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Servicing the City : Migrant Workers and Deprivation in Gorakhpur Uttar Pradesh, India



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Servicing the City

Migrant Workers and Deprivation In Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh, India

Amit Mitra
Bijay Singh



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Preface

Both rural and urban areas, particularly in Asian countries are at risk to a range of potential climatic changes including intensity and number of extreme weather events such as floods, cyclones, storms, rainfall variability and temperature variations. The impacts in rural areas are posing newer challenges before the majority of population who are dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods and already facing the problems like deceleration in agriculture productivity and decreasing net gains.

The small and marginal farmers are particularly affected due to their smaller land holdings and lesser capacities to deal with the climate related uncertainties. The unfavorable policy environment, inadequate resources and capital and lesser access to government programmes and schemes add to their vulnerability and food insecurity.

Distressed migration is the only option left with such farmers to earn the wages and food for their families.

The urban population is already struggling with poor infra-structure and inadequate basic services. Large scale rural urban migration severely adds to the problems of cities. The poor institutional capacities of the urban centres exacerbates the risks due to various reasons like weak infra-structure and housing, social exclusion, limited urban planning and land use management and limited preparedness for emergency services.

Asian Cities for Climate Change Resilience Network (ACCCRN) provided an opportunity to assess the vulnerabilities of cities and evolve strategies which can enhance the resilience capacities of the city and its people. The city like Gorakhpur, has strong rural influence and the economy of rural areas greatly affect the life and livelihood in urban areas. Hence, the rural-urban connect was considered while assessing the vulnerability of the city and developing the resilience strategy.

The present study was conducted to develop an understanding on this rural-urban link in the context of changing climatic conditions in the region. The 'climate refugees' from the rural catchment of flood affected region struggle for their survival in the city facing a range of social, economic and political problems.

The study indicates that a more holistic approach will have to be considered at macro level, addressing both rural and urban scenarios, in developing adaptive policies and planning actions at ground level, to deal with climate change impacts.

Shiraz Wajih
President
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Amit Mitra
Bijay Singh

Understanding the Reproduction of Deprivation

On the estates, cramped maggots, in cell-like hutments, the coolies ate, slept, bickered, or pushed their children into corners in order to gain room to copulate. On the pay-list pages were still the headings Ganges, Sutlej, Fultala and other hellships by present standards, which had brought them from the alleyways of Calcutta and Bombay, from the clutches of rural and urban moneylenders; from famine areas, or from a thousand other situations which said starve or go. The indenture they signed was for five years; slavery in the cane fields of his Britannic Majesty's Crown Colony of Fiji - to them it was a gimit, an agreement - and it contained some of the most pernicious clauses thought up by man. There were such things expressed and inferred as a fixed immigration ratio of four men to one woman; no choice of place or method of employment; women to work in the fields for at least the first seven months of their pregnancy; housing conditions worse if anything than those from which they had escaped; working hours unlimited. And all for a few pence a day. From Walter Gill's testimony, c.1920s. Gill was an overseer in a sugarcane plantation in Fiji that employed indentured labour, known as *Girmityas*, from India.¹

1.1 : Introduction

If Walter Gill were to visit Gorakhpur city in 2010, 90 years after the abolition of the indentured system of labour bondage, he would have been shocked and also amused. He would be shocked to find migrants of all hues labouring hard for a living: pulling cycle rickshaws, picking waste, working as construction labour and doing various odd jobs for a pittance. They don't exactly live in the kinds of hovels on the plantations, but the living conditions are hardly much better considering today's age and time. Many just live on the pavements. For most the migrants, including the women, sanitation means defecating in the open. Safe drinking water is an unheard of luxury. The waste workers live in shanties made of the very waste they collect and sort. True, there are no

¹ Ali, 1979. After Britain abolished slavery in 1833, there was a tremendous need for cheap but bound labour in the colonial plantations. So in 1834 the infamous indenture system was started whereby the 'labour' entered into a contract for an initial period of five years. The conditions of work and life were slave like. The first batches of labourers were sent to Mauritius, Nigeria and Uganda. The system was finally abolished in 1920. In the intervening years thousands of indentured labour had been transported to various Imperial Colonies. The word girmitya derives from 'agreement' (<http://www.gimitunited.org/History.htm>). Uttar Pradesh or United Provinces as it was then known and parts of Bihar, essentially the Bhojpur and Awadh regions, was the major most source of gimit labour

whips or stick wielding overseers but slaps from policemen and beatings by goondas (goons) is not uncommon. So are the day to day humiliations and insults. And all these things are enveloped in a framework of rules and legalities administered by uncaring bureaucracies that end up denying the proclaimed benefits to the very people for whom the laws were made: the poor and the underprivileged. The city cannot do without the migrants yet the general attitude is to treat them as some kind of a plague.

The Gorakhpur region as indeed the rest of Eastern Uttar Pradesh was a source of the supply of indentured labour, recruited through agents known as *arkatis*. While there were upper caste *girmitiyas*, trapped by *arkatis* due to fortuitous circumstances, most of the *girmitiyas* were from the

Newly arrived Girmitiyas in Trinidad, c 1897



Source : (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/file:Newly_arrived_coolies_in_Trinidad.jpg)

lower castes that had to migrate to escape from “the clutches of rural and urban moneylenders; from famine areas, or from a thousand other situations which said starve or go.” (Ali, 1979). To the colonial overseers like Gill, the explanation was simple enough and obviously they would not question the creation or the perpetuation of a system that for decades allowed a social, economic and political system to persist that forced women and men to become *girmitiyas*.

Gill would have been amused to find in one of the largest democracies in the world, in the 21st century, the basic conditions that created and perpetuated the structures that led to people becoming *girmitiyas* remain and reproduce themselves. He would find labour with mobile phones and wearing jeans but powerless otherwise to change the system, individual agency notwithstanding. In the present world of migrants to Gorakhpur city, there are no *arkatis*, agreements or contracts but the cultures of power and deprivation work in ways such that the poor have no other choice but to migrate from their villages or else face starvation. Contrary to what is believed, migration in most cases does not improve their life chances of the migrants or that of their progeny but just assures a bare survival wage. In Fiji, Mauritius, Suriname the *girmitiyas* could break the barriers of caste due to the conditions in the transporting ships. But most of them saw the only way to escape from the tyranny of the system was to ensure quality education for their children. Contemporary migrants to Gorakhpur city do try to ensure that their children get education; in fact many of the migrant manual workers are themselves quite educated. But education without social agency does not ensure a change in the life conditions. It all depends, ultimately, on one's position in the social hierarchy or in the present situation, on one's caste and also religion. The Muslim migrants continue to remain at the bottom of the heap.

Physical untouchability may be a thing of the past. However, in the transformed cultures of deprivation, in contemporary India and Gorakhpur, physical untouchability is not needed anymore as an instrument. The dynamics of this works in such a way that caste and religion emerges as the major determinants of being deprived and excluded, though the process is not ostensible. While there are some people who have been able to break out of caste and religious barriers, their numbers, especially in contexts of migrant manual workers to urban areas is rather insignificant. The culture of deprivation interacts with and shapes other factors including access to education, jobs, and markets, health care and other critical life processes and chances as well as vulnerability and susceptibility to climatic factors and climate change. The position in the caste hierarchy is paramount in this, but religion and the place of origin also have some influence. Even the Muslims are divided along caste lines. It is a complex maze that goes beyond mono-causal factors or simplistic push-pull theories.

