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# Department for International Development India

Madhya Pradesh Rural Livelihood Project  
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## Migration: Labour Flows and Capital Transfers Final Report ©

in association with

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# Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADG	Additional Director General (Police Department)
APRLP	Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project
BMS	Bandhkam Majoor Sangathan
BPL	Below poverty line
BUSP	Basic Services to the Urban Poor
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIDC	Construction Industry Development Council
CR	Career Report
DFID	Department for International Development
DG	Director General (Police Department)
DPIP	District Poverty Initiatives Project
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GVT	Gramin Vikas Trust
HDR	Human Development Report
HH	House Hold
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus/Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JNNURM	Jawahar Lal National Urban Renewal Mission
MP	Madhya Pradesh
MPREGS	Madhya Pradesh Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
MPRLP	Madhya Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NRI	Natural Resources Institute
NRM	Natural Resource Management

## Disclaimer

This report has been prepared by consultants, Priya Deshingkar and Sushil Kumar and should not be taken to represent the views of Department for International Development, MPRLP and TCPSU / Enterplan.

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## **Executive Summary**

# Executive Summary

Circular migration, much of it seasonal, is now an integral part of the livelihood strategies pursued by a large number of poor people in Madhya Pradesh. The tribal districts covered under Phase 1 of the MPRLP show comparatively high rates of migration. While the drivers of migration are complex and diverse, important reasons include the lack of sufficient local employment (both farm and non-farm), land fragmentation, drought and better opportunities in other locations. Common destinations within the State include areas of high agricultural productivity such as Malwa and Haveli regions, and a few industrial pockets and mines; migration to urban centres for rickshaw pulling, to brick kilns for labouring and to mines and quarries is also widespread. While the poor and unskilled appear to circulate closer to home, more skilled workers go farther for higher wages. Earnings and savings from migration also show tremendous variation by occupation, wage rates, expenses at the destination, contracting arrangements and debts. Some households barely manage to survive while others accumulate wealth over time, but what is clear is that most would be worse off if they were depending solely on local employment.

The Western project areas (Jhabua, Dhar and Barwani) show higher rates of migration with longer trips for non-farm work to other Western states (Gujarat, Maharashtra and Rajasthan) due to their proximity to these locations. In the Eastern project areas (Dindori, Mandla, Shahdol and Annupur) there is more migration for farm work and shorter trips for non-farm work within the State. Shorter and more frequent trips are becoming the norm for unskilled workers nearly everywhere as new opportunities open up closer to home with urbanisation, better infrastructure, communication and the spread of irrigation. The gender profile of the migration stream depends on the nature of the work: brick kiln work and harvesting work often involves family migration while skilled construction work or rickshaw pulling is mainly done by men. Some migration streams are dominated by women or girls. The circumstances and needs of migrants differ by each thus posing a challenge for MPRLP.

Significant patterns and new trends in migration identified on the basis of key informant interviews and focus group discussions include the following:

- Not much permanent migration.
- Increases in short term migration post 1990.
- More frequent trips of a shorter duration becoming widespread in areas where:
  - the destination is nearby;
  - migrants are familiar with the destination;
  - know the pattern of work availability; and
  - communications are good.
- Over the last two to four years fewer women going with their men due to:
  - rising migrant wages which means that the household can run on one worker,
  - rising costs at the destination, and
  - awareness of risks to women (police harassment and difficult living conditions).

- The incidence of labour intermediaries is going down because of:
  - growing confidence and knowledge of the job market among workers, and
  - lower requirement for advances.

Roughly a million new jobs need to be created to absorb the growing labour force in the State. In situations where both agriculture and the rural non-farm economy have been stagnant migration is the main option.

There are indications that new jobs are being created in agriculture in emerging “green patches” where high value crops are being grown. The new Special Economic Zones will also attract more migrant workers.

New government schemes such as the MP Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme have changed the dynamics of rural labour markets. Early feedback suggests a tightening of labour markets that has resulted in more bargaining power for migrant workers. While distress migration has gone down, migration for higher wages has continued.

A majority of migrants have little or no education and are broadly in the category of unskilled workers. But with rising standards in industry and large construction, the demand for skilled jobs has gone up creating a mismatch between the labour supply and demand in the State. Contractors often have to resort to importing skilled workers from other States. There is a need to enhance the skills of workers so that they can be absorbed into new jobs.

It is essential that MPRLP gives recognition to the centrality of migration as a livelihood strategy. It is recommended that Phase II of the Madhya Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project must emphasise the importance of human resource development in addition to natural resources. In addition it must recognise that livelihoods are multi-location and provide people with an environment where they can make informed choices.

## **Specific Recommendations for Phase II**

MPRLP should do the following:

- Recognise that migration is people’s own effort to access employment and give explicit recognition to the centrality of migration in sustaining and enhancing rural livelihoods.
- Emphasise the importance of human capital as a tradable asset for those who have little or no access to land and other natural resource based livelihood activities.
- Develop a clear conceptual and operational framework for migration (a strategy and work plan) reflecting points above. This is needed to ensure that migration does not fall off the agenda.
- Upscale migrant support in partnership with NGOs – the social protection approach is more realistic in the short term but may move towards full cost recovery and even profit making in two to three years. Migrant support should aim to:
  - Create awareness among migrants about their rights.
  - Improve their bargaining power through skills enhancement programmes and certification through partnerships with NGOs and government.

- Reduce uncertainty in the job market by providing information on job availability, wages, and duration of work.
- Recognise the vulnerability of those who are left behind in migrating households and devise ways of supporting them. The need for communication, representation in village institutions and remittance mechanism is greatest. Existing migrant support programmes do contain elements of support for families in the village but care needs to be taken to ensure that this concern is incorporated in any support package that is developed.
- Develop cheap and efficient remittance services for migrants. Learn from the experience of NGOs in other states and banks that may have started work in this area.
- Consider additional work on interfacing with district administrations and to demonstrate the impact of existing migrant support programmes.<sup>1/</sup>
- Consider a role for the communication centres in being established at the cluster level could fulfil some migrant support services such as providing information and issuing ID cards together with panchayats and the police. But there would still be a need for specialised migrant support services where staff has a good understanding of migration and the job market. The current structure of PFTs does not offer the required capacity to fulfil this role.
- Expand skills enhancement programmes in partnership with government and the private sector. The CIDC and Dr Reddy's foundation have recently signed an MOU with MPRLP and DPIIP for a skills enhancement and placement programme.
- Improve the data on migration in project districts. In particular improve baseline data on migration and collect information in more detail on temporary migration and commuting. This could be done in collaboration with the Livelihoods Forum which has a mandate for research.
- Map migration flows on a spatially indexed database in a format that can be used together with other information especially related to cropping patterns. Mapping could be used to highlight the most vulnerable pockets and communities in the project area. One possibility is to incorporate data on migration into the MIS system which is being developed by MPRLP.
- Compare experiences and share lessons with livelihood projects (DFID funded and others) in other states that are working on migration for example, APRLP, WORLP, the Livelihoods Mission in Rajasthan. This may also be considered under the Livelihoods Forum.
- Lobby government to change attitudes towards migration through workshops on the theme of migration and livelihoods.
- Engage with the consultation process on the Unorganised Sector Social Security Bill to reinforce the message that migrant workers' interests need to be represented (there may not be much time left to do this so action would need to be taken immediately).

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<sup>1/</sup>

For example of the work being done by the Gramin Vikas Trust Tasneem pers comm.

- Take steps towards convergence with other DFID funded projects on health and education. An obvious point of overlap with health projects is in the area of personal health insurance which MPRLP may be linking up with through migrant support programmes. Opportunities for convergence with the DFID funded health programme on HIV/AIDS should be explored.
- On education, consider exploring possibilities for joint work with UNICEF funded projects in the State which focus on education.

### **Things that MPRLP Cannot do Directly but Can Support Indirectly**

MPRLP can do the following:

- create flexibility in pro-poor programmes on food, education, health etc so that migrants can access them,
- improve infrastructure and urban housing for the poor so that people can migrate when they want to (on a permanent or temporary basis),
- improve the implementation of labour laws, and
- monitor the implementation of the NREGA to improve transparency and accountability.

# 1 | **Background and Introduction**

# 1 Background and Introduction

1 This study is one among eight studies commissioned by DFID as part of the Phase One Assessments of the Madhya Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project (MPRLP). The Overall purpose of the project is to enhance the livelihoods of the poor in tribal dominated districts. The first Phase covers 821 villages in eight districts and is due to be completed in June 2007. The Phase One Assessments have been undertaken with a view to learning lessons from the first phase and identify emerging challenges and opportunities that should be addressed in Phase Two. Each study covers a specific topic and all are listed in Appendix one.

2 Special attention has been given to understanding what employment opportunities exist in the local context with respect to current and emerging trends, broad directions of change, new livelihood opportunities and threats/constraints since the planning of Phase One. The emphasis is on identifying practical ways in which the next phase can build upon these lessons. The report contains an analysis of emerging livelihood options and the changing role of agriculture, agricultural and labour markets and their contribution to rural employment and growth. It also addresses how various new or revised schemes that have emerged in the last few years (for example, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme) have affected employment prospects.

3 It is recognised that the wider context of the development process and policy are continuously changing. After being classified as a lagging or "BIMARU" state for a number of years, rapid improvements have been noted recently especially in relation to agriculture and infrastructure in Madhya Pradesh.<sup>1/</sup>

4 The main sources of evidence used in this report are key informant interviews at the district and state level and secondary sources. The checklist used during the interviews is appended (Appendix two) as is a list of persons interviewed (Appendix three). The report is divided into seven sections beginning with a Background statement on the importance of migration in relation to poverty reduction; Following this, section two presents an assessment of employment available locally in agriculture and the RNFE; major streams of temporary migration, by type of worker, source area and destination. Section three discusses how and why the labour market is changing due to emerging job opportunities, the cessation of some options that were available, changes in policies, and skills requirements. Section four contains an assessment of the risks and vulnerabilities faced by migrants; Section five lists innovative approaches to migration support that have been tried which are potentially relevant to the project; Section six contains the main lessons from Phase One and the final section discusses ways forward for MPRLP.

<sup>1/</sup> A recent India Today survey called "The state of the states" identifies MP, UP and Orissa as the fastest mover, that is, those where the most rapid improvement has been seen over the last year in certain areas. MP was the fastest mover in - agriculture (area under cash crops, farm GDP divided by rural population, per capita farm power consumption, farm loans, food grain productivity, percent of irrigated area) and infrastructure (percent of hh with electricity, LPG, percent villages with *pucca* roads, per capita road length, bank branches, density of post offices and teledensity). This contrasts with other states such as Bihar, Assam and Jharkhand that have not performed that well.

## The Importance of Migration for Poverty Reduction

5 Circular migration, much of it seasonal, is now an integral part of the livelihood strategies pursued by a large number of poor people all over India. Although rural-rural migration still dominates, there has been a sharp increase in rural-urban migration as labourers from poorer rain-fed and forest regions travel to booming cities, manufacturing corridors and industrial centres in search of employment.

6 The latest data on migration released by the Government of India (2005) based on the Census of 2001, show that migration has increased, with 30 per cent of the population or 307 million people classified as migrants. The 55<sup>th</sup> Round of the National Sample Survey (1999-00) put the number of short-term out-migrants who stayed away from their usual place of residence at 12.6 million.

7 But official statistics do not include migration of less than two months and also tend to underestimate temporary migration especially rural-rural migration. Recent micro-studies from various poor parts of the country document the large and increasing numbers of migrants. While there are no reliable official estimates of temporary migration, informal estimates are in the region of 30 million. But even this may be an underestimate - the ILO estimates that the 50,000 odd brick kilns across India employ around 100 families each – which means that this sub-sector alone accounts for five to 10 million people.

