

## **Migration of tribals and their settlement: A study in Dindori district of Madhya Pradesh**

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### **Abstract**

*The establishment of multinational companies and landing development programmes in tribal areas has been pulling as well as pushing factors inducing tribal families to migrate in different parts of central India. The study was conducted in tribal dominant areas of the State. The present paper describes the impact of migration on children of the migrant parents and also to understand the migration pattern of tribal population in Dindori district of Madhya Pradesh. The present study is also including women migrants from the tribal areas to the neighbour cities of the State. The findings of the study has utilized in putting forward various suggestions which can help the policy makers to undertake various development and welfare interventions among these tribal groups.*

**Keywords:** Migration, Development, Employment, Factors, Women, Strategy.

### **Introduction**

Migration of the tribal population since long has been taking place in different states. Tribal people are migrating voluntarily from one state to another state in search of work and to earn their livelihood. They migrate as a poor and indigent person. It has been noticed that the nature and pattern of tribal migration has been changing during this contemporary period. Between 1950 to 1980, tribal people migrated from one place to another for doing agricultural labour (Mosse *et al.*, 1997) but in present scenario (from 1980 onwards) they have started migrating to the cities/metropolitan locations in search of some gainful employment/casual labour in the unorganized sectors and as household maids for their livelihood. In recent years it has been noticed that there is a large scale migration of single woman from tribal areas to cities for earning, which is a subtle change from earlier migration patterns when only the men migrated to urban centers. Nowadays tribal families are suffering from various kinds of problems i.e. poverty, unemployment, beggary etc. which lead to drive their unmarried daughters to cities in search of work. However, single woman and tribal girls fall prey to exploitation not only by employers but also by anti-social elements (Mosse, 2002).

There are numerous factors responsible for migration of tribals in general and tribal women in particular. Tribal migration is emerging as a dominant form in both rural and urban India. Many studies reported that large numbers of labourers migrated from

one state to another searching for work every year (Deshingkar *et al.*, 2008). It has been reported high levels of out-migration takes place among the tribals of hilly, densely forest and remote drought prone regions of Madhya Pradesh. In southern parts of Madhya Pradesh, 65% of tribal households are included as migrants' labourer (Mosse *et al.*, 1997). They have migrated to the neighbouring states to work in industry, seed cotton farms and textile markets (Kate Bird and Deshingkar, 2009).

Most of the studies reveal that the occurrence of tribal migration has undoubtedly been emerging day by day in the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh. In development ranking, Madhya Pradesh is recognized as the least developed state in India. The state is considered as largest tribal population inhabited state. Tribals of southern parts of Madhya Pradesh consider migration as a long livelihood strategy. The recruitment of migrant workers is basically organized by the local agents, known as Mukkaddams. They provide advance cash to the labourers to help their family left behind in the absence of the migrant. The migrant labour also uses the advance to purchase some needs during their journey. The advance cash are reimbursed through wages of migrants in installment including commission of local agents. The duration of installment depends on the amount of advance received at the destination and the wages they are paid. The agent obligate the recruit migrants to stay together in a common room at the working locations. They are compelled to live in a surrounding with shelter without easy access to drinking water and sanitation. Female migrants and children are highly vulnerable to disease, injuries and sexual abuse in such circumstances. They are exposed to harassment by contractors, police and urban authorities.

It has been found that the migrants are engaged in factories as a labour, working as domestic servants, bus and truck cleaner, rickshaw pullers, street hawkers, petty traders, construction workers and house maid workers. Earning is one of the major drivers of tribal migrants in search of paid employment. It has been reported in earlier study that the internal migration can lead to positive transformation in both sending and receiving areas (Deshingkar *et al.*, 2006). Migration can help the migrants to reduce their unemployment, beggary and to halt the slide into poverty. Besides all these, a few negative impact of migration is there such as social and cultural identity, security, acute dearth of labour and high dependency ratios in sending areas. On one hand mass migration can lead to worsening poverty of migrants but on other hand, due to faraway from native place they lack their traditional rights on land, forest and voice in community decision making process. Migration can also have a negative effect on collective action and natural resource management.

Studies reveal that tribal migration is resultant of displacement due to establishment of various development projects in tribal areas. There are different forms of migration seen among the tribals such as inter-state cross migration, regional and seasonal variation, occupational migration, short term and long-term migration. Besides, these studies still have dearth of information and detailed analysis. Hence a study to understand is of importance in the migration in tribal India despite having large number

development programmes like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA), Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY), Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS), Food for Work Programme (FFW), Prime Minister Gramin Swarojgar Yojana (PMGSY), Swarna Jayanti Gramin Swarojgar Yojana (SGSY). The purpose of the present research work was to find out the cause behind the migration and to document how and where they are migrating, their living conditions prior to migration, future planning of migrant tribals, awareness about the development programmes being implemented for their benefit, health and hygienic status, occupational mobility, impact of the migration on their socio-economic status, agencies involved and other aspects particularly related to the tribal women migrants. The study has focused on the tribal majority states of Madhya Pradesh. The study is also including women migrants from the tribal areas to the neighbour cities of the State. The findings of the study are expected to be utilized in putting forward various suggestions which can help the policy makers to undertake various developmental and welfare interventions among the tribal groups.