A distinction needs to be made between mere deprivation and the culture of deprivation. Deprivation would mean just the bare facts of being deprived say of education or health care and more often than not the response relegates to arguing that it's a question of just implementation. Hence, if more schools or hospitals be opened it is assumed that the deprived will be able to avail the benefits and improve their position. Understanding a culture of deprivation entails asking that despite education and healthcare provisioning, why is it that some social groups /households are perpetually unable to access them while others can. Sometimes this continues over generations and migration does not necessarily change the situation.

Understanding the cultures of deprivation that leads to migration of one kind then is the point of departure of this study and informs and shapes its methodology. The concern arose from observing the plight of the migrants who come to Gorakhpur as manual workers in various capacities, be it rickshaw pullers, waste workers, domestics or casual labour. Casual interactions with them had shown that despite working so hard, their situation and the situation of their progeny does not seem to be changing over time. Only a small proportion of these people seemed to belong to the upper castes.

The other important observation was that though these migrants perform some vital functions for the city and do it a major service, they are not recognised, respected or even given a fair wage leave alone decent living conditions. A senior political functionary for instance, had told one of the researchers involved in this study that the migrant are responsible for all the problems that plague the city. Gorakhpur, like most small towns in India, is rather poor. Not everyone owns cars or motorcycles. Cycle rickshaws are there day and night for the asking and if one pays the right fare (itself very low), one can go anywhere, rain, water logging or summer heat. Similarly, if the waste workers stopped doing their job for two weeks epidemics would break out in the city, buried as it would be in tonnes of garbage. Gorakhpur does not have an organized solid waste management system as yet.

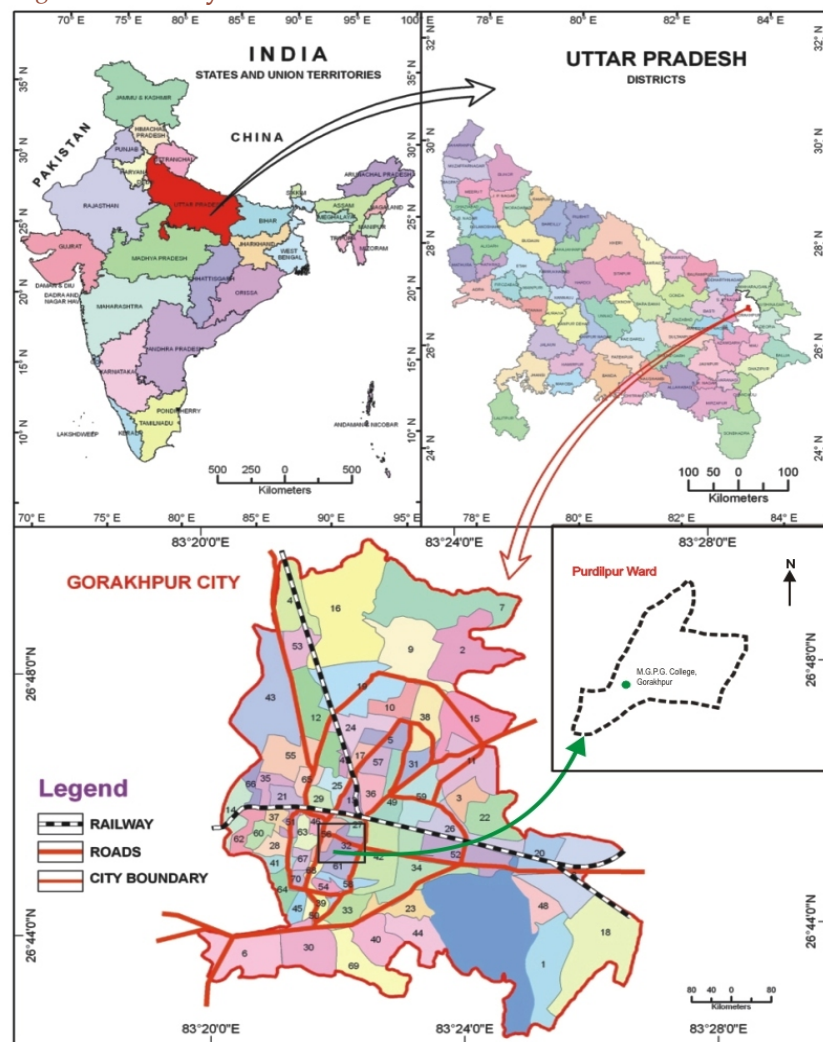
The growing literature on migration is increasingly focusing on the impact migration has on the source, including the role of remittances in the rural economy. The causal factors have been theorized from various angles, both in India and in other countries of South Asia as well as the rest of the developing world. This study does not go so much into the theories of migration, except in passing where necessary. The concern is more action oriented, in the sense that if the city and its citizen's derive so many benefits from

the migrants, what can be done to improve their situation. From the available literature, there do not seem to be very many studies of this kind.

1.2 : The Study area

Gorakhpur is located in the Terai² belt of Eastern Uttar Pradesh, India. (Fig.1) Endowed with a pleasant climate, it was considered a mini hill station by the British. After the 1970s, with the establishment of the Northeastern Railway Headquarters and other infrastructural developments, radical changes have taken place in every sector. In terms of population growth, it is at present the second largest city, after Varanasi, in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. Geographically, the city is situated on the left bank of the river Rohin at the confluence of the rivers Rapti and Rohin. The city, spread over an area of 147 Sq.

Fig.1 : The Study Area



² The Terai ("moist land" or "foothill"), is a belt of marshy grasslands, savannas, and forests at the base of the Himalaya range in India, Nepal, and Bhutan. Above the Terai belt lies the Bhabhar, a forested belt of permeable rock, gravel, and soil eroded from the Himalayas where the water table is 5 to 37 meters deep. The Terai zone lies below the Bhabhar. It is composed of less permeable layers of clay and sand that brings groundwater nearer the surface so there are many springs and wetlands. The Terai zone is inundated yearly by the monsoon-swollen rivers of the Himalaya (<http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terai>) (last accessed on September 27, 2010).

Kms, is distributed in 70 administrative wards³.

The city has a total population of 622701 (Census, 2001)⁴ with an average density of about 4559 person/km, which is lower than other faster growing municipal corporations like Varanasi, Kanpur, and Allahabad. During the last three decades, however, the population of the city has increased rapidly with a record growth during 1981-1991 (64.1 percent), due to the incorporation of 47 villages into the municipal corporation. In the next decade that is between 1991 and 2001 the growth rate was not so high since no new villages were included in the city (fig.2). The population is spread unevenly in the city with a high density in the older wards, while the newly constructed wards in the north of the city have a low density of population. The rapid influx of population from the nearby rural areas (as well as from outside the state) to the city has exerted tremendous pressure on its infrastructural capacity. This has led to the development of numerous slums, with the living conditions within the city deteriorating day by day. Currently, there are about 110 slums, accommodating around 33 percent of the population (Wajih, et al, 2009: pg 13).

Gorakhpur is the largest commercial centre of the region, with both retail and wholesale markets of commodities ranging from agricultural products to home based cottage industries (ibid: pg 16).