8 Labour-sending areas are typically agriculturally backward and poor and emerging destinations are towns and cities, industrial zones, stone quarries, coastal areas for fish processing and salt panning. High productivity agricultural areas continue to be important but more migrants are opting for non-farm employment because of greater returns and remittances are playing an increasingly important role in the overall household budgets.

9 Although more people are moving permanently out of rural areas, circular migration<sup>2/</sup> appears to be emerging as the dominant trend for poorer groups, who remain in contact with their villages. Trips vary from those lasting several months, to daily commuting for work. Permanent migration rates are higher among the more educated and seasonal migration rates are higher among the least educated and poorest (however the poorest of the poor in a village may not be able to migrate as they often belong to labour-scarce households).

10 A majority of circular migrants are have very little or no education and take on unskilled jobs at their destinations. They may acquire skills over time, which increases their earnings.

11 There is mounting evidence through micro-studies as well as larger surveys that migration can reduce poverty, inequality, and contribute to overall economic growth and development. While many authors maintain that migration is mainly a distress phenomenon; see for example Reddy (1990) and Rao (1994), Prasad<sup>3/</sup> that perpetuates poverty, they rarely examine the counter-factual, that is, what are prospects exist within the village? And what would these people have done in the absence of the opportunity to migrate?

<sup>2/</sup> A circular migrant is one who does not intend to settle permanently at the destination. Thus even those who remain away from their villages for a number of years could be circular migrants. However, this does not mean that circular migrants will never settle down at the destination and some do.

<sup>3/</sup> Rao, Usha (1994), Rao, U. 1994 Palamoor Labour: A Study of Migrant Labour in Mahabubnagar District, Hyderabad: C.D. Deshmukh Impact Centre, Council for Social Development, Hyderabad, India. Reddy, D. Narasimha 1990. Rural Migrant Labour in Andhra Pradesh, report submitted to the National Commission on Rural Labour, Government of India.

12 Seasonal migration can bring in crucial cash, which can be used to prevent the household from sliding further into poverty and even exiting poverty. Seasonal migration is often linked to debt cycles and the need for money for repaying debts, covering deficits created by losses in agriculture, or meeting expenditures of large magnitude on account of marriages, festivals, ceremonies etcetera. Migrant remittances now account for a substantial proportion of household incomes in several marginal areas (dryland farming and forested areas) across the country. For example Singh and Karan's study in Bihar (2001)<sup>4/</sup> found that remittances accounted for one-third of the average annual income of landless and marginal households sending migrants. Dayal and Karan's study of 12 villages in Jharkhand found that 98 per cent of the migrants reported an improvement in their lives because of migration. Remittances accounted for 23 per cent of the annual household income in sending households. Migrant households have a better diet and spend on average 15 per cent more on food than non-migrating households. Roughly 13 per cent of those owning five to 20 acres of land spent their additional income on productive uses. Mukherjee's study of migrant women from West Bengal to Delhi who go to work as housemaids notes that the additional income has helped them to come out of poverty and acquire some dignity but the social costs have been high because they are separated from their families (Mukherjee 2004).<sup>5/</sup> A recent study of nine villages in Jhadol, Rajasthan (Custer et al 2005) shows that remittances accounted for 42-48 per cent of total household earnings.<sup>6/</sup> Khandelwal's, 2002 study of temporary migration from the Ghattu Mandal of Mahbubnagar District, in Andhra Pradesh found that migrants to the paddy fields of Karnataka save on average Rs 2000-3000 each season.<sup>7/</sup> Another recent study of 955 migrant households from drought prone areas of Tamil Nadu (Sundari 2005)<sup>8/</sup> showed that migration has raised the economic status of about 57 per cent of migrant families among the lower income groups, in terms of household income. There was an improvement in asset holdings of 53 per cent of migrant families, belonging to the low-income strata.

13 It has been argued that migration worsens poverty because migrant households are often in debt. But the relationship between debt and migration is not straightforward. While some analysts have concluded that migration increases debt levels because of higher expenditures during transit and at the destination, others have argued that migration improves the creditworthiness of households and they are able to borrow more because of that (Ghate 2005).<sup>9/</sup>

14 Thus even if not *reducing* poverty directly, remittances are probably helping to *sustain* rural livelihoods by preventing people from sliding further into poverty which would be the prospect facing them had they depended solely on agriculture.

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4/ Singh, M. and A. K. Karan 2001. Rural Labour Migration From Bihar. Institute For Human Development, New Delhi.

5/ Mukherjee, N. 2004 Migrant Women from West Bengal -- Livelihoods, Vulnerability, Ill-Being and Well Being: Some Perspectives from the Field. Development Tracks in Research, Training & Consultancy, New Delhi.

6/ Custer, C., Preeti Goyal, Sunita Kumari, Satendra Pareek, And Ian Macauslan An Investigation Into The Causes And Consequences Adolescent Migration In Udaipur District:

7/ Khandelwal, S. 2002 Study on temporary migration in Ghattu Mandal, SERP, Hyderabad

8/ Sundari, S Migration as a Livelihood Strategy A Gender Perspective *Economic and Political Weekly* May 28-June 4, 2005. pp 2295-2303.

9/ Ghate, P. 2005. Serving Migrants Sustainably Remittance Services Provided by an MFI in Gujarat *Economic and Political Weekly* April 23, 2005. Pp 1740-1746.

## **2 | Labour Markets and Migration in MP**

## 2 Labour Markets and Migration in MP

### Farm and Non-Farm Employment in MP

15 Official statistics suggest that employment in Madhya Pradesh is largely unorganised, rural and non-industrial in nature. According to the National Sample Survey nearly 75 per cent of rural workers depended on agriculture in 1999 - 2000. But agriculture accounts for only 35 per cent of the GDP.

16 Casual labour forms a substantial part of the total labour force and has been growing: the proportion of workers who were casual increased from 32 per cent for males and 38 per cent for females in 1993 / 94 to 37 per cent for males and 44 per cent for females in 1999 / 2000.

17 There has been increase in the share of marginal and small farmers in area and number of holdings. Around 61 per cent of the land holdings belonged to marginal and small farmers in 1995 - 96 (Commissioner of Land Records and Settlement, Gwalior, M. P. cited in the 2002 Human Development Report) who are under-employed and work as labourers to supplement their incomes from farming.

18 According to the 2001 Census 28.7 per cent of the workers in the state are agricultural labourers and most of them are concentrated in the southern tribal and forested districts. The Bundelkhand belt which includes Jhabua has fewer agricultural workers.

19 The vast majority of the workforce (around 94 per cent) including agricultural labour, construction labour and labour in traditional leather tanning, forestry, fishing, bidi rolling, household industry, village artisans, urban informal workers are poor is in the unorganised sector.

### Levels of Diversification

20 Rural non-farm employment in Madhya Pradesh has stagnated after 1987 - 88 for both males and females. In fact Madhya Pradesh has the lowest share of rural non-farm employment to total rural employment in the country (HDR 2002).

**Table 2.1: Employment Share in MP by Sector**

	Madhya Pradesh	India
Primary	75.4	67.5
Secondary	9.2	12.0
Tertiary	15.4	20.5
Non-Farm	25.4	33.1

21 Diversification appears to be limited to certain areas such as the Sagar / Damoh / Katni / Jabalpur in central Madhya Pradesh, Gwalior / Bhind / Morena in the north, Ratlam / Ujjain / Indore in the western Malwa plateau, and the Hoshangabad / Bhopal belt in the west centre of the state. They all share certain features namely zones of agriculture prosperity, proximity to a large urban conglomeration and some industrial or industrial service based activity. They are also associated with specific crops or types of produce, such as mustard

associated with Bhind and Morena, and soybean associated with Ujjain with Ratlam also falling in the soybean-producing zone. Many of these are important destinations for migrants.

22 Of the 45 districts in the state 16 have less than 20 per cent of the workforce in non agriculture employment and the districts of Dindori, Jhabua, Mandla and Barwani have especially low levels of diversification (15 per cent of less classified as non agriculture workers).

23 According to studies conducted by NRI on the rural non-farm sector in Madhya Pradesh,<sup>10/</sup> the main barriers to entry into RNFE include the following:

- Inadequate credit facilities especially for small entrepreneurs involved in RNFE;
- Lack of market access, in the sense of inadequate market information, small local markets, and insufficient marketing linkages;
- Weak / inadequate managerial capacities and skills to initiate potential RNFE;
- Inadequate raw material supplies especially with respect to traditional RNFE activities;
- Weak infrastructure facilities to enable RNFE;
- In the open market traditional products face competition from industrially manufactured substitute products;
- Caste and class hierarchies creating barriers for the marginalised to take advantage of the RNFE sector.

24 The study also identifies the size of land holdings as one of the underlying factors for the poor extent of RNFE. A smaller number of land owners means higher concentration of livelihood resources through agriculture, which in turn leads to more exploitative tendencies and the attempt to subjugate people through the unending cycle of indebtedness.

25 In circumstances where both farm and non-farm options for employment are highly limited, circular migration has emerged as an important livelihood strategy. Much of the migration is seasonal, and is undertaken by people who are classified as labourers - both agricultural labourers and non-farm labourers. The poor southern districts are labour exporting areas. The labour surplus situation in the southern districts co-exists with a shortage of labour in the diversifying centres mentioned above and drives much of the intrastate migration

## Migration in MP

26 According to the 2001 Census there were more than 1.5 million migrants from Madhya Pradesh. The most important destination was Maharashtra (536,400 migrants) followed by Uttar Pradesh (465,600 migrants) and Rajasthan (267,100 migrants). The numbers in other states were much lower (see Table 2.2). However migrants are defined as those who are away from their place of birth and this definition does not distinguish between those who have relocated for work and those who have moved for other reasons. A sizeable

<sup>10/</sup>

Kleih, Ulrich, Richa Som, Yogesh Kumar, Surendra K Jena, Amitabh Singh and Leena Singh Household Access to Rural Non-farm Livelihoods Synthesis of Participatory Rural Appraisals and Questionnaire Surveys in Four Blocks of Madhya Pradesh. NRI Report No: 2378. May 2003.

proportion of migrants, thus defined, are women who moved to their husband's place of residence after marriage. Official data thus have serious shortcomings in explaining migration for economic reasons

**Table 2.2: Migration from MP (in 100)**

Maharashtra	5364
Uttar Pradesh	4656
Rajasthan	2671
Gujarat	613
Orissa	590
Bihar	226
Punjab	199
Andhra Pradesh	182
Haryana	139
West Bengal	131
Tamil Nadu	77
Karnataka	42
Kerala	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>15249</b>

27 Official statistics also do not capture circular migration which has become more established and widespread since the 1990s. Unofficial estimates provide an idea but are not representative (for example, [www.righttofoodindia.org](http://www.righttofoodindia.org) states that roughly 350,000 families migrate each year). Circular migration is now central to the livelihood strategies of a large number of people living in remote and poor areas.

28 Migration is complex in terms of its determinants, patterns and impacts. While some generalisations are possible (see Table 2.3) there are important differences that need to be taken into account while devising district level interventions.