### **Objectives of the study**

The objectives of survey is focused and aimed

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

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

## **Methodology**

Field survey were undertaken in 50 remote tribal villages and forests areas among Baiga, Gond, Kol, Pradhan, Dhulia, Bhoomia and Agaria tribes in Amarpur and Bajag block of Dindori district of Madhya Pradesh. The district of Dindori has a special distinction of accommodating about one-sixth of the total tribal population of the State. Tribals only constitute 64% of the district and thus, it stands fourth among all fifty districts of the State with highest proportion of tribal concentration. The selection of the district was made in view of the concentration of tribal population on the one hand, and their general socio-economic backwardness on the other. No background data was available for migration among tribal population in Dindori. Tribal People of Dindori district used to migrate for earning their livelihood. The district is situated at the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh touching Chhattisgarh state. It touches Shahdol in east, Mandla in west, Umaria in north, and Bilaspur district of Chhattisgarh State in south. It is 144 Km from Jabalpur on S.H 21, 104 Km from Mandla and 88 Km from holy place Amarkantak. It is located at 81.34 degree longitude and 21.16 degree latitude. The holy river Narmada passes through the district. It is situated at a height of 1100 m above sea level amongst herbal-rich, Maikal mountain ranges. Dindori has many historical as well as spiritual places. Some of the spiritual places are Laxman Madva, Kukarramath, Kalchuri Kali Mandir etc. The Kanha Tiger National Park is 180 km & Bandhavgarh National Park is 140 Km away from the district headquarter. It was created on 25th May, 1998 with a total of 927 villages. The district is covered in seven blocks namely Dindori, Shahpura, Mehandwani, Amarpur, Bajag, Karanjiya & Samnapur. The Baiga are particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups which can be found only in this district. The Baigas are known as the “National Human” (Official Website of Dindori District, 1998.)

The datab of the study comprised of primary data collected through interview schedules, i.e. the tribal beneficiaries and the development officials. Information from tribal beneficiaries of the selected villages was collected through focused group discussions, observation and interview schedules, information from development officials representing the specialized agencies as well as community development blocks, banks and other financial institutions through personal interviews using the interview schedules. The interview schedule was administered to collect information at the district, Panchayat and village levels. Sampling plans address certainty and precision of results by defining who is included in the survey, how many people are needed and how respondents are selected. The researcher has conducted his study in Amarpur and Bajag block of the Dindori district. Under these blocks 20 GPs were selected (10 GPs were in each block). It was decided that 250 sample households would be interviewed covering all the 50 villages from the two blocks of the districts and equal number of samples taken from each villages with an average of 5 respondents to be selected at random (including both migrants and non-migrants households). 135 men and 115 women were interviewed. Data were collected from selected respondents through multi-stage random sampling procedure. The selected sample respondents were contacted in their respective residence

and required primary information was collected. Primary data were collected through interview schedule of structured and quite a few unstructured questions and focus group discussions related to tribal migration and interface. During the collection of the data some important aspects like economic conditions, livelihood pattern, use of assets, health and hygienic conditions, educational status of the children of migrants, social policy and State services for migrant's development were also focused. Information in respect of migration and change, land acquisition of the beneficiaries were also obtained.

Secondary data were collected from various sources and a major part of the analysis of the study is based on the secondary data collected. For secondary data, official perspectives and feedback on tribal migration, the researcher primarily engaged with the government department, Tribal Welfare Department, Report on selected statistic, Published by National Census and the National Sample Survey and Ministry of Statistics & Programme Implementation, Government of India, New Delhi were consulted. Secondary data collection sources also included government offices at the State and district level, National Rural Livelihood Mission Offices (NRLM), Tribal Welfare Department at the State and district level through the ITDAs. Several field trips were undertaken for collection of data during different seasons. Information was gathered through oral interviews of the local tribal people. These data were analysed quantitatively or qualitatively depending on the objectives and design of the study.

### **Economic profile of the migrants**

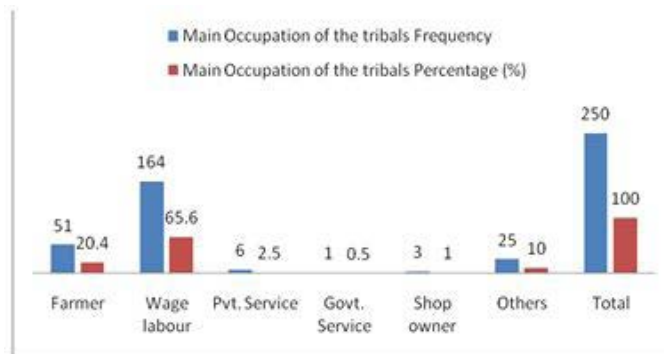
The indigenous people (Scheduled Tribes) have their own distinctive culture, residing in a specific geographically isolated area with low socio-economic conditions. For centuries, the tribal groups have remained outside the realm of the general development process due to their habitation in forests and hilly tracts, and within the close proximity of nature. After independence, Government of India has scheduled the tribal groups in the Constitution and provided special provisions for their welfare and development. There are about 654 ST communities across the States in India and 75 of the STs are backward and are termed as Primitive Vulnerable Tribal Groups. Most of the tribal areas of the country are hilly, inaccessible undulating plateau lands in the forest areas resulting in the bypassing of general development programmes. Due to this, the infrastructure and development facilities in tribal areas for education, roads, healthcare, communication, drinking water, sanitation etc. has lagged behind when compared to other areas which has resulted in further widening of the gaps of development between the tribals and the general population.