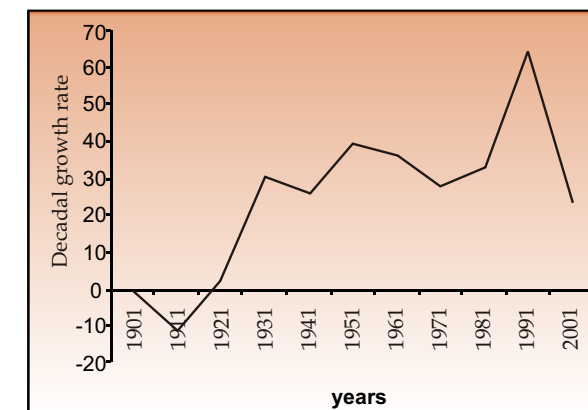
1.3 : Context of the Present Study

Eastern Uttar Pradesh is a naturally bountiful region with plenty of underground and surface water, fertile land and high agricultural productivity. It has also a high population density. Large parts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh specially the Trans-Saryu belt is marked by high levels of social and economic inequalities and extreme poverty. Historically, the region is known for availability of cheap labour.

The present study seeks to understand the underlying causes of migration from this region. The study was formulated to get an idea of the kind of people who migrate, that is their social and economic backgrounds and the conditions they face in the city. Casual observations showed that the migrants perform some very essential tasks yet live and work under appalling conditions. A better and formalized understanding of these factors was sought so that ameliorative action can be chalked out, at the destination and also provide pointers for intervention paths at the source, that it the villages from which the migrants come to Gorakhpur.

Eastern UP including Gorakhpur is highly susceptible to climate change. The recent behavioural change in climatic elements i.e. increasing precipitation over fewer days and abnormalities in maximum and minimum temperature and increasing moisture in

Fig.2 : Decadal Population growth of city Gorakhpur



³ Wajih et al, 2009: pg 8.

⁴ <http://www.censusindia.net> (last accessed on September 27, 2010).

the atmosphere has altered the livelihood options in the surrounding rural areas of Gorakhpur city. These climatic factors are indirectly increasingly contributing to distress migration to urban areas. Though the concept of climate change at international platforms is quite a matter of concern, but in India it is still a new term, especially for the rural and urban poor, who struggle to eke out a daily existence. Most state and district level government functionaries are unacquainted with the notion of climate change.

The increasing migration pressurises the inadequate urban amenities provisioning system. These systems were already weak and lacking in many aspects. The development of basic urban system has not been in pace with the population growth. Urban authorities, in most places, instead of getting their act together, end up blaming the deterioration of the infrastructure on the migrants. Consequently, the quality of life of people, particularly the urban poor, is declining. Thus there is a pressing need to understand migrants and their issues in building urban resilience and planning. It is hoped that the study would contribute to the same.

The study then seeks to understand the complete situation of the immigration of manual workers and other essential service providers to Gorakhpur city by profiling them. Till date no such study seems to have been undertaken. Attempts have been made to understand the causes of migration from the source through reconstructions by the migrants themselves, the major foci being livelihoods and agro-climatic factors. It has to be pointed out that both livelihoods and agro-climatic factors are highly contextualized in specific social settings. Hence the social, economic, demographic characteristics of the migrants, such as caste, religion, age, gender, educational qualifications and the place of origin have been examined.

1.4 : The Study Methods and Tools

Prior to selecting the migrants' sample for the study, a pre-survey of the city was conducted to obtain the following information:

- House types and residential facilities for the economically weaker/ poor sections;
- Working class migrants who reside in the city to earn a livelihood but are not directly included in the city planning process. They do not have the basic urban facilities available to other city residents.
- Localities in the city with the above house types and migrant population

The dwelling units and the occupational patterns of the migrants as identified in the pre-survey are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Dwelling Units and Occupations

House types	Nature of Occupations (Illustrative)
Slums	Casual labour
♦ Unauthorized	Casual construction labour
♦ Rented land	Rickshaw puller
Pavement	Waste workers
Rickshaw Company	Handcart puller
Harijan Basti	Rock cutter
	Band boys

In the pre-survey it was observed that most of the migrants are daily wage earners. However, the residents of the Harijan Basti have been living there for the last five decades and have ration cards, voter ID cards and authorised electricity connections. The vast majority of the impoverished distress migrants however are forced to live in slums or in the premises of the rickshaw

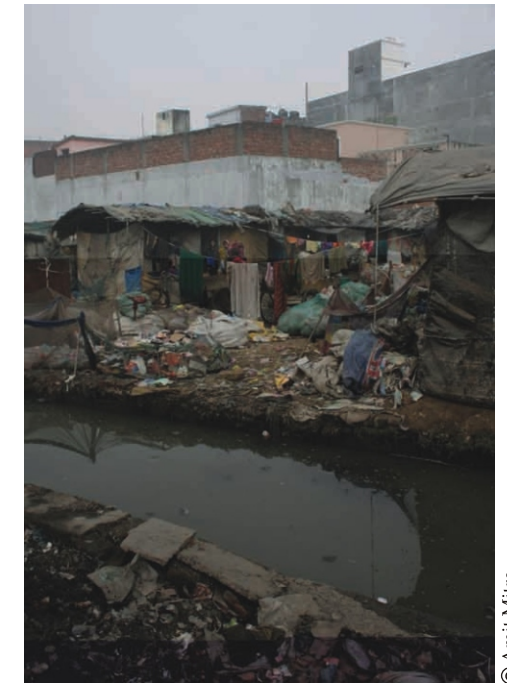
company they work for. Most of these places are devoid of facilities like sanitation or safe drinking water, authorised electricity connections and so on. The migrants don't have ration or voter ID cards in the city. Some of them do have these cards back home in their villages.

On the basis of the pre-survey and identification of the dwelling patterns associated with occupations, and to get a picture of the entire city, 10 sites, where the proportion of migrant workers in the unorganized sector was high and also slums and rickshaw companies were predominant, were selected randomly across Gorakhpur.

Many migrants live in slums like these in Gorakhpur but feel lucky they have found a shelter.

The selected localities were:

- Humayupur
- Naushar
- Shahpur
- Mahuwisugharpur
- Mahadeo Jharkhandi
- Fertiliser Nagar
- Vikas Nagar
- Mahewa
- Rasulpur
- Sahabganj



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From each of the 10 localities (fig.3), 30 migrants were selected at random, but keeping in mind the dominant occupational group living in that locality. Thus 300 migrants constituted the total sample size. A detailed questionnaire was filled for each of these households. The questionnaires had been formulated on the basis of the initial responses of the migrants in the pre-survey, pre-tested and finalized. The enumerators, who already had several years of experience of working with the migrant populations in the city in various contexts, were trained for two days. The data was computerized using SPSS. On the basis of the initial processing of the questionnaires, some households were selected for generating further in-depth qualitative data, in the form of case studies. Several rickshaw company owners, as well as waste-traders and the managers of the waste-workers were interviewed. Also, several migrants who were not included in the sample were spoken to in order to validate some of the analyses/findings of the study. This data has been used to qualify and compliment the quantitative analyses. The names of the respondents have been changed to protect their identities.

This study report is further divided into the following chapters:

Chapter 2, the relevant demographic and socio economic characteristics of the respondents are discussed. This includes ownership of house, land and other assets.