**Table 2.3: The Drivers of Migration**

<b>Pushes</b>	Stagnant agriculture – no appreciable rise in real wages
	Limited non-farm employment opportunities available locally
	NTFP – better in some areas than others, marketing still poor, collectors receive little money
<b>Pulls</b>	Emerging non-farm opportunities in urban areas, manufacturing, mining and processing
	Better communications and improving roads
	A desire to experience city life, acquire new skills

29 There is tremendous variation in migration patterns in terms of who goes, for how long, where, for what and earns what. Case studies illustrate the complexity of migration:

- A study of Sahariya tribals from Shivpuri by the Right to Food Campaign Freedom from Hunger and Fear initiative and Action Aid, Madhya Pradesh found that a majority of the 450,000 tribals in the area who used to be able to make a living from forests are now completely dependent on migration for their livelihoods. The tribals migrate with their families to Bind, Datia and Jaipur. In Sabalgarh Tehsil nearly 60 per cent of the population migrates leaving behind only the children and the elderly. In a season two adults from a family working together earn around Rs 5700. Although expenses may be as high as Rs 3400 migration is regarded as an accumulative option. Migration has also been on the increase in Baran.

- A study in Betul by Llewellyn (2006)<sup>11/</sup> found that migrant work appeals to villagers because it presents the chance to earn more money or a larger in-kind payment than they could earn in the village. For some activities, wages outside the village are higher, or the system of payment may be such that migrants can make more money (that is, through piece rate work). However, a more important factor in people's decision making was the chance to work every day. Nearly all poor tribal households are chronically indebted to local moneylenders, taking yearly loans of Rs.1500 – Rs.3000, on which they are charged a 50 per cent interest rate, with the principal and interest due after six months. In a shock situation, people who previously would have had no choice but to submit to a year's bonded labour for Rs.5000 can now weigh the option of soliciting an advance from a contractor and migrating instead. The brick kiln migrants were proud to have reduced their borrowing from moneylenders, and to have found a way to react to shocks without resorting to becoming *naukars*. In taking advances from the kiln manager, they assert their independence from the humiliating and exploitative patron-client system at home.

## The Impacts of Migration

**Table 2.4: Positive Impacts of Migration**

<p><i>Averting downward slides into poverty and starvation</i></p> <p><i>Able to accumulate</i></p> <p><i>Able to invest in assets that will reduce poverty and vulnerability in the long term</i></p>	Dependence on moneylenders going down this is not the same as the prevalence of indebtedness (i.e. people may continue to borrow and even borrow more as their asset base improves)
	Able to meet consumption needs when their own food stock runs out – these households would face starvation if they could not migrate
	Able to invest in land/agriculture, housing, education
	Bring back new skills and experience

- Migration can have very negative consequences too. HIV infections are greater in the migratory population, where 7.69 per cent male and 3.62 per cent females of the total tested by surveillance centres were found positive as against 2.59 per cent males and 1.56 per cent females from among the non-migratory population.

<sup>11/</sup>

Llewellyn S. 2005. Globalisation and Labour Migration in Betul district, Madhya Pradesh: A case study Shastri Applied Research Project (Sharp) Globalisation and the Poor: Sustaining Rural Livelihoods in India. University of Guelph, Canada.

**Table 2.5: Profile of HIV +ve, STD Patients Madhya Pradesh**

	Male%	Female %	Total%
Migratory population	7.69	3.62	5.49
Non Migratory population	2.59	1.56	1.96
Urban	2.72	1.91	2.22
Rural	3.29	1.78	2.38
Illiterate	3.77	1.12	1.56
Literate	2.81	1.64	2.35
Total	3.29	1.78	2.38

Source: Annual Sentinel Surveillance for HIV infection in India Country Report 2003 National Institute of Health and Family Welfare and NACO.

- Migrants going to work in stone crushing units in Godhra and nearby areas for six to seven months / year at Rs.40-100 / day often come back with lung disease that is caused by inhaling dust.

**Table 2.6: Negative Impacts of Migration**

<b>Costs</b>	Breaking up of families
<b>Vulnerabilities</b>	Women and children vulnerable to sexual exploitation at destination; overwork because of hard living conditions
<b>Risks</b>	Children miss school
	Poor sanitation and living conditions – more diseases such as TB
	Men susceptible to high risk sexual behaviour (strong evidence from studies on HIV/AIDS)
	Higher expenses on food, health and shelter
	Police harassment
	Delayed/under/no payment

### Migration in the MPRLP Districts

30 According to the baseline report prepared by Catalyst Management Services, Bangalore, 47 per cent of HHs across the districts have at least one person migrating for at least three months every year. Migration is highest in Jhabua (83 per cent), Sheopur (76 per cent) and Dhar (72 per cent). Annupur has the least migration however as we point out later in this report, there is more commuting in Annupur and Shahdol due to the availability of non-farm work within the district.

31 Indeed a greater proportion of households report migration from the western project districts where the duration of migration is also longer. However migration is also important in the eastern districts albeit consisting of several shorter duration trips. In Annupur and Shahdol hardly any migration is reported, however commuting outside the village is widespread, for work in the mines and this ought to be regarded as accessing work away from the village as well.

32 There is also a difference in the kind of migration: in the western districts there was a greater incidence of migration for non-farm work whereas eastern districts reported more "haveli" migration, for example rural-rural migration for farm work in agriculturally prosperous areas. However this contrast appears to be narrowing as more agricultural opportunities emerge in the west as well. Interviews with the PFT at Jhabua indicate that up to 40 per cent of the migration is for farm work (cotton, sugarcane, vegetable, groundnut and spice farms) in nearby villages in MP and Gujarat (see also below under trends).

33 The baseline survey showed that 49 per cent of all poor sampled households, 39 per cent of medium households and 31 per cent of better-off households migrate.

34 But migration patterns also differ by age, caste and gender composition. Some migration streams such as rikshaw pulling in Jabalpur involve men from Mandla and surrounds whereas others such as construction work or brick kiln work may involve entire families. In some cases children or adolescents migrate as in the case of the migration of girls for domestic work to Delhi.

35 With respect to caste and tribe the example of Jhabua is illustrative. Here the population consists of Bhil, Bhilala (STs) and Patelia (SC) but Bhils migrate more than Bhilalas because of their relatively poor socio-economic position. Caste patterns are also linked to historical patterns of occupational structure and location.

**Table 2.7: Common Migrant Destinations by District of Origin**

District	Common Destinations	Work by caste, season and duration
Jhabua	Surat, Vadodara, Ahmedabad, Jaamnagar, Bhopal, Indore, Kota	Work in Soybean, Wheat and Cotton fields within the State for 20-25 days. Off-farm destinations are: Indore, Bhopal, Peetampur, Gujrat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan for 3-4 months.
Barwani	Malwa region, Bhopal, Indore, Maharashtra, Gujarat	Nonfarm work (construction, loading unloading, rikshaw pulling) to Indore, jabalpur, Bhopal, rajkot, pune. Farm work within Barwani or around Nagpur Malwa region soybean harvesting Chilli fields around the Narmada Cotton and sugarcane Maharashtra  Some go to brick kilns in Maharashtra.
Dhar	Badwah, Bhopal, Indore, Gujarat	Road construction, building construction, stone crushing, earth moving and digging.
Annupur	Jabalpur, coal mines and nearby kasbas.	Mainly Gond and Baiga tribals. Some Rathore (OBC) also migrate. Rathores (OBC) also migrate – these are the main migrants from Annupur apart from the Ghond.
Shahdol	Punjab, Gujarat, Mumbai, Narsinghpur Raipur Rajgarh and Bilaspur in Chhatisgarh Destinations within the Shahdol Annupur region – Pindra, Buthar, Shahdol, Annupur and Kotma	Migration mainly from 8 villages Construction work. Manual labouring work in coal mines.

District	Common Destinations	Work by caste, season and duration
Dindori	Jabalpur, Bhopal,	Haveli areas for grain harvesting post divali. Short duration migration to Jabalpur and Patan for rickshaw pulling and other labouring.
Mandla	Jabalpur, Bhopal, Nagpur, Narsinghpur, Damoh, Sagar (Haveli regions)	Gond and Baiga migrate during kharif (15-20 days for soybean) and rabi harvesting (wheat and gram harvesting and threshing 2 months) to haveli in Jabalpur, Narsingpur, Dammo and Sagar and Patan.

Source: Baseline Survey and our observations.

36 The choice of destination depends on a number of factors including ease of access and work availability as well as historically established social networks related to certain market segments (that is, sugarcane farmers in Maharashtra coming and recruiting workers through agents in Mandla).

37 Wages vary a lot by the nature of the job, skill and experience of the worker, destination, time of the year, and bargaining power of the worker. Some examples are presented below

- Workers from Jhabua working in stone crushing units in Alirajpur, Godhra and nearby areas earn Rs 40-100 per day depending on the amount of work done as the payment is on a piece rate basis. Migrants usually go in couples (husband and wife work together) and the work is available for six to seven months/year. There have been some cases of death and sickness attributed to inhaling dust in these units.<sup>12/</sup>
- Brick kiln workers from Mawaibichhia who migrate for about six months earn Rs 250-300 a day per “tap” (team of a husband and wife). They usually take an advance of Rs 5000-7000 from the recruiting agent and repay @ Rs 50-60 per day. Such migrants save around Rs 1000 per household per month.
- Migrants from Dindori going for “haveli” work for a couple of months after Diwali, are paid in grain and usually bring back one to two quintals per household at the end of the season.
- A survey conducted by Udayan in Barwani<sup>13/</sup> in 1998 found that 30 per cent of the households migrated with their family to Malwa, Dhar, Indore, Gujarat and Maharashtra. A second survey showed that this proportion had increased by 45 per cent by 2006 but half the migrants were single men and the other half travelled with their families. They go to work in soybean fields in Malwa during October and November and get work for 30-45 days. Migration to Indore is between December and June for nonfarm work (construction, masonry, road work) for four to six months but it is on a freelance basis with less certainty. There is no permanent migration now. Mass migration started in 1990 and is growing by the year. Only 10 per cent migrate to earn more and the rest migrate to be able to feed themselves. A migrating

<sup>12/</sup> Umesh Singh Baghela ( PFTCoordinator; Kathiwada/Kalyani-Jhabua) and Rahul Dhakad-MPRLP Jhabua.

<sup>13/</sup> Information provided by Anil Bhalse, Udayan (PFT). Sheela Shukla gender and MED, vijendra gupta, kiran, suresh verma.

family can save Rs 3000-5000 in two to three months of non-farm work. They save Rs 1000-1500 a month in Malwa work.

- None of the migrants and officials that were interviewed mentioned sending remittances through money transfer agents. Most migrants carry the money back home in cash or send it through friends and relatives. This is not very convenient and there is a high risk of theft and loss. The need for cheap and reliable remittance services for migrants cannot be over-stated (covered under migrant support).

38 The reasons for migration may also vary by community, local employment opportunities and location.

- In Jhabua<sup>14/</sup> for example, in addition to financing essential needs when household food supplies run out (the average landholding is about one acre/household and the average household size is five to six persons. Food usually lasts for five to six months per household), migration money is financing two important social customs such as 'Notra' and 'Bhagoriya'.

### Box 2.1: The Notra Ceremony of the Bhils

Notra refers to a system of community contribution among the Bhils. A household in need borrows from another in cash and / or kind. The borrowing is marked by a feast for family, neighbours and friends. Repayments are made with "interest" i.e. the amount or quantity returned is greater than that borrowed. Records of contributions received are meticulously maintained. Receiving notra from a family and not repaying them during the notra organised by them, constitutes a serious violation of village rules. The Panchayat is called in to decide on the punishment to be meted out to the erring family. The expenses of the feast and repayments require heavy spending and it has been mentioned that migration money is the reason for this escalation.

Bhagoriya is another custom wherein boys choose a girl to marry and pay a bride price to the girl's family. The young couple and very often only the newly married bride are then sent out for the next year or so to earn money to replace the money spent on the marriage.

