the state. Working hours are mostly irregular and there is no institutionalised guarantee of holidays. The situation of workers is made more vulnerable by the fact that mining activities involve brazen violations of labour laws and safety measures. Many a times, mines are operated on expired or illegal leases, putting them outside the scope of labour laws. Cost cutting exercises result in unsafe mining practices, including haphazard disposal of mine debris and absence of protective gear for workers. Reports highlight how even basic safety gear such as helmets, boots and gloves are absent at mining sites (Bose, 2009) and that people are forced to work with their bare hands. Most mines do not use shafts and instead lower cranes to move groups of workers into depths that sometimes extend beyond 300 meters below the ground level. During instances of blasts at the mine site, workers are left with no option but to huddle in groups and hide behind rocks in order to escape injuries. As a result, accidents are a common feature at the work site. The inability of the state mining department to track thousands of such illegal sites worsens oppressive conditions of miners who are forced to continue work under unpredictable and harsh conditions and without any recourse to legal aid. It is for these reasons that mine workers in the state have been adjudged "one of the most vulnerable and oppressed sections of community" (HEDCON[24]- cited in Deccan Herald, 2003).

Hazardous working conditions of mine workers are paralleled by harsh living conditions. Residences of mine workers are often small cubicles, which is all they are able to afford. The cubicles are made from tin sheets and are rarely taller than 5 feet. They are overcrowded and have shared space for a family of five or more. No sanitation or clean drinking water provisions are available in these spaces. The shelters are generally given out on rent by leaseholders on a monthly rent basis. As the size and operations of a mine increases, the number of workers increases as well. This often results in the vicinity of quarry sites turning into a colony of slums. Spurned by municipalities, these settlements lack all basic provisions. Surveys done in mine and stone quarries reveal how food items such as vegetables, coarse flour and rotten grains are sold to workers at highly inflated prices (Bose, 2009). The same survey highlights the complete absence of education facilities at sites of habitation.

[24]HEDCON is a health, environment and development consortium based out of the Thar region of Rajasthan and dedicated to improving the lives of vulnerable communities in the state.

One of the most serious fall-outs of working in mines and living in difficult conditions is that of adverse health effects. For example, Silicosis, a respiratory disease caused by inhaling silica dust, is rampant among mine workers. A study done by the National Institute for Miners Health (NIMH) among mine workers in Karauli, showed that 78.5 per cent had symptoms of Silicosis and 21.9 per cent had developed Progressive Massive Fibrosis, an advanced and more complicated form of Silicosis (MLPC, 2012). Several workers reported death of acquaintances/relatives or illness in the family due to TB. Besides the high incidence of occupational diseases, an equally grave problem is that of lack of awareness. A study based on interviews with 376 quarry workers from 19 sandstone quarry sites in Jodhpur district revealed that only 1.6 per cent of the respondents knew that tuberculosis was caused by germs and around 45.2 per cent falsely believed that TB was a hereditary disease. An alarmingly low percentage of respondents (6.9 per cent) knew that treatment was essential to cure the disease and that it took 6-8 months for full recovery. Only 0.8 per cent knew about the use of BCG vaccine for prevention of tuberculosis (Yadav et al, 2006).

Accidents and loss of limbs due to accidents are quite frequent but never get reported. During a group discussion in Denchu village in Shergarh, Jodhpur the RSMP primary survey team observed that out of 8 mine workers, 5 had serious cuts in their fingers. Blasts at work sites also led to hearing loss. As per an assessment done by MLPC (MLPC, non-dated), the average life span of a mine worker is found to be 53.3 years.

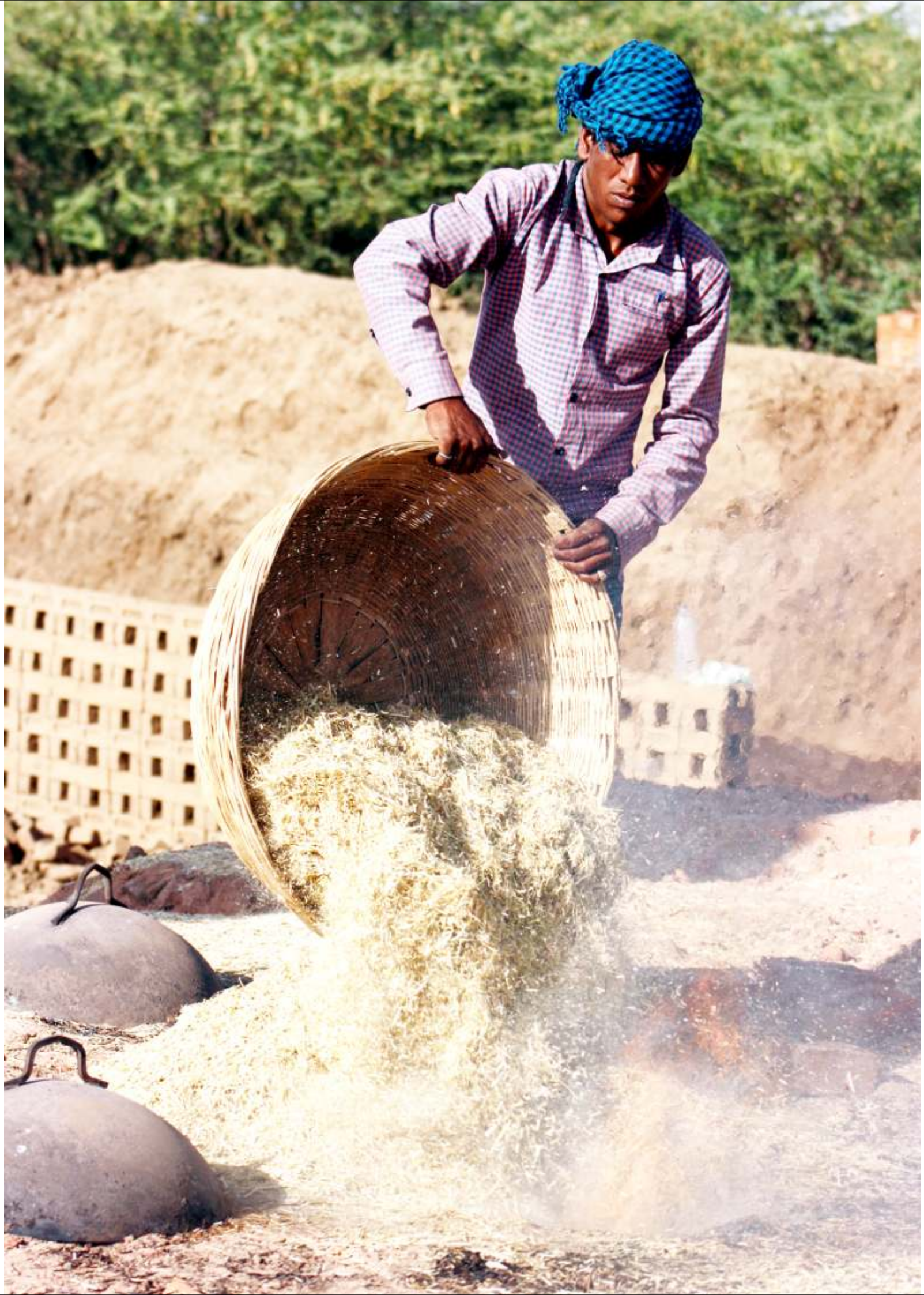
While there is an Act dedicated to the protection of mine workers and their welfare, there is hardly any evidence of its implementation. What makes matters worse is that while the mining areas lie in the boundaries of the state government, legislation on issues of mine workers lies within the jurisdiction of the central government.

5.4 Brick kilns employing migrant labour

The brick kiln sector commonly employs the entire family – there are specific roles carved out for men, women and children. Majority of workers in brick kilns can be classified as bonded labourers, starting with debt and ending with one. A significant reason for this is low wages and the retrogressive terms of employment which thrives on advances, delayed payments and illegal deductions made at will. As per an assessment done by PRAYAS-CLRA (2012b) in Bhilwara, workers receive 1/3rd of the stipulated minimum wages (Rs. 155). Almost all workers are under debt, with an average debt size of Rs. 60,000. One third of the workers surveyed, ended with *tut*, a local term for negative balance after 8 months of back-bending labour. Notably, agriculture and brick kilns are two of the top-ten occupations of migrant workers from the state, as found in the RSMP primary survey.

The tasks in brick kilns include brick making (*pathai/paatla)*, carriage of dried bricks into kiln (*bharai*), arrangement of bricks in the kiln (*khadkan*), firing of kiln (*jalai)* and removal of fired bricks from kiln (*nikasi*). The largest number is constituted by *Paatla* workers, up to two third of the workforce at a kiln. The work is highly labour intensive. Women participate in all these tasks along with men except in *khadkan* and *jalai*. Children are also employed in kilns in large numbers. The PRAYAS study in Bhilwara (2012b) finds that on an average every family employed at brick-kilns has one child below six years and one child in the 6-14 age group. Most of the latter are engaged in the process of brick-making. Notably, the brick making industry remains completely manual. As per some studies a big reason for this lack of modernization in brick manufacturing is availability of cheap labour in large numbers, where employers have no incentive to invest in improvement of the brick production process (Heierli et al, 2008 cited in PRAYAS, 2012a).

46



Indra Kumar belongs to raidas community, one of the Scheduled Castes, and hails from Agrahoda village in Karvi tehsil of District Chitrakoot in UP. He came to work at the Ikbal bricks in Kareda village of Mandal tehsil in the year 2011 with his wife Sumitra Devi and four children all below 7 years of age. He had taken an advance of Rs. 3000. The family was paid Rs. 2400 per month for food expenses. The wage rate was to be Rs. 200 per 1000 bricks. The family made 120,000 bricks in six months after arrival after which the wife fell ill. He had to go back. However his wages were calculated at Rs. 100 per 1000 bricks, while earlier he was promised a wage rate of Rs. 200. This meant that he had a negative balance of Rs. 5000/- what is known as 'tut' in local parlance. He had to take this amount as a loan from fellow workers from his village before he could go back home.

- from Trapped in Bondage, PRAYAS-CLRA (2012b)

Migration season for brick kiln workers is from November to May. Brick manufacturing usually begins every year after Deepawali, in the month of November-December, and continues till before the onset of the monsoon in June. Each brick preparation cycle usually takes around 16-30 days. During the six month long season, migrant labourers stay on if the kiln fields are located in Gujarat; spending between 45-60 days at a stretch. However, in the case of the kilns established within Rajasthan, labourers return home for a fortnight or more for rest and recuperation. Labourers, who leave for longer periods, try to establish contact with their family members in various ways, depending on the distance between their source village and the destination.

The key to finding work in the brick kilns is to be a resident of a village that has established connections with kiln owners/operators. That connection is commonly an individual, known as a "mate" who has an ongoing relationship with a brick kiln owner. The mate is contacted by the owner regarding provision of labour for the execution of one or more brick production cycles. Once the initial understanding is reached, the mate visits the brick kiln field and arrives at the estimate of labour requirement for accomplishing the brick production task. Monetary, work schedule, and other aspects of the deal, are finalised and the mate receives an advance amount, ranging from Rs 1000-5000, from the kiln owner.

Recruitment begins 15-20 days before the date of migration – the mate informs potential workers about the date and venue. The earliest job of each new recruit in a brick kiln involves loading-unloading of bricks and coal-breaking. Recruits gradually transition to more responsible and higher paying *khadkan* and *paatla* work. Most workers are under 30 years of age and given the difficult nature of the work tend to withdraw early. Several workers, however, also continue to toil in the brick kilns till the age of 40-45 years. Though the daily wage/ piece rate of *paatla* work is higher than *khadkan*, more labourers are found engaged in the latter as compared to the former due to the skill and effort required for the *paatla* work.

Some of the more enterprising labourers become labour contractors/mates after completing two or three migration cycles during which they acquire a better understanding of the intricacies of labour recruitment and retention processes. When a labourer first becomes a mate, he does not immediately win the trust of the kiln owner/work contractor. Hence, he continues working under the able guidance of another, established contractor/mate who takes labour contracts on his behalf until the newcomer has established his reputation.

The labourer and the mate are usually from the same village. The mates are responsible for taking the workers to the destination. In the initial days, the mate helps labourers in case one of them falls ill or has any other problem. In case the labourer needs cash, the mate extends a loan which is later settled at payment time. As they are from the same community, the relationship between the two is usually good.

Based on the annual income analysis of 31 families, a study done by PRAYAS (Table 19) concluded that the average daily wage rate of *Paatla* workers is Rs. 77. The total work days in the year are approximately 221 and the annual family income was calculated as Rs. 42,744. The above figures, however, do not display the complexities in the flow of cash in brick kilns factories. There remains serious ambiguity regarding the payment of wages. While the existing payment system follows a per piece rate basis (Rs. per 1000 bricks), wages are seen to vary based on advances raised, negotiating ability of workers, commission charged by the contractor, etc. The cycle starts with a cash advance, which often goes into servicing old debts/consumption. Once the advance is taken, families are forced to work till the end. An average work day is 12-16 hours long. Depending on the work allotted to them, they spend the entire time breaking coal, making bricks, transporting bricks on their heads, and arranging them for firing. Living in the kiln fields, these labourers are like captive workers for their contractors and kiln owners.

Table 19: Wages received by Paatla workers

Average total wages received/ family /season	42,744
Average no: of work days in the season	221
Average no: of family members above 14	2.5
Average daily wage rate = 1/(2*3)	77

Source: Wage calculation for 31 families done by PRAYAS (2012b)

Workers are paid a monthly allowance and deductions are made from their wages, sometimes fraudulent too. In case a worker needs to leave early, his/her wages are calculated at half the prevailing market rate. There are also cases where workers have been held hostage by kiln owners for failing to service the amount of advance and the monthly allowances paid to them. Cases of physical abuse and sexual harassment of women workers are not very rare. To make matters worse, all payment settlements happen at the end of the season when workers have already put in all labour and have no negotiating power. Most workers are under debt, not just to their employers but also to the contractors who provide them with the initial advance on pledged labour.

The kilns are often closely guarded spaces with limited or no access to basic public services, such as education, health, and subsidized nutrition. Often, the work sites i.e. the kilns are far off from urban habitation that restricts the mobility of workers. Infants, lactating mothers and pregnant women are unable to access the mandatory state benefits through Anganwadis. Schools again are too far off and so are the hospitals. In case of an emergency, workers are solely dependent on their employers for aid.

Bajrang Lal Bavri, is a resident of village Ravliawas Tehsil Degana, Nagaur and is 32 years old. He has been working in brick kilns since childhood. As a migrant, he has worked in brick kilns of Haryana and Punjab. He was last working in Hukmeshwar Brick Industry (Ajmer) with his wife Rameshwari and three children who helped out with work. None of the children went to school.

Bajrang said, 'I came to work here in the year 2010-11 with my family. I received an advance payment of Rs. 35,000 by the brick kiln owner. I, along with my family, worked for six months at the kiln. When the final wage settlement was done at the end of the season, I ended with a negative balance of Rs. 15,000. I had to come back to the same kiln again next year in 2011-12. This year, after working for the whole year, I ended up with a negative balance of Rs. 28,000. The brick kiln owner refused to let me go and work elsewhere. I was forced to stay on the kiln and continue working. In the year, 2012-13 even after having worked for six months, the debt amount spiraled to Rs. 1, 70,000.

Bajrang added further, 'I was also working as a tractor driver in the year 2012-13. Once when the tractor got derailed because of bad condition of the road, the owner beat me up very badly in front of all the workers. When my wife tried to rescue me, she was also beaten up by the owner. I was not even given any treatment for the injuries I sustained. The owner's brother Chhotu Lal also used to threaten us and beat us up. Chhotu Lal even tried to molest a female worker at the kiln. When she protested, she was beaten up badly and had to be taken to the hospital. After this, the owner paid some money to the female worker not to complain.'

The contractor or mate is responsible for arranging lodging for the migrant labourers hired by him. These dwelling units are usually constructed in the kiln field itself, using bricks for walls and twigs and plastic sheets for a ceiling. Three to four labourers occupy each such dwelling, which is a low-height construction - usually around four-five feet high - in which the labourers find it difficult even to stand. Since the labourers spend the hottest and coldest months in a year working in the brick kiln fields, they find themselves inadequately sheltered from the vagaries of nature in their make-shift dwellings. Such tough living conditions at their destination often drive the new recruits back home mid-way through the brick-production cycle.

Migrating labourers carry their own stock of grains, purchasing the remaining rations at the destination. Fuel wood is collected from the nearby agriculture fields and sometimes is provided by the kiln owner. Food is usually cooked by women who accompany the male members of their households to the destination sites, using a temporary *chulha* constructed outside the dwelling unit. The main expenditure of migrant labourers is on purchasing rations. Of the families surveyed by PRAYAS at 89 brick kilns in the two tehsils of Bhilwara district only 24 per cent had BPL cards, and 27 per cent could access PDS for their food provisions. None of the children 138 children (below 14 years of age) had access to ICDS or the mandatory schooling facility.