**Table-1:** Monthly earning pattern of the tribals

Average monthly earning (Rs)	Frequency (Number of tribals)	Percentage (%)
Upto Rs. 2000	17	7
Rs. 2000 – 4000	35	14
Rs. 4000 – 6000	38	15
Rs. 6000 – 8000	12	5
Rs. 8000- 10000	128	51
Rs. 10000 -12000	15	6
Above Rs. 12000	5	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>100</b>

The study revealed that 51% of tribal migrants are earning Rs. 8000- 10000 whereas least numbers (2%) of migrants are earning above Rs. 12000 (Table 1). Most of the tribal migrants reported that their existing monthly income is better than the old incomes. It is seen from the income pattern that one third of their income is from migration related works.

The economic background of the tribals is primarily based on hunting, domesticating the animals, poultry farm, buffalo, goattry, collection of fire woods and forest products, fishing and practicing the shifting cultivation. A very small number of tribals are engaged in non-agricultural activities such as mendicants, pastoralists leading a semi-nomadic to nomadic life. The forest laws have curtailed the free movement of tribals in forest regions. The tribal rights on the forest lands have been severely affected. Shifting cultivation is regulated by restrictions on the use of forests. Use of Minor Forest Produces (MFPs) by tribals is reduced to a large extent. Exploitation by money lenders and contractors, problems of credit and market for Minor Forest Produces (MFPs), poverty, hunger, malnutrition and impoverishment are important evils, which the tribals have been facing since long time (Misra, 2000). Land alienation and displacement are other major problems prevalent in the tribal areas.



**Figure 1:** Occupation categories of the tribals

Tribals are engaged in various occupations but the major occupation is rain fed agriculture. The main yields in the farms are millet, rice, rai, til, macca etc. Only Kharif crops (crops grown during summer season) are grown due to unavailability of water throughout the year except in rainy season which is brought by the monsoon. The main crops grown is millet. Few of them work as labourers and few were engaged in subsidiary occupation like carpenter, making of sal plate, making of basket etc. For that they collect material (sal leaves, bamboo, wood etc.) from the forest. During these collections, they are trapped by the staffs of forest department leading to curtailment of their supplementary livelihood income.

Majority of tribal's family belong to Economically Weaker Section (EWS) income group. Monthly incomes of the tribals are very low, because large numbers of the tribals are landless labour and do not have agricultural land. The annual income is very low. Those who have some agricultural land with domesticated animals have elevated their economic standard. Respondents are of the opinion that agriculture, small cottage industry and industrial ancillary jobs are the main source of their income. Thus from the data, it is evident that large number of tribals' main source of income is agriculture.

Tribal society is largely an egalitarian and tribal women put their hand equally with tribal men in their contribution to domestic economy. Comparatively they do more physical work in their agricultural fields and forest. Usually they have enjoyed a privileged social status in their own communities than women of other communities in general. The economic status of tribal women is relatively low in comparison to tribal men and general population which is also associated with their poor nutritional and health status. Despite having their routine household work, they do hard labour in the agricultural field and forests for long hours. Even their schedule of working hours continue during pregnancy, natal and postnatal stages. Thus, they face high morbidity rate, and low child survival rate. The tribal women also suffer from different kinds of taboos and superstitions and are away from the benefits of existing development programmes and welfare activities.

### **The livelihood pattern of the migrant families**

A large quantity of natural resources with rich minerals is depository in tribal



areas. The ongoing development projects i.e. hydro-electric power generation, industrial expansion, opening of mining activities etc. exploit the natural resources which lead to deforestation, destruction of environment, displacement of the tribals and also alienate them from their land and grab the basic right of livelihood from the forest. Massive investment in construction of dams, power plants, industrialization and mining create wealth to the nation and employment opportunities to various people but all of these have hardly given any assistance to the tribals and rather creates difficulties for tribals. As per the Ministry of Rural Development, large numbers of tribals inhabiting in forest areas for generations together have been deprived of their lands and traditional rights. Due to the enactment of Forest Rights Act, 2006, there is a provision of allotment of forest land to the Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers by following certain procedure which enables the state Government to do justice for forest Dwellers by providing forest lands. Even now large numbers of tribals in the study areas are struggling to get the land patta. Many a times they have raised their issue related to the forest land in the gram sabha but the assurance of the sarpanch and sachiv were not satisfactory. Lack of relief from this have motivated them to migrate to neighbour districts, towns, cities and state for work.