- Another example relates to the recent trend of young girls from Mandla and neighbouring districts who are being sent to Delhi to work as domestic servants by placement agents/agencies active in the region for last three to four years. According to Naresh Biswas of Nirman in Sijhaura, Mandla around 4000 girls have left the area. They earn Rs.1500-2000 per month and send most of the money back home through money orders or through placement agents. This kind of migration has received negative coverage in the press recently<sup>15/</sup> due to cases of sexual exploitation, abuse and forced prostitution and cheating. An one day conference of Swarajpuri, DG, Police Department (M.P.: with four other prominent ADGs), NGOs, P.M. Nair of UNO, Deepak Tiwari, Sarika, Champa Bahan, Aparna Bhatt, Virendra Mishra etc (journalists) in Bhopal highlighted the issue of 10000 'missing' men and women (many boys and girls) from Mandla, Bala Ghat and Chhindwada districts which are directly related with the emerging trend of migration in the region. But Mr Biswas feels that the issue needs to be researched further as there are other reasons such as the attraction of a life in the city. The recent decrease of migration of tribal women from Jharkhand may be another reason for recruiting agents coming to Mandla and Dindori.

<sup>14/</sup> Mr. Raghuvanshi (State Coordinator, GVT, Jhabua).

<sup>15/</sup> The Week 10 September 2006, "Where is my daughter" Deepak Tiwari. 5000 girls missing in Dindori, Balaghat, Seoni and Mandla.

39 The relationship between debt and migration is also complex. While some migrants said that migration money had enabled them to repay debts others were borrowing more.

- In Paudi village, Dindori, the dependency on moneylenders has gone down over five to six years because of migration.<sup>16/</sup>
- In Barwani for example the Udayan study showed that there are 71 large moneylenders in four blocks charging two to 10 per cent (usually five to seven per cent) per month. Loans range from Rs 1000 to Rs 20,000 and some families still have 15-20,000 debt outstanding. Thikri block has more moneylenders and more people in debt. The average land holding in the block is two to three acres per household and borrowing has increased because people want to migrate and purchase more durable goods.
- In Mehad village, Dhar nearly 70 per cent household have taken loans (Rs.1000-2000 @ three to 10 per cent per month) from Tanda based moneylenders to meet migration, medical and other financial needs.

40 There appears to be a trend towards shorter and more frequent trips in the Eastern villages where work opportunities exist nearby, knowledge of the job market is good and roads and communications are improving.

- For example, migration of 15-20 days in a continuous cycle was reported from village Jagri in Mandla for work in loading and unloading in sand and grain godowns in nearby urban areas. Also in Mandla some people go to Jabalpur for a week at a time for rickshaw pulling, and construction work; others travel twice a year to havelis in Jabalpur, Narsingpur, Dammo, Sagar and Patan (15-20 days in kharif for soybean and two months in rabi for wheat and gram harvesting and threshing). Around 75 households in Mawabichhia go to work in brick kilns for six months.<sup>17/</sup>
- In Mehad village Tanda block<sup>18/</sup> 35-50 (out of 80) households migrate seasonally for four to six months per year in three to four trips. They go to Indore, Bhopal, Rajkot, Ahemdabad (Guajrat) for non farm work (90-150 days of which 30-50 without work). They also go to Indore, Jhabua and Gujarat for soybean harvesting for 15-30 days.
- *Commuting* is widespread in Annupur and Shahdol. In Annupur almost half of the households have at least one person commuting to nearby Kotma and Annupur coal mines and "Kasbah" construction.<sup>19/</sup> In Shahdol only five per cent of the households have migrants. There is plenty of employment in nearby villages through panchayat wage works, NTFPs (most households earned 4000-5000 from NTFPs last year).<sup>20/</sup>

41 When entire families migrate (husband, wife, children) it is mainly the old and infirm who get left behind. They are in a vulnerable position because they have to fend for themselves. In Dhar between 50 per cent and 60 per cent of the households migrate for three

<sup>16/</sup> Mahasingh Maravi (Pradhan, Rita Palik and Bhagwan Rajput.  
<sup>17/</sup> Sangeeta Agarwal PFT cluster Maharajpur village Jagri Mandla; Devendra Srivastava (Training officer) , Rakesh Singh (PFT coordinator), Rajeev Srivastava (PFT coordinator), Vibhas Chakravarthy (in charge DPO).  
<sup>18/</sup> Focus group discussion with a group of Bhilala (ST) men and women.  
<sup>19/</sup> DC TMO Ajay Singh. HARD (PFT Sushil Sharma), Mr Maurya and Jalsar.  
<sup>20/</sup> Shikha Sarawgi PFT coordinator (plus two others), Shahdol.

to seven months leaving only old people behind.<sup>21/</sup> Help with communication; remittances services and participating in village institutions are important.

42 The gender profile of migration appears to be continuously changing. The migration of women has gone down in some migration streams over the last two to four years. This was revealed in the Udayan survey in Barwani mentioned previously and has also been observed in Jagri in Mandla.<sup>22/</sup> This appears to be due to a combination of rising migrant wages which means that the household can run on one worker; rising costs at the destination and awareness of risks to women (police harassment and difficult living conditions).

43 Research conducted under the Livelihood Options Study by Deshingkar and Start (2003)<sup>23/</sup> showed that there were more women and children going to Haveli than adult men. Of the total of 61 migrants to Haveli, 62 per cent were women while all the 21 migrants for telephone digging were male.

44 Contracting arrangements vary by occupation. Brick-kiln workers for example almost always go through a recruiting agent. But there is some evidence that the incidence of contractors has gone down over time as migrants become more confident, have their own social networks and need to borrow less.

45 In the Gond village of Paudi in Dindori for example, the village Pradhan and other key informants said that when short term migration began around 1992, labour contractors would come in a vehicle to fetch migrant workers but they now go on their own. Similarly a group of Bhilalas in Mehad village in Dhar also said that they migrate in groups for non-farm work to urban destinations without a labour intermediary, as they know the market well enough.

46 The following section discusses how the labour market is changing due to new government policies, the cessation of some avenue and work and the emergence of other, new opportunities.

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<sup>21/</sup>

Rajendra Kundal, Forest Department, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh.

<sup>22/</sup>

Sangeeta Agarwal PFT cluster Maharajpur village Jagri Mandla

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Deshingkar, P. and D. Start 2003. Seasonal Migration for Livelihoods, Coping, Accumulation and Exclusion, Working Paper No. 220, Overseas Development Institute, London.

## **3** | **The Evolving Labour Market**

# 3 | The Evolving Labour Market

## Changes in Policies and Legislation

### The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act

47 The National Rural Employment Guarantee (NREG) Bill, launched in 2006 in 200 districts across the country and the corresponding MP Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme, aims to end food insecurity, empower village communities, and create useful assets in rural areas. It is based on the assumption that every adult has a right to basic employment opportunities at the statutory minimum wage. Under the law one member of every poor rural family is guaranteed 100 days of work at the minimum wage of Rs 61.35 a day. All rural poor are eligible, not just those designated below the poverty line (BPL). One-third of the beneficiaries must be women. If the village panchayat is unable to provide wage works within 15 days period once demanded at least by 50 villagers together, they would be paid compensatory unemployment allowance (berojgari bhatta) If five or more children accompany their mothers to any site, the implementing authority must appoint a woman to look after them on the site.<sup>24/</sup>

48 It is widely expected within government that the NREG will reduce or even halt migration. There is now an active debate around this question as mixed results are starting to emerge from the field. Although it is too early to judge or assess the programme our investigations highlight some other important trends.

- According to Prof. R. D. Maurya and Prof. Gadkar, recognised researchers on migration at the Ambedkar Institute of Social Research, Mhow, the MPREGS has reduced migration by 15-20 per cent in some villages of Mandla, Jhabua, Dhar and Dindori.
- Field level observations show that this reduction is seen especially in the case of women and families with more than one or two male adult workers who stay behind in the expectation that they will get work locally.

<sup>24/</sup> Panchayats at district, intermediate and village levels will identify and monitor the project, together with a programme officer. Social audits of the work will be available at gram sabhas. Work will, as far as possible, be provided within a radius of five km. The work to be undertaken will be public works such as water harvesting, drought-proofing, micro and macro irrigation works, renovation of traditional water bodies, flood control barriers and rural connectivity. The central government will bear the entire burden of the wage bill. States will only have to bear 25 per cent of the cost of work material. They will also have to pay an unemployment allowance if they fail to provide work within 15 days of an application. A National Employment Guarantee Fund will be set up; the states will set up their own employment guarantee funds. The NREG anticipates this criticism and has some built-in safeguards. There are to be job cards for workers, proactive disclosure of muster rolls, and mandatory social audits by gram sabhas with penalties for violations. Crucially, the NREG is a law and not a scheme so it gives people entitlements they can fight for and organise under. The Right to Information Act, is widely regarded as a powerful tool to ensure transparency in the implementation of the NREG.

- The scheme has improved the bargaining power of migrants by tightening the labour market and pushing up wages. Farmers in Mandla had to agree to higher migrant wages in order to attract workers for the 2006 harvest.<sup>25/</sup>
- The impact of the programme on the more accumulative kinds of rural-urban migration is limited.<sup>26/</sup>
- Nearly all locations surveyed in this study showed that workers were being paid less than the promised amount of Rs 61.35 per day because work inspectors judged their work as substandard. Delayed payment also common.
- The use of machinery has been reported in a few locations.

49 The DFID funded Poorest Area Civil Society Programme (PACS) has conducted a number of exercises in all the programme states on improving awareness about the NREGA and gather feedback on its performance. During the NREGS Week organised in MP and Chhatisgarh from 3 July to 9 July 2006 the following observations were made:

- widows applying for work are told to bring along a man if they want work,
- women are being given work for just two to three days, and
- work is given to those with no job cards.

50 The impact of the NREGA on migration needs to be closely monitored: if for example, it is found that migration is continuing, then this should not be regarded as a failure of the programme.

### The Social Security for Unorganised Sector Workers Bill

51 A major policy debate that is taking place at the national level at the moment and that concerns migrant workers is the consultation around the Social Security for Unorganised Sector Workers Bill. The needs of the circular migrant have been addressed in this proposed rights-based scheme,<sup>27/</sup> which has the following elements:

- It proposes a legally enforceable entitlement for all informal sector workers irrespective of occupation or duration of employment.
- The worker, the employer and the government each pays Re one per day per worker (but BPL workers do not contribute, this is to be covered by the government) to provide a minimum combination of health, life and old age benefits at the national level.<sup>28/</sup> State governments may add to this through contributions or additional benefits.

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<sup>25/</sup> Sachin Sinha, Commissioner Rajiv Gandhi Watershed Mission.

<sup>26/</sup> A.K.Singh, Deputy Commissioner, NREGA.

<sup>27/</sup> Information provided during the National Consultation on Social Security For The Unorganised Workers July 7-8, 2006, Hyderabad, Organised by the Centre for Economic and Social Studies, and The Institute for Human Development, New Delhi.

<sup>28/</sup> Health insurance - Hospitalisation costs for member and family up to Rs 15,000 per year; maternity benefits up to Rs 1,000 per delivery for member or spouse; sickness cover for earning head of family at Rs 15 per day for a maximum of 15 days; and one-time grant of Rs 25,000 in case of accidental death or Rs 15,000 for permanent disability of breadwinner. Life insurance - Rs 15,000 for natural or accidental death. Old age security - All BPL workers to get pension of Rs 200 per month after the age of 60; Provident Fund for non-BPL workers.

52 Consultations on the Bill are still in progress and there may be an opportunity for MPRLP to highlight the importance of migration for rural livelihoods and the need for social security for migrant workers.