Brick kiln workers are exposed on a daily scale to dust particles and pollution. They are therefore highly susceptible to multiple pulmonary complications, including diseases such as asthma, chronic obstructive pulmonary symptoms, and silicosis. Studies have proved a high prevalence of chronic bronchitis and decreased lung function values among brick kiln workers as resulting out of exposure to atmospheric pollution [Alam et al. (2009), Huang et al. (2000), Joshi et al. (2008), Myers et al. (1989) in Monga et al, 2012]. Exact assessment of dust exposure was done by another study which used a combination sample of 120 brick kiln factory workers who were occupationally exposed to pollution and dust and 80 unexposed workers. This concluded that the "mean respirable dust exposure in firing section was the highest (19.51 mg/m3) while mean respirable dust exposure in mixing & molding section was the lowest (10.08 mg/m3) (Monga et al, 2012).

Given the nature of work, injuries to brick head loaders and to those involved in kiln firing are commonplace. However, even first aid facility is seldom available at the work sites. When paid a piece-rate, the labourers also try to load and carry as many bricks as possible at a time, increasing the probability of accidents. Any medical expenses or hospitalization charges incurred by injured labourers are initially paid for by the mate, but later on adjusted from their wages. Such unforeseen expenses can eat into 20 per cent of the season's earnings of a labourer, and this excludes the number of work-days lost due to forced rest.

Notably, the brick making sector is not recognised as either a factory or as part of the construction sector. It does not fall under the Factories Act of 1948 and as a result fails to avail the legal protection and benefits available to factory workers. The benefits offered to workers in the construction sector, under the Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996 also elude them.

5.5 Human bondage in agriculture

"Ashok's nine years were spent working as a hali for Gyaniji. His work would begin before 6 am and end at around 7 or 8 pm. During the course of the day he was required for different chores – getting fodder for the cattle, diesel for the engine, operating the mill, etc. He was paid Rs 1,500 the first year, with a raise every year. In his ninth year, he was earning Rs 14,000 annually that was paid to him in advance. However, this was far from sufficient to meet his own expenses leave alone contribute to his family's. Ashok decided to quit. But he was not a free man yet since he learnt that he owed Gyaniji Rs 7,000 for expenses (food, medicine, etc) that he had incurred on him. They agreed that this would be cleared the following year. Mandip Singh hired Ashok at Rs 20,000 (per year). At the end of the first year, Ashok was able to clear his debt to Gyaniji. He stayed for another year with Mandip and then left to work for Janak Singh (of "Thakar" Rajput caste) in Sunda-Chenpur village, where he worked for three years. The first year with Janak started with Rs 12,000 as advance. His boarding, lodging and other miscellaneous expenses were borne by Janak, who also maintained the accounts, as did all landlords. At the end of the year of full-time work, Janak told him that he owed him Rs 20,000 (including food and other charges)."

- From "Human Bondage in Baran, Rajasthan", Bela Bhatia, 2012

The Hali system of mortgaging labour is commonly found among the Sahariya tribes[25] of Rajasthan. A 60-70 year old tradition, it continues to dominate the lives of thousands of Sahariyas in the Baran district of Rajasthan. As per this system, a person barters his/her labour for a year at one time against some advance amount of money. In scholarly literature, this would be referred to as debt bondage. As per Bhatia (2012), till a couple of years ago every Sahariya family had one or two members working as a Hali. In the two tehsils of Shahabad and Kishanganj, there are a total of 21,000 Sahariya families who migrate to nearby blocks of Atru, and Mangrol in Baran, villages of Kota district (ibid). Some migrants also move to work in Shivpuri, and Guna districts of Madhya Pradesh.

The RSMP primary survey (2012) revealed that 66 per cent of Sahariya respondents were still engaged in agriculture, under highly suboptimal contracts. Usually the amount that is paid in return is Rs. 10-12,000 a year requiring the entire family to be engaged in work. There are no fixed working hours and the Halis have to undertake any task demanded by the employer. There are cases where workers have also been engaged at Rs. 1500 a year (Bhatia, 2012).

[25] Sahariyas are one of 75 indigenous groups of India officially known as primitive tribal groups. In the last several decades, a rapid degradation of the forests has adversely affected their traditional livelihood options i.e. selling mahua and tendu leaves, or making baskets. Land owned by this community has also been usurped by influential castes and Sikh farmers. They have come to depend on manual labour for survival. A major concentration of this tribe is in Madhya Pradesh – Bhind, Morena, Shivpuri, Vidisha, Sheopur, Guna and in Baran district of Rajasthan.

It is notable that this is one of the few streams where family migration is common. Usually a unit of two-three persons moves including a male member, female member and a child. Long distance movement with family creates a unique set of problems, especially for children. Most of the Sahariya workers employed in agriculture are illiterate (82 per cent). The situation is no better with the younger generation, as most move with their parents for long durations and miss out on formal education. Of the total Sahariya workers migrating to work in farms, 28 per cent had children of school going age, none of whom attended school. Living in the open, women from the community are highly vulnerable to sexual abuse[26].

"Anandi, an elder, explained how the Sahariyas became condemned to a life of servitude and forced servility: Sahariya ne mar-mar kar zameen banai. Bana-bana kar di. Us samay se hali ban gai. Unka khet badhta raha. Hum mazduri kar ke khatai rahe (Sahariyas nearly died making the land cultivable. They made the land and gave it [to them]. We became halis since then. Their land kept expanding. We continued to labour – and survive). Hali mai zindagi nikal gai (our lives were spent as halis)."

– Bela Bhatia (2012)

While the Hali system is one extreme example of bonded labour, prevalent even in this day and age, there are several other streams where bonded labour conditions exist – sharecroppers moving from Kotra block of Udaipur to the farms of north Gujarat is another such case. It is found that on an average, a group of sharecroppers working together are able to make Rs. 50,000 for one sharecropping contract, making per capita earning of Rs. 10,000 for eight months (Rs. 1250 per month or Rs. 42 per day). In some contracts, the income is as low as Rs. 18- 20 per day - well below the amount guaranteed under the Minimum Wages Act (Sharma et al, 2010). An important aspect of the sharecropping system is the system of advances, called *Upaad*. Before taking up work all migrant families take an advance to repay past debts, or to fund immediate expenses like marriage or death in the family. The practice of Daapa (reverse dowry) prevalent in the region is a major reason behind taking loans. On an average, the advance taken ranges from Rs. 10,000-15,000 per household.

[26]Information about the prevalence of sexual abuse of female labourers was shared by participants of focus group discussions conducted during the RSMP survey.

Payment related disputes are quite commonly reported by the sharecroppers at the end of the season. At times, workers run off in the middle of the contract losing their entitlement to full payment. However, in several cases, workers report being defrauded on payment. There is rampant reneging of contracts (which are mostly verbal) and physical/verbal abuse at the hands of farmers. In case there is a crop failure or lower production than expected, sharecroppers are again badly hit. Legally, they do not have any right over the crop insurance or relief provided by the state. The toil put into tending of crops is wasted in case of a shortfall in rain or a pest attack.

Within the agriculture sector, a particularly vulnerable stream is of children and adolescent girls trafficked to work in the farms of northern Gujarat. Almost all these children are trafficked through labour contractors, who come from the same socio-economic background and often from the same area as the children. In the case of Bt cotton farms, workers are supplied to farmers against cash advances. The amount varies between Rs. 1000 to Rs. 25000, depending on the number of workers and the contractor's equation with the farmers. A survey done by Dakshini Rajasthan Mazdoor Union (DRMU) in 2008 in the Bt cotton fields of two districts of Gujarat – Sabarkantha and Banaskantha shows that almost three fourth of the work force employed on the farms comprised of children and adolescents less than 18 years of age(Khandelwal et al, 2008). Out of this, 43 per cent were girls. Notably, almost all (4/5th) of these young workers were migrants from south Rajashthan's tribal belt. Most children were found to work 12 hours a day in 2 shifts. The commonly reported wage was Rs. 50 per day (much less than the stipulated minimum wage of Rs. 75 for a 10 hour workday for adults) (ibid).

Every year, a large number of workers move from the tribal block of Kotra, one of the most backward regions in Rajasthan, to work in the prosperous farms of Idar in Sabarkantha, north Gujarat. Intensive groundwater irrigation coupled with high value crops and use of advanced agricultural technologies, has turned the area into a magnet for agricultural labourers; attracting them from both within and outside Gujarat. As per the prevalent labour practice in Idar, the sharecroppers receive 1/5th to 1/7th of the agricultural produce as their share.

As per an estimate by DRMU, close to 60,000 girls below 18 years of age migrate every year from south Rajasthan to work in the cottonseed farms of north Gujarat, for a period of 2 months or more (Khandelwal et al, 2008). No different from the conditions of a bonded labour, these girls work more than 12 hours a day at wages 2/3rd of the legally stipulated minimum. The living conditions are equally poor with high exposure to pesticides and frequent cases of death due to snake bites. A study (Madhu, nd) exploring adolescent migration from Udaipur reports that sexual abuse is one grave danger that girls face at work place. A thorough investigation into sexual abuse of young girls is, however, difficult to undertake as very few cases are registered. There are documented instances of cases that are dismissed upon being filed on account of lack of adequate evidence. Survivors of sexual assault are usually made to return home and all opposition curbed either through compensation or by use of force.

"One 14-year-old girl reported to the Chairperson of NCPCR at a public meeting in August 2007, that a ginning factory owner sexually abused her 12-year-old sister and she died as a result. The factory owner provided transport half the way. The factory owner called and asked her to take her sister's body back to the village. She walked half-way home carrying the dead body of her sister till she reached her village in Dungarpur district"

- A testimony from Neera Burra [2008] cited in Madhu [nd]

There is massive resistance from farmer groups in Gujarat, which work in a very close network, to interventions on checking child labour. Civil society organizations such as PRAYAS, Kotda Aadivasi Sangathan (KAS) and Aajeevika Bureau have faced violent reactions from farmer groups on this account.

In 2009, a total of 37 cases were filed at the labour department of Palanapur for the violation of Minimum Wages Act and non-payment of wages; notably all filed by DRMU. The source district Dungarpur, where the children came from denied responsibility as the children did not work in its operational area. Labour laws for protection of child labour exist but they are not comprehensive and do not cover all the hazardous work children are subjected to. One such example is farm work including cottonseed production which is not prohibited under the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986. Further, there is hardly any legislation on sexual violence at work place, other than the Supreme Court guidelines (Madhu, nd).

Child Trafficking and Violence

"Sukaben died in a fatal accident in Srinath Gin in Radhanpur on 3rd March 2003. Suka had earlier migrated for one season and this was her second trip. She was taken by Ramlal Kasota, a labour contractor and was accompanied by her mother's sister Rupa. The only sister among 3 brothers, she was barely 12 years old when she began work in the cotton gins. No one knows how the accident took place. Some say a fire at the gin caused her death. The family has no information about whether a police complaint was filed or whether a factory inspector was involved in the case. They also do not know whether a post mortem was done to affirm the cause of death or not. All they were given was Rs. 25,000/- as compensation."

This narrative is one among many cases of factory managements successfully hiding accidents from government authorities and buying the silence of families of victims through paltry payments.

- From "Horror of white clouds" by Jagdish Patel for PRAYAS-CLRA

Rajasthan features in the top five states with the highest child labour incidence in India. The NSS 61st round Employment-Unemployment survey (cited by NCEUS, 2007) reports that in the year 2004-05, of all the children in the age group of 5-14, 4.8 per cent were child labourers, next only to Andhra Pradesh (6.6 per cent) and Odisha (5 per cent). A significant number of children are trafficked to work in the cotton fields for cross-pollination, to cotton gins, in hotels, brick-kilns, in textile markets and as domestic helps in the cities of the adjoining state of Gujarat.

The tribal belt of southern Rajasthan stands out as one of the largest exporters of child labour. Children from this region start working at a very young age. The work begins with household chores and evolves to paid work in a very short span of time. Some of the children start work as early as seven, sometimes also migrating at this age to another state. A study done by PRAYAS-CLRA covering 3414 households from Udaipur and Dungarpur districts shows that the incidence of child labour migration to cottonseed plots in the surveyed tribal families is 7.2 per cent (in the age group of 6-14 years). For children in the age group of 15-18 years, it grows significantly to 21.5 per cent. Out of this number, 54 per cent are boys and 46 per cent are girls. An estimation based on this incidence, puts the number of children trafficked to a total of 1,00,000 children in this migration stream alone.

What makes these children highly employable is the fact that they are ready to work long hours at much lower wages. They are also much more pliable than adult workers. Several micro-studies provide evidence for the work in cottonseed fields posing long-term health problems for girls because of their constant exposure to poisonous pesticides.

5.6 Sources of Vulnerability

What is presented above is the work-life portrait of five migrant streams involved in high-risk occupations with little or no legal protection or social security cover. What makes this group more susceptible to abuse at the hands of the labour market? What are the characteristics of work in these sectors that exacerbate their vulnerability and render the returns from migration suboptimal? We briefly summarize the commonalities that we see across workers and work arrangements in these sectors (Table 20).

There is hardly any upward mobility visible among workers employed in these sectors. In the construction sector during the primary RSMP primary survey, we came across workers who had been in the sector for more than 15-20 years, working as a 'helper' or manual labourer with no skills. Same was true for all the other sectors. One trend that we witness is that if a worker does well, he takes up the role of an aggregator and becomes a labour contractor. However, this number is quite less – we find that 1.33 per cent workers reported working as a contractor (RSMP primary survey).

Table 20: Sources of vulnerability for different work sectors	
Construction	• High irregularity of work and small number of work-days • Poor living and work conditions • Occupational hazards – safety and work related diseases • Principal employer not clearly established – leading to frequent payment frauds
Head Loading	• Difficult work conditions and prevalence of occupational risks - heavy work load causing physical damage, diseases – reducing productive life span • Early exit from labour market due to strenuous work conditions • Unhygienic living conditions exacerbating health risks
Mining	• Start of payment cycle with an advance, illegal deductions • Occupational diseases and frequent accidents • Low wages and negative savings exacerbating conditions of debt bondage
Agriculture	• Advances and end of season payment settlements leading to cheating on wages • Low wages (less than minimum wages) exacerbating conditions of debt bondage • Prevalence of child labour • Poor living conditions with limited access to ICDS, schools, markets and hospitals • Final output dependent on nature (rain, pest attack) – no share in crop insurance for labour/sharecroppers
Brick Kilns	• Advances and payment at the end of season • Low wages (less than minimum wages) exacerbating conditions of debt bondage • Prevalence of child labour • Closely guarded spaces at the urban fringes • Poor living conditions with limited access to ICDS, schools, markets and hospitals

Migrant streams that engage in seasonal work for long (six months or more) in sectors with a sizeable labour requirement are seen to face bondage conditions. For instance, agriculture, mining, and brick kilns – all are seen to have a payment system comprising of advances at the beginning, periodic allowances and deductions and settlement at the end of the season. For the owners, the system of advances ensures captive labour for a fixed duration at much lower wages. For the workers, it is a new form of bondage, where he raises cash against pledged labour but with the perverse terms of contract ends up with much less than what he started with i.e. negative savings. Workers also have an interest in taking advance as a form of security against payment of their wages. In all these streams, wages are not paid regularly. The settlement of wages is done at the end of the season when the migrant workers have no negotiating power left and are completely dependent on the employer. All the three mining, agriculture and brick-kiln sectors exhibit this vicious cycle fuelled by compounding debt burden of workers.

Occupational hazards are a recurring feature across all streams and a major source of vulnerability within these groups. Poor working conditions, long hours at work, inadequate or non-existent safety measures at work sites, poor nutrition, crowded living spaces in the city manifest in the form of aggravated health problems such as back aches, pain in joints, skin diseases, respiratory problems, etc. Loss of limb, loss of income during the period of recovery, and expenses incurred during treatment – together can push workers deeper into poverty, as has been seen in several cases.

Another feature that is common across all five groups is lack of written documentation of the terms of contract and wages paid. Employers do not keep a formal written record of their workforce and wage payments made by them. This often leads to cheating on payment and disputes with unscrupulous contractors/ employers who manipulate records in their own favour. The long chain of sub-contracting of work or the process of labour recruitment adds greater complexity to the functioning of labour markets, creating more room for cheating, frauds and at times trafficking. Many a times workers do not know their final destination and neither do they know the details of their principal employers. In such cases, they are simply passed on from one contractor to another. Many examples of young migrants who have gone missing and have left their dependents in extreme penury and suffering abound.

Three out of five streams covered here employ family labour – including male and female workers from the family along with their children. This creates a unique set of vulnerabilities where the entire family is uprooted from their native context and forced into an exploitative labour contract. Their access to basic facilities and primary entitlements is also compromised. The worst outcome of this movement is the disruption caused to children's right to education, their health and how they are forced into paid labour in suboptimal conditions so early in their lives. The adverse impact of these work arrangements is inter-generational, affecting the future of workers' children.