The conducted study comprised of areas where the villages are surrounded by forest of Sal trees,. The water of Sono River brings fertility to land, where the farmers can generate lot of production on their land. They have adequate agricultural land but could not produce the agricultural output. Tribal farmers concentrated on their agricultural land and hoped to produce lot of grains. They have to do hard labour to fulfill their basic requirement. The area is rich in biological diversity, which may promote eco-tourism. The coming of tourist can develop the area. The tiger, forest and folk culture of tribals may attract the peoples. More than 90% of the tribals, to a large extent depend on forests and forests resources for their livelihood. They collect small forest products such as *Harra* and *Baheda* (local name) in the month of March, April and May, *Amala* (local name) in the month of October, November and December, *Tendu Patta* (local name) in the month of March, April, May, June, November and December, *Dhup* (local name) in the month of January, February and December, *Honny* (local name *Saheda*) in the month of January, February, March and April, *Chironji* (local name) in the month of May and June, *Mahul Patta* (local name) in the month of March, April, August, September and October. All the above forest products are collected by them and sell in the weekly village market at very low price. They sell it to the small businessmen. These are the secondary source of income of the tribals. Another secondary source of income of the tribals is domestication of cow, buffalos, goat, pig and poultry etc.

The living conditions of tribals do not reveal one's right to life and a dignified living enshrined in the Constitution. Families make their homes under trees in or near the fields. They have dilapidated roof or walls. The clothes are hung on the wall of their roofs. The ropes are tied to make a swing for kids. In the rainy season, the rain water enters their house. Children able to walk wander around in hot sun mobilize water and fuel woods



and are devoid of proper care and food. Most of the families subsist on mere roti and chutney and occasional supplement of dal. Inadequate food, nutrition, healthcare lead to rapid malnourishment. Tribals are unable to spend small amount in private expenditure involved in procuring teaching material and clothes due to weaker economic condition. Under such circumstances expenditure on non-food items is not of primary importance in the struggle of tribals for their survival. The importance of food collection is felt more important for tribals and to be engaged in household works like tending for the younger siblings in the absence of parents, grazing cows, buffaloes, and also supplement family income as child labour to earn small wages which strengthen their family status. The families live in darkness of night. The fear of wild animals scares them. As the sheaves and husk are highly inflammable, even in some study areas electricity facility is not available and they use oil lamp light. There seemed to be no efforts by the local administration to provide any basic facilities to these tribals. They have no accessibility to school, anganwadi, health center or fair price shops. The tribals families in fact are forced to move from one place to another place for job.

### Migration for survival

**Table 2:** Number of migrants over the decades in India

<b>Decades</b>	<b>Migrants (In millions &amp; Percentage)</b>
1951-61	144.8 (33%)
1961-71	166.8 (30.4%)
1971-81	203.5 (30.6%)
1981-91	230 (27.4)
1991-2001	307 million (30%)
2001-11	453.6 millions (37.8%)

Sources: Census of India, 2001 & 2011 D-Series Migration table

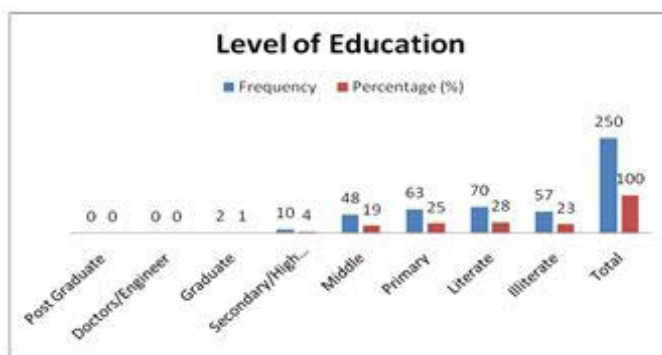
Migration is an age old practice but it is increasing at a faster pace over last decades due to variety of reasons. In recent years it has been observed that there is a high migration rate in India. According to the National Census for 2011, 453.6 million (37.8%) of the population were migrants (Table 2). The above data reveals nearly above a one-third had migrated during the previous decade.

The tribals in the study areas engage themselves on their agricultural farm only for five to six months and they do not have any work during the remaining period of the year. So, they migrate to neighboring districts of the State. These districts have large yield of work in the industry or mines and there is a shortage of labour in those areas. So, they call both men and women for work in the mines. Agriculture is the main occupation of people in this area. They do farming but the yield is less. After doing hard work when the yield from the crops is less and insufficient for their survival, it becomes difficult to live in the villages. That is why they have migrated to other areas in search of jobs. They return

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back to their villages after two or three months. The entire tribal family members do not migrate, few of them stay at home to look after the aged and children of the family. In the study areas it was found that only male members who are capable to do the work have migrated to their neighbouring cities, districts and State. Large number of tribal people from villages migrate to different areas of neighbour districts during the lean period of the year. Generally the millet and rice yielded in the farm is kept for eating. Some tribal people have to go to the forest for collection of honey and forest products. They roam in the jungles and stay there. Traditional tribes are also involved in hunting, fishing and collection of chironji. Though it has declined over the period, but still some PVTGs tribal people are involved in this business and they go to market for selling. Earlier wood was available in the forest on large extent. Now they don't go to collect wood as the forest cover has declined. Hence, they only do farming. Earlier they used to make wheels of bullock cart, tatty etc. out of the collected wood.