53 The State government has also launched certain initiatives for the betterment of labourers and migrant labourers of the State and it is likely that this will reduce some of the risk faced by migrant workers. The Chief Minister Mr. Shiv Raj Singh Chauhan issued a statement on stated Vishwkarma Day (12 September 2006) "We are committed to transform the dream of a state, a society where labour dignity is respected, as a reality. We are committed to the complete welfare of the labourers working in unorganised sector by brining them in the shadows of social security and by providing them better life". It is not clear what the components of the programme are but it is a statement of positive intent. The Madhya Pradesh Bhawan evam anya Sannirman Karmkar Kalyan Mandal would ensure the welfare of construction workers of the State. The Mandal already implements the following schemes:

- Prasooti Sahayata / Pregnancy help: twice in a lifetime, 50 per cent wage for 12 weeks and a Rs.1000 grant; if application submitted to the local labour office or DM.
- Beema Sahayata (Samooch Beema Yojna/Group Insurance: death: Rs.20000, accidental death/permanent disability-Rs.50000 only registered labourers eligible.
- Durghatna Chikitsa Sahayata/Accident Treatment Assistance: first aid-Rs.1000, medical treatment-Rs.2000, wage compensastion-Rs.5000 or 40 per cent of the wage loss; applications to the local labour office/DM.

#### **Schemes of the Madhya Shram Kalyan Mandal / Madhya Pradesh Labour Welfare Board**

Examples of schemes include:

- Educational Scholarship: for the sons / daughters of factory and other institutional labourers.
- Family Planning Promotion Scheme: for the sons/daughters of factory and other institutional labourers.

54 There are a number of other schemes, named below, but it is not possible to provide details for all of them here.<sup>29/</sup>

#### **Emerging Issues in the Labour Market**

55 An estimated one million jobs need to be created ever year to absorb the emerging workforce in MP (based on a rate of population growth of 2.2 per cent and a rural worker participation rate of 77 per cent and the proportion of main and marginal workers as given in the 1991 census)

56 Discussions with tribals indicate that jobs are not being created fast enough in tribal areas to absorb the growing labour force. This appears to be occurring despite generous resource allocation by the government. The case of Dhar illustrates this: according to Wasim

<sup>29/</sup>

Bidi workers welfare scheme: Minimum wage provision; Factory laws; Madhya Pradesh Dookan evam Sthapana Adhinyam; Indira Krishi Shramik Durghatna Kshatipporti Yojna; Rashtriya Bal Shram Pariyojna; Indus Bal Shram Pariyojna; Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyay Shramik Pratikshalay (in every district); Jan Shree Beema Policy, etcetera.

Akhtar Secretary Rural Development, the government is investing around Rs150 crores each year through various schemes (names and amounts not provided). With a population of one million people this works out at around Rs 75,000 per household. Yet there has been little improvement in the employment situation and it is not clear whether the money is not reaching people or whether they are not able to utilise it to invest in agriculture.

57 Hundreds of mines and quarries in Madhya Pradesh have been closed down in last 10 years for environmental reasons.<sup>30/</sup> Thousands of people (mainly unskilled) lost their jobs and were forced to look for other work.

58 There is an absence of mechanisms for moving workers out of sub-sectors where demand is declining, such as bidi rolling or handlooms, into those sub-sectors where demand is increasing, such as construction, repairs and small engineering. This failure in the labour market can be explained in part by the lack of information, inadequate rural-urban transportation linkages and inadequate difference in wage rates to compensate for the risk of migration.

#### “Green Patches”: New Jobs in Agriculture

59 Key informant interviews in Jhabua, Barwani, Mandla and Dindori show that there has been an increase in “green patches” in various locations within these districts and nearby areas in other districts due to improved availability of fertilisers, seed and more tube wells/ lift irrigation. These are farms that are growing horticultural crops and attract migrants and commuters from within the district or neighbouring districts.

- In Barwani such green patches of cotton sugarcane chillies vegetables and soybean have altered migration dynamics with result that there is now a lot of labour circulation between blocks and migration outside the district for agricultural work has gone down.<sup>31/</sup> The trips are usually not more than a month long. Farmers recruit directly and there are hardly any *mukkadams* (recruiting agents). A typical migration calendar would be a month long trip for soybean work in November/December then a couple of months in the village, another trip in March/April for wheat and gram work.
- It appears that the ‘Pani Roko Abhiyan has also created green patches in Jhabua where double cropping has begun<sup>32/</sup> to grow Rabi crops as well. This situation has slightly laid down out-migration in the district. Since this year is a good year in terms of rain, most of the tanks, dams and step-wells are full; Rabi crop is expected to be good at least for two years because of soil moisture and availability of surface and ground water. This will help many families to stay back in the village and to focus on farming at by and large.
- Dhar is now becoming a green district.<sup>33/</sup> Inter-block migration has increased but movement outside the district has gone down.
- Contract farming is taking off in Rajkot, Gujarat. There are 400 migrants (mainly landless Bhils) from Jhabua (villages Pipaliya and Sejli) working in cumin fields in

<sup>30/</sup> Information provided by Laxmi Kant Tripathi and L. P. Pathak, Additional Labour Commissioners, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh, Indore; triangulated through discussions with Devendra Srivastava (Training officer), Rakesh Singh (PFT coordinator), Rajeev Srivastava (PFT coordinator), Vibhas Chakravarthy (in charge DPO), and migrants in Jhabua.

<sup>31/</sup> DPO Alok Parikh.

<sup>32/</sup> Prof. R. D. Maurya and Prof. Gadkar, Ambedkar Institute of Social Research, Mhow.

<sup>33/</sup> CEO Dhar.

Rajkot.<sup>34/</sup> Each family earns around Rs 50,000. The farmers who employ them also have other businesses and that is why they give out their land on contract. This pattern has been observed over the last three years.

- Similar employment patterns seem to be emerging in Mandla as local agriculture improves especially due to the Swajaldhara scheme.<sup>35/</sup>

### Brick Kilns

60 With the construction boom in urban areas, brick kilns have become an important source of employment for migrant workers. According to an ILO study, there are an estimated 50,000 brick kilns in India, each employing around 100 couples (labourers are recruited in couples often with a child). There are more than 500 (medium and large scale) kinds around Indore alone apart from traditional smaller kilns operated by the kumhar (potter) caste. Other important brick producing centres are Bhopal, Jabalpur, Narsinghpur, Ujjain and Ratlam. This work is done mainly by SCs, many of them belonging to the potter caste, although the number of tribals going for this work has increased over the last four to five years. Brick kiln work is now perceived as akin to bonded labour after some studies showed debt bondage to be the norm. However, recent feedback from a number of key informants suggests that the situation of workers in brick kilns may have begun to improve.<sup>36/</sup>

### Skills Mismatches

61 There appears to be a mismatch between the kinds of jobs that are being created and the skill level of workers in the state.

62 A majority of these workers are completely unskilled and have little or no education.

63 Large public sector projects such as irrigation works, road construction and buildings construction require more semi-skilled and skilled workers than are available in MP. Irrigation department officials said that this has led to jobs being unfilled despite the abundance of labour.

64 Labour recruitment agents working for government appointed contractors often source semi-skilled and skilled workers from other states such as Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh. The problem is even more severe when one moves up slightly the skill ladder, such as for carpenters, masons, plumbers and electricians.<sup>37/</sup> In some place this has also caused construction contractors to use mechanical equipment for digging, earthwork, road laying, and so on.

65 Newly emerging multinational company units have high standards and also look for skilled workers.

66 There is a need to enhance the skills of migrants and potential migrants.

<sup>34/</sup> Information provided by Hostel in charge SC Hostel, Jhabua.

<sup>35/</sup> Devendra Srivastava (Training officer), Rakesh Singh (PFT coordinator), Rajeev Srivastava (PFT coordinator), Vibhas Chakravarthy (in charge DPO).

<sup>36/</sup> Prof. R. D. Maurya and Prof. Gadkar (*Ambedkar Institute of Social Research, Mhow*).

<sup>37/</sup> 2002 Human Development Report for Madhya Pradesh, UNDP.

## **4** | **Risk and Vulnerability**

## 4 Risk and Vulnerability

67 Migration has many costs and risks associated with it that are difficult for poor and vulnerable people to cope with.

68 A lack of proper housing and sanitation and lack of access to subsidised food through the PDS are among the most acute problems that migrants face. But there are a host of other problems as the box below illustrates.

### Box 4.1: Other Problems

DISHA (Vipul Pandya pers. Comm.) observes:

*“Most seasonal migrants in Ahmedabad get 10-14 days of work/month. Women with children get 7-10 days of work. Most earn Rs 50-70 which is less than the minimum wage. PWD workers never get paid the minimum wage. Only 4 per cent have attendance cards and not entitled to lay off payments. 96 per cent work without protective clothing, 90 per cent carry more than they should, 95 per cent have no safe drinking water, crèches, sanitation, first aid, work at night without adequate light. 98 per cent are without proper shelter, women are sexually harassed, 14 per cent are harassed by criminals, police and local dev auth, 86 per cent need to look for clean water, 88 per cent bring their children, 58 per cent of the children have no access to schools.”*

69 Migrants are not able to send their children to state schools<sup>38/</sup> at the destination and do not have access to subsidised healthcare. According to the Human Development Report for Madhya Pradesh (HDR 2002) Migration was the 4th most important reason for keeping boys out of school: About 86 per cent boys remain out of school due to the following five reasons that is, engaged in economic activities (21.6 per cent), cattle grazing (22.4 per cent), sibling care (15.6 per cent), migration (11.5 per cent) and weak financial condition (14.4 per cent). It was the 5<sup>th</sup> most important reason for keeping girls out of school: About 80 per cent girls remain out of school due to the following five reasons, that is, sibling care (24.6 per cent), engaged in economic activities (18.5 per cent), cattle grazing (13.6 per cent), weak financial condition (13.6 per cent) and migration (9.3 per cent).

70 Studies in other parts of India indicate that patients who migrate in search of work discontinue treatment for diseases such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis because they cannot access treatment at the destination.

71 Migrants are treated as illegal residents and are generally harassed by the police. Although entitled to *patta* rights under MP law (see box) they are discouraged from staying at the same place.

<sup>38/</sup>

They have legal rights to send their children to school but often do not for a number of reasons for example, because it is difficult to do so in the middle of term or because they lack the necessary networks.

**Box 4.2: The MP State Patta Act**

MP has a *State Patta Act* that offers tenure security to slum residents. (MP Nagariyon Kshetra ke Bhumiheen Vyakti, Pattadhruti Adhikaron ka Pradan Kiya Jana, Adhiniyam, 1984, popularly known as the Patta Act) decrees that all landless people residing in areas less than 50 sq m are entitled to leasehold rights on lands occupied by them or on another site. Only residential use is permitted. All land developers set aside 15% land for housing the service sector or alternatively pay the government Rs100 per sq m as shelter tax in lieu of land. Through this policy, (Nirbandhan tatha Sharte Niyam, 1998 incorporated in Municipal Act under Section 291) Bhopal has been able to generate large amount of resources which can be used for constructing housing for the poor.

It issues two types of *pattas*; a 30 years *patta* (*patta 'kha'*) is given to those who are living in settlements that are to be improved and rehabilitated and an annual *patta* (*patta 'ga'*) that is given to those who are living in settlements that are to be relocated. The *patta* can be inherited but not transferred. In reality the *patta* is a formal recognition of the slum for purposes of receiving municipal services. No effort has been made to integrate these areas within the city and to network them into the city systems.