Chapter 3 goes into the reasons cited for migration and from these an attempt is made to

Demographic Characteristics of the Migrants

This chapter discusses the major demographic and social characteristics of the migrants. The majority of the migrants are illiterate men in their 30's and very few belong to the upper castes. Most have no tangible skills and sell their physical labour for a living.

2.1 : Age and Sex of the Migrants

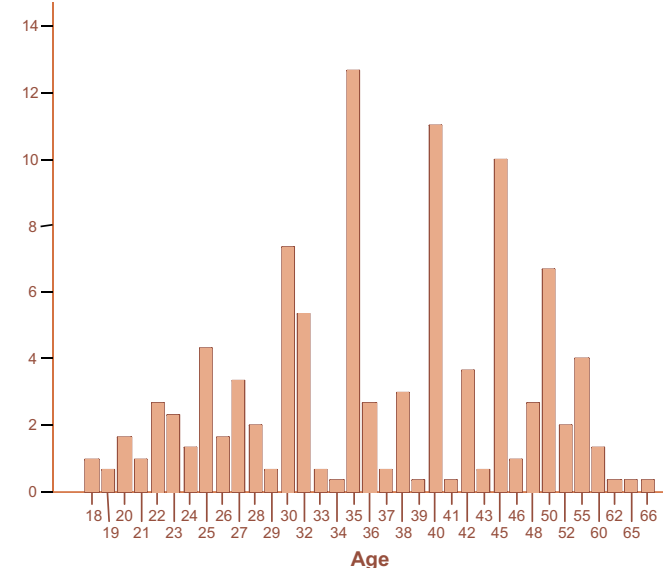
There were 19 (6.34 percent) women amongst the 300 migrants surveyed (Table 2.1). The mean age of the migrants (men and women taken together) is 37.23 years and the median is 36.0 years. Those in the age group 31-40 years comprise more than a third of the sample (precisely 36 percent).

The actual age distribution of the migrants is given in Figure 2.1. Though there are many migrant working children in Gorakhpur city, none of them are in the sample. This is because the working children mostly stay with their parents or in the shops and eateries they work

Table 2.1 : Age and Sex of the Migrants

Age Group (years)	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
<=20	0	10	10
21-25	1	34	35
26-30	6	39	45
31-35	1	56	57
36-40	5	48	53
41-45	2	42	44
46-50	2	29	31
51-55	1	17	18
56-60	1	3	4
>60	0	3	3
Total	19	281	300

Fig. 2.1 : Age Distribution of the Migrants



in or in the middle-class households where they work as domestics. The three youngest persons in the sample are 18 years old while the oldest person is 66.



reconstruct the rural scenario that leads the people to leave their homes. A section of this chapter examines the impact of climate change on migration.

Chapter 4 examines and analyses the life of the migrants in Gorakhpur from all possible angles and highlights the harsh conditions they face. There are two separate sections on the rickshaw pullers and waste workers of the city.

Chapter 5 discusses the educational status and its implications for work in the lives of the migrants.

Chapter 6 sums up the overall scenario and expands the notion of the culture of deprivation and presents the way out and the possible action plan to improve the situation of the migrants.

2.2 : Marital Status

Of the 19 women in the sample, 9 are without their spouses, comprising the category of single women headed households. The issues relating to women migrants, especially single women headed households are discussed separately in the section Women Migrants below. Amongst the 281 men, as table 2.2 shows, there are 22 who are unmarried. Fifteen of them are less than 26 years old. However, 4 men, slightly more than 7 percent of the age cohort 31-35 years, have remained bachelors despite crossing 30 years. This is rather unusual in these areas and calls for further investigation in the sense that is poverty gradually becoming a cause for bachelorhood amongst some sections. There are five widowers in the sample.

Table 2.2 : Marital Status of the Respondents

Sex	Age(years)	Marital Status				Total
		Unmarried	Married	Single woman headed HH	Widower	
Female	21-25		1	0		1
	26-30		4	2		6
	31-35		1	0		1
	36-40		2	3		5
	41-45		1	1		2
	46-50		1	1		2
	51-55		0	1		1
	56-60		0	1		1
	Total			10	9	
Male	<=20	6	4		0	10
	21-25	9	25		0	34
	26-30	3	36		0	39
	31-35	4	52		0	56
	36-40	0	48		0	48
	41-45	0	38		4	42
	46-50	0	28		1	29
	51-55	0	17		0	17
	56-60	0	3		0	3
	>60	0	3		0	3
Total		22	254		5	281

2.3 : Religion of the Respondents

The majority of the respondents (68.3 percent) are Hindus while 31.3 percent practice Islam. There is a lone Sikh in the sample (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Religion of the Respondents

Religion	Number	Percent
Hinduism	205	68.3
Islam	94	31.3
Sikhism	1	0.30
Total	300	100.0

2.4 : Literacy

The majority of the migrants are illiterate (cf. Table 2.4).However, there are some (16.7 percent) who have completed their high school or more. Education is projected as one of the ways of moving out of poverty and is also believed to be so by the masses. What really is the situation amongst these migrants? Has education delivered its promise? These issues will be examined in detail in chapter 5.

Table 2.4 Literacy and Educational Levels of the Respondents

Educational Status	Female	Male	Total
Illiterate	17 (89.5)	160 (56.9)	177 (59.0)
Primary	0 (0.0)	47 (16.7)	47 (15.7)
Middle School	1 (5.3)	25 (8.9)	26 (8.7)
High School	1 (5.3)	38 (13.5)	39 (13.0)
Intermediate	0 (0.0)	11 (3.9)	11 (3.7)
Total	19 (100.0)	281 (100.0)	300 (100.0)

(Figures in parentheses refer to percentages)

2.5 : Caste

A person's caste is still an important marker in Indian society in terms of deprivation/availability of and access to opportunities. It is a very important variable in the argument of the existence of and the perpetuation of a culture of deprivation. Caste

Table 2.5 Caste Category of the Migrants

Caste category	Frequency	Percent
General	26	8.7
OBC	197	65.7
SC	77	25.7
Total	300	100.0

Table 2.6 : Actual Caste in each Caste Category

Caste	Caste Category			Total
	General	OBC	SC	
Bhar	0	7	0	7
Sahni	0	7	0	7
Santraj	0	0	1	1
Brahmin	8	0	0	8
Mali	0	1	0	1
Shekh	0	18	0	18
Mallah	0	0	12	12
Mohamadi	0	23	0	23
Harijan	0	0	48	48
Pathan	8	0	0	8
Sonar	0	7	0	7
Ali	0	2	2	4
Paswan	0	7	0	7
Ansari	0	41	0	41
Kurmi	0	12	0	12
Kahar	0	7	0	7
Lohar	0	7	0	7
Baniya	0	24	0	24
Yadav	0	25	0	25
Mahato	0	0	2	2
Dhobi	0	0	5	5
Rai	5	0	0	5
Kshatriya	5	0	0	5
Kevat	0	0	4	4
Khatik	0	1	0	1
Lonia	0	2	0	2
Chaurasia	0	3	0	3
Nai	0	1	0	1
Kaoiri	0	1	0	1
Kharwar	0	1	0	1
Basphor	0	0	3	3
Total	26	197	77	300

determines, it is postulated, a person's access to education and even after having got a modicum of education, access to jobs and other opportunities. The actual caste names of the respondents were recorded and these were clubbed into the administrative categories General, Other Backward Castes (OBCs) and Scheduled Castes (SCs) There were no tribals amongst the respondents.