### Migration for education



**Figure 2:** Educational levels attained by tribal migrants

In the surveyed villages it was found that not a single case of professional degree or post graduate level studied. Tribal families have reported that they have studied up to middle and high school level which reveals that educational services are not equipped in the interior tribal areas (Figure 2). In most of the study villages education is available till 5<sup>th</sup> standard (primary level). For further studies tribal children have to migrate to nearby town and cities. Tribal parents have an ambition to send their children to the school so that they would get employment, knowledge of business, moral education, empower etc. Earlier, tribal girls' proportion in education was less as compared to boys but now they have also started getting educated. It was observed in the field work that a number of tribal parents understand the advantages of education. Parents are also interested to send their children to schools and colleges for study. After 10<sup>th</sup> class they have to go to cities. The proportion of children going to cities is very less. Children return to their villages during festivals and vacations. Parents are aware of the importance of educating their children. They wish that their children should study well and stay happily. They felt that it's their responsibility to send children to schools. They earn Rupees 150 to 200 per day. If the children are interested in their studies then they send them to school. Otherwise the

parents ask them to go to the agricultural field. Overall awareness about the importance of children's education is increasing and the tribal people are coming forward but yet their proportion is less. Still the primitive tribes are comparatively less aware about the importance of education. One key informant explains reason for it as: it's like growing trees. If one gets educated others take inspiration from them and go. But when there is no tree at all, how can other trees grow?. It implies that nobody from primitive tribe took initiative in getting education. That is why subsequent generation is not inspired for education. Though awareness in education has increased but it is still in its infancy. This is the first generation which is studying in secondary schools and colleges. Proportion of children going to the college is still less. Most of the children stay in the hostels provided by government and few of them stay in rented rooms. Children till 10<sup>th</sup> class get hostel facility in the school itself. But children going to the college in cities stay by hiring rooms. Very less proportion of children go to private schools for studies since they can't afford costs of private schools. Some Non-governmental organizations are also trying to raise the educational status of tribal by providing education to drop out children. So the study reveals that most of the tribal children are moving towards cities and town for getting higher education and with a high ambition of employment.

### **Migration as a strategy**

For many chronically poor tribal people with few assets, education or social connection, migration has become an important way of coping with seasonal fluctuations in income. Where agents or middle men (sometimes women) are involved, earnings can be limited and working and living conditions can be basic. Olsen and Ramanamurthy (2000) has documented how the migrant labourers are exploited by contractors or recruiting agents in a varied of subtle ways and they range from trapping them into a bonded labour by paying lower wage, extracting to overtime work and child labour and using caste-based and patriarchal modes of oppression to maintain abusive labour relations. The system survives because recruiting agents are seen as those who save the labourer in distress by offering work when otherwise they might starve. Some lower-caste people who serve the landlords and employers think, they will be rewarded with patronage during crises. This patronage may consist only of loans, which further bind the worker and the worker's family.

This kind of migration rarely results in the accumulation of assets. Such migrants often migrate through an agent who takes a heavy cut of their earnings, and this is one of the reasons for them not being able to break out of poverty. However, the importance of such migration should not be underestimated, because in the absence of local opportunities for employment and enterprise, it provides earnings which prevent downward slides into poverty. Without this option, the poor would be dependent on local moneylenders and face starvation. In fact, this is what the poor say, migration is not easy or an ideal way of earning money but it saves them from starving to death and begging for food.

For those with better social networks, marketable skills and more education and/

or assets, migration has become an accumulative strategy. The tribals were traditionally skilled stonecutters and well diggers. They have adapted this skill to dig trenches for telephone cables, carry out road works, and have now become well known all over central India. In tribal areas, they have benefited from public works executed by gram panchayats and state agencies through schemes for tribal water supply, housing, food for work, watershed development and the construction of schools, public buildings and offices. They work almost all year round but the nature of the job varies by agricultural season: forest department work is undertaken in the dry season and road works and trench digging are done in the rainy season. Both the poor, non-poor and all landless households have migrated. Groups of tribals have migrated together and go for 15-30 days at a time. They make two to three trips in a year. Each group is headed by a contractor, usually a tribal, who bears all travelling and food expenses. The migrant tribals may have taken an advance payment from the contractor to transfer of funds to their family. Later, he cuts this from the wages of the tribals. Earlier, contractor would be the main source of information about new jobs and wages but over time their power has eroded and they now play a more facilitating role rather than controlling and exploiting the tribals. These days, most of the tribals do not have fixed contractors and work for the person who makes the best offer. It is evident that the tribals have done well for themselves out of migration, individually and collectively. Many contractors have pucca houses with all kinds of durables things (such as- TV, fridge, LPG gas stove, and motorcycle). On the other hand, the poor migrant tribals have dilapidated houses. They have invested their newly acquired wealth in building their house, well, schooling education of their children and any other household activities. Perhaps it is because of their economic power that they have also gained a strong presence in the gram sabha, despite being absent frequently and belonging to a lower caste.