Planned resettlement of slum dwellers with *pattas* is underway in Bhopal. The BMC follows a two-pronged strategy on resettlement: a. providing serviced land, and b. constructing houses for slum families. Nearly 2500 slum families are being shifted to 7 newly developed sites at the city fringes.

Source: Ribeiro E F N and Renu Khosla "Urban Spaces and the Poor" paper presented at India Urban Space Conference, February 2006.

72 Labour laws (especially the The Inter-State Migrant Workmen Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service Act, 1979) are widely disregarded.<sup>39/</sup>

73 These problems are compounded by negative views on migration. Rural Development authorities view migration as a failure of natural resources and rural employment policies. District Collectors are also reluctant to recognise and address migration because it affects their CR (career report).<sup>40/</sup>

<sup>39/</sup> Laxmi Kant Tripathi and L. P. Pathak (Additional Labour Commissioners, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh, Indore).

<sup>40/</sup> Tasneem member SPMU, MPRLP.

## **5** | **Reducing the Vulnerability of Migrants**

# 5 Reducing The Vulnerability of Migrants

74 This section presents a typology of different models of migrant support together with a description of their core elements. It then goes on to discuss the pros and cons of each for the given context with an assessment of the best way forward for MPRLP. All four models have evolved in response to the needs of circular migrants (the need for job information, help in bargaining with employers, protection of their rights and lobbying against discrimination). Most have covered only a few destinations as they have been relatively small initiatives but some are being upscaled.

## The Social Protection Model

75 This model provides subsidised services related to job information, rights awareness creation and other support. Social protection aims to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting efficient labour markets, diminishing exposure to risks, enhancing their capacity to protect themselves against hazards and interruption / loss of income.

76 A well known example is the Migrant Labour Support Programme of the Gramin Vikas Trust. GVT has established one PSK (Palayan Seva Kendra or Migrant Support Centre) in Jhabua and two in Barwani. These are providing or planning to provide the following services

### Box 5.1: The Migrant Support Programme of the Gramin Vikas Trust

#### Protection

- Identity cards
- Insurance facilitation –
- Protection of assets and family members

#### Communication

- Telephone booth and mobile phones
- Messaging services

#### Information to migrants

- Information – on government schemes,
- on techniques and technologies relevant to their occupations,
- on contractors
- on places where labour is in demand

#### Information to contractors on the availability of labour.

#### The PSKs are in the process of starting work on the following

- **Accessing entitlements**
- **Negotiation** – for and on behalf of one or a group of migrants with contractors and middlemen for obtaining better wages / deals

**Resolution of disputes** with brokers, contractors and other employers (where it can reach)

#### Facilitating remittances

- Between urban and rural areas, either directly or through existing financial institutions. This can also be facilitated through coordination with the postal services.

**Skill upgradation-**

- Unskilled and skilled migrants labourers are being skill migrants' labourers (mason, carpenter, plumber, electrician etc.)

**Awareness Generation-**

- Legal rights and entitlements, PDS, education, and health etc
- In addition GVT has conducted four orientation programmes for MPRLP staff at Jhabua on migrant support during May 2006. It is also continuously improving its understanding of migrants needs through systematic needs assessments.

77 The rationale of the social protection model is that poor migrants cannot fend for themselves in a job market that is dominated by labour market intermediaries and employers who are better informed and connected than they are. They are in need of support to reduce their vulnerability but are unlikely to be in a position to pay for or be willing to pay for services on a full cost recovery basis immediately. The services provided will enable them to access better jobs and reduce the level of uncertainty and harassment that they face in the job market.

78 Like any subsidy approach, this kind of approach has attracted criticism for being expensive and economically unsustainable in the long term. However critics under-estimate the time that it takes to attract poor, risk-averse and uneducated workers into contributory schemes. While industrial worker costs may be borne by industry (see market based approach below) other poorer workers who migrate on a freelance basis and switch jobs rapidly may require more support.

### **The Market Based Approach**

79 This model works with existing labour market patterns and offers services on a cost recovery basis. An example of such an approach is the initiative launched by Samarthan and DPIP called mazdoor.org which will provide skills enhancement and certification programmes, advice and information on jobs and help workers to link up with government schemes on insurance and workers funds. Initial plans to register it as a producer company were abandoned and it is now registered under the MP Trusts Act. Two professionals have been recruited to act as CEOs. There are plans to link up 120 PFTs at cluster level to the company and one person within each PFT has been identified to work with the company.

80 They intend to work within the existing structure of industry and the labour market that is, recognise that capital and labour are highly mobile and that capital/industry locates itself where cheap labour can be accessed. They also recognise that a majority of industrial workers are not named on the employment registers of industries and are recruited by intermediaries who are not accountable to anyone under the law. Mazdoor.org will create a proposition that is acceptable to industry by taking on the responsibility for the welfare of the workers even though it is the responsibility of the industry and employers under law. For this they plan to make industry pay services charges. The current phase of the DPIP ends in 2007 and they intend to address labour issues more fully in the next phase.

### **The Labour Union Model**

81 This is a rights based approach and works for better implementation of labour laws and regulation of labour flows. Some NGOs like (Sudrak in Rajasthan and Disha in Gujarat) believe that unionising migrant workers will go a long way towards realising their rights, improving their bargaining power in the market and prevent exploitation. The Aajeevika Bureau established by Sudrak for example has set up a union of migrant workers who work in cotton fields. One of the main objectives of the union is to regulate the supply of labour because they feel that an excess supply situation lowers the bargaining power of the migrant. They have enrolled over 1500 "mates" and the Union has put out a charter of demands. It has

set up around 16 manned check points at all the border crossings between Gujarat and Rajasthan. As a result, employers have offered a partial hike in wage rates and negotiations are continuing. There is the obvious risk of other cheap labour being brought in by the employers from the tribal areas in Gujarat (Panchmahal/ Santrampur area) and MP and it is not clear how the union will deal with this. A similar approach has been adopted by the Bandhkam Majoor Sangathan (BMS) established by DISHA in Ahmedabad. Both Sudrak and DISHA are also engaged in policy advocacy for the amendment of the Inter State Migrant Workmen Act, which they argue, is unimplementable in its current form.

### **The Rehabilitation Model**

82 The best example of this is the work done by Action Aid with brick kiln workers in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Action Aid conducts raids on brick kilns together with the police to release bonded migrant workers and rehabilitate them. They believe that migration of this kind is forced migration or trafficking where workers are lured on false promises, often borrow money from recruitment agents which they repay through punishing work schedules, their movement is restricted at the work site and wages are well below the legal minimum. In addition women and children are also exploited in various ways and living conditions are appalling.

83 Given that MPRLP is not an advocacy or human rights organisation, the choice for Phase II is between the first two models or developing one that combines elements of both. The progress statement circulated by the Livelihoods Forum mentions the development of a migration support policy but details were not provided to the consultants either during discussions with Amitabh Bhatnagar, Coordinator of the Livelihoods Forum or the DPO of Dindori.

84 An ideal situation would be to begin with a more subsidised social protection model and move on as rapidly as possible to a more commercial one. This would mean making additional resources available to mainstream migrant support across Phase II districts.

85 It would be unrealistic to expect existing PFTs to take on the specialised role of migrant support because it requires an understanding of the labour market as well as migrants needs. A practical way forward would be to recruit one additional person per PFT who would be dedicated to migration and then hire in specialist services to provide training to the entire PFT on migrant support.

### **Providing Migrant-Friendly Financial Services**

86 A widely recognised cost faced by migrants lies in the transfer of remittances. Formal banking channels are inaccessible to uneducated and poor people for a variety of economic and social reasons. Informal transfer mechanisms such as the *hawala* system, or sending money through friends and relatives are common. Banks have started to think about this area and they will have to find ways of catering to customers who make more transactions and send smaller amounts. Some NGOs have also entered this area. Adhikar, an NGO in Orissa has been helping migrants in Gandhidham in Gujarat in remitting money to Orissa. They started this service after the 2001 earthquake when they found more than 10,000 migrants from Khurda district working in and around Gandhidham - at the Kandla port, free-trade zone, IFFCO and for the Railways. Adhikar was supported by the research and innovation fund of CARE India's CASHE (Credit and Savings for Household Enterprises) project.

## 6 | **Lessons from Phase I**

## 6 | Lessons from Phase I

87 Phase I mentions migration as an important livelihood strategy. The Project Memorandum states “The project will operate in six predominantly tribal districts: Badwani, Dhar, Jhabua, Mandla, Dindori and Shahdol, all amongst the poorest in Madhya Pradesh. It will support the GoMP to respond to poor people’s livelihood choices in 600 villages (approximately 43,000 poor families) through multiple livelihoods strategies based on natural resources, enterprise development and non-farm livelihoods support including migrant labour support and access to information.”

88 However migration is seen mainly as a negative process. For example paragraph 6.2 page 95 of the project document states “The area in which the proposed project is to be implemented is marked by a high incidence of migration, (more prominent in the resource degraded western districts of Jhabua, Dhar and Badwani), to other rural as well urban areas, as a coping strategy. This is largely distress migration in the lean season in search of labour opportunities, to sustain their livelihoods. This migration ranges from working as agriculture labour in adjoining rural areas to working on construction sites in distant urban locations. Most tribals move to growth centres within the State like Indore, Hoshangabad, Harda and Bilaspur or adjoining states like Dhulia, Nagpur in Maharashtra or Vadodhara, Surat and Ahmedabad in Gujarat. Largely the employment opportunities available to the migrants are the worst paying, involve high exploitation and require least skills.

89 The project recognises the vulnerability of migrant labourers and states that the planned support programme will focus on developing bargaining skills, technical expertise and disseminating information on legislative rights will operate at the village level.”

90 The project logical framework lists “X per cent household report reduction in distress migration or increased benefits from migration” as one of the objectively verifiable indicators against the project purpose.

91 Support to migrant populations was envisaged under the “Supplementary Livelihood Support” component of MPRLP. A total of nine million Rupees had been allocated over three years for this purpose. Activities under this include skills enhancement, helping migrants to understand labour laws, supporting mobilisation and organisation of migrant workers to increase their bargaining power and providing information on job opportunities. In addition, an Aajeevika Resource Centre has been set up in Jhabua (personal communication C. P. Rajawat (DPO-MPRLP-Jhabua).

### Lessons Learned

92 Despite the explicit mention of migration in project documents, progress on doing anything about it has been slow.<sup>41/</sup> Details of the amount spent under the Supplementary Livelihood Support component were not available (Mr Shivendra Pandeya was contacted but he said it was difficult to separate the amount spent on migrants because interventions were aimed at poor households that included migrant households).

<sup>41/</sup>

For example, Alok Parikh DPO Barwani, said that migration had not been considered as a separate or core issue in MPRLP and it needs to be given more attention. Similarly Dindori Vir Singh Rajput (Training DPO) Pankaj Pandey (CARD PFT) Bhagvan Sri Rajput and Rita (CARD) said that migration had not been an issue in the programme.

93 Data collection on migration has been started but needs to be improved. The module being used by the PFTs at the moment is very basic (see box). While providing some information on migration it does not yield sufficient detail on the drivers, seasonality, occupations, contracting arrangements, duration, remittance mechanisms and impacts of migration. Nor does it indicate how migrants themselves view the process and where they need support. In addition a number of errors have also crept in during enumeration.

94 The variations in migration pattern by caste, ethnicity, gender, age and location need to be explored in much greater depth. To this end there is a need to develop a much more comprehensive data collection format, which will allow the project to develop a thorough understanding of migration.