Migrant Workers – In a state of drift

This chapter[27] describes the challenges that Rajasthani migrants and their families face when they leave their domicile villages in search of work. Difficulties in establishing one's identity; poor access to health services; limited avenues to upgrade skills; inadequate legal protection; and disenfranchisement are among some of their primary challenges. These are in turn closely associated with poverty and low social status that disadvantaged groups in India experience on a regular basis. However, for migrants there is the additional challenge of being away from one's domicile which further intensifies existing vulnerabilities.

6.1 Lack of Documentation

Documentation on identity is a requirement for accessing essential services and entitlements. 29 per cent of migrant workers in Aajeevika Bureau's registration database of 55,000 individuals do not have documentary proof of any kind (e.g. ration card, voter ID, pan card, passport or formal attestation of name/address).

An early departure from their rural homes means that migrant youth may miss out on all verifiable proof of their identity (see box). The inability to establish one's identity becomes a cause of frequent harassment at the hands of civic authorities and the police, both in transit and in the destinations. Migrants become easy suspects in cases of neighborhood crimes. Of late, growing regionalism has made their survival in cities more difficult with identity politics translating into an increase in violence against migrants

Without Identity

Shiv ji Gameti left his village at the age of 12 to work in the textile market of Surat. He did not have a proof of identity and would usually travel and work with his villagers and relatives. At the age of 25, he has faced two-three instances of interrogation by the police and harassment for lack of an ID. His mother has unsuccessfully tried to get a voter ID made for him twice. He has failed to get an ID made for himself in his village and as a result, he has neither a SIM card nor a bank account.

The ration card is the most commonly found proof of identification in urban as well as rural areas. However, the RSMP primary survey results found that 98 per cent of those who migrate do not carry a ration card in their name at the destination. The overwhelming majority of migrants are unable to access cheap food offered by the government's public distribution system (PDS), because this subsidy is not portable. According to the current system, every BPL household is assigned a particular ration shop, on the basis of place of residence, where it can avail subsidized food grains. Since the allotment of PDS shop has no portability even within the same locality, the migrant workers are unable to avail of this benefit when they move to other locations. Therefore although the migrant's family at the source village has been allotted BPL status, the single male migrants cannot access subsidized rations at the destination. A study done in Ahmedabad established that expenses on food account for majority of the living costs (40 per cent) for migrants from Rajasthan (Ali, 2008). As a result, migrants often resort to inadequate food intake which in turn adversely affects their ability to work and earn a livelihood in a sustainable manner (ibid). Poor nutritional status, infectious diseases or injuries progressively reduce the work capacity of young migrants, and they return home in their thirties: often weak, diseased and with limited capacity to work and earn.

[27]The author would like to acknowledge the written contributions from Dr. Pavitra Mohan (health hazards and poor access to health services) and Ms. Rupal Kulkarni (poor access to financial services and social security schemes)

Another constraint which arises out of the lack of proper documentation is migrants' inability to fulfil the strict norms that are stipulated by financial institutions. In a study of 100 migrant workers conducted by Aajeevika Bureau in Ahmedabad, 32 per cent of the respondents failed to open a bank account (Parmar et al, 2012). Ninety-two per cent of these identified the lack of documentation as the main reason for not being able to access banking services (ibid). Another study in Salumbar block of Rajasthan indicated that 77 per cent of the blocks' migrant households did not have any formal savings instrument (RSSA, 2012).

6.2 Health hazards and poor access to health services

Migrant workers in cities live in overcrowded, ill ventilated dwellings with poor sanitation and water and are thus at a high risk of contracting infectious diseases. Many may be malnourished even before they come to the cities - lack of adequate and nutritious food in the cities further perpetuates malnutrition, lowers their immunity and therefore makes them vulnerable to contracting illnesses (Chatterjee, 2006). In a study on health problems faced by migrant workers, Babu (2011) found that migrants on an average consume less than 50 per cent of the recommended dietary allowances of a large numbers of nutrients. Migrants are also at a higher risk of getting non-communicable diseases such as hypertension and psychological disorders on account of living alone and being ill- prepared to deal with the stresses associated with adaptation to urban life.

Migrant workers are at high risk to HIV infection. Hotel and restaurants, transportation, manufacturing, construction, transportation and vending all have high influxes of young migrant populations who are in a sexually active age-group and likely to engage in commercial sex. Their frequent movement between source and destination areas increases the risk of transmission of sexual and other infectious diseases to others at home. The districts in Rajasthan where HIV prevalence is high are those with high rates of out-migration – Jalore, Pali, Jodhpur, Nagaur, Udaipur, Rajsamand and Chittorgarh.

Bhairon, a 32 year old man left for Ahmedabad to work as a Hamaal (head loader) in Ahmedabad when he was 20 years old. He worked for 12 hours a day, and lived in overcrowded, ill ventilated dwellings, with several other workers from his village. He would return home at least twice a year around harvest time. He survived on street food and often skipped meals. Two years ago, he developed cough and low grade fever, for which he visited a neighbourhood doctor. Despite medication, his condition worsened and he began to cough blood. Frail and unable to continue work, Bhairon returned to his village. Diagnosed for TB, he registered for treatment with a private doctor, but soon discontinued. His symptoms have gradually worsened. Out of work, and caught in a cycle of poverty, he now buys medicines when he is able to afford them.

Major health risks are a feature of all the ocupations described in chapter 5. Injuries from fall are common among construction workers. Workers in markets and factories are exposed to continuous inhalation of dust, fibers, fumes, machine injuries and chemicals. Mines, quarries and brick kilns are all sites of serious illnesses and diseases. Symptoms typically include chronic cough and breathlessness resulting in Chronic Occupation Lung Disease (COLD) where the lung capacity reduces and the worker becomes breathless with even slight physical exertion and is unable to work. Migrant workers in hotels, canteens and catering establishments are at a high risk of sustaining burns (Bhushan, 2008; Jatan, 2010).

The availability and use of protective gear or safety equipment is rare. Work place conditions are routinely dangerous and rarely ensure security from the risks to which workers are exposed. Enforcement and vigilance are commonly absent and accidents are treated with apathy and neglect, often with fatal consequences.

Figure 6: Safety measures at work place

Source: Indori Zayka, A study done by Jatan Sansthan on work conditions of namkeen workers in Indore, 2010. (n=100)

Healthcare services account for a substantial part of the expenses incurred by workers from poorer backgrounds. On an average, workers spend a minimum of 5-10 per cent of their monthly income on health related problems at the destination (Bhushan, 2008). Health expenses can go much higher and in almost all cases they are borne wholly by the migrant. Bhushan (2008) found that employers in Ahmedabad paid for medical expenses in only 18 per cent of the cases. In the cities, workers find it difficult to access government health facilities either due to long distances or because treatment may take too long resulting in a loss of wages. An illness or injury, from which a migrant does not recover quickly, implies loss of earnings with each passing day. Only 32 per cent of respondents in the survey reported using the government health facilities at the destination. In case of illness, majority of them used private health services (visiting local small private clinics was more common).

A study done by Jatan Sansthan (2010) among Namkeen (Indian snacks) workers from Rajsamand district working in Indore revealed that despite the high risk of accidents the state of safety measures at work place was grim (refer Figure 6)-

- *95 per cent reported no use of protective measures – fire extinguishers, aprons, protective glasses, first aid, gloves, etc.*
- *70 per cent respondents claim not to receive any information on basic safety.*
- *82 per cent received no assistance from employer/contractor in case of illness/accident.*

Close to seven per cent workers preferred to return home to their village. The practice of returning home is quite common in cases of prolonged illness/injury. At the destination being ill meant that the workers would need to invite a co-inhabitant (also a migrant) to take care of them. Rather than burdening a coworker, they preferred to return home. Migrants forgo the generally superior medical facilities in cities and prefer to return home instead. The case of Bhimjibhai presented in the box below is illustrative.

Table 21: Type of health facilities used by migrant workers

Health Facility	Percentage response
Government Facility	32
Private Hospital/Clinic	44
Vaidya/Hakim	2
Return to the village	9

Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n=2496

Migration to another state leads to reduced access to health scheme benefits. For instance, pregnant women find it difficult to access ante-natal care at the destination, including the government welfare benefits such as the *Janani Suraksha Yojana* (JSY)[28]. While family migration is limited from Rajasthan there are pockets from where it is common, notably the migration of tribal families from the Kotda tehsil of Udaipur district to the agricultural farms of north Gujarat as farm workers. This movement is for a sizeable period of the year, ranging from 4 to 8 months. A rapid assessment of 250 migrant families by Aajeevika in Idar tehsil of Sabarkantha district in Gujarat revealed that 30 per cent of the women were pregnant. None of them, however, utilized the ante-natal care available at government hospitals. Several of them also lacked the required documentation to access the JSY. A similar investigation in brick kilns of northern Rajasthan by Urmul Khejri Sansthan revealed that 17 per cent of all female respondents were pregnant, of which only 29 per cent got a vaccination post migration. Access to ante natal care was very limited. This is particularly grave as the brick kiln sector employs as many women as men, and yet provides no reproductive healthcare facilities.

Bhimjibhai, 42 years, from Ghadi tehsil of Banswara has been working in Ahmedabad for 14 years at the Raipur naka as a construction worker. In January 2013, he started having fever and approached a pharmacist for a quick remedy. The fever kept recurring and when the medicine did not seem to be working, he decided to go home to his village. In the village his health deteriorated and he was referred again to Ahmedabad by the government hospital in Banswara. In a period of a month and a half, he became bed ridden. As per the doctors his ribs and nerves had suffered damage because of the hard manual labour. He later suffered a paralytic attack.

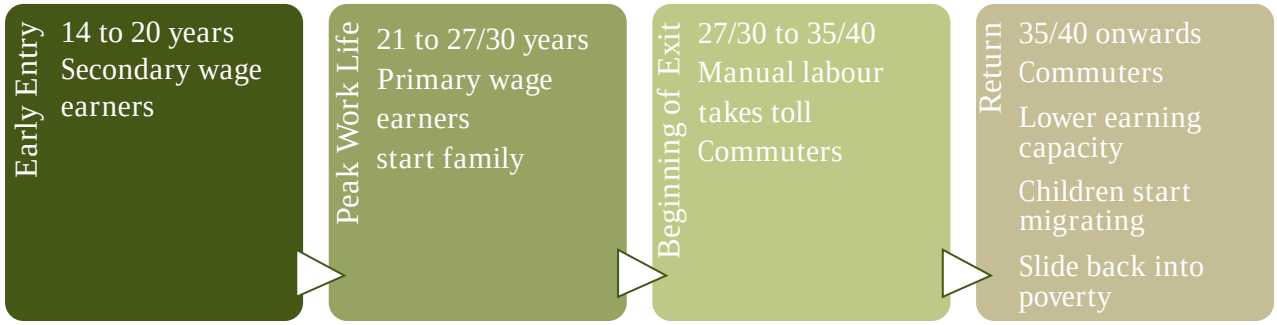
It took him 45 days to seek proper medical help which resulted in a worsening of his condition. The doctors at the civil hospital at Ahmedabad asked his family to take him back to the village as he was neither responding to any medicine nor able to consume food.

[28] JSY is a Government of India scheme and falls under the National Rural Health Mission. It aims at reducing maternal and neonatal mortality by incentivising institutional deliveries among poor rural women.

6.3 Absence of skills

The largest numbers of migrants begin work as unskilled workers and are likely to remain unskilled for the entire duration of their productive work life. There are only limited instances where workers acquire new skills and move up the value chain. Roughly two-thirds of the workers surveyed reported themselves as unskilled/semi-skilled, undertaking manual labour and earning meager, unstable wages. Early dropout from schools and early entry into work means that there is no formal opportunity to learn skills or become employable in a niche other than manual work. Lack of skills also exacerbates the vulnerabilities of the migrant worker – they become easily replaceable and are liable to be frequently rotated across work sites and sectors. Their earnings stagnate at a relatively early age and this in turn stifles one's incentive to acquire new skills. The cycle of early age migration, poor skills and low wages results in premature retirement of the worker from the labour market.

Figure 7: Economic life cycle of a migrant



An analysis of the economic life cycle (Figure 7) of migrants working as unskilled casual labour reveals that when a skilled worker reaches his/her prime at about 30 years of age, unskilled migrants start their exit from the labour markets. Long working hours, hard manual labour, and exposure to occupational health hazards, can take a serious toll on their physical health. A survey done in 2008 by Jatan Sansthan and Aajeevika Bureau in Rajsamand covering 260 youth showed that 46 per cent of rural youth were returnees. In several cases, this early return is characterized by poor health, limited or no savings and a slide back into poverty.

6.4 Lack of legal protection and prevalence of work related disputes

A common issue raised by workers pertains to payment related disputes, viz. withholding of wages or delayed payments. Accidents and deaths at work sites are commonplace with no or limited compensation available to workers. As per a study done by Aajeevika (Sharma, 2008) more than 68 per cent workers reported experiencing a dispute with their contractors/principal employers once or more in their work life. In some sectors, where the work contracts are executed on a daily basis, such as small and medium construction, the incidence of disputes is much higher.

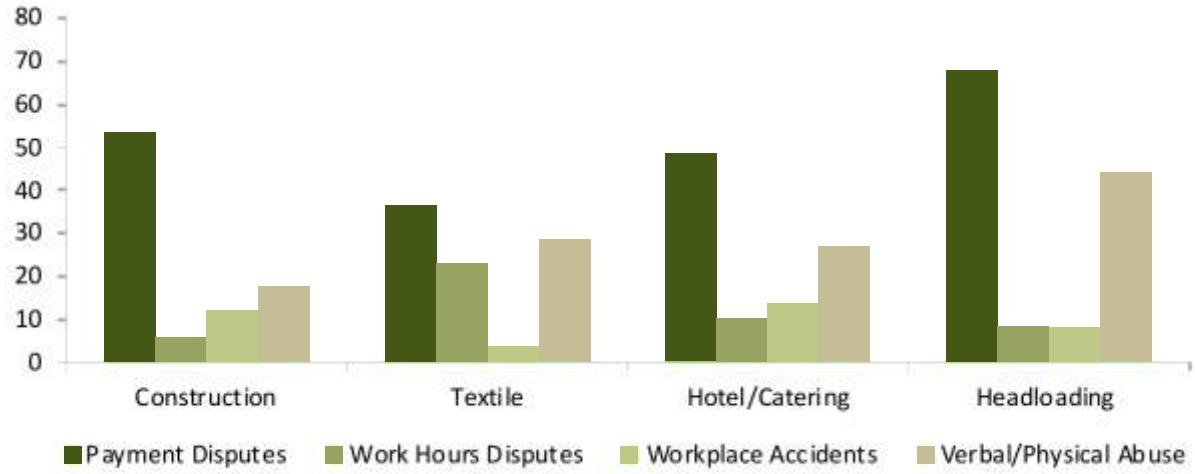
A study of the database of work disputes (1224 cases) registered by civil society organizations in Rajasthan reveals that in more than 92 per cent of cases there are no written contracts or written proofs of work with the labour. Disputes related to payment are more common (or surface more easily). In the logs of legal disputes maintained by these organizations, 94 per cent of the disputes are related to payment of wages. Migrants often do not log their work-hours and payment due to them. When there are no records, employers are able to withhold and pay less than what is earned without accountability. The amount withheld for a total of 846 cases related to payment, so far logged by these organizations amounts to Rs. 2.18 crores. The median amount of payment under dispute per worker is Rs. 4940 which is substantial for a poor migrant (sometimes equal to or more than their monthly take home). 64 per cent of the cases registered are against the contractor and 18 per cent against the principal employer. Notably, in 7 per cent of the cases, the employing agency is governmental.

Ruplal Gameti, a resident of Bagdunda Tehsil from Udaipur district went to Pune with a contractor to work in the construction sector, preparing roof ceilings at Rs. 3500 per month. After a period of 3 months and 12 days, he was paid Rs. 5850 and the rest of the money remained unpaid. Even after repeated requests for more than 8 months he did not receive any payment. Finally he approached the Shramik Sahayata evam Sandarbh Kendra at Gogunda, Udaipur run by Aajeevika Bureau. He did not have any written records of the work agreement nor did he have any account of the work done. This made the task of approaching the other party quite difficult and the case weak.

The Shramik Kendra, however, kept trying to reach out to the contractor for a settlement on behalf of Ruplal. After repeated attempts, the case was filed in the Labour court. The court considered the correspondence between the Kendra and the disputing party as evidence and in January, 2011, ruled in favor of Ruplal, ordering the other party to pay the due amount and compensation worth Rs. 6050, totaling Rs. 12,100. However, as of mid 2013, Ruplal has not received any money and has lost hope of recovering his dues. For lack of an enforcement mechanism the ruling of the Labour court remains unimplemented.