Contrary to commonly held perceptions, Islamic society in South Asia in general and India in particular is divided along lines of caste. (Jodhka and Shah 2010). The respondents in the sample of migrants are no exception. Not only did they give their caste names, but also classified themselves into the General, OBC and SC categories. Muslim backward castes are not recognised as such and are not given the privileges of belonging to these groups. Out of the 94, 8 respondents said they were Pathans and belonged to the General category. The 18 Sheikhs, 23 Mohamadis and 41 Ansaris all said they belonged to the Other Backward Castes (OBC). That there is a lot of confusion about the positioning of a particular caste in the official administrative categories is reflected by the 4 Alis in the sample. Two of them said they belonged to the OBC group while another two said they were Scheduled Castes. Apart from the 8 Pathans, all the other 88 Muslim respondents said they were low in the social hierarchy. For the purposes of this report, the Muslims are taken as belonging to the caste categories as they perceived themselves to be, in acceptance of the prevailing social realities at the grassroots.

Among the Hindus, there are Brahmins, 5 Kshatriyas and 5 Rais. These belong to the upper castes. The others are all from the lower castes, either OBCs or SCs, the OBCs predominating.

2.6 : Place of Origin of the Migrants

The majority of the migrants in the sample (176 or 58.7 percent) hail from UP, followed by those from Bihar (27.7 percent) and Assam (12.7 percent). There is one person each from Jharkhand, Maharashtra and Nepal (Table 2.7).

Analysis of the districts from which the 300 migrants have come to Gorakhpur shows some very interesting results (Table 2.8). Since the majority of the migrants (297) come from UP, Bihar and Assam, the districts in these states only have been considered for the discussion.

Out of the 176 migrants from UP, 117 or 66.4 percent come from Kushinagar, Maharajgunj and Gorakhpur districts. In fact, the single largest number of migrants from any one district hail from Kushinagar (56 or 18.7 percent of the total sample). Kushinagar and Maharajgunj as well as Gorakhpur district are highly flood prone (cf. Chapter 3; GEAG 2007). In recent years, climatic variability has severely impacted these areas. The impact of natural disasters and climate change on migration processes is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Table 2.7 State of Origin of the Migrants

State	Households	Percent
Uttar Pradesh	176	58.7
Maharashtra	1	0.30
Bihar	83	27.7
Assam	38	12.7
Nepal	1	0.30
Jharkhand	1	0.30
Total	300	100.0

Table 2.8 : District of Origin of the Migrants

District	State					
	Uttar Pradesh		Bihar		Assam	
	Households	Percent	Households	Percent	Households	Per cent
Uttar Pradesh						
Maharajganj	43	24.40				
Gorakhpur	18	10.20				
Deoria	12	6.80				
Kushinagar	56	31.80				
Basti	6	3.40				
Siddarthanagar	6	3.40				
Gazipur	2	1.10				
Varansi	1	0.60				
Azamgarh	14	8.00				
Santkabir Nagar	10	5.70				
Ballia	5	2.80				
Lucknow	1	0.60				
Ambedkarnagar	2	1.10				
Bihar						
Chhapra			8	9.60		
katihar			2	2.40		
Betia			13	15.7		
Begusarai			6	7.20		
Sitamarhi			1	1.20		
Gopalganj			9	10.8		
Siwan			11	13.3		
Nalanda			1	1.20		
Vaishali			4	4.80		
Samastipur			2	2.40		
Motihari			10	12.0		
West Champaran			2	2.40		
Bhojpur			2	2.40		
Narkatiagunj			3	3.60		
Saharsa			7	8.40		
Darbhanga			2	2.40		
Assam						
Bongaigaon					9	23.70
Guwahati					3	7.90
Barpeta					26	68.40
Total	176	100.00	83	100.00	38	100.00

There are 83 migrants from Bihar. The highest number in the sample are from Betia (15.7 percent) followed by those from Siwan (13.3 percent), Motihari (12.0 percent), Gopalganj (10.8 percent) and Chapra (9.6 percent). All these areas, in the flood-plains, are very fertile and agriculturally prosperous, with high population densities and socio-economic inequalities. While these areas are subject to climatic variations and uncertainties, including floods and droughts, these factors are not as intense as say in Eastern UP or even Saharsa district in Bihar that is flooded annually and remains inundated for a major part of the year. The major reason for migration from these districts is the lack of development and the proximity to Gorakhpur.

Migrants coming by train from Gonda to Gorakhpur



© GEAG Resource Centre

Fighting for scarce resources in the fertile flood plains



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Table 2.9 : Occupation of the Respondents According to State of Origin

Occupations	State			Total
	Uttar Pradesh	Bihar	Assam	
Rickshaw puller	54 (30.68)	27 32.53	0 (0.0)	81 27.27
Casual labourer	68 (38.64)	21 25.30	0 (0.0)	89 29.97
Waste Worker	6 (3.41)	8 9.64	38 100.0	52 17.51
Handcart Puller	8 (4.55)	3 3.61	0 (0.0)	11 3.70
Domestic Help	2 (1.14)	2 2.41	0 (0.0)	4 1.35
Petty Shop	3 (1.70)	2 2.41	0 (0.0)	5 1.68
Mechanic	5 (2.84)	12 14.46	0 (0.0)	17 5.72
Vendor/Hawker	15 (8.52)	8 9.64	0 (0.0)	23 7.74
Others	15 (8.52)	0 0.0	0 (0.0)	15 5.05
Total	176 (100.00)	83 100.00	38 100.00	297

Interestingly, all the 38 migrants from Assam are waste-workers (cf Table 2.9). They are all Muslims. Though natives of Assam, they have been the centre of many controversies.

(Note: There is one migrant each from Jharkhand, Maharashtra and Nepal. The person from Jharkhand pulls a rickshaw while the other two work as daily wage casual labourers). Values in parentheses refer to percentages

Ram Pyara, 30, a migrant itinerant chaat seller works as a casual labourer in summer.



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In recent times as they are branded as illegal migrants or aliens from Bangladesh (cf. Chapter 4, Box 2: **The Waste Workers of Gorakhpur**). They face extreme deprivation and have been the subject of isolation and ghettoisation for decades due to various socio-historical factors both in Assam and Gorakhpur. It is undeniable that they are originally from what is now Bangladesh, but the fact remains that they had migrated to Assam much before Independence. Yet their isolation is such that they are barely able to understand Assamese and Hindi. Only some can communicate in standard colloquial Bangla. They are most comfortable speaking in the Bangla dialects of their original districts in the present day Bangladesh.

2.7 : House Ownership

All the migrants have a rural background. Yet 17 (5.7 percent of them do not have a proper house in the village (Table 2.10).

Table 2.10: Ownership and House Type in Native Village

House Type	Households	Percentage
Kuccha	207	69.0
Pakka	67	22.3
Jhopdi	9	3.0
None	17	5.7
Total	300	100.00

While all the general caste respondents have a house in the village, among the 17 who do not, 12 are OBCs and 5 are SCs (Table 2.11).

As can be expected, while none of the General castes stay in a Jhopdi in their villages, ownership of Pakka (brick and masonry) houses is the highest amongst them. 30.8 percent of the General Caste respondents have Pakka houses compared to the 22.3 percent OBCs and the 19.5 percent SCs.