**Box 6.1: Migration Data (2006 Round)**

All the project facilitation teams (PFTs) in the eight districts have collected village wise data on migration. The data provide information on the number of families with migrants, the number of families where spouses and children accompany the migrant, the literacy level, land holding of the migrant and their overall economic status (before migration). The data further provide information on where migrants go, the kind of work they do (farm or non-farm), payment received and how this is used (investment in land and agriculture, subsistence, other) as well as the average number of days of migration for the household in a year.

However finished data sets could be obtained only for five of the eight districts - Mandla, Dhar, Barwani, Jhabua and Annupur. The data show that migration patterns differ significantly by district and even blocks and villages within the district with respect to the magnitude, whether single or entire family, duration, destination and type of work undertaken at the destination. Western districts such as Jhabua have extremely high migration rates whereas eastern districts such as Annupur and Shahdol have lower migration rates.

But the data are not of a reliable enough quality at present, owing to several inconsistencies and unanswered questions. For example, it is not clear whether some of the villages with no entries, were not covered or whether there were no migrants. It is also not clear whether the column on migrating with counterparts is a subset of the previous column. In the case of Annupur it appears that this figure is in addition to the number of households that have migrants. There is also a lack of consistency in the units used.

95 A start has been made on skills upgradation but this needs to be taken up as a priority and upscaled to all project districts.

**Lessons from Other Projects**

96 The World Bank funded District Poverty Initiatives Project, DPIP (covers 14 backward districts) has changed its focus from NRM to human resource development in recognition of the “economic paradigm shift” from agriculture to the service sector where jobs are being created.<sup>42/</sup> DPIP is now aiming to create a cadre of workers that have the skills to take up jobs that are being created by economic development. The project is identifying gaps and devising training programmes for upgrading skills, providing market information, organisational support according to emerging needs in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. They aim to be in a position to forecast the number of people who will stay in the village, the number who will migrate seasonally or more permanently and the number who will work full time or part time. This information will aid the development of village plans.

97 DPIP is promoting a company with an NGO, Samarthan, in order to provide migrant workers with job information and other services. Details can be found under the section on models of migrant support.

<sup>42/</sup> Interview with Mr Pastore, head, DPIP.

98 The DFID funded Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project (APRLP) has long been aware of the need to address migration. It has undertaken a number of exercises on migration:

- A qualitative study of four villages in Mahaboobnagar and Anantapur districts was conducted in 2001-2002 in order to understand the role of migration in the lives of people.
- An MOU has been signed with Action Aid to provide migrant support at origin and destination (details not available).
- It is addressing the needs of distress migrants on a priority basis in the watershed programmes that are being implemented through the project.

99 Both the Western Orissa Rural Livelihoods Project (WORLP) and the Orissa Tribal Empowerment Project have taken steps to address migration. WORLP organised a meeting on migration two years ago and an action plan was developed. Awaiting details on progress.

## **7 | Recommendations for Phase II**

# 7 Recommendations for Phase II

100 This section outlines practical steps that can be taken by MPRLP to broaden its focus from a purely NRM based one to an approach that puts human resource development as a top priority.

## Overall Approach

101 Phase II of the Madhya Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project must emphasise the importance of human resource development in addition to natural resources. In addition it must recognise that

102 A guiding principle is to recognise that livelihoods are multi-location and that people should be provided with an environment where they can make informed choices.

103 Finally and especially with respect to migration, MPRLP should not seek to limit people to rural areas.

## The Things that MPRLP Should Aim to Incorporate in Phase II

104 Recognise that migration is people's own effort to access employment and give explicit recognition to the centrality of migration in sustaining and enhancing rural livelihoods;

105 Emphasise the importance of human capital as a tradable asset for those who have little or no access to land and other natural resource based livelihood activities.

106 Develop a clear conceptual and operational framework for migration (a strategy and work plan) reflecting points above. This is needed to ensure that migration does not fall off the agenda.

107 Upscale migrant support in partnership with NGOs – the social protection approach is more realistic in the short term but may move towards full cost recovery and even profit making in two to three years. There is a need to identify the constraints and opportunities in achieving this in order to speed up the process without losing the advantages of existing initiatives. It would be unrealistic to expect existing PFTs to take on the specialised role of migrant support because it requires an understanding of the labour market as well as migrants needs. A practical way forward would be to recruitment one additional person per PFT who would be dedicated to migration and then hire in specialist services to provide training to the entire PFT on migrant support.

108 Migrant support should aim to:

- Create awareness among migrants about their rights.
- Improve their bargaining power through skills enhancement programmes and certification through partnerships with NGOs and government.
- Reduce uncertainty in the job market by providing information on job availability, wages, and duration of work.

- Recognise the vulnerability of those who are left behind in migrating households and devise ways of supporting them. The need for communication, representation in village institutions and remittance mechanism is greatest. Existing migrant support programmes do contain elements of support for families in the village but care needs to be taken to ensure that this concern is incorporated in any support package that is developed.
- Develop cheap and efficient remittance services for migrants. Learn from the experience of NGOs in other states and banks that may have started work in this area.

109 More work is needed on interfacing with district administrations and also demonstrating the impact of existing migrant support programmes being implemented by GVT.<sup>43/</sup>

110 The communication centres being established at the cluster level could fulfil some migrant support services such as providing information and issuing ID cards together with panchayats and the police. But there would still be a need for specialised migrant support services where staff has a good understanding of migration and the job market. The current structure of PFTs does not offer the required capacity to fulfil this role.

111 Expand skills enhancement programmes in partnership with government and the private sector. The CIDC and Dr Reddy's foundation have recently signed an MOU with MPRLP and DPIP for a skills enhancement and placement programme.

112 Improve the data on migration in project districts. In particular improve baseline data on migration and collect information in more detail on temporary migration and commuting. A better understanding of location specific drivers and impacts of migration is necessary as there is tremendous diversity in the pattern of migration by tribe and caste (for example, Bhil, Korku Gond etc all migrate in different ways). It may be possible to identify groups that have benefited more from migration and understand what has created these positive outcomes. It is also important to understand the vulnerability of those left behind and find ways of helping them. While fine-tuning interventions to suit each community and area may be difficult a better understanding of the complexity and diversity of migration will ensure that interventions are optimal and exclude as few as possible. This could be done in collaboration with the Livelihoods Forum, which has a mandate for research.

113 Map migration flows on a spatially indexed database in a format that can be used together with other information especially related to cropping patterns. Mapping could be used to highlight the most vulnerable pockets and communities in the project area. One possibility is to incorporate data on migration into the MIS system, which is being developed by MPRLP. A discussion with Himanshu Dube indicated that this is possible.

114 Compare experiences and share lessons with livelihood projects (DFID funded and others) in other states that are working on migration for example, APRLP, WORLP, and the Livelihoods Mission in Rajasthan. This may also be considered under the Livelihoods Forum.

115 Lobby government to change attitudes towards migration through workshops on the theme of migration and livelihoods. The police department should be involved, as police harassment is a major problem for migrants. The workshops could be organised in collaboration with the Livelihoods Forum and could be used to identify champions within line departments who would be prepared to take some ideas forward and pilot them within their existing work plans.

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43/

Tasneem pers comm.

116 Engage with the consultation process on the Unorganised Sector Social Security Bill to reinforce the message that migrant workers' interests need to be represented (there may not be much time left to do this so action would need to be taken immediately).

117 Take steps towards convergence with other DFID funded projects on health and education. An obvious point of overlap with health projects is in the area of personal health insurance which MPRLP may be linking up with through migrant support programmes. Opportunities for convergence with the DFID funded health programme on HIV/AIDS should be explored.

118 On education, MPRLP could explore possibilities for joint work with UNICEF funded projects in the State which focus on education. Migration is being viewed by UNICEF as a focus area in the next five year plan (personal communication Cecilia, UNICEF).

### **Things that MPRLP Cannot Do Directly but Can Support Indirectly**

119 Create flexibility in propoor programmes on food, education, health etc so that migrants can access them

120 Improve infrastructure and urban housing (see Box 7.1) for the poor so that people can migrate when they want to. There is a need for urban authorities to plan for new migrants coming to towns and cities - both permanent and temporary. At present migrants have to live in very poor temporary accommodation with hardly any water and sanitation facilities. Urban development specialists argue that social housing must be built near likely work places (commercial markets, industrial areas etcetera), residential areas in need of service providers or along transport corridors and linked to the city development plans.

#### **Box 7.1: Jawahar Lal National Urban Renewal Mission**

The Jawahar Lal National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) is the new reform-based window for redressing urban-rural resource inequity by fast tracking planned development in identified cities with focus on efficiency, accountability and inclusion. It will provide the policy context for urban renewal and redevelopment over the next 20-25 years with five-year stock taking breaks. Integrated and participatory development of urban poor housing with basic and social services is at the core of the mission and nearly 50% of the mission funding to cities will be focussed on provision of Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BUSP).

Source: Ribeiro and Khosla *ibid*.

121 Improve the implementation of labour laws.

122 Monitor the implementation of the NREGA to improve transparency and accountability.

# A1 | **Specific Terms of Reference**

# A1 | Specific Terms of Reference

## B007 Importance of Migration with Particular Reference to Labour Flows and Capital Transfers

Location in which Services to Be Provided	Expected Start Date	Number of Working Days (including travel to/from work place)	Due Completion Date
Primarily based in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh with possible field visits to selected, or prospective, project villages as necessary.	To be agreed	21 days	

### Key Skills Required

- Good understanding of the agricultural and rural development sector in India;
- good understanding and knowledge of agriculture development strategies and policies;
- experience and knowledge of working with government and development agencies in India;
- good understanding of DFID India's corporate policy and strategy on poverty reduction in India;
- experience and understanding of Government of India's development policies;
- understanding of change management and organisational, institutional process in development agencies;
- good understanding and familiarity of using the sustainable livelihoods approach; and
- excellent drafting, communication skills and team working will be required.

### Background

Madhya Pradesh (MP) remains the fourth poorest Indian State with a per capita income of only three-fourths the national average. Out of an estimated population of 60 million, 75 per cent are rural with 37 per cent of the rural population estimated as living Below the Poverty Line (BPL). MP has a large population of Scheduled Tribes (20 per cent) and Scheduled Castes (15.5 per cent), who are amongst the most marginalised and vulnerable.

The ability of the rural poor to enhance their livelihoods is constrained by a range of inter-related structural, social, economic and institutional barriers. The situation of the poor is characterised by marginal and under-productive landholdings, periodic droughts, insecure land tenure and a reliance on seasonal agricultural and forest labour. The low population, relative isolation and inadequate reach of infrastructure in some districts increase the costs of

delivery, resulting in poor access to agricultural inputs, extension services, credit and markets. The rural poor in forested areas, particularly tribal populations, are dependent on forest resources for subsistence, income and employment.

In order to enhance poor people's livelihoods in tribal dominated districts the Government of Madhya Pradesh (GoMP) has launched the Madhya Pradesh Rural Livelihoods Project (MPRLP) with support from the Department for covering the following policy areas:

- background statement on the importance of agriculture in relation to food security and poverty reduction;
- recent trends in size and composition of programmes within the State budget for agriculture and related subsectors;
- recent changes to relevant State and Central policies, schemes, programmes and impact of their implementation (for example, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act on availability of labour, on infrastructure and purchasing power);
- lessons from other development initiatives in Madhya Pradesh within the State as a whole and specifically within the actual and prospective project Districts;
- assess the balance between growth and food security needs and opportunities according to geographical area and socio-economic groupings, implications for the balance between basic commodities and high-value products;
- comment on the current and prospective scope and roles in service delivery (agricultural technology change, information dissemination, input supply, processing and marketing) covering both public sector, private commercial operations and through non-government organisations;
- comment on the extent to which constraints on access to resources (water, land) and services limit production opportunities and scope for removing these constraints; and
- comment on the prospects for reducing risks and vulnerabilities (for example, through weather-based and livestock insurance, other asset insurance).