In addition to disputes over wages, workers face problems related to workplace accident/death compensation, physical and verbal abuse, work hours, sexual harassment of female workers, bondage, etc. A study done by Aajeevika Bureau (Sharma et al, 2008) shows that the nature of disputes varies across sectors (see figure 8) – payment being the common one across all four sectors but with varying incidence. The illustrative example of Ruplal Gameti narrated in the box above shows how despite favourable court rulings, the absence of enforcement structures renders migrants incapable of accessing their dues. Workplace accidents, cases related to work hours and abuses appear with varying incidence. Civil society organizations have also come across cases of missing persons, where families have found it difficult to trace the whereabouts of a worker after he/she left home. These are especially common in the case of children/adolescents migrating for work to far away locations.

Figure 8: Incidence of labour disputes across four work sectors



Source: Sharma R. (2008)

A serious anomaly in the unorganised labour market is that most violations against labour are never identified let alone addressed. The existing legal machinery is not sensitive to the nature of legal disputes in the unorganised sector where labour has little documentary proof of his/her employment. Many informal sector disputes never make their way to labour courts or keep languishing in courts for lack of proof. Both the police and the labour administration are difficult to access for a common worker.

6.5 Poor access to financial services and social security schemes

In the absence of required documents, migrants are rarely serviced by the formal financial systems. As a result, they are compelled to seek informal means of fulfilling their basic financial needs. Several studies highlight the failure to fulfill Know Your Customer (KYC)[29] norms as a major hindrance in accessing banking services. Such exclusion implies that informal channels continue to dominate savings, credit and remittance patterns, with a high risk of theft at destination and during transit (Nandhi 2011; Cole et al. 2006). A study commissioned by NABARD and GIZ in 2011 (Thorat and Jones, 2011) found that 16 per cent of migrant workers from Rajasthan reported incidents of theft during informal remittances. Furthermore, risks associated with unskilled work and hazardous occupations are not adequately covered by existing insurance services (Deshingkar et al. 2008). Although a large number of private insurance products exist, these do not target workers in the unorganised sector. State insurance schemes on the other hand suffer from issues of implementation and outreach. Within the broader debate on financial inclusion, migrant workers have not as yet been identified as a separate customer segment which is in need of carefully designed products and services and safe transfer of remittances.

A 2012 study conducted by Rajasthan Shram Sarathi Association (RSSA) in the Salumbar block of South Rajasthan revealed that of the 374 migrant households in the sample, 27 per cent households reported a cash deficit in certain months during the year. Around 47 per cent of these sought loans from moneylenders at high interest rates, 12 per cent resorted to distress sale of assets while 8 per cent sought an advance from their contractors on unfair terms. The study clearly spells out the need for including migrant workers in formal banking and identifies ramifications of soliciting informal credit at the source end. The story is equally dismal for migrant workers at the destination, where there are several reported incidents of theft at the workplace or at the place of residence.

Photo Credit : N.Vivek Rao Nipani

[29] KYC is a term used in customer identification processes by Banks and has two components to it- Identity and Address (RBI Guidelines). It involves making reasonable efforts to determine true identity and beneficial ownership of accounts, source of funds, the nature of customer's business, reasonableness of operations in the account in relation to the customer's business, etc

For those living on the streets, on open roofs and pavements, the inability to furnish local address proof translates into denial of access to formal banking. With no formal means of safe-keeping of cash or accumulating savings, migrant workers are left with no choice but to deposit their savings with their contractors/ employers and/or local kirana stores. Whenever the migrant requires essential goods or cash for small expenses, it is written off against his account maintained with the contractor. With no written records of such deposits with the migrant worker, negative savings is a common feature. In the RSMP primary survey, 63 per cent of the workers did not possess any bank account. This echoes what is in the migrant registration database of Aajeevika where out of 80,695 migrant workers, 63.6 per cent do not possess a bank account.

Particularly in the case of longer distance migration, inter-state migrants, having a bank account provides access to a range of much needed financial services. The RSMP primary survey revealed that of those workers who reported having a bank account, 71.6 per cent used it for accumulating savings, while 28.6 per cent used it for remitting money to their households. However, the value of such remittances was too small to render them attractive as a customer segment in banking institutions. For instance, 81.9 per cent of all remittances were of values ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 10,000. While 82.13 per cent of them carried money on their own, 14.7 per cent relied on contractors and 40.5 per cent relied on co-workers. Formal remittances through banks and post offices were reported only by 16.8 per cent of the respondents, with over 78 per cent of those remittances valued at Rs. 5000 or more. Of those respondents who remitted less than Rs. 5000 per episode, the reported average cost of remittance was 9 per cent of the actual amount remitted. The average remittance cost increases in the range of 10 per cent to 33 per cent for small amounts ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 2000.

Erratic and informal remittances patterns imply cash flow volatilities at the source end which often culminates into distress sale of assets or distress uptake of credit to fulfill basic cash requirements. The over-arching problem however is that within banking institutions remittances are the only service demanded by migrant workers. Remittances are viewed as isolated transactions (Thorat and Jones 2011) and other financial needs of migrant workers remain overlooked.

Social security coverage of migrant workers continues to remain low. The market is flooded with insurance products by both state and private players, yet the AB database and RSMP data reveal that 69.7 per cent and 56 per cent of registered migrant workers are not covered by any form of insurance respectively. Focus group discussions conducted in the Salumbar block of south Rajasthan suggest that even among those covered by some form of insurance, the risk coverage is often not adequate and in several cases, insurance policies lapse as a result of poor understanding of their terms and conditions.

Workers engaged in physically demanding jobs from a young age tend to return to their villages earlier (usually at the age of 35-40 years) with a diminished capacity to work and an unplanned retirement looming ahead of them.

Migration as a livelihood strategy not only begins as a result of push factors at source, but also with the aspiration that it would be accumulative and enable wealth creation for the household in the long run (Deshingkar and Akter 2009). However, financial management services that aim at making migration more accumulative seldom feature in discussions on financial inclusion of migrant workers. According to the NSS 64th round, 95 per cent of all remittances are utilized in consumption expenses (Tumbe, 2011). Hence a critical need of this community is financial literacy and wealth management services that would help them channelize their migration income into safe instruments which enable financial inclusion and enhance long term economic well- being of migrant households.

The case of transportation facilities

In 2007, an overloaded truck met with an accident in Rajsamand, claiming about 86 lives. Rajasthan Government decided to launch a fortnight-long drive against overloading of buses and trucks and the vehicles plying illegally on the national and State highways. Mr. Kataria, who presided over a high level meeting around the same time, said a recommendation would be made to the Chief Minister to provide 1,000 new buses to the State Road Transport Corporation, while the Transport Department would allow more private vehicles to ply on roads. Nothing really came out of it. In a similar accident in Bharatpur in June 2011 an overloaded bus carrying more than 120 passengers overturned.

(Source: The Hindu, Dainik Bhaskar)

An increase in road connectivity has faciliated migration. There are a large number of buses plying between source and destination areas and every year their numbers increase. It is notable how from a small block of Gogunda (Udaipur district), there are 9 daily buses to Surat, a major destination for Gogunda migrants.

However, access to decent modes of transporation remains a problem for migrants. Within Rajasthan, there is heavy reliance on road transport for movement. An assesment on use of transport services done by Aajeevika (Poonia, 2011) shows that 82 per cent of the workers use the private (45 per cent) and state buses (37 per cent) for transporation. The usage of state bus transporation, however, is limited to intra-state movement (82 per cent); private buses account for bulk of the inter-state movement (63 per cent), followed by the Railways (23 per cent) (ibid). Poor regulation of prices and passenger overloading are two serious problems faced by workers. Prices during festivals, when migrants return home can vary from one and half to two times.

High prices, however, do not guarantee reserved seats. Over 17 per cent of respondents complained about not being able to find seats, even after paying the full price for tickets. The maximum permissible number of passenger on a bus varies from 42 – 70 (including standing passengers) depending on the kind of bus. A study on transporation problems faced in Salumbar-Ahmedabad corridor showed that at times the buses take in upto 150 passengers, almost 3 times of the permissible limit. Accidents, as a result are quite common.

6.6 Overcrowding and Insanitary Living Conditions at Destination

At approximately 500 metres from the Narol labour post in Ahmedabad there is an old building that houses several shops inside. It has a dilapidated terrace where around 60 families from Kushalgarh (Banswara, southern Rajasthan) reside. The way to the terrace is highly precarious; only one person can approach it at a time. From one side it's totally broken down and there is no parapet on the other. One small error and one can fall 15 feet down. Accidents involving falls of workers are reported frequently. The terrace doesn't have an electricity connection. The absence of light increases the risks of falling down for workers. When asked why they live in such risk, the answer is there is no other place to stay. They can't afford rental accommodation and are driven off from the open areas frequently. Every other day, they are bullied by shop-owners and asked to vacate.

On 23rd January 2013, these workers were displaced again. Without any notice or prior information, a new wall was raised, barring their entrance to the terrace. All families, along with women and children, were

Given their low and erratic incomes and the need to save as much as they can in order to remit, migrant workers are compelled to live in sub-human conditions on work sites, pavements, filthy and congested slums that lack basic amenities and sanitation facilities. A study on the living conditions of head loaders in the city of Jaipur (Poonia et al, 2012) revealed that 47 per cent workers had no toilet facility and had to defecate in the open. Notably only 17 per cent loaders reported having access to all three basic facilities – electricity connection, drinking water and toilets. In other sectors, for instance the textile markets of Surat, workers are provided a living space by the contractors. The accommodation, however, comprises small, dingy, and poorly-ventilated rooms (10ft.x12 ft.) sometimes with a toilet and bathroom. On an average six to ten workers occupy one such room leading to a high frequency of crowding, congestion and insanitary conditions related diseases (Dwivedi and Sharma, 2007).

Urban governance often considers removal of the homeless and temporary shelter seekers as a mark of success for improved vigil and enforcement. Without any residential options near their place of work, migrant workers are pushed to what may be called the "degenerated periphery" of a city. This includes slums around industrial areas, dump yards, railway lines and peri-urban settlements. Huge costs of travelling to workplace are borne by migrant workers who are forced to cover them from their meager incomes.

6.7 Gender and migration

Migration from Rajasthan is mostly single male migration and this creates a unique dynamic for the families that are left behind in the villages. Women members from the migrant families manage the household and its resources at a subsistence level with limited understanding of using the larger social and political infrastructure to their advantage. They also experience isolation, insecurity and vastly increased responsibility and decision-making due to prolonged absence/separation. Long term male absence adversely affects their access to government schemes, healthcare facilities, education, livelihood, finance, social protection and food distribution due to low literacy and awareness levels and high hassle level in availing them. Women's own health suffers due to neglect and the triple burden of child care (and taking care of elderly too), household chores and keeping household finances afloat in case the remittances start drying up. Cash remittances from migrant males are infrequent, uncertain and rapidly depleted in emergencies leading to indebtedness. Women have to manage with scarce resources and find sustainable means of earning at source. There are instances of physical and sexual harassment faced by women, in the absence of the male head of the family.

Gangali bai Gameti, 28 years, is a resident of Gogunda block, Udaipur district. She lives in a tribal hamlet of Vani village with her husband and in-laws. Her family owns a few bighas of rain-fed land that yields maize and black gram crops each year. To provide for basic household needs, her husband Logar lal is therefore compelled to migrate to Idar, Gujarat on cooking contracts. Collectively the family manages to earn a meager average annual income of Rs. 35, 000. Two years ago, Gangali bai's mother-in-law met with an accident and had to be hospitalized immediately. Not knowing whom to turn to for help and unable to raise any money from local moneylenders, Gangali bai called her husband who was in Idar at the time. Logar lal had to abruptly leave work and return home. He wasn't paid his dues by the contractor since he left work mid-way. With no money in hand they were forced to sell some of Gangali bai's silver jewellery to pay for the hospital bills. Often, when there are such family emergencies, Gangali bai has no choice but to summon her husband and resort to distress sale of assets.

In her hamlet, most men migrate to Gujarat while the women stay behind to look after the elders and children in the family, manage the agricultural work, livestock and other household chores.

Field studies inform us that women, in the absence of their husbands, find it difficult to access institutional health services. Hospitals and health centres are often distant. In case of health emergencies in the family, the women resort to sub-standard and/or expensive options. According to a study by Aajeevika (Ali et al, 2012) the use of government health services was found to be less common among women from migrant households compared to the non-migrant ones.

Women face serious challenges in accessing their entitlements. MGNREGA is often the only local wage labour option and women have difficulty making demands of work or maintaining their payments at fair levels. Low literacy levels, low awareness and a fear of making demands in the absence of male members of their families render them marginalized in this entitlement based programme. In a study covering two blocks in Udaipur and Dungarpur, a large number of women (37.5 per cent) from migrant households reported that they never got work under MGNREGA (much lower than non-migrant households) (Ali et al, 2012). While women in general do not participate in *Panchayat* meetings or approach the panchayats for their problems, participation from migrant households was even lower.

Generation Next – Migrants and the poor state of their children's education

For households that migrate with children, access to education is another significant challenge. This is a serious problem with its adverse impact affecting future generations. Rajasthan features in one of the top five states with the largest number of school drop-outs (22 per cent in the age group of 5-14) and migration is one of the reasons contributing to this phenomenon. In case of family migration, especially to brick-kilns, farms and mines, children move in large numbers with their parents and lose access to schools.

A study done by Urmul Khejri Sansthan (UKS) in five brick kilns of Ganganagar, Vijaynagar, Ghadsana and Suratgarh revealed that 94 per cent of children of school-going age were unable to access education. A specific investigation into the status of children up to five years of age revealed that only 35 per cent had complete vaccination. Out of the 75 children covered during the study by UKS only two were enrolled in an Anganwadi.

In Nagaur, which sends a large number of migrant workers to the brick kilns of Ganganagar, gaps in child-care in absence of parents and gaps in education are quite pronounced. The migration cycles are such that children leave classes mid-term and are unable to join their peers on return. At the destination, schools are either too far away or unwilling to accept children from migrant households.

In Idar, Vadali and Kherbrahma tehsils of Sabarkantha, Gujarat, an assessment by Aajeevika shows that a total of 30-35,000 children in the age group of 0-10 years migrate annually with their families. Eighty per cent of these children never access the Anganwadis or the primary schools of the destination villages. Reasons are several.

The schools or the Anganwadis are either too far, some children help out their parents at work or in child care, parents do not see much merit in their children's education. Often, language barriers come in the way of enrolments.

As per the RSMP primary survey covering 10 districts of Rajasthan, more than 10 per cent of workers reported being accompanied by school-going children. Notably, 54 per cent of the migrant families did not send their children to school at destination. A sizeable number in this group belonged to construction, brick-kilns and farming sector.

6.8 Lack of a Political Voice

Migrant workers do not participate in the electoral process of the destination areas and work for most part of the year. Not being a vote bank of significance, they remain at the margins of consciousness among political representatives and bureaucrats. Their issues rarely matter. The right to vote is tied to domicile and is not portable which means that a considerable number may be unable to exercise their voting franchise as they may be away at work at the time of elections. The current electoral infrastructure and rules within the country do not allow postal ballots. A study done in 2010-11 (Sharma et al. 2011) revealed that 60 per cent of workers had missed casting their votes due to migration, at least once. There are instances of workers returning during elections to cast votes, but that is largely limited to panchayat elections.

In 2010-11, a study was conducted by a group of four civil society organizations to assess the level of participation of migrants in elections. Masuda block of Ajmer district was one of the 15 locations chosen. As expected, the participation levels were low, more than 38 per cent workers said that they had missed voting once or more because of being away from home during elections. However, there was a high degree of participation in Panchayat elections. This process of coming back to vote for Panchayat elections was facilitated by the candidates themselves. A variety of strategies were used – often workers were offered return fare (58 per cent of the respondents said that they received return fare to come and vote), at times pressure was built up through kith and kin. Workers were also lured into coming back through offers of greater access to state benefits and schemes coming to the Panchayat.

Fifty-seven per cent of workers reported that neither they nor any of their family members ever approached a PRI representative in their village for accessing a government scheme or resolution of any civic problem. Sixty per cent of workers reported never approaching a government official/agent in their villages for any service/problem resolution. The situation was worse at the destination, where most workers (85 per cent) did not know the name of their local Corporator. Only 11 per cent reported having approached them for any issue. An even smaller number (~seven per cent) approached a local government official for assistance.

One can debate whether access to voting rights leads to greater welfare, but the inability of workers to vote does translate into a weaker voice and poorer representation in the country's polity and policy making. It is imperative for the government to create enabling systems that help migrants articulate their voice and access political institutions in the state.