The majority of the migrants have kuccha houses back in their villages. Locked homes are a frequent sight in the areas around Gorakhpur as the family migrates en-masse to the city to survive.



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2.8 : Land Ownership

In rural South Asia, including India, ownership of land comprises an important element of the identity of a person as well as the household she/he may belong to. Almost half the respondents (145 or 48.3 percent) in the sample belong to households without any land (Table 2.12).⁵

Analyses of the landownership according to the caste and religion of the respondent shows some interesting results (Table 2.13)

While exactly half of the general category respondents are from landless households, the OBC landless are 48.7 percent of the total OBCs in the sample.

⁵ In the field it is very often noticed that the land may be registered in the name of an ancestor (father/grandfather) who may be dead. The land might not have been legally transferred or partitioned, leading respondents to say that they don't have land in their names. To avoid such problems, the respondents were asked if their households owned any land and if so, its details were obtained.

Table 2.11 : House Ownership according to Caste Category

Caste Category	Type of house				Total
	Kutchra	Pakka	Jhopdi	None	
General	18 (8.70)	8 (11.94)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	26 (8.67)
OBC	137 (66.18)	44 (65.67)	4 (44.44)	12 (70.59)	197 (65.67)
SC	52 (25.12)	15 (22.39)	5 (55.56)	5 (29.41)	77 (25.67)
Total	207 (100.00)	67 (100.00)	9 (100.00)	17 (100.00)	300 (100.00)

(Values in parentheses are percentages)

Table 2.12 : Landownership by Respondent's Household

Land ownership	Households	Percentage
Own Land	155	51.7
Do not own Land	145	48.3
Total	300	100.0

Table 2.13 : Land Ownership according to Caste

Caste Category	Self Owned Land		Total
	Yes	No	
General	13 (50.0)	13 (50.0)	26 (100.0)
OBC	101 (51.3)	96 (48.7)	197 (100.0)
SC	41 (53.2)	36 (46.8)	77 (100.0)
Total	155 (51.7)	145 (48.3)	300 (100.0)

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages)

The corresponding figure for the SCs is 46.8 percent. Of the 155 respondents from landowning households in the sample only two are not marginal farmers (i.e. their landholding is more than 2.5 acres or 250 decimals). Both of them belong to the general castes (Table 2.15) The highest amount of land held by an SC, OBC and General Caste is 150 decimals, 250 decimals and 720 decimals respectively .

Landlessness is highest amongst the Muslims. Only 34 of the 94 (36.2 percent) Muslims in the sample own land compared to the 59 percent Hindus with some land. All the Muslim landowners are marginal farmers.

In terms of the state of origin, landlessness is highest amongst the migrants from Assam (Table 2.15.) 73.7 percent of the 38 migrants are without land. Bihar comes next in terms of landlessness while UP is the third, with 35.8 percent of the 176 migrants being

Table 2.14 : Landownership according to Religion

Land owned (in decimals)	Religion			Total
	Hinduism	Islam	Sikhism	
Landless	84 (41.0)	60 (63.8)	1 (100.0)	145 (48.3)
1-50	90 (43.9)	23 (24.5)	0 (0.0)	113 (37.7)
51-100	25 (12.2)	9 (9.6)	0 (0.0)	34 (11.3)
101-150	1 (0.5)	1 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.7)
151-200	2 (1.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.7)
201-250	1 (0.5)	1 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.7)
251-300	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)
>300	1 (0.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)
Total	205 (100.0)	94 (100.0)	1 (100.00)	300 (100.0)

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages)

landless. The 28 landless migrants from Assam who don't have land are all Muslims waste-workers.

Table 2.15: Landownership according to State of Origin

Self Owned Land	Native State			Total
	Uttar Pradesh	Bihar	Assam	
Yes	113 (64.2)	30 (36.1)	10 (26.3)	153 (51.7)
No	63 (35.8)	53 (63.9)	28 (73.7)	144 (48.3)
Total	176 (100.00)	83 (100.0)	38 (100.0)	297 (100.0)

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages. In this table, the lone migrants from Jharkhand, Maharashtra and Nepal have been excluded. The migrant from Jharkhand is landless while the other two have some land but are marginal farmers.)

2.9 : Operated Area

Twenty three of the 155 landowners and 4 of the 145 landless have leased in small plots of land to supplement their earnings. The land owned and the land leased in was summed to compute the operated area. It was noted that none of the landed migrants have leased out their holdings in a major way.

Table 2.16 : Operated area

Operated land (in decimals)	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Landless	141	47.0	47.0
1-50	105	35.0	82.0
51-100	38	12.7	94.7
101-150	8	2.7	97.3
151-200	4	1.3	98.7
201-250	2	.7	99.3
251-300	1	.3	99.7
>300	1	.3	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

(100 decimals=1 acre)

As noted earlier, even if the operated area be included, the majority of the cultivator migrants are marginal, in fact extremely marginal farmers. Out of the 159 cultivators, 105 (66 percent) operate landholdings less than 50 decimals (Table 2.16). Another 38 (23.9 percent) operate lands between 50 and 100 decimals (100 decimals =1 acre).

2.10 : Other Assets

The respondents were asked to list the material assets, apart from land, they owned. Fifty four percent of them didn't have any, not even a watch or a bicycle (Table 2.17)

Most of the material assets like televisions and refrigerators have been obtained second hand. The watches are usually cheap Chinese ones. The fans, usually in the native place are cheap local made products. A couple of respondents listed some pieces of silver jewelry or an 18 carat gold necklace or a bangle, these have been included in others.

Interestingly, about 38 percent of the respondents own cell

Table 2.17 : Ownership of Assets

Assets Owned	Frequency (of responses)	Percent of Responses	Percent of Cases
Nothing	163	45.2	54.3
Motor cycle	2	0.6	0.7
Cycle	58	16.1	19.3
Watch	52	14.4	17.3
Television	22	6.1	7.3
Refrigerator	5	1.4	1.7
Sewing	2	0.6	0.7
Fan	17	4.7	5.7
Cooler	6	1.7	2.0
Radio	4	1.1	1.3
Hand cart	2	0.6	0.7
Others	28	7.8	9.3
Total	361	100.00	120.3

phones (Table 2.18). It enables them to keep in touch with family members at home given that the majority of the mobile phone owners live alone in Gorakhpur (Table 2.19).

Table 2.18: Ownership of cell phones.

Ownership of Cell Phone	Frequency	Percent
Have	113	37.7
Don't Have	187	62.3
Total	300	100.0

Table 2.19 : Ownership of cell phone by those who stay alone in Gorakhpur

Ownership of mobile phone	Live alone in Gorakhpur		Total
	Yes	No	
Have	81 (38.75)	32 (35.16)	113 (37.66)
Don't Have	128 (61.24)	59 (64.83)	187 (62.33)
Total	209 (100.00)	91 (100.00)	300 (100.00)

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages)

The instruments are bought mostly second hand. However, the fall in the subscriber charges has facilitated the migrants substantially. The average amount spent by the cell phone owners is Rs 92 per month. Of the 19 women respondents, only two own cell phones.

A Rikshaw puller talking on the cell phone.