### **Health problems of native and migrant tribals**

According to the local inhabitants most of the diseases are water borne starting during the month of August and September. During the last few years the government has started paying attention towards these tribal areas. Many new health schemes like emergency service, mobile clinic and new insurance scheme etc. have been initiated by the government in recent times. Some of the respondents view that they migrate to neighbouring districts and state for work. If they fall ill at the destination place, then few of them consult a doctor or take traditional medicine to cure from the diseases. But few of them also refer to return to their native place. People go for work to their farms which are far away from their houses. So, they carry food and limited water with them. But the drinking water is not sufficient for the whole day. So, they drink contaminated water available in the local ponds, tanks, springs etc. and fall sick. In most of the villages there is no provision of safe drinking water.

Earlier tribal people did not use fertilizers and chemicals in agriculture. Nowadays they use chemical fertilizers like DAP and urea in their agricultural farms to increase their production. Now a days they take hybrid grains for growing their production. These are

yielded with the use of chemicals and fertilizers. With that the incidence of diseases is also increasing due to chemical mixed food. In the past if they get fever then it used to get cured immediately. It is believed that they used to pray God after which they get cured. But now, the respondents say that this does not happen now. During that time the incidence of disease was very less. Earlier if somebody got disease then he used to take herbal medicine and got cured immediately. Now-a-days if one falls sick, everybody gets infected by it. Now-a-days new diseases are occurring. Oil was also extracted from the seed using manual machines. Now they get it in packets which are processed in industries. If any disease persists for four days or more then they go to the doctor and take treatment. Government doctor does not remain available in most of the times due to lack of facility in tribal areas. In the study areas it has been observed that it is a dream for tribal to get a better treatments like injections, saline, tablets for cure. The major health problems faced by the tribals in the study areas are fever, vomiting, loose motions and stomach pain. Tribal people don't take immediate treatment for any ailment. Still many people prefer herbal medicines since it remains available in the vicinity. If not then they go to the nearby public health facility. During last years the incidence of the diseases was more. People suffered from vomiting, loose motions and malaria. Generally, people seek health care after three to four days of the onset of the disease. Primary Health Center (PHC) is available at the district head quarter and Primary Health Centers available in the tribal areas do not have doctors availability. The people are then treated by nurse and compounder. In case of serious conditions, the patients are either taken to the Community Health Center (CHC) or to the District Headquarter hospital which is 60-70 Km. Many tribal people also seek health care treatment from the ARMPs (Ayurvedic Registered Medical Practitioners) or quacks. Many ARMPs visit the villages and give medicines and charge Rupees 50 -70 from each patient. The government health facilities remains far away and most of the times there is absence of doctor or other staff. So, the people prefer to go to ARMPs, who are readily available and also charge less money. But the ARMPs are not properly trained and also do not have valid qualification for treating patients.

First aid facilities are not available in the work site for the tribals. Tribals work in extremely iron and bauxite areas. As there are iron and bauxite, the possibility of tetanus is high. Most of the tribals in the study areas are working in the mines. In case of major accidents like loss of limbs the employer gets the worker treated and sends them back with some paltry compensation. There does not seem to be any role of the State administration in this regard.

**Table 3:** Composition of tribal population under study

Name of the Tribals	Frequency in Household Wise		Percentage (%)		Total	Over all Percentage (%)
	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Gond	23	16	9.2	6.4	39	15.6
Agaria	19	15	7.6	6	34	13.6
Dhulia	18	17	7.2	6.8	35	14
Pradhan	20	16	8	6.4	36	14.4
Bhoomia	18	16	7.2	6.4	34	13.6
Koal	19	15	7.6	6	34	13.6
Baiga	18	20	7.2	8	38	15.2
Total	135	115	54%	46%	250	100%

Table 3 shows the composition of tribal communities . It has been observed that they face various health problems in these areas. The tribals migrants also reported that there are many service providers working in these areas to solve the health problems but it does meet their demands. The need is very high and Government service providers could come handy in providing the support. Thus tribal people need special attention for improving their general, reproductive and child health status.

### **Migration and change**

Migration give tribal people an exposure to outside world. They learn the language, customs, and traditions of other surrounding cultures. They develop desire to educate their children. Earlier they used traditional agricultural instruments on their agricultural farms which were made up of wood but now they use modern techniques that are made up of iron. The impact of mass media and communication, modernisation and globalization also gave them exposure to the outside world. They are learning new techniques as well as acquiring the cultures of others. Tribal people work in their agricultural farm for about half of the year. But when agricultural season is over and there is no work, they migrate to neighbouring areas for getting employment. This helps them to continue their income and improve their economic condition to some extent. Earlier tribal people were largely dependent on forest for earning their livelihood. They used to eat fruits, roots, mahua flowers and any other forest products. But in the present days due to the diminishing forest resources and restriction by the forest department/government in cutting trees, collection of fire wood and fuel, collections of forest products etc., the livelihood pattern of tribal community has been restricted. That is why they move in search of alternative means of livelihood.



Generally elder tribal people remain busy with routine work. In the morning they go to agricultural farm after taking breakfast. Male members of the tribal family go to field early in the morning. Women after completing their household works go to the farm by carrying lunch with them. Tribal people work whole day in the agricultural farm and return in the evening. In the evening, they listen to radio. Elder people are not interested in listening to Radio. Rather they sit together and engage in gossip. Now a days Television has become common for tribal people, where the electric facility is available. So, those tribal people having Television get opportunity to watch movies. Most of the people watch Hindi movies. Elder people watch religious movies while young people watch commercial movies. Children go to school in day time and after coming home in the evening they play games. Usually elder persons don't go to distant places but youths go to other places to watch movies. They have to go to nearest film hall for watching Hindi movies during the festival and holy occasion. Now-a-days VCDs are easily available due to which people are also watching movies at home.