CHAPTER 7

Policy gaps, response and a roadmap for action

Labour policies rarely recognize the growing rural – urban dynamic in the labour market and therefore remain silent on the problems associated with seasonal migration. The inter-state nature of migrant workers' movement and the general relegation of labour welfare to industry's goodwill have meant that there is no clear agency to take primary ownership of solving the problems of security and services for migrant workers. Lack of regulation and vigil is depleting the well-being of workers and institutionalizing casualisation in the industry. Cases of routine non-payment of wages, non-compensation in the event of accidents and injury, abuse and bondage are all pervasive and several sectors are notorious in their labour practices. Unfortunately, trade unions that are otherwise active in the organised sector have not been able to address this segment resulting in the absence of an essential labour market intermediary institution for migrant workers.

The general absence of institutional support for migrant workers makes them a highly preferred category of workers as against locally available labour. This is amply evident from the patterns of circular migration within Rajasthan, where migrants move to fill in specific niches in a region while local labour from that region seeks employment in distant locations. The skewed labour supply and demand equation creates a monopolistic scenario in several sectors, where the buyers (of labour) get to choose and dictate the terms of recruitment and payments. Wages are low, welfare benefits non-existent; there is little investment in skill up-gradation and social security is very scant. In theory this must lead to poor labour productivity and minimal value generation. In practice there is high attrition of workers compounded with increasing non-availability of workers in labour markets that refuse to offer robust contracts or incentives.

It is in this context that this report suggests several urgent actions to bring change in the situation of migrant workers of Rajasthan. A number of these actions have to be initiated by state policy and regulation but they also demand intervention of the private sector and industry. The chapter offers a review of existing policy responses to labour migration from Rajasthan and proposes a framework to address their issues in an enduring manner.

7.1 State Policy and Programmes

State policy documents, plans and proposals rarely mention labour migration from Rajasthan as an economic reality. Curtailing rural migration is of course noted as a promised outcome of several poverty alleviation and employment schemes such as MGNREGA. There is also a small body of social security schemes aiming to cover unorganised sector workers. A few responses in Rajasthan need to be noted for their importance in the context of migrant workers' welfare and may form the elements of a more comprehensive policy.

7.1.1 Providing valid identity

Rajasthan became the first state in the country to authorize a registration and photo ID service for out-of-state migrant workers. The registration and photo ID service was initiated by Aajeevika Bureau in south Rajasthan and its rapid uptake among migrant workers provided the basis of a government order¼16½1½@2007@fof t V@ck-J-@3132½ with the Department of Labour and Employment endorsing the photo ID cardin the year 2007. Ever since this order, over 90,000 migrant workers (till May 2014) have been registered and issued a photo ID card. The ID is verified by the Sarpanch of migrants' respective Gram Panchayats. Regular registration and submission of photo IDs to the Department of Labour, has led to a fairly substantial database on migrant workers. This database includes information on occupational profiles of workers, their levels of skill, work destination and incomes.

It also captures important details about the extent of financial inclusion and access to social security among migrant workers. The ID has proven its worth for migrant workers especially in its multiple utility in urban situations. With the help of their IDs, workers have been able to better assert their identity. Several workers report relief in harassment from civic authorities and police and there are recorded cases of timely help reaching workers in the event of accidents.

7.1.2 Skills for Youth

The Government of Rajasthan recognizes investments in vocational skills as an area of high priority for improving employment opportunities among rural youth. It is also seen as a step to bridge the deficit in skilled human resource for promotion of industrial and service sector growth in the state[30]. The Rajasthan Mission on Livelihood (RMOL) became the precursor to the Rajasthan Skills and Livelihood Development Corporation (RSLDC) which is a large fund created to upgrade skills and create placement opportunities for the youth. RSLDC conducts training programmes for skills development in collaboration with existing institutions (ITCs, KVKs, NGO, other professional institutions) and private partners. Majority of the training content comprises Modular Employable Skills (MES) related courses that have been prepared by the Directorate General of Employment and Training (DGET) and Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India. These courses have been developed to address existing opportunities in local employment.

The RSLDC imparts skill training through a network of 300 partner agencies – both in the private and NGO sector and it has reached out to more than 85,000 youth. Yet, training requirements to address unemployment and enhance employability of youth in the state remain high.

7.1.3 Growing Net of Social Security

There are other state led schemes aimed at providing long term social security cover to low income workers in the informal sector of which migrants are a significant part. Some of these are summarized below:

- *Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board (BoCW)* – A unique endeavor for construction workers, BoCW draws its foundation from a central legislation namely, Building and Other Construction Workers' Act (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service), 1996 and the associated Building and Other Construction Workers' Welfare Cess Act, 1996. The Government of Rajasthan has constituted a Board and a number of schemes have also been offered such as insurance, pension, accident compensation, scholarships for workers' children, credit for house construction, maternity benefits, etc.

  With the construction sector being the largest employer of migrant workers, this intervention is a much needed succour. Unfortunately, the coverage of this initiative is quite thin. There is limited information among workers on the benefits available through the Board. The implementation of the scheme is also ridden with numerous inconsistencies, diluting its mandate and effectiveness.

- *Swavalamban (NPS-lite)* – Started in the year 2010, this is a contributory pension scheme with flexible retirement options that ensures old age pensions for unorganised sector workers. Any person who does not get benefits under any statutory government pension scheme can avail this benefit. It is a central government scheme managed by the Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority (PFRDA). Rajasthan was among the few states to have launched a progressive, state level pension scheme (*Vishwakarma Pension Yojana*) for unorganised sectors much before *Swavalamban*. This scheme, however, is now being merged with *Swavalamban*.

[30]The state government also carries out regular enrolment and placement of unemployed youth looking for work, through its Employment Exchanges. This service, however, has been operating at a highly suboptimal level. For instance, as per statistics provided by India Labour Report 2012, in 2005 out of a total of 1,70,600 applications, only 7700 placements could be made; mere 4.5 per cent of the total. This performance is abysmal, especially when compared to Gujarat, which placed 48 percent of its applicants.

Swavalmban is a new scheme, as a result of which awareness about it is low and its penetration very limited. The proposed merger of the older Vishwakarma pension scheme is also mired with irregularities.

• *Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY)* - RSBY was launched by the Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India in the year 2008 for provision of health insurance cover to the BPL population as well as to workers in the informal sector. The objective of the scheme is to protect families from financial liabilities arising out of health shocks. Beneficiaries under RSBY are entitled to hospitalization coverage of up to Rs. 30,000/- for most of the diseases that require hospitalization. The household has to pay Rs. 30 a year. The key feature of RSBY is that a beneficiary who has been enrolled in a particular district is able to use his/ her smart card in any RSBY empanelled hospital across India. This makes the scheme truly unique and beneficial to poor families that migrate out. Cards can also be split for migrant workers to carry a share of the coverage with them separately.

Although a large number of BPL families and informal sector workers have been linked with RSBY through state organised registration camps, its reach remains limited. This can be seen from the fact that in the seven districts of Rajasthan (Ajmer, Bharatpur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota and Udaipur) where the scheme was first introduced, while 6,86,664 families were enrolled, only 2,168 hospitalisation cases have been recorded as on 30th March, 2014[31].

7.1.4 Curbing Child Labour and Trafficking

The National Child Labour Project (NCLP) targets children's rescue from hazardous work and ensures that they are rehabilitated and mainstreamed into the formal education system. So far, a total of 14,234 children have been rehabilitated under this project. The NCLP created a network of NGOs working in vulnerable child migration prone areas and funded a number of schools and centres to curb child migration. More recently the issue of child trafficking to BT Cotton farms in North Gujarat gained attention and this became the subject of much policy action on both sides of the Rajasthan and Gujarat border. An inter-state task force was formed to monitor and prevent the movement of child labour to BT cotton farms and this involved coming together of senior officers from both states as well as representatives from UNICEF and NGOs. Despite these efforts, trafficking of children continues unabated across the same migration corridors. The efforts of the task force have also waned over time and lack the required resolve and more importantly, resources.

7.1.5 Regulation of Inter-State Migrant Workforce Flows

The Inter-State Migrant Workers (ISMW) Act, 1979, is the only regulatory instrument available to monitor workers' flows across state borders. It is a central legislation that is aimed at safeguarding the interests of workers and applies to all contractors and establishments which employ five or more migrant workers. It lays out elaborate conditions for recruitment of migrant workers, which include details regarding the terms of employment, provision of basic amenities at work, adherence to minimum wages, regular payment of wages, decent work conditions, payment of transportation expenses, etc. which are to be followed by all contractors. It also requires contractors to register themselves and the workers, provide photo passbooks and inform State authorities regarding all labour related movement, terms of employment and more.

The Act is aimed at safeguarding interests of migrants; however, it is largely obsolete and is poorly enforced. In Rajasthan, there are very few workers registered under the Act. An RTI filed in 2010 by Aajeevika Bureau in Gogunda, a block in Udaipur revealed that 'zero' workers were registered under the Act. An independent assessment of migration from Gogunda, however, showed that there are more than 10,000 inter-state migrant workers in the same region. There is no state machinery for ensuring the operationalization of the basic provisions of the Act.

[31] Figures are drawn from RSBY website http://www.rsby.gov.in/ accessed on 11th September, 2014

7.1.6 Provision of Night Shelters "Rain Baseras" for Homeless Populations

As per a Supreme Court directive, issued in May, 2010 all Urban Local Bodies with population over one lakh are required to create night shelters, namely Rain Baseras for the homeless populations. The facility is expected to function 24x7 and offer a set of services such as potable drinking water, toilets, sleeping space, medication, food facilities and basic infrastructure. Since 2010, Rajasthan has created a number of such shelters for the urban homeless poor. These facilities, however, are ridden with implementation bottlenecks. The shelters are not run in adequate number, suffer from poor maintenance and lack most of the basic facilities and infrastructure (Rozi Roti Adhikar Abhiyan Rajasthan, 2011.)

Labour Department - In Urgent Need of Attention

The Department of Labour is the appropriate state department that is mandated to oversee issues pertaining to migrant workers. Unfortunately, the department and its affiliate bodies are struggling with poor outreach, limited staffing and meager resources which limit attention to unorganised sector workers in general.

In terms of human resource, the department is highly understaffed and out of reach for most workers. At present in Rajasthan, the nearest point of contact with the Labour Department is at the district level. Each district office however, has 3-4 labour inspectors managing a cluster of 3-4 blocks. This figure again is on the higher side, several districts are known to operate with one labour inspector. At the block level in Rajasthan there are typically 14 departments such as agriculture, livestock, rural development, panchayati raj, revenue, health, etc. Within this array of government departments at the block level, the department of labour is missing despite the fact that for most regions of Rajasthan, wage labour is the single most important component of the rural economy.

Chronic understaffing has affected well intentioned schemes and programmes. For the implementation of the schemes under the Building Construction Workers' Welfare Board with an annual average cess collection of Rs. 100 crores there is no provision for staff, except a data entry operator at the district level. The department has to rely on trade unions for facilitating these linkages, thus seriously limiting the outreach of the scheme. Their outreach structure needs greater decentralization with more staff. There are 10 Labour Welfare Centres in the state which for paucity of funds have limited their activities to providing entertainment facilities to workers.

The state has a network of 12 Labour Courts, out of which 10 also work as Industrial Tribunals (Government of Rajasthan, 2014). However, the present labour machinery is unable to reach out to workers in the unorganised sector where they have little documentary proof of employment. Many disputes never make their way to the court or keep languishing for lack of proof. The efficacy of these courts is also highly marred by the resource crunch faced by them and the high pendency ratio.

For lack of coordination between labour establishments across states, the jurisdiction of the Labour Courts, which is mandated to look at labour disputes, is also limited within a state. For several disputes, poor coordination between officials of labour departments across states increases the woes of workers and contractors alike. Workers are often discouraged at the destination to file their grievances and advised to register their cases at their native place. Unfortunately, at home they are met with a similar response, with officials not ready to assume responsibility. Under several legislations, in principle, disputes can be registered at both places, however, in practice, workers are made to wander insensitively.

7.2 Creating Lasting Change and Impact

In an overwhelmingly informal and casualised labour economy the onus of workers' protection must surely rest with the State. The State has to create an enabling environment with strong regulatory mechanisms as well as welfare measures that keep perverse practices in check and ensure livelihood for migrant workers and their families. At the core of a new framework for supporting migrant communities is empowered public machinery which can effectively partner with non-state actors such as civil society organisations, trade unions and workers' collectives on the one side and with industry and employers on the other.

The following recommendations mainly address the State and propose that the State plays an active leadership role in the provisioning of services and security to the Rajasthani migrant workforce and their families. While the report has not covered migration into Rajasthan there is considerable scope for ensuring inclusion of out-of-state workers into the protection framework being conceived for migrant workers of the state.

7.2.1 Setting up of a "Rajasthan Migrant Labour Protection and Welfare Authority"

The scale and diversity of migrant workforce from Rajasthan calls for the creation of an empowered Board/Authority that combines regulatory, vigilance and welfare functions. Such an Authority / Board may function under the Department of Labour and its activities would include the following:

- Gathering of data and information on migrant workers from Gram Panchayats through a system of registration and enrollment followed by the issuance of a verified ID card;
- Mandatory enrollment of contractors and recruiting agents who facilitate inter-state movement of labour;
- Facilitating social security initiatives across specific vulnerable migration streams viz. brick kiln workers, head-loaders, rag pickers and factory workers by creating funds and financial products on the lines of the offering of the Building and Other Construction Workers (BoCW) Board;
- Maintaining links and coordination with the destination states for ensuring grievance handling, legal aid and linkages with schemes for migrant workers;
- Advocating for mainstreaming rights of migrant workers and their access to state schemes and entitlements in health, food, transportation and shelter.

The Authority/Board may be governed by a pool drawn from industry, academia, workers' organisations, non-profits and government.

7.2.2 Establishing Workers' Facilitation Centres at Source and Destinations of Rajasthan Migrants

On account of their frequent travel, return and relocation, migrant workers require structures that they can easily access in their usual migration corridors. Facilitation centres for migrant workers that span both source and destination centres are very useful in this regard. These centres can offer migrant workers with a number of services – registration, photo ID, information, social security, grievance redress and emergency support. At the source, the facilitation centres may also offer special services for families of migrant workers while at the destination, the nature of services may change to accommodate special requirements such as accommodation search, assistance with police, verification and financial services.

It is recommended that NGOs be invited to set up Workers Facilitation Centres (WFCs) in designated blocks of the state in order to create a platform of support to out-going migrants. Presently, there is a network of facilitation centres being run by a network of NGOs in blocks of Udaipur, Dungarpur, Rajsamand, Ajmer, Barmer, Nagaur and Tonk. There is considerable scope for expansion of these centres to blocks in Banswara, Baran, Pali, Jodhpur and Bhilwara districts which are dense out-migration zones.

There is definitely greater complexity in setting up facilitation centres exclusively for Rajasthani migrant workers in other states. In terms of locations, the Gujarat and Maharashtra belt are highly qualified for WFCs. The Government of Bihar has taken the initiative to set up one such centre in Gurgaon and there is a move by the Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India to expand the network of facilitation centres for migrant workers across the country. Rajasthan can take advantage of this growing space and create facilities for its workers in at least the high density destination locations. The role and function of a WFC are well understood and may be spelt out in special guidelines based on the experience of running such centres.

Given the vulnerability associated with inter-state movement of labour, it is recommended that an Inter-State Coordination Committee be established between Rajasthan and Gujarat. This may be convened at the highest level by the Government of Rajasthan and should undertake an annual review of the state of migrant workforce from the state. The Terms of Reference for the Coordination Committee may include a thorough monitoring of work and living conditions of migrant workers, review of special schemes and recommendations to industry and urban authorities for improvement in the conditions of migrant workers.

7.2.3 Creating Fast Track Mechanisms for Protection of Workers' Rights

Any framework for support of migrant workers must rest on effective regulation, vigil and a swift redress system to address the issues faced by migrant workers. A special desk to register and act upon complaints of workers in distress may be set up at sub-district/district level to ensure that the workers are not forced to remain silent or helpless in the face of fraudulence or manipulative work arrangements. Most workers' cases are likely to be relatively "small ticket" and hence will remain unlikely candidates for litigation, which in any case is a complicated and indeterminate process given the state of Labour Courts as well as the generally poor compliance to their rulings. In these cases, the format of mediation done within a credible paralegal framework is likely to be more effective.

Phone based Labour Helpline services for workers can help open up the gateway to distressed workers in need of counseling, support and urgent action. Experiences from Labour Line set up by Aajeevika Bureau suggest that this forum for redress of grievances and guidance is highly required. Providing workers right counseling on possible steps in case of a dispute helps quick redress. In the case of migrant workers, much better coordination between the labour machineries of sending and receiving regions is required – this does pose several practical challenges and demands the highest level of political agreement between governments to work together.