Table 2.20 : Hunger, Cell Phones and Staying Alone in the city

Live alone in Gorakhpur		Ownership of mobile phone		Total
		Have	Don't Have	
Yes	Are there days when you get no food?	Yes	31	46
		No	97	163
	Total	81	128	209
No	Are there days when you get no food?	Yes	27	41
		No	32	50
	Total	32	59	91
	Total	(100.00)	(100.00)	(100.00)

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages)

From a middle class perspective, it might seem an anomaly that people living in poverty, so much so that they sometimes have to go without food own mobile phones. Yet the life of a migrant is such that some of them would go hungry and still keep a cell phone, not as a status symbol as many would claim but as it is important for them to be in touch with their families. Thus, out of the 209 respondents who stay alone in Gorakhpur, 46 (22 percent) said there are days when they go without food. However, 15 of them (32.6 percent) have a mobile phone as they need to be in touch with their families. Apart from the usual reasons of family members falling ill or consultations/advice regarding agricultural operations, migrants need psychological comfort to survive the rigours of life in the city.

2.11 : Conclusion

The majority of the migrants in the sample belong to the OBCs followed by the SCs. There are Hindus and Muslims in the sample, but the majority of the Muslims come from Assam while the Hindus mostly hail from the nearby districts of UP and Bihar. The areas the migrants come from are highly fertile and prosperous agriculturally, with abundant ground and surface water. High levels of social and economic inequality are characteristics of these regions.

The migrants are deprived in every possible way, with nearly half of them being landless. Those who own land have only very small plots, rendering them extremely marginal farmers. They have hardly any other assets worth mentioning. The levels of illiteracy are rather high: three persons out of five are illiterate. Women's illiteracy is much higher at 89 percent. These workers have only their labour to sell that is they discount their bodies to earn a livelihood but in the process provide very important and useful services to the city. Casual labourers comprise the single largest category of the migrants followed by the rickshaw puller and the waste workers. But the returns they get by selling their labour do not suffice to make ends meet. Thus 22 percent of those who stay alone in Gorakhpur and 45 percent of those who stay with their families said that there are days when they have to go without food.

Despite all the hardships they face in the city, migrants continue to come to Gorakhpur. Why do they do so? Are the conditions at the source that is the villages they migrate from, so deplorable that they have no other option but to come to the city? These issues are explored in the next chapter.

Leaving Home

3.1 : Reasons for Migration

Amongst the various reasons for migration cited in the literature, poverty stands out as a prime cause. According to a recent work, "Circular migration, much of it seasonal, is now an integral part of the livelihood strategies pursued by a large number of poor people living in agriculturally marginal areas," (Deshingkar and Farrington, 2009 : 1). While this is a truism, it takes for granted that the poor will migrate. It does not question the perpetuation of poverty, or why some social groups remain in poverty perpetually. Also, migration is implicitly assumed to occur from the agriculturally marginal areas. As mentioned in Chapter 1 and 2, most of the 300 migrants in the sample are from agriculturally prosperous and fertile areas. Is it then that the prevailing inequalities in the areas these migrants come from compel them to migrate?

Migration has multiple causes. "For individual households, it [circular migration] may be a precursor to more permanent out migration, or an enduring phenomenon in its own right. While the drivers of migration are complex and diverse, important ones include the lack of sufficient local employment (farm and non-farm), land fragmentation and better opportunities in other high productivity and growth sectors. Common destinations include high growth areas such as irrigated agriculture, industrial parks, and urban areas. Earnings and savings from migration show tremendous variation by ethnic group, gender, occupation, wage rates, living costs, contracting arrangements, and debts. Some households barely manage to raise themselves above existing survival levels, 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." (Ibid:1 emphases added). While this again is a truism, it is necessary to question why a particular section of the migrants are perpetually unable to depend on local employment and have been in this situation historically.

This chapter explores the reasons why the 300 respondents migrated to Gorakhpur city. The respondents were asked directly the reasons for their migration. Additionally several other questions were asked to validate the reasons cited by the migrants. Given the fact that there could be more than one reason, ranging from the totally personal to agro-climatic ones, for a person to migrate, the respondents were not prompted but all the reasons they cited were recorded. The data were processed accordingly (cf. Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 : Reasons Cited for Migration by the Respondents

Reasons For Migrating	Responses	Percentage of Responses	Percentage of Cases
Death of parents/sold house	26	5.2	8.7
Food Insecurity	65	13.1	21.7
Dearth of healthcare facilities	4	0.8	1.3
Family dispute	20	4.0	6.7
Earthquake	1	0.2	0.3
Poverty	243	48.8	81.3
Lack of Employment	64	12.9	21.3
Floods	12	2.4	4.0
Increase earnings	7	1.4	2.3
Landlessness	13	2.6	4.3
Parents illness	5	1.0	1.7
Big family size	4	0.8	1.3
Small Land holding	5	1.0	1.7
Better wages	9	1.8	3.0
Low Agriculture Production	1	0.2	0.3
Family Responsibilities	13	2.6	4.3
Low Education level	3	0.6	1.0
Death of Husband	2	0.4	0.7
Fire in village	1	0.2	0.3
Total Responses	498	100.0	166.0

As expected, *garibi* (poverty) was cited as the most important reason for migrating by the respondents (Table 3.1). 243 or 81.3 percent of the 300 respondents cited this as a cause for leaving their villages and coming to Gorakhpur to eke out a living. Out of the 498 total responses, poverty emerges as the most important one, comprising 48.8 percent. Poverty brings in food insecurity and both poverty and food insecurity are caused, amongst other things by the lack of employment perceive the respondents. Food insecurity and lack of employment rank second and third in the reasons cited for migration. For many of the households on the margins of survival the last link with the village breaks when parents die and the dwelling unit is sold off, as said 8.7 percent of the respondents. However, disputes within the household/family, often over land are not uncommon even amongst the poor: at least 6.7 percent of the respondents migrated due to such disputes. Very often these disputes are over the sharing of meager resources like the small plots of land or the homestead itself. Interestingly, 4 percent respondents said they migrated due to floods.

3.2 : Landownership and Migration

Contrasting the responses of the landed households with those of the landless reveals

that more of the former cite poverty and food insecurity as a reason for migration. As Table 3.2 shows, 53.1 percent out of the 129 respondents who cited poverty as a reason for migration have household land. The remainder, 43.1 percent, didn't have any land. Similarly, more of the landed cite food insecurity as a reason for migration than the landless. Some of the landed cited landlessness as well, meaning that the land they had was insufficient, at the most a few decimals. Small landholdings are mentioned by some of them as an independent reason. On the other hand, the landless predominate over the landed in citing lack of employment as a reason for migration. Floods affect not only the landed, in actually submerging their lands, but even the landless are affected as it leads to less employment.