Due to the influence of mass media and communication, tribal people have become more aware of the events happening outside the village. The younger generation is more influenced by the movies. Young boys and girls have even got married without the consent of the parents and resistance from the families. These marriages were inter-tribal marriages and village people accepted them later on. Elders stated that young people watch television till late night. So, their life style, food habits and sleeping timings have changed. By watching the movies tribal people are influenced by Hindi language. Now impact of Hindi language is seen over the original tribal dialect. The dress pattern of tribals has also been changed due to the influence of mass media and communication. Few young boys roam in the village by changing their hairstyles. Comparatively less influence of movies is seen among the girls.

In this study it was found that the tribal girls move to their husband's house after marriage which is very common among all tribal groups. Educated people look for legal age of marriage of boys and girls. But if parents are illiterate, then they go for their children's marriage at an early age. If the groom is economically weak then he stays at his in-law's place for some period and work in their agricultural farms. Afterwards either in-laws give him a piece of land and he settles down there permanently or he goes to his own native village. Along with character, economic situation of the family is taken into consideration while choosing brides and grooms for marriage. Both arranged and love marriages are found to be practiced among the tribal community. In the study, it was also found that lot of changes have seen in case of rites and rituals of tribal marriage. Awareness comes out among the tribals through migrations. When they have migrated to other places, they come in contact with the people of different culture, higher education, mass media communication, modernization, globalization, and technologies etc., which affect their entire social and cultural life.

## **Development in tribal areas**

The tribal families were asked about the awareness and benefit availed by them from popular schemes of the government which revealed that some of the respondents are aware of the schemes and some even if aware are not able to take the benefit of the government schemes ( Table 4).

**Table 4:** Awareness and benefits about the development schemes

<b>Government Schemes</b>	<b>Awareness about the development scheme</b>		<b>Benefits about the development scheme</b>	
	Total numbers out of 250 respondents	Percentage (%)	Total numbers out of 250 respondents	Percentage (%)
IAY	190	76	40	16
SGSY	00	00	03	1
MNREGA	238	95	215	86
RSVY	00	00	00	00
RGVY	00	00	00	00

Planned economic development was adopted as India's policy, soon after independence. Planning for the development in tribal areas was thus ushered in as part of a wider National strategy. To bridge the socio-economic gaps between tribals and non-tribals and also for the all-round development of the tribal groups, several schemes and programmes are being drawn in the Post-Independent period. Both Central and State Governments have been spending crores of rupees, in the name of tribal development, but the impact of the programmes is not as envisaged. The developmental efforts have not succeeded in bringing marked change in the conditions of most of the tribal communities. The benefits of the tribal development are not reaching the poor tribals. In many parts of the country, the non-tribal groups are getting the tribal tag, in the process, depriving tribals, by using benefits of tribal reservations and Constitutional safeguards. No efforts were made in the formulation of schemes in accordance with the needs of the tribal communities, who had their own social and cultural milieu. In recent times because of large scale industrialization and urbanization, relative isolation of the tribal areas is broken down. Due to the establishment of the State and Multi National Companies (MNCs) sponsored developmental projects (such as large scale irrigational projects, dams, reservoirs, mining, sanctuaries, industries and tourism projects and the acquisition of lands by the State etc.) in tribal areas, the tribals and their available natural resources are now exposed to the exploitative market forces.

## **Land acquisition and public purpose**

Table 4 presents a summary on processes through which tribals have lost access to land in Madhya Pradesh

**Table 4:** Loss of land access by the tribals in Madhya Pradesh

<b>Loss of access to their land/land rights and landlessness</b>				
Loss of land thorough private transactions	Loss of land thorough displacement	Loss of land thorough through survey and settlement	Due to landlessness	Declaration of reserve forest
1. Illegal sale of land 2. Encroachment by non-tribals 3. Land mortgaging	1. Loss of patta through land acquisition 2. Lose of Govt. land cultivated by tribals	1. Cultivation land categorized as Government land	1. Poor distribution of government waste lands	1. Cultivation areas categorized as forest areas 2. Poor settlement rights during reservation

The land acquisition Act of 1894, introduced by the then British Government, still continues, with some amendments in 1967 and 1984 and this Act facilitates the Governments to acquire the peoples land, by compulsion for both the public and private purposes (Swamy, 1996). This Act helps the State as a weapon for immediate land acquisition. In most of the cases, the Government officials have been paying the compensation to workers after prolonged time, where as they acquire the lands with one notification and with in no time, but the Land Acquisition Act did not say anything on the type or nature of compensation payable to workers and time period for payment of compensation (Upadhyay, 1998). Land acquisition in Scheduled Areas are not possible, as there are number of Protective Land Laws, Legislations, Regulations, Forest Laws, Government Policies, Court Orders and Judgments, and Government Orders (GOs) which prohibit the land transfer in Scheduled Areas. In spite of all these protective and welfare laws made by the government for the welfare of tribals, the Governmental agencies have been acquiring the tribal lands in the name of National interest in contravention to all the Constitutional provisions. It indicates that all the agency laws are being manipulated where the legal access to tribal lands and resources is denied.