With regards to continuing bonded labour in the state, it is suggested that the approach of the Government of Rajasthan vis-à-vis the Sahariya tribe be mounted on a much larger scale. The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 lays down explicit provisions for the release and rehabilitation of bonded labourers (including children). As per the Act, vigilance committees are to be constituted in each district and sub-division. However in reality, these are either non-existent or where constituted, these have not been functioning for years. There is also lack of awareness among workers about the vigilance committees. The focussed attention received by the Sahariya tribes should therefore be expanded to sectors where cases of inhuman treatment and bondage are well known. Legal aid and protection should be made available to migrant workers coming to Rajasthan – particularly in the brick kiln, mining, construction and small manufacturing sectors. Such a response from the Government of Rajasthan will increase credibility for seeking similar assistance for its workers as they move to other states.

Much of the above however, depends on the efficacy of the labour department in the state. As we strive towards building a robust legal protection infrastructure for workers, it is imperative that the government addresses the serious resource shortage plaguing the functioning of labour departments in Rajasthan. There is a need to also make the labour departments more approachable to rural communities, by enabling a block level operation for the department.

7.2.4 Guarantee and Portability of Entitlements

Given the high food inflation in cities where migrant workers have to spend a major part of their wage earnings in feeding themselves, the need for accessing subsidized food becomes pressing. PDS entitlements are fixed to domicile which means that migrant workers can only access these benefits in their native, source villages and not in cities where they work for several months of the year. Aadhar is expected to enable PDS portability but by all counts its operationalization is further away. There is therefore a strong case for issuing of temporary PDS cards on the lines of Maharashtra which passed a Government Resolution to this effect in the year 2000. Since there is such a large movement of workers within the state as well, it would be useful to start with intra-state workers. Agreements with Gujarat and Maharashtra may lead to similar inter-state arrangements which will go a long way in reducing the financial burden of survival among migrant workers.

Despite many announcements to support universal financial inclusion and opening of banking services to low income populations, restrictive norms have made it difficult for migrant workers to access banking services. Greater access to formal banking system is a much needed intervention for migrants – for safe keeping, saving and for remittances. The offering of no frill accounts does not fulfill the transaction requirements of the workers. The renewed Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY) strengthens the demand on banks for opening of bank accounts for all including for migrant workers.

On the lines of Building and Other Construction Workers Board, more sector specific social security initiatives need to be conceived. For example, welfare boards for hea-loaders, rag-pickers, agriculture labour and domestic services providers need to be initiated in order to bring targeted welfare for workers in these sectors. Indeed much wider financial literacy and education of workers need to go hand in hand with special supervision and monitoring mechanism to ensure transparency in the implementation of social security schemes. The functioning of the existing Construction Workers Welfare Board is a case in point, which requires greater human resource, a robust screening process to check eligibility of candidates and generate greater awareness among workers about the provisions of the Board. With time the basket of services and schemes offered under the Board have grown to be comprehensive addressing different facets of social protection for workers. There is a need, however, to include skill training as part of the Board's agenda, and give a strong push to addressing skill development requirements of workers.

Rural areas that are known to send workers in high risk, hazardous migration streams will need adequate infrastructure and services to respond to the growing incidence of disease among returning workers. Of course much greater enforcement of safety and protection measures is called for on work sites that present high risk to the health of migrant workers. Insurance and benefits associated with illness and accidents need to be implemented in relation to specific sectors of work in which migrant workers face risks. The RSBY is a progressive health cover scheme that ensures portability of access to health services but there are still several operational challenges that need to be overcome for its effective implementation.

High out migration settings also call for greater care and attention to the issues of women and children's health in villages. It is well known that access to health care services in the absence of men becomes difficult for families and therefore special programmes to reach out to such families are required. Special programmes that specifically respond to migration risks (tuberculosis, HIV, respiratory disorders and malnutrition) need to be aligned in areas and in communities that face such circumstances.

7.3 High Priority Programme Intervention for Migrant Workers

7.3.1 Low Cost Accommodation on Sharing Basis

Migrant workers move to cities in search of livelihoods and one of the most serious problems they encounter at the destination pertains to finding safe and affordable accommodation. Many migrant workers are found residing on footpaths or in some shanty dwellings in crowded and filthy areas of the cities. They are vulnerable to forcible evictions, abuse, theft as well as health hazards. In order to address this gap, the state government should introduce low-cost rented accommodation for migrant workers on a sharing basis in high migrant density centers such as Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota, Udaipur and Ajmer. These accommodations should be regulated by the state government where migrant workers can stay by paying minimal rental on a daily basis. Provision for a mess to provide cheap and healthy food should also be included for a cluster of low-cost residential houses in the same vicinity.

7.3.3 Community Kitchen

Most migrant workers are unable to find low-cost fuel options for cooking, including access to Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG), since it is relatively expensive and requires proof of residence. As a result, migrants end up paying exorbitant prices to purchase kerosene from the black market, which constitutes a major drain on their incomes. The state government should set-up community kitchens in residential settlements of migrant workers. These should be equipped with stoves and LPG cylinders for which workers may be charged a nominal fee.

7.3.3 Provision of basic amenities at Labour Naka (Labour Congregation Points)

Labour Nakas are places where informal sector workers assemble in the mornings in search of work that is arranged for by contractors. Workers are usually employed as masons, carpenters, plumbers, helpers, etc. These nakas by virtue of being informal are usually situated at crossroads or on the side of a road. They therefore lack basic minimum facilities such as shaded seating, supply of drinking water, sanitation facilities, etc. which organized and formal recruitment centres otherwise ensure. Women workers find it particularly difficult to stand at the labour nakas in absence of these facilities. To facilitate transaction of labour services, the state government should invest in formalizing nakas and providing basic amenities in all major destination centres of Rajasthan.

7.3.4 Crèches at worksite

Daycare and crèches have emerged as a critical need for families of migrant workers. In the absence of crèches, children of migrant workers are often left to fend for themselves. As a result, they frequently suffer from malnutrition, illness and injury and thus fail to receive critical inputs which are necessary for physical, motor, cognitive, language and psycho-social development in their formative years. Health risks such as malnutrition and anaemia remain prevalent among migrant children and adolescent girls, resulting in stunting. In response to this problem, the state government should set up crèches at all major construction sites, factories and industries. The crèche should provide an integrated package of health, nutritional and educational services to respond to the different needs of migrant children.

7.3.5 Low cost diagnostic and curative facilities

The health of migrants is affected by a host of factors, such as the health environment in their place of origin, transit and destination, the conditions of the journey, access to drinking water and basic amenities, and food and nutritional intake. At the destination, migrants are exposed to multiple health risks including communicable diseases like malaria and tuberculosis, and occupational health hazards such as respiratory problems, lung diseases, allergies, kidney and bladder infections, back problems and malnutrition.

Migrants often suffer injuries and accidents at worksites, yet do not enjoy any medical care or compensation. Being less familiar with the city and its healthcare systems, and having limited liquid cash, they defer seeking care when ill. The government should set up low cost diagnostic and curative facilities for migrant workers and their families at destination. Apart from the assessment and treatment of common ailments, these facilities should be equipped with screening for occupational diseases such as asthma, tuberculosis, skin allergy, etc. These clinics should also have diagnostic facilities for life-threatening diseases such as AIDS and cancer and should be equipped to refer the more serious patients to relevant government/private hospitals in cases of emergencies. In the case of private health care providers, the referral should provide for either subsidized low-cost or free treatment depending on the financial condition of the worker. Health awareness camps/meetings should also be organised from time to time at the work sites or the residential settlements of migrant workers where information regarding promotive and preventive health practices should be given to the migrant community.

7.4 Conclusion

Migration driven by distress or by opportunity leads to vastly different experiences and outcomes. Investments in improvement of MNREGA, increasing land based production, enhancing enterprise promotion, bringing market linkages will remain valid pursuits for populations that are being driven to migrate as a result of distress. A reduction in distress migration must definitely be a goal of state governments as well as of development interventions by the civil society. However, at the same time, efforts must be made to strengthen regulation, services and support facilities which enable rural populations to migrate in search of opportunities in the urban, industrial and services sectors. Labour is Rajasthan's most valuable asset and attention to its welfare is imperative for the attainment of social justice and economic empowerment related goals of the state.

Annexures

Annexure I: List of participating organisations in data collection and their theme paper contributions

Table 1: List of participating organisations including blocks and districts of data collection			
NSS regions	Block	District	Organisation
North-Eastern Rajasthan	Masuda	Ajmer	Grameen evam Samajik Vikas Sansthan
	Peeplu	Tonk	Shiv Shiksha Samiti
South-Eastern Rajasthan	Kapasan	Chittorgarh	Grameen evam Samajik Vikas Sansthan
	Kishanganj	Baran	Sankalp
Western Rajasthan	Shergarh	Jodhpur	Jai Bhim Vikas Shikshan Sansthan
	Baitu	Barmer	Lok Kalyan Sansthan
Southern Rajasthan	Gogunda	Udaipur	Aajeevika Bureau
	Aaspur	Dungarpur	Aajeevika Bureau
Northern Rajasthan	Jayal	Nagaur	Urmul Khejri Sansthan
	Alsisar	Jhunjhunu	Shikshit Rojgar Kendra Prabandhak Samiti

Out of the 10 districts, the civil society organizations had a presence in seven districts. In three of the locations, Baran, Jhunjhunu and Chittorgarh, there was no direct presence of the migration initiative. In Baran, we reached out to Sankalp, an organization with a long history of work with bonded labour. In Jhunjhunu, Shikshit Rojgar Kendra Prabandhak Samiti (SRKPS) willingly agreed to participate in this exercise. For Chittorgarh, Grameen evam Samajik Vikas Sansthan (GSVS) offered to undertake data collection with help of volunteers.

Table 2: Theme paper contributions by civil society organizations	
Organization	Topic of theme paper
GSVS, Ajmer	Migrant Worker in Brick kiln sector
Kotra Adivasi Vikas Sansthan, Kotra	Migrant Agricultural workers
JBVSS, Jodhpur	Migrant Workers in Mining Sector
Jandaksha, Udaipur	Women Migrant Workers
LKS, Barmer	Note on Textile Migrant Workers
SSSR, Tonk	Migrant HHs and Access to Government Schemes
UKS, Nagaur	Educational Concerns of Children of Migrant Workers
SRKPS, Jhunjhunu	HIV and Migration

In addition to the theme paper contributions, two articles were written up in the process of the making of the migration profile report. The first article was contributed by the SHRAM initiative, in specific by IGIDR, Mumbai. The second article was a note prepared on the literature on history of migration from Rajasthan. These theme papers and special articles have been compiled in a separate document, available on request.

Annexure II: Rajasthan State Migration Profile – Phases

Before embarking on the study, a systematic review was undertaken of the primary data available on migration with all participant organizations and the field studies conducted by them. A tentative outline for RSMP was developed – identifying the data requirements for a profiling of this scale, current gaps in understanding. Based on this assessment a comprehensive research design was put together by the CMLS team. This design was shared with the network of migration practitioners and academics, and the research plan was modified based on their inputs.

The study was divided into two phases – first phase comprised of collection of quantitative data with the help of a structured questionnaire. Based on the findings of the quantitative survey, a second round of investigation was carried out which delved into in-depth inquiries through focused group discussions, case documentation, and key person interviews.

At the end of the first phase, an interim synthesis workshop was held in April 2012 where preliminary findings of the study were shared with all participant organizations, a representative from IGIDR, Mumbai and other representatives of the civil society, working on the theme of migration. The purpose of this workshop was to facilitate a first-hand corroboration of the findings, to understand if they were in sync with the understanding of the people working on the ground. The workshop also helped in identifying select migrant streams facing extreme vulnerability which needed a more in-depth profiling and a dedicated space within this report.

Table 1: Rajasthan State Migration Profile (RSMP) – phases of data collection

Phase Zero (Planning and research design)	• Review of existing database of household migration census of 309 Panchayats, field studies and NSS figures • Design of a study plan and an internal consultation within civil society organizations
Phase One (Quantitative Data Collection)	• Cleaning of Panchayat migration census database • Selection of research locations • Additional data collection, cleaning and analysis
Interim Synthesis Workshop	• Sharing and feedback on findings • Modification in approach towards the qualitative investigation
Phase Two (Qualitative Data Collection)	• FGDs, case documentation, data analysis and report writing

A draft version of the report was presented to a collective of senior academicians and practitioners, on the advisory board of CMLS. The CMLS advisory board members constitutes – Ms. Amita Bhide from Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai, Dr. Biswaroop Das from Center for Social Studies (CSS), Surat, Mr. Chetan Kapoor, Edulever, Dr. Kajri Misra, Xavier Institute of Management, Bhubaneswar, Dr. Sanjiv Phansalkar, Sir Dorabji Tata Trust (SDTT), Mumbai, Mr. Sushil Dwivedi, Grameen Development Services, Lucknow, Mr. Umi Daniel, Aide et action, Ms. Vanita Viswanath, Udyogini. The report also benefitted from the substantial comments of Mr. Elon Gilbert, a senior academic and rural development specialist and Ms. Marina Faetanini, IIMI, UNESCO. Based on an exhaustive review the draft report was further modified.

Annexure III: HDI indices of Rajasthan Districts

The following table provides the HDI figures for all districts of Rajasthan. The selected districts for the purpose of data collection are highlighted in bold.

Table 1: HDI Indices of Rajasthan districts		
Region	Districts	HDI
NORTH RAJASTHAN (HDI – 0.589)	CHURU	0.537
	JHUNJHUNU	0.589
	HANUMANGARH	0.644
	SIKAR	0.561
	NAGAUR	0.544
	GANGANAGAR	0.656
NORTH-EAST RAJASTHAN (HDI – 0.563)	DHOLPUR	0.503
	KARAULI	0.584
	SAWAI MADHOPUR	0.583
	TONK	0.531
	DAUSA	0.574
	BHARATPUR	0.561
	BHILWARA	0.517
	AJMER	0.581
	ALWAR	0.592
	JAIPUR	0.607
SOUTH RAJASTHAN (HDI – 0.489)	DUNGARPUR	0.456
	BANSWARA	0.472
	RAJSAMAND	0.526
	UDAIPUR	0.503
SOUTH-EAST RAJASTHAN (HDI – 0.555)	BARAN	0.578
	BUNDI	0.547
	JHALAWAR	0.511
	CHITTORGARH	0.527
	KOTA	0.613
WEST RAJASTHAN (HDI – 0.527)	JAISALMER	0.517
	SIROHI	0.52
	JALORE	0.5
	BARMER	0.461
	BIKANER	0.592
	PALI	0.531
	JODHPUR	0.567

Source: Rajasthan Human Development Report, 2002

Annexure IV: Method of estimating Rajasthan level migration incidence and limitations in methodology

A household census was conducted in 47 Gram Panchayats of 10 districts of Rajasthan, to examine the incidence of migration. The survey gathered information about the number of migrants from each household, where they migrate to and in which work sector are they employed. Data from 38,828 households was then used to extrapolate the incidence of migration across the state. The extrapolation was done based on two variables – number of households sending one or more migrants, and the number of migrants.

As discussed in chapter 2, assumption IV was found to be the most appropriate scenario. As per this assumption, the extrapolation was done based on migration rate calculated at the Gram Panchayat level. It is assumed that the Panchayat level migration incidence obtained from the 5 GPs per district will be representative of the entire district. Further, a weighted average (over the number of Panchayats in the district) of the migration incidence found for the five Panchayats will be representative for the entire NSS region. The weighted averages for a NSS region were calculated using the formulae –

$$H_{GPi} = ?^{2}_{j=1} H_{Dj} * P_{Dj} / ?^{2}_{j=1} P_{Dj}$$
$$M_{GPi} = ?^{2}_{j=1} M_{Dj} * P_{Dj} / ?^{2}_{j=1} P_{Dj}$$

Where,

H_{GPi} is the weighted average of household migration rate at the NSS region level,
M_{GPi} is the weighted average of number of migrants per Gram Panchayat at the NSS region level,
H_{Dj} is the incidence of household migration from the surveyed districts of the NSS region,
M_{Dj} is the average number of migrants per Panchayat from the surveyed district of the NSS region, and
P_{Dj} is the number of Panchayats in the surveyed district of the NSS region.

The estimated incidence of migration at the NSS region level is calculated using the formulae

$$H_{Ri} = (H_{GPi}/100) * N_{Ri}$$
$$M_{Ri} = M_{GPi} * P_{Ri}$$

Where,

H_{Ri} is the estimated number of migrant households in a NSS region,
H_{GPi} is the weighted average of household migration rate at the NSS region level,
N_{Ri} is the total number of rural households in the NSS region (as per census 2011),
M_{Ri} is the number of migrants at the NSS region level,
M_{GPi} is the weighted average of number of migrants per Gram Panchayat at the NSS region level, and
P_{Ri} is the number of Panchayats in an NSS region.

Table 1 gives the values calculated using the above formulae to arrive at the estimation of the incidence of migration.