### **Objectives**

The overall objective of this assignment is to prepare a position paper on the importance of migration in relation to poverty reduction in the MPRLP.

### **Scope of Work**

This work will draw primarily on secondary sources and the experiences/ lessons from Phase One. The consultant(s) will prepare a report of approximately 7,000 words of main text, with annexes as necessary covering the following policy areas:

- background statement on the importance of migration in relation to poverty reduction;
- recent changes to relevant State and Central policies, schemes, programmes relevant to migration and remittances and impact of their implementation (including here the prospective impact of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act on availability of work locally and its implications for migration);

- brief overview of shifting balance between rural and urban areas in terms of decline in agriculture, in overall national GDP, employment etcetera;
- lessons from other development initiatives in Madyha Pradesh;
- within the State as a whole and specifically within the actual and prospective project Districts;
- conduct a broad assessment of the amount of different kinds of unskilled/semi-skilled employment available locally in agriculture and the RNFE;
- assess the patterns and amounts of major streams of temporary migration, by type of worker, source area and destination;
- assess the different patterns and amounts of permanent migration;
- review the amounts of remittance, if possible by type of migration and purpose for which used;
- comment on the future prospects for different kinds of migration and remittances;
- comment on any innovative approaches to migration support that have been tried which are potentially relevant to the project; and
- comment on the major types of risk and vulnerability exist in relation to migration and remittances, and what are the prospects for reducing them.

## **A2 | Checklist for Interviews and Discussions**

# A2 | Checklist for Interviews and Discussions

What are the different kinds of unskilled / semi-skilled employment available locally in agriculture and the non-farm sector?

When did migration begin in the village?

Why did it start?

What are the different migration streams in the village? (Please distinguish these on the basis of caste, gender, occupation, destination e.g. groups of ST men going to the city to pull rickshaws or SC families going to work in brick kilns)

What are the reasons for particular castes, gender or age groups doing certain jobs?

- Skills
- Traditions and taboos
- Recruitment agents seeking out these groups for specific tasks

Do SCs and STs migrate more than other castes? If so, why?

How have migration patterns and magnitude changed over the last five years?

- Numbers
- Kind of work undertaken at destination
- Duration
- Earning
- Who goes (caste, class, gender)
- Seasonality

What proportion of workers is permanent? For what kinds of work do they go?

What do migrants gain in the process of migrating?

- Money
- Skills/knowledge
- Other

What are the costs?

- Expenditure at destination
- Health impacts
- Family stress

Remittance patterns

- Amount, frequency and mechanism by occupation

Details about recruitment agents

- Where do they come from and who do they represent?
- Do they provide advances and on what terms?
- Are they aware of the laws and regulations applying to migrants

How has migration affected money lending patterns in the village?

How has migration affected debt levels among migrating households?

What is the relationship between landholding and migration?

- Do migrants lease out or sell land?
- Do they buy or lease in land?

How has migration affected the livestock economy?

- Composition of the herd? Especially in relation to goats

How has migration affected participation in local level institutions?

What has been the impact of the NREG on migration?

- Who is seeking employment under NREG – men, women, poor, non-poor?

# A3 | List of Meetings

# A3 List of Meetings

Table A3.2: Meetings

Name of the person	Post	Organisation	Place	Date
Mrs. Tasleem	Project Coordinator	MPRLP, Bhopal	Bhopal	21 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Amitabh Bhatnagar	Coordinator, Livelihood Forum	MPRLP, Bhopal	Bhopal	21 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Shehzad Khan	Advisor	TCPSU, MPRLP, Bhopal	Bhopal	21 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Wasim Akhtar	Principal Secretary, Development	GoMP, Bhopal	Bhopal	21 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Ravindra Pastore	Coordinator (Senior IAS)	State DPIP, GoMP, Bhopal	Bhopal	22 <sup>nd</sup> Aug 06
Yogesh	Director	Samarthan (NGO)	Bhopal	22 <sup>nd</sup> Aug 06
A. R. Khare	Chief Engineer	GoMP, Bhopal	Bhopal	23 <sup>rd</sup> Aug 06
Mr. Bansal	Principal Secretary	Department of Labour, GoMP	Bhopal	23 <sup>rd</sup> Aug 06
Bhargav Chandra	Commissioner	Tribal Development, GoMP, Bhopal	Bhopal	23 <sup>rd</sup> Aug 06
Mr. Tiwari	Secretary	Department of Irrigation, GoMP, Bhopal	Bhopal	23 <sup>rd</sup> Aug 06
Sachin Sinha	Director	Rajiv Gandhi Watershed Mission, GoMP, Bhopal	Bhopal	24 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Pradeep Bhargava	Principal Secretary	Rural Development, GoMP	Bhopal	24 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Migrant labourers	Migrant labourers	Char Imlee Park	Bhopal	24 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Migrant Labourers and Labour Contractors	Migrant Labourers and Labour Contractors	Building construction site, Kolar road, Bhopal	Bhopal	24 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
A. K. Singh	Commissioner	Rural Development, GoMP, Bhopal	Bhopal	25 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Prof. Maurya	Professor	AISR, Mohw	Mohw	28 <sup>th</sup> Aug. 06
Prof. Gadkar	Professor	AISR, Mohw	Mohw	28 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Miss. Bhawana Hammad	Research Scholar	AISR, Mohw	Mohw	28 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Mr. L. K. Pandey	Additional Commissioner	Labour Department, GoMP	Indore	28 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
P. Pathak	Additional Commissioner	Labour Department, GoMP	Indore	28 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06

**List of Meetings**

<b>Name of the person</b>	<b>Post</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Date</b>
Mr. Suresh	Head Clerk	Labour Department, GoMP	Indore	28 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
DPSU members	Dhar DPSU	MPRLP		29 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Pramod Dushande	Tanda PFT Coordinator, Dhar	MPRLP	Dhar	29 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
F.G.D.	Villagers	Barad, MPRLP Village, Tanda	Dhar	29 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Suresh Chauhan	Ajeevika Mitra	Barad, MPRLP village, Tanda	Dhar	29 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Rai Singh	Sarpanch	Barad, MPRLP village, Tanda	Dhar	29 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Bishan Singh Bhil	Sarpanch	Chamsar village	Dhar	29 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Sadan & Shankar	Migrant labourers	Singa Chauri village	Dhar	29 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Mr. R. K. Gupta	Add. C.E.O	GoMP, Zila Panchayat, Dhar	Dhar	30 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Rajendra Kundal	Head Clerk	MP Minor Forest Produce Cooperative; Department of Forest, GoMP, Dhar	Dhar	30 <sup>th</sup> Aug 06
Raj Kuamr Malviya	DTCBO	MPRLP, Dhar	Dhar	30 <sup>th</sup> Aug06
Harish Gangwar and others	PFT Coordinators	MPRLP, Jhabua	Jhabua	31 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
K. V. Rgahuwanshi	State Coordinator	G.V.T. Jhabua	Jhabua	31 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Deepak Sharma & Mr. Patil	State level workers	G.V.T. Jhabua	Jhabua	31 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Ratan	Skilled Migrant Labour	Mahuda Village, Shiv Garh	Jhabua	31 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Vijay	Migrant Labour	Sikath Village, Shiv Garh	Jhabua	31 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
PSK	8 persons	GVT Jhabua PSK	Jhabua	31 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Kal Singh	Govt. Hostel Warden & GVT Counselor	Shiv Garh, GVT Jhabua PSK	Jhabua	31 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Kamala Bhil	Coordinator, PSK	GVT, PSK, Udaigarh	Jhabua	31 <sup>st</sup> Aug 06
Mr. Safdari Hussain	Add. C.E.O	Zila Panchayat, GoMP	Jhabua	1 <sup>st</sup> Sept 06
C. P. Singh Rajawat	D.P.O.	DPSU, MPRLP, Jhabua	Jhabua	1 <sup>st</sup> Sept 06
Group Meeting with about 10 persons (5 M & 5 F)	PFTs, MPRLP	MPRLP, Jhabua	Jhabua	1 <sup>st</sup> Sept 06
Umesh Singh Vaghela	PFT Coordinator	MPRLP Kathiwada, Jhabua	Jhabua	1 <sup>st</sup> Sept 06
Tika Ram Khadte	Ajeevika Mitra (MPRLP) & wage labourer	Bairwada Village, Pati, Badwani	Badwani	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sept 06

**List of Meetings**

<b>Name of the person</b>	<b>Post</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Date</b>
Arun Kumar Parikh (telephonic discussion)	DPO, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Badwani	Badwani	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sept 06
Hanif Shaikh	DMLO, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Badwani	Badwani	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sept 06
Pradipta Tripathi	DCIO, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Badwani	Badwani	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sept 06
Anil Bhalse	NGO PFT Coordinator, MPRLP	Udayansh, Thikri MPRLP, Badwani	Badwani	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sept 06
Sheela Shukla	PFT, Gender	Udayansh, Thikri MPRLP, Badwani	Badwani	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sept 06
Vijayendra Gupta & Suresh Verma	PFT members	Udayansh, Thikri MPRLP, Badwani	Badwani	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sept 06
Biwas Chakraborty	DMLO, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Mandla	Mandla	8 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
Sangita Agrwal	PFT Coordinator, MPRLP	Maharajpur, DPSU, MPRLP, Mandla	Mandla	8 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
FGD with 22 persons (15 M & 7 F)	Jargi village	Maharajpur, DPSU, MPRLP, Mandla	Mandla	8 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
Devendra Shrivastava, Rakesh Singh, Sarangi & Rajeev Shrivastava	PFT Coordinators, MPRLP	Of four PFTs, MPRLP, Mandla	Mandla	8 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
D. K. Shrivastav	DTCBO, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Mandla	Mandla	9 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
Mr. Anil Khare	D.F.O.	Department of Forest, GoMP	Mandla	9 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
Naresh Biswas	Director	Nirman (NGO)	Sijhuara, Mandla	9 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06

**Table A3.2: Group Meetings with PFT Coordinators with Disa and Virendra (B009 Team) in Jabalpur**

PFT Coordinators	PFTs, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Shehdol	Jabaplur	11 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
PFT Coordinators	PFTs, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Anuppur	Jabalpur	11 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
PFT Coordinators	PFTs, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Mandla	Jabalpur	11 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
PFT Coordinators	PFTs, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Dhindauri	Jabalpur	11 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
Pankaj Pandey	NGO PFT Coordinator	CARD (NGO), MPRLP, Shapura	Dhindauri	12 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
Namveer Singh Rajput, Reeta Palit & Bhagwan Singh Rajput	PFT Members	CARD (NGO), MPRLP, Shapura	Dhindauri	12 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
Ramveer Singh Rajput	DTCBO, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Dhindauri	Dhindauri	12 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
FGD	23 persons (including women)	Paudi, MPRLP village, Dhindhauri	Dhindhauri	12 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06

**List of Meetings**

Maha Sing Maravi	Sarpanch	Paudi, MPRLP village, Dhindaori	Dhinhauri	12 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
E. Ramesh Kumar (with C.E.O. Zila Panchayat)	Collector, Dhindaori	GoMP	Dhindaori	13 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
Gaurav Mishra	DPO, MPRLP	DPSU, MPRLP, Dhindaori	Dhindaori	13 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06
Group meeting with PFT Coordinators	All PFTs, MPRLP, Dhindaori	DPSU, MPRLP, Dhindaori	Dhindaori	13 <sup>th</sup> Sept 06