It is clear that displacement involves injustice to the tribal people and gross violation of their constitutional rights. The tribal people can't be deprived of their right to life merely by paying some money at the cost of their livelihood. In fact that whole legal frame itself is wrong in which the right to life of the people and their survival as community is being violated. At times the people are being forced to move out of their homes on the strength of payment of compensation. Right to life of some persons cannot be compromised or bartered just for providing more comforts to many people. Many

workers are still awaiting cash compensation promised by the project authorities. Very few workers have been fortunate enough to get permanent employment in the projects. Reports of several studies sponsored by the World Bank also admit that poor rehabilitation is not a matter of the past. In fact, in 1993 during the presence of the World Bank executed study team in the Singrauli region, a number of houses were bulldozed and workers were forced to move without adequate arrangements, and this was documented in its main report (World Bank, 1993).

### **Conclusions and policy implications**

The empirical findings and the secondary material reviewed in this paper show that migration is higher in remote tribal areas and where the tribals are chronically poor. An important finding was that permanent migration constituted a small proportion of total movements for work and migration was the most important form of mobility. This demonstrates powerfully the inadequacy of official statistics in capturing the mobility of the poor tribal. In remote tribal villages, migration involved both the poorest and the richest households. In the case of the poorest, they are not able to sell their labour power due to old, sick or disabled; this is because they do not migrate. In the case of the richest, the reason for not migrating is that they can live comfortably from farming and/or other enterprise i.e. engages them as a labour in mining, MNREGA and other welfare schemes of the State and Central government. The broad base of migration has resulted in its benefits accruing to a large number of tribal households. Earnings of migrant labour are raising higher proportion of tribal's household income, (one person in a tribal households working outside the village). Migration is critical to manage risk and smooth consumption for a majority of chronically poor households living in remote tribal areas. The additional income of migrant labour has allowed their family to eat regularly, pay for healthcare when needed and spend on festival and social events. Migration has improved the creditworthiness of tribal families left behind in the village and it is also helpful to obtain large loans easily.

Those beneficiaries have few assets, education or social networks, migration provides a way of survival, providing income for consumption and paying off debt. Those tribal people have more skills, social connections and assets; migration brings an enough cash to set the household on an upward accumulative trajectory that is eventually led to an exit from poverty. The evidences from the study suggest that migration bring an improvement in the lives of tribal migrants. Its increase household income of migrants and it also effects on the entire village, through improved agricultural productivity and more economic activity. However, further resurveys would be needed to develop a more detailed picture of the impact of migration on sending villages. The complexity of the migration process is that its costs and benefits must be viewed against the overall social, political and institutional context of tribal areas. While it is obvious that migration is not an ideal or easy way of earning money and improving the living standard of the family, it is often the only option in places that have suffered from log jams of disadvantage. The remote tribal villages in the study areas have indeed suffered from some combination of

poor governance, leakage and corruption, social exclusion, physical isolation, restricted access to natural resources and low rainfall.

The expenses and risks of migration are very intense, including the threat of disease, injury and not being able to send their children to school. Despite of having reluctance the migrant s labour are compelled to sacrifice their children's future and their own health because they cannot take care of themselves or their children properly when they migrate. The mistake is not lies with migration but with the institutional and policy environment. The case histories also show that the distinction between employment, bondage and trafficking for chronically poor and socially excluded groups is blurred. Policy responses need to be developed that can help the most vulnerable migrants, not only migrants who are working legally. The emphasis of policy should be on minimizing the costs and risks of migration and maximizing its returns. There is a need to provide information regarding jobs, wage rates and about their rights to the migrants. There is also a need to create awareness among the police and other government departments who view migration negatively. There are now a number of NGOs and Welfare societies in the study areas providing migrant support, but they operate on a small scale with limited funding.

The future of the migration is uncertain. It will continue as long as regional inequalities persist, but the pace of development and urbanization is now increasing in sending states, so it is very likely that commuting will increase rapidly. Tribal people may eventually be able to live in the village and work in nearby cities and agricultural farms. Until such a time, it is imperative for policy to recognize the importance of mobility and migration, in particular for sustaining the livelihoods of the poorest tribal groups living in remote tribal areas. Migration has taken place vastly in the study areas. Comparatively male migration is higher than the female migration. Children have also migrated with their parents. Tribal children under the age of six are malnourished. The school going age children are avoiding of primary education, due to migration. The minimum wage of daily worker is to be Rs. 150of total amount. The work site facilities are negligible and the families live in a most inhumane condition. There is practically no privacy or health facility for tribal women. The problems for pregnant and lactating mothers are even more. There is no social security for the migrant labours. The wage earners are exploited in terms of wages payable. Hunger seems to be the most crucial factor leading to migration. Despite job cards the absence of work in resident villages has devoid these migrant families of their right to work under MNREGA. Local administration seems to be unconcerned about the welfare of migrant labours.

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