Table 1: Estimation of incidence of seasonal internal migration from Rajasthan										
NSS Regions	District	Number of GPs in District	Overall Incidence (%)	Household Migration rate (weighted average)	Total number of households (census 2011)	Estimated Number of migrant households	Average Number of Migrants per GP	Migrants per GP (weighted average)	GPs per region	Estimated Number of Migrants
R	D	P_D	H_D	H_{GP}	N_R	$H_R=(H_{GP}/100)*N_R$	M_D	M_{GP}	P_R	$M_R=M_{GP}*P_R$
North-Eastern	Ajmer	276	46	40	3098579	1249600	1007	757	3022	2287350
	Tonk	231	34				458			
Northern	Jhunjhunu	288	12	33	1918095	627742	90	410	1898	777668
	Nagaur	461	46				610			
South-Eastern	Baran	214	38	38	1024213	391300	888	610	1092	666070
	Chittorgarh	288	38				404			
Southern	Dungarpur	237	59	56	1474161	830298	490	639	1368	874408
	Udaipur	467	55				715			
Western	Barmer	380	65	65	1975315	1283520	603	651	1813	1179582
	Jodhpur	351	65				702			
Rajasthan						4382460				5785078

Finally, the total number of migrant households and migrants from the state of Rajasthan is equal the sum of the two variables from all the five NSS regions, arrived on the basis of Panchayat level estimates.

$$H_S = ?^{5}_{i=1} H_{Ri}$$
$$M_S = ?^{5}_{i=1} M_{Ri}$$

Where,

H_S is the estimated number of migrant households in the state,
M_S is the estimated number of migrants at the state level,
H_{Ri} is the estimated number of migrant households in a NSS region, and
M_{Ri} is the estimated number of migrants at the NSS region level.

Limitations in the methodology

As mentioned earlier in the report, capturing migration trends for a state as large and as diverse as Rajasthan is a daunting task. In the course of this exercise, we faced several challenges and test of assumptions. We would like to share some of the limitations of this study –

- Availability of migrants at source – At the time of analysis of the migration survey, we realized that some of the sectors did not find adequate representation. For instance, brick-kiln workers remained under-represented in the survey. The stratification of households followed was caste-wise and not occupation wise. Availability of migrant families determined who got interviewed at the time of data collection.

- High heterogeneity of migrant streams – There is a notable variation in occupational streams and work sectors not just across regions but within as well. Observing this heterogeneity we have refrained from projecting state-wise numbers in occupational trends. The findings are presented as a simple aggregation of figures from the given 10 locations and should be treated likewise.

We also realize that the selection of final data-collection locations based on presence of an NGO can be questioned. Some critics have offered their reservation on the choice of this technique, on the premise that presence of an NGO is an indicator of high levels of poverty and deprivation, and projecting a figure based on these statistics may lead to an over-estimation of migration. This is a valid argument. However, the wide range in migration incidence in our findings (12 per cent in Jhunjhunu to 68 per cent in Jodhpur) assures that this survey has been able to capture the variety in migration contexts available in the state, and does not over-estimate migration. On the other hand, the presence of these organizations in these locations adds to the credibility of these numbers, with a firsthand verification on site.

The research team would like to argue that the given estimates must be interpreted within the purview of the given methodology. This profile is the first such attempt made on estimation of state level seasonal migration statistics based on primary data. We expect that with time the methodology would benefit from similar academic attempts and provide us with a robust way of capturing labour mobility in India.

Annexure V: Key Occupations, Destinations and Demographic Profile of Migrants

Table 1: Work sectors employing migrants from Rajasthan (Corresponding to Figure 2, Chapter 4)

Occupational Sectors	North-Eastern		Northern		South-Eastern		Southern		Western		Grand Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Construction	2096	33.0	245	7.2	1621	35.7	710	16.1	689	10.7	5361	21.3
Transportation	699	11.0	687	20.3	149	3.3	267	6.1	1709	26.5	3511	14.0
Mining	793	12.5	34	1.0	662	14.6	45	1.0	1323	20.5	2857	11.4
Agriculture & Animal Husbandry	634	10.0	110	3.2	1046	23.0	99	2.2	117	1.8	2006	8.0
Hospitality	46	0.7	118	3.5	56	1.2	1526	34.6	216	3.3	1962	7.8
Furniture	90	1.4	239	7.1	16	0.4	46	1.0	1205	18.7	1596	6.3
Factories	356	5.6	684	20.2	162	3.6	127	2.9	136	2.1	1465	5.8
Textile	209	3.3	100	2.9	37	0.8	529	12.0	529	8.2	1404	5.6
Micro Enterprise	361	5.7	129	3.8	240	5.3	189	4.3	272	4.2	1191	4.7
Brick kiln	509	8.0	645	19.0	14	0.3	4	0.1		0.0	1172	4.7
Services	135	2.1	173	5.1	114	2.5	132	3.0	109	1.7	663	2.6
Retail	108	1.7	145	4.3	28	0.6	206	4.7	91	1.4	578	2.3
Art & Culture	29	0.5	25	0.7	293	6.5	124	2.8	11	0.2	482	1.9
Domestic Work	8	0.1		0.0	43	0.9	371	8.4	6	0.1	428	1.7
Others	283	4.5	56	1.7	59	1.3	33	0.7	47	0.7	478	1.9
Grand Total	6356	100.0	3390	100.0	4540	100.0	4408	100.0	6460	100.0	25154	100.0

Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n = 25,154

Table 2 : Prominent intra-state destinations for migrants from Rajasthan (Corresponding to Figure 4, Chapter 4)

Destination Districts	North-Eastern		Northern		South-Eastern		Southern		Western		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Jodhpur	451	8.1	80	5.6	37	1.2	0	0.0	2294	55.9	2862	19.0
Jaipur	1956	35.3	178	12.5	69	2.3	5	0.5	315	7.7	2523	16.8
Kota	435	7.9	26	1.8	954	31.9	2	0.2	3	0.1	1420	9.4
Ajmer	1174	21.2	35	2.5	21	0.7	5	0.5	4	0.1	1239	8.2
Barmer	3	0.1	11	0.8	1	0.0	0	0.0	1110	27.1	1125	7.5
Bhilwara	883	16.0	4	0.3	110	3.7	1	0.1	3	0.1	1001	6.7
Baran	16	0.3	5	0.4	911	30.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	932	6.2
Pali	138	2.5	8	0.6	0	0.0	450	45.7	68	1.7	664	4.4
Udaipur	20	0.4	4	0.3	53	1.8	370	37.6	7	0.2	454	3.0
Chittorgarh	14	0.3	1	0.1	374	12.5	3	0.3	0	0.0	392	2.6
Bundi	30	0.5	1	0.1	290	9.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	321	2.1
Nagaur	42	0.8	252	17.6	6	0.2	0	0.0	2	0.0	302	2.0
Ganganagar	1	0.0	244	17.1	5	0.2	0	0.0	19	0.5	269	1.8
Tonk	255	4.6	0	0.0	5	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	260	1.7
Hanumangar	0	0.0	243	17.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	0.3	254	1.7
Jaisalmer	11	0.2	37	2.6	5	0.2	1	0.1	168	4.1	222	1.5
Others	107	1.9	299	20.9	153	5.1	162	16.2	99	2.4	820	5.4
Grand Total	**5536**	**100.0**	**1428**	**100.0**	**2994**	**100.0**	**999**	**100.0**	**4103**	**100.0**	**15060**	**100.0**

Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n = 15,046

Table 3 : Prominent inter-state destinations for migrants from Rajasthan (Corresponding to Figure 5, Chapter 4)												
Destination Districts	**North-Eastern**		**Northern**		**South-Eastern**		**Southern**		**Western**		**Total**	
	Number	Per cent	**Number**	Per cent	**Number**	Per cent	**Number**	Per cent	**Number**	Per cent	**Number**	Per cent
Ahmedabad	52	6.8	117	6.4	111	8.8	1720	42.1	251	10.6	2251	21.9
Surat	19	2.5	71	3.9	58	4.6	1301	31.9	76	3.2	1525	14.8
Mumbai	92	12.1	217	11.9	80	6.4	705	17.3	161	6.8	1255	12.2
Pune	6	0.8	176	9.7	6	0.5	22	0.5	419	17.6	629	6.1
Kutch	16	2.1	9	0.5	4	0.3	2	0.0	497	20.9	528	5.1
Rajkot	27	3.5	18	1.0	20	1.6	73	1.8	266	11.2	404	3.9
Delhi	201	26.3	91	5.0	18	1.4	23	0.6	8	0.3	341	3.3
Hyderabad	7	0.9	181	9.9	40	3.2	1	0.0	52	2.2	281	2.7
Sheopur	7	0.9	0	0.0	219	17.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	226	2.2
Nagpur	8	1.0	181	9.9	8	0.6	11	0.3	0	0.0	208	2.0
Bengaluru	12	1.6	124	6.8	9	0.7	2	0.0	41	1.7	188	1.8
Vadodara	4	0.5	14	0.8	52	4.1	65	1.6	43	1.8	178	1.7
Indore	5	0.7	9	0.5	10	0.8	124	3.0	9	0.4	157	1.5
Rewa	0	0.0	11	0.6	137	10.9	0	0.0	2	0.1	150	1.5
Guna	8	1.0	1	0.1	104	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	113	1.1
Others	299	39.2	603	33.1	380	30.3	35	0.9	551	23.2	1868	18.1
Total	763	100.0	1823	100.0	1256	100.0	4084	100.0	2376	100.0	10302	100.0

Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n = 15,046

Table 4: Distribution of migrants across various age brackets in different NSS regions						
	Rajasthan	**North-Eastern**	**Northern**	**South-Eastern**	**Southern**	**Western**
14-18	**2.67**	1.65	2.09	5.48	3.30	1.68
18-25	**34.70**	32.77	31.25	31.47	39.45	37.18
26-30	**23.08**	24.83	22.64	20.17	24.00	22.83
31-35	**14.62**	14.57	16.07	14.10	13.88	14.62
36-40	**11.47**	12.32	13.11	10.09	9.87	11.75
41-45	**5.72**	5.94	6.39	6.40	4.24	5.84
Above 46	**7.74**	7.92	8.44	12.29	5.27	6.10
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n=2496						

Table 5: Education levels across the five NSS regions						
	North Eastern	**Northern**	**South Eastern**	**Southern**	**Western**	**Grand Total**
Illiterate	23.80	23.54	44.42	27.71	23.14	28.85
Primary (till 5th)	28.60	14.29	21.56	40.36	42.36	29.25
Secondary (6th - 10th)	40.92	40.24	28.25	25.70	32.44	33.37
Senior Secondary (11th - 12th)	3.34	10.26	2.97	2.81	1.03	4.09
Graduate or more	2.51	10.66	2.04	2.81	0.83	3.77
Professional degree/ diploma	0.84	1.01	0.74	0.60	0.21	0.68
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Source: RSMP primary survey, 2012, n=2496						

References

Ali, Z. (2008), *What's on the Menu? Understanding Food Habits and Challenges of Migrant Workers in Ahmedabad*, Paper presented at Aajeevika Bureau Knowledge Sharing Workshop, December 2008, Ahmedabad, Gujarat

Ali, Z. Sharma, A. Sivaramakrishnan, D. (2012), *Impact of Male Migration on the Women Left Behind*, Paper presented at Aajeevika Bureau Knowledge Sharing Workshop, September 2012, Ahmedabad, Gujarat

Babu, B. V. (2011), *Migration: Disease Burden, Health Care Access and Challenges Ahead*(power-point presentation), Health Systems Research Division Indian Council of Medical Research, New Delhi

Bhatia, B. (2012), Of Human Bondage in Baran, Rajasthan, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVII (Nos. 26 & 27), June 30, 2012, pp. 159-169

Bhushan T. (2008), *Not in the Best of Health, Status of Migrant Labour at Risk*, Paper presented at Aajeevika Bureau Knowledge Sharing Workshop, December 2008, Ahmedabad, Gujarat

Bose, T. K. (2009), *Mining in Rajasthan: A study of Patterns and Paradigms*, Published by MLPC

Breman, J. (1996), *Footloose Labour: Working in India's Informal Economy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Burra, N. (2009), *'Child Labour in Rural Areas with a Special Focus on Migration, Agriculture, Mining and Brick Kilns'* National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, Available at http://ncpcr.gov.in/view_file.php?fid=73 [13 September 2014]

Chandrasekhar, S. and Sharma, A. (2013), *Itinerant Workers in Rajasthan: What does secondary data say*? Paper Contributed for Their Own Country: A Profile of Labour Migration from Rajasthan

Chatterjee, C. B. (2006), *Identities in Motion: Migration and Health in India*, The Centre for Enquiry into Health and Allied Themes (CEHAT), Mumbai

CMF (2011), '*Rajasthan Microfinance Report 2011'*, prepared by Centre for Microfinance, Jaipur, Available at http://www.cmfraj.org/MicrofinanceReport2012.pdf [Accessed on 13 September 2014]

Cole, S. Hanna, R. and Topalova, P. (2006), Is Financing Mobility a Solution to Poverty?.*Eye on Microfinance*, (3) Chennai: CMF-IFMR

Commissionerate of Agriculture (2009), *Rajasthan agricultural statistics at a glance*, Commissionerate of Agriculture, Rajasthan, Jaipur, 2008-09, p.45

Custer, C, Macauslan, J., Goyal, P., Pareek, S., Kumari, S. (2005), *Adolescent Migration in Udaipur district – An investigation into Causes and Consequences,* Published by SewaMandir, Udaipur

Deccan Herald (2003), Conditions tough for Mine Workers in Rajasthan, Infochange Livelihoods, http://infochangeindia.org/livelihoods/news/conditions-tough-for-mineworkers-in-rajasthan.html [Accessed on 13 September 2014]

Deshingkar, P. Akter, S. (2009), Human Development Research Paper 2009/13. Migration and Human Development in India, UNDP

Deshingkar, P. Khandelwal, R. Farrington, J. (2008) 'Support for Migrant Workers: The Missing Link in India's Development'. *Natural Resource Perspectives* 117 UK: ODI

Dwivedi, Y. and Sharma, K. (2007), *Worrisome Folds: A Situation Analysis of Migrant Textile Labourers from Southern Rajasthan*, Paper presented at Aajeevika Bureau Knowledge Sharing Workshop, December 2007

Planning Department, Directorate of Economics & Statistics (2013)*'Economic Review 2012-13'*, Rajasthan, Jaipur, Available at http://statistics.rajasthan.gov.in/English2013/chapters/C1f%202012-13.pdf [Accessed on 13 September 2014]

Government of Rajasthan (2002), '*Rajasthan Human Development Report 2002*' Available at http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_pdf/shdr_raj02.pdf [Accessed on 13 September 2014]

Government of Rajasthan (2008), '*Rajasthan Human Development Report – An update 2008'*, Available at http://statistics.rajasthan.gov.in/Details/hd_final.pdf [Accessed on 13 September 2014]

Government of Rajasthan (nd), *Net State Domestic Product of Rajasthan by Industrial Origin at Constant Prices (2004-05*), Available at http://statistics.rajasthan.gov.in/some%20facts%20final/sm/88.pdf [Accessed 13 September 2014]

GRAVIS (2010)*'Women miners in Rajasthan, India: A Reflection of their Life, Challenges and Future'. A report by GRAVIS with technical support from HEDCON*. Available at http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/WomenMinersInRajasthan.pdf[Accessed on 13 September 2014]

HAQ SAMATA (2010) *'India's Childhood in the Pits, A Report on the Impacts of Mining on Children in India',*Available at http://www.haqcrc.org/sites/default/files/children-and-mining-report.pdf[Accessed on 13 September 2014]

Jatan Sansthan (2008), *Kahaan Kahaan se Gujar Gaye: Pravas se lautkar aaye shramikon ki sthithi,a study done by JatanSansthan and Aajeevika Bureau*, presented at Aajeevika Knowledge Sharing Workshop, December 2008

Jatan Sansthan (2010), *Indori Zayka*: *A Study of Occupational and Health Hazards to Migrant Workers working in the Food, Namkeen industry,* Paper presented at Aajeevika Bureau Knowledge Sharing Workshop, December 2010

Khandelwal, A. Katiyar, S. Vaishnav, M. (2008) *Child Labour in Cottonseed production: A Case Study of Cottonseed Farms in North Gujarat*, Dakshini Rajasthan Mazdoor Union, Dungarpur

Lok Kalyan Sansthan (2012)*Gandhidham Profile: AProfile of Migrant Workers Employed at Kandla, Gandhidham, Gujarat*, prepared by Shramik Sahayata evam Sandarbha Kendra, Lok Kalyan Sansthan, Baitu, Barmer

Madhu (non-dated), Sexual Violence faced by Female Workers in Gujarat Cottonseed Plots, unpublished

Mazumdar, I. Neetha, N. Agnihotri, I. (2013), Gender and Migration in India, *Economic and Political Weekly,* XLVIII (10), March 9, 2013

Mehta, S. (2007), Migrant Construction Workers in Ahmedabad: A Profile, *Shramik Sahayata evam Sandarbha Kendra*, Aajeevika Bureau

Mili, D, (2011), Migration and healthcare: Access to Healthcare Services Settled in Shivaji Nagar Slum of Mumbai, India', *The Health* 2011, 2(3), pp. 82-85

MLPC (2013, Mine Workers and their Predicament in India, Available at http://www.mlpc.in/[Accessed on 13 September 2014]

MLPC (non-dated), Background note on Mine Workers in Rajasthan, Unpublished

MLPC (2012), *High Incidence of Silicosis among Karauli Miners*, Times News Network ES News, Jaipur Edition, 11th Feb.2012, Available at http://mlpc.in/blog/?p=51[Accessed 13 September 2014]

MLPC (2013)'*Empowering Mine Workers: Project report by Mines and Labour Protection Campaign*', Available at: http://www.oxfamindia.org/where-we-work/rajasthan/mines-and-labour-protection-campaign-mlpc

Monga, V. Singh, L.P. Bhardwaj, A. Singh, H. (2012), Respiratory Health in Brick Kiln Workers, *International Journal of Physical and Social Sciences* (*IJPSS)*, 2(4), Available at URL: http://www.ijmra.us/project%20doc/IJPSS_APRIL2012/IJMRA-PSS865.pdf[Accessed 13 September 2014]

Nandhi, M. A. (2011), *The Urban Poor and their Money: A Study of Cycle Rickshaw Pullers in Delhi*. Chennai: CMF-IFMR. Available at URL:http://www.centre-for-microfinance.org/wp-content/uploads/attachments/csy/2257/Rickshaw%20Pullers%20Study.pdf[Accessed 13 May 2013]

NCEUS (2007), Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganized Sector, National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector, September 2007

NSSO (2010), Migration in India, 2007-08, 64th round, National Sample Survey Organization

NSS [2010], Employment & Unemployment and Household Consumer Expenditure 2009-10, 66th round, National Sample Survey Organization

PACS (2008), Drought in India: Challenges and Initiatives, Poorest Area Civil Society Programme, 2001-08, Publication brought under a programme funded by DFID, United Kingdom

Parmar, R. Pandya, M. Ali, Z. (2012), Impact of Bank Linkages on Migrant Workers, Paper presented at Aajeevika Bureau Knowledge Sharing Workshop September 2012, Ahmedabad, Gujarat

Patel, J. (2011), *Horror of White Clouds*, PRAYAS Centre for Labour Research & Action (CLRA), Ahmedabad

PHD Research Bureau (2011), *Rajasthan State Profile, April 2011*, New Delhi, India, Available at http://www.phdcci.in/admin/userfiles/file/Research-Bureau/Rajasthan-state-profile.pdf [Accessed on 13 September 2014]

Planning Commission (2006), Rajasthan Development Report, Academic Foundation publishers, New Delhi, India, Available at http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr/sdr_rajasthan.pdf [Accessed 13 September 2014]

Planning Commission (nd), Employment (Vision 2020), p. 15

Poonia, S. Agasti, K. Gajera, M. (2011), *Pahiyon par lataktizindagi*: *Problems faced in Transportation by Migrant Workers in Ahmedabad*, Aajeevika Bureau

Poonia, S., Gurjar, D. (2012), *Bojh Tale Zindagi – PravasiHamaalShramikon ki Zindagi par ek Adhyayan*, Paper presented at Aajeevika Knowledge Sharing Workshop September 2012

PRAYAS-CLRA (2012a), Wage Labour Atlas of Brick Kiln Workers, Supported by Aga Khan Foundation through the European Union SCALE Programme

PRAYAS-CLRA (2012b), Trapped in Bondage, A Socio economic study of Brick Kiln Workers of Mandal cluster in Bhilwara

Rawal, V. (2008), Ownership Holdings of Land in Rural India: Putting the Record Straight',*Economic and Political Weekly*, XLIII (10), March 8, 2008

Rozi Roti Adhikar Abhiyan- Rajasthan (2011),*'Night Shelters in Rajasthan: A Fact Finding Report'*, Available at http://www.sccommissioners.org/Homelessness/reports/rajasthan_homelessness.pdf [Accessed on 11 September 2014]

Sharma, A. (2007), Changing Agricultural Demography of India: Evidence from a Rural Youth Perception Survey, *International Journal of Rural Management*, 3(1), pp. 27-41

Sharma, A., Patel, S. Sheikh, S. (2010), *Share-crop Contract between Migrant Workers & Farmers: Aajeevika-KAS's experience in Idar-Kotda*, Paper presented at Aajeevika Knowledge Sharing Workshop, Udaipur, Rajasthan, 2010

Sharma, A., Poonia, S., Babar, M., Singh, V., Singh, P., Jha, L. K. [2011], *Political Inclusion of Seasonal Migrant Workers in India: Perceptions, Realities and Challenges*, Paper presented at Political Inclusion Workshop and their Access to Basic Services, Lucknow 10th-11th March, 2011

Sharma, R. (2008)*Kaun Sunega, Kisko Sunaye*: *A Study on Labor Disputes*, Paper presented at Aajeevika Bureau Knowledge Sharing Workshop December 2008, Ahmedabad, Gujarat

Sharma, R. Sharma, K. Poonia, S. (2010), *Har Haath ko Kaam*: *Impact of NREGS on Migrant Households*, Paper presented at Aajeevika Bureau Knowledge Sharing Workshop 2010, Udaipur, Rajasthan

Shramshakti Report of the National Commission on Self Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector, New Delhi, National Commission on Self Employed Women, 1988

Social Statistics Division, MOSPI (2012), *Children in India 2012*, New Delhi, India, Available at http://mospi.nic.in/mospi_new/upload/Children_in_India_2012.pdf [Accessed 13 September 2014]

Srivastava, R. (2011) 'Labour Migration in India: Recent Trends, Patterns and Policy Issues', *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 54(3),pp. 411-440

Teamlease and IIJT (2009), India Labor Report 2009, The Geographic Mismatch & A Ranking of Indian States by their Labour Ecosystem, A Report by Team Lease Services & Indian Institute of Job Training (IIJT), Available at file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/TeamLease_LabourReport2009.pdf [Accessed 13 September 2014]

Teamlease and IIJT (2012), India Labor Report, Massifying Indian Higher Education: The Access & Employability Case for Community Colleges, A Report by TeamLease Services & Indian Institute of Job Training (IIJT), Available at file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/TeamLease_Labor_Report_2012_1%20(1).pdf[Accessed 13 September 2014]

The Hindu (2007), 'Rajasthan Drive against Overloading of Buses', Article by Special Correspondent, *The Hindu*, 13 September, Available at URL:http://www.hindu.com/2007/09/13/stories/2007091350670300.htm

Thomas, J. J. (2012), India's Labour Market during the 2000s: Surveying the Changes, *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVII (51)December 22

Thorat, YSP Jones H. (2011), Remittance needs and Opportunities in India, Synthesis Report: GIZ and NABARD

Tumbe C.(2011),'Remittances in India: Facts and Issues', Indian Institute of Management Bangalore Working Paper No. 331, Bangalore IIM

UNDP (nd), *Rajasthan Economic and Human Development Indicators*, Available at: www.undp.org/content/dam/india/docs/rajasthan_factsheet.pdf [Accessed 13 September 2014]

Urmul Khejri Sansthan (2012), *Hamein bhi jaano*: *Eent Bhattha Shramikon ke bacchon par pravas ka prabhav,* A study done by migration program team

Vividha and Aajeevika Bureau (2012), *Sheher Roti to deta hai, Jaipur sheher ke asangathit kshetra mein mahila shramikon ki sthiti*

Yadav, S. P. Mathur, M. L. Dixit, A. K. (2006), Knowledge and Attitude towards Tuberculosis among Sandstone Quarry Workers in Desert parts of Rajasthan.*Indian Journal of Tuberculosis* 53(4)pp. 187-195

Civil Society Partners for the Study

1. Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and Allied Trusts

Established in 1932 by Sir Dorabji Tata, the elder son of group founder Jamsetji Tata, the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and the Allied Trusts are one of India's oldest and largest philanthropic foundations. The trusts offer monetary assistance to students and economically disadvantaged patients, make financial contributions to institutions and provide financial support to more than 600 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the country. Their vision of constructive philanthropy has been sensitive to the fast-growing needs of a developing nation, and the projects and programmes they support bear contemporary relevance. For details, please visit www.dorabjitatatrust.org.

2. Aajeevika Bureau

Aajeevika Bureau (AB) is a specialized public service initiative concerned with the well-being and advancement of rural migrant workers. Aajeevika Bureau has been well regarded as an innovative attempt to solve problems and address hardships faced by migrant workers in order for their livelihood quest to become more successful and dignified. AB was set up in 2005 and it began its work in the heavy out-migration areas of southern Rajasthan as well as heavy in-migration areas of Gujarat. It offers a range of services to migrant workers and their families – photo ID, skill training and placement, legal aid and literacy, social security linkages and financial inclusion, family empowerment and health care. For details, please visit www.aajeevika.org

3. Gramin evam Samajik Vikas Sansthan (GSVS)

Gramin evam Samajik Vikas Sansthan (GSVS) is a non-profit organisation established in 2001. The organisation actively works in seven districts in Rajasthan covering 14 blocks and 180 villages. The organization works with the objective to provide support to the rural community (especially poor and backward) to get themselves organized and initiate development processes and manage it for their own socio-economic development. They run four programmes viz. livelihoods development, women's empowerment, support to migrant population and child rights. Under the migration program, the organization provides services to the migrant population of Masuda and Jawaja blocks of Ajmer and Bhim in Rajsamand. The organisation has also recently started its operations in Bhilwara district under the migration program. For details, please visit www.gsvsajmer.in

4. Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR)

The Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research (IGIDR), Mumbai is an advanced research institution established by The Reserve Bank of India in 1987. The Institute's mission is to carry out research on developmental issues from a multi-disciplinary point of view. The institute has an M.Phil./Ph.D. programme in Development Studies and also an M.Sc. programme in Economics. IGIDR has received the support of Sir Dorabji Tata Trust & Allied Trusts towards implementation of the initiative titled “Strengthen and Harmonize Research and Action on Migration in the Indian Context - SHRAMIC”. The initiative seeks to improve our understanding of livelihood strategies of migrants, migrant workers and their families, suggest evidence based policy prescriptions for protection of the rights of migrants and create a conducive environment for migrants and recognize their contribution while formulating poverty reduction and employment strategies. As part of this initiative, IGIDR has conceptualized SHRAM - a Research Portal and Data Repository. It serves as an online knowledge community on migration in South Asia with a specific focus on India. For details, please visit www.igidr.ac.in

5. Jan Daksha Trust

Jan Daksha Trust was started by a group of active thinkers with the goal of engaging with the poor, vulnerable, exploited and unorganized sections of the society at the levels of both thought and action. It was registered under the Section 42 of the Rajasthan Trust Act, 1959 in 2007. Jandaksha specifically targets the migrant population and their livelihood concerns. It primarily works with the migrant labour from villages and towns around Udaipur city with a special focus on women migrant workers.

6. Jatan Sansthan

Jatan Sansthan is a grassroots NGO working with the rural population of the districts of Rajsamand, Udaipur and Bhilwada, in Rajasthan. Since its establishment in 2001, Jatan has designed and implemented various initiatives geared towards improving the social and demographic indicators of the marginalized population of Railmagra block. Jatan has been working as the migration bureau in Rajsamand district and has successfully established a Migrant Support & Resource Centre at Railmagra block. This centre undertakes regular registration of migrants, especially of the young ones, provides them with counselling at destination and supports rehabilitation on their return to their villages. For details, please visit www.jatansansthan.org

7. Jai Bhim Vikas Shikshan Sansthan (JBVSS)

Jai Bhim Vikas Shikshan Sansthan was established by a group of human rights activists in 1993. It is a non-government, non-political, non-religious and non-profitable organisation. Its objective is to organize the deprived and marginalized communities and generate awareness on issues concerning caste, gender and class based atrocities and discrimination as well as on citizen's natural rights (education, health and livelihood). The organization works in Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Barmer and Jalor districts of Rajasthan. JBVSS has run a migrant support centre at Jodhpur in the past. For details, please visit www.jaibhimrajasthan.org

8. Kotda Adivasi Sansthan (KAS)

Kotda Adivasi Sansthan (KAS), set up in October 1998, was formed to provide development services and support to tribal communities in the remote parts of Udaipur and Sirohi districts which border North Gujarat. It has been promoted by the Adivasi Vikas Manch and Astha Sanstha and works in close affiliation with both these organizations in tribal south Rajasthan. KAS runs the migration program in Kotra block of Udaipur district and Sumerpur block of Pali district. It has been instrumental in safeguarding the interests of the agricultural labourers of Kotda who work as sharecroppers in adjoining villages of Gujarat and in reducing child labour working on the BT cotton farms in the north Gujarat region.

9. Lok Kalyan Sansthan (LKS)

Lok Kalyan Sansthan is a non-government, non-profit, and apolitical voluntary organisation based in Baitu, a tehsil (sub-district) in Barmer district, Rajasthan, India. It was registered as a society in the year 1998 under the Rajasthan Societies Registration Act, 1958. The organisation is committed to the recognition, promotion and protection of all human beings with its best efforts in the region. LKS works in Barmer, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur and Jalore districts of Rajasthan. The key areas of intervention include education, health and livelihood. LKS is running the migration program in Baitu and Balotra in Rajasthan and Kandla in Gujarat. For details, please visit www.lks.org.in

10. Sankalp

Sankalp is a non-profit organization working at the Shahbad and Kishanganj blocks of Baran district. Both the blocks are dominated by the population of Sahariya tribe. The Sahariyas are very poor, primitive tribal groups highly prone to exploitative labour practices. They migrate to Kota and to the adjoining state of Madhya Pradesh where they work as farm labour and unskilled construction workers. Sankalp runs a program dedicated to improving the conditions of labour in this region. Recently, it started a legal aid and literacy program for migrant workers with the help of a fellowship program offered by Aajeevika Bureau. For details, please visit www.sankalpmamoni.in

11. Shikshit Rojgar Kendra Prabandhak Samiti (SRKPS)

Shikshit Rojgar Kendra Prabandhak Samiti (SRKPS) is a non-governmental organization set up in Jhunjhunu district of Rajasthan in 1987. The primary focus of SRKPS is on the social, institutional and property rights of marginalised communities. It follows a democratic and participatory approach. To sustain its work, Community based Organizations (CBO) at the village level are linked with local, block and district level administration and PRIs so that these CBOs can take over the development programs and reduce dependency. From its modest beginnings in Shekhawati region of Rajasthan in 1987, the organization has enlarged its operational area and now works in 25 districts of Rajasthan covering the issues of health, human rights and local self-governance. For details, please visit www.srkps.org.

12. Shiv Shiksha Samiti Ranoli (SSS)

Formed in 1986, Shiv Shiksha Samiti has been dedicated to a comprehensive development of backward areas of Rajasthan. Shiv Shiksha Samiti Ranoli has been working since twenty-three years in rural, urban & semi-urban areas of Tonk, Jaipur, Sawai Madhopur & Jhalawar district in Rajasthan. The mission of Shiv Shiksha Samiti is socio-economic empowerment of the marginalized and disadvantaged sections of society, especially women through overall development of human and natural resource. Its core focus is to address the issues affecting the livelihoods of marginalized communities through direct and indirect implementation strategies. The organization works on five thematic areas, namely education, livelihood, health, Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and women's empowerment. SSSK is implementing the migration program in Tonk block and Jaipur. For details, please visit www.sssr.org.in

13. Urmul Khejari Sansthan (UKS)

URMUL Khejari Sansthan (UKS) is a non- government organization established in 1993 as the decentralized sister organization of URMUL Trust, Bikaner. It has been working in the Jayal and Nagaur blocks of Nagaur district. It has done extensive work in drought relief, creating a large number of water conservation and water harvesting structures on village commons. It has also helped in the construction of a large number of water storage tanks for individual households, besides running grain and seed banks. Active for more than a decade, the focus of UKS's work has been on villages in Jayal which witness high seasonal migration. The organization has been running a migration programme in this region for the last four and a half years.

About CMLS

The Centre for Migration and Labour Solutions (CMLS) is a joint initiative of Aajeevika Bureau and Sir Dorabji Tata Trust (SDTT), with a mandate to spearhead expansion of migration services across high migration regions in India. The centre has facilitated design of migration programmes with 32 civil society organizations spread across ten states of India - Odisha, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Gujarat, Delhi and Haryana. The centre combines program design, capacity building, field research, and best practices exchange around the theme of seasonal labour migration.

This report is an outcome of CMLS' knowledge building and synthesis work on internal seasonal migration in India, based on primary evidence and field level fact- finding.

Contact: cmls@aajeevika.org

Centre For Migration and Labour Solutions

This publication has been made possible thanks to a generous support from
Tata Trust migrant support programme
Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and Allied Trusts

Aajeevika Bureau
2, Paneri Upvan, Bedla Road
Udaipur, Rajasthan, India - 313004