Table 3.2 : Land ownership and the reasons for migration

Reasons For Migrating	Self Owned Land					
	Count	Yes Row %	Yes Column %	No Count	No Row %	No Column %
Death of parents/sold house	14	53.8	9.0	12	46.2	8.3
Food Insecurity	37	56.9	23.9	28	43.1	19.3
Dearth of healthcare facilities	2	50.0	1.3	2	50.0	1.4
Family dispute	11	55.0	7.1	9	45.0	6.2
Earthquake	1	100.0	.6			
Poverty	129	53.1	83.2	114	46.9	78.6
Lack of Employment	29	45.3	18.7	35	54.7	24.1
Flood	8	66.7	5.2	4	33.3	2.8
Increase earnings	3	42.9	1.9	4	57.1	2.8
Landlessness	3	23.1	1.9	10	76.9	6.9
Parents illness	4	80.0	2.6	1	20.0	.7
Big family size	3	75.0	1.9	1	25.0	.7
Small Land holding	5	100.0	3.2			
Better wages	3	33.3	1.9	6	66.7	4.1
Low Agriculture Production	1	100.0	0.6			
Family Responsibilities	9	69.2	5.8	4	30.8	2.8
Low Education level	2	66.7	1.3	1	33.3	.7
Death of Husband				2	100.0	1.4
Fire in village	1	100.0	.6			

(Note: Row percentages refer to the distribution of a particular causal factor amongst those who own land or not. The column percentages refer to the citation of the causal factors amongst the migrants. As is obvious, there are multiple causal factors so the column percentages will not add up to 100).

That the landed respondents, the overwhelming majority of whom are marginal farmers, say they migrated due to poverty and food insecurity, on the face of it, might seem to buttress arguments about the inefficiency and unviability of small farms. But

deeper analyses show that these farms are not intrinsically unviable but are made to be so. Indeed this comprises an integral part of the culture of deprivation that is perpetuated and reinforced through the prevalent policy regime. Not having land titles leads to a vicious cycle of resourcelessness, inability to secure credit and other state-given benefits like seeds or subsidised fertilisers. So, even when the landless lease in and cultivate land, they cannot afford any inputs or enhance productivity (Rao, 2010). State policies favour the richer farmers. Thus the Horticulture Department distributes flower seeds but only to those with more than four acres of land (Ibid).

In UP alone, some 75 percent holdings are of less than one hectare and are operated by marginal farmers. The average size of 90 percent of small and marginal farmers is about 0.55 hectares (Kumar, 2005).

A recent study in rural Varanasi based on a combination of a household survey of 400 couples spread over a cluster of five villages, as well as in-depth interviews with 40 couples, alongside focus group discussions and key informant interviews shows that while the area is still largely dependent on agriculture, cropping patterns reveal a shift towards the production of cash-earning crops such as vegetables, fruits and flowers to meet the tourist and religious demand in Varanasi town. "One would assume that this would be sufficient for maintaining livelihoods given the year-round vibrancy and tourist traffic in Varanasi. Yet this is not the case, given the gross inequality in the distribution of land, with most of the Scheduled Castes being landless (75 per cent), the middle castes, or OBCs as they are called, largely marginal or small farmers, but increasingly landless (47 per cent), and only the upper castes owning substantial amounts of land." (Rao 2010)

These farmers play a significant role in the agrarian economy of the country, yet they remain disadvantaged, in terms of accessing technology, inputs, and above all, credits and subsidies from the government due to the small size of their holdings. The Government has introduced measures to help farmers with credit through provisions like cheap loan but the accessibility of these facilities includes a lot of legal knowledge, something the illiterate marginal farmers are not very accustomed to. They are less privileged than the medium and large farmers in terms of assets available to offer as collaterals for their loans. As a result, private money lenders remain their primary and most important source of credit. Often, a low yield in the harvest leaves the farmers in a position where they are unable to repay their debt. These farmers have small asset base, and they need credit to meet both consumption needs as well as cultivation costs. Most importantly, farmers do not have provisions of debt relief under any law.

3.3 : Indebtedness

Analyses of the borrowing patterns of the respondents showed that presently 200 (66.67 percent) of the respondents are indebted (Table 3.3). The amounts borrowed, from all sources put together, range from Rs 1000 to Rs 400000. The mean amount borrowed, taking all the 300 respondents together is Rs 13771.

Among those who borrowed money, most (21 percent of the total respondents and 31.5 percent of the borrowers) have small taken small amounts, upto Rs 5000. In fact, 54 percent of all the borrowers have taken loans of upto Rs 10000.

Table 3.3: Total borrowings (grouped) in Rs

Amount Borrowed (Rs.)	Households	% of households	Cumulative Percent
0	100	33.3	33.3
1-5000	63	21.0	54.3
5001-10000	45	15.0	69.3
10001-15000	21	7.0	76.3
15001-20000	23	7.7	84.0
20001-25000	11	3.7	87.7
25001-30000	10	3.3	91.0
30001-35000	3	1.0	92.0
35001-40000	5	1.7	93.7
40001-50000	8	2.7	96.3
50001-100000	8	2.7	99.0
100001-400000	3	1.0	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

Both farmers and the landless have borrowed money. In Table 3.4 the frequency distribution of the borrowed amounts according to whether the borrower is a landless person or is a farmer is given.

Out of a total of 155 farmers, 110 (71 percent) are indebted (Table 3.4). Amongst the landless, 90 (62 percent) are in debt. Classifying the amounts borrowed according to the amount of land operated shows that the smallest farmers (1-100 decimals) are almost all indebted. They comprise 100 out of the 110 cultivators who have borrowed money. However, most of them have borrowed small amounts: 23 have borrowed up to

Table 3.4 : Total borrowings (grouped) in Rs according to Self Owned Land

Total borrowings (Rs)	Self Owned Land		Total
	Yes	No	
0	45	55	100
1-5000	25	38	63
5001-10000	28	17	45
10001-15000	11	10	21
15001-20000	13	10	23
20001-25000	8	3	11
25001-30000	7	3	10
30001-35000	3	0	3
35001-40000	4	1	5
40001-50000	5	3	8
50001-100000	4	4	8
100001-400000	2	1	3
Total	155	145	300

Rs 5000, another 26 up to Rs 10000. It can be said that 49 (nearly 45 percent of the total 110 indebted cultivators) are extremely marginal farmers but have borrowed small amounts.

Table 3.5 : Indebted farmers according to operated area

Total borrowings (Rs)	Grouped operated area(decimals)						Total
	1-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	201-250	>300	
1-5000	14	9	1	1	0	0	25
5001-10000	22	4	1	1	1	0	29
10001-15000	9	2	0	0	0	0	11
15001-20000	9	4	0	0	0	0	13
20001-25000	5	2	1	0	0	0	8
25001-30000	4	3	0	0	0	0	7
35001-40000	3	1	0	0	0	0	4
40001-50000	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
50001-100000	3	0	1	1	1	0	6
100001-400000	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Total	74	26	4	3	2	1	110

3.4 : Sources of Credit

As expected, moneylenders were the predominant source of credit, accounting for 31.7 percent of all the sources the 200 persons who had borrowed money from (Table 3.6). Very few have borrowed from institutional sources like the Punjab National Bank (PNB) or the LIC though relatively more have taken some money from the Gramin Bank. As such, only 42 of the respondents said they do belong to a regular savings/investment group (see table 3.7). The Committee refers to private informal chit fund kind of savings and investment groups. Sahara is a private insurance scheme.

Table 3.7 : Name of Saving/ Investment Groups

	Households	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Committee	5	1.7	1.7
Sahara	16	5.3	7.0
LIC	1	.3	7.3
Gramin bank	17	5.7	13.0
PNB	3	1.0	14.0
Not applicable	258	86.0	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

Table 3.6 : Sources of Credit

Sources of credit	Responses
Relatives	35 (11.7)
Friends	17 (5.7)
Employers	38 (12.7)
Moneylenders	95 (31.7)
Various Savings Groups	17 (5.7)
Not applicable	100 (33.3)

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages)

3.5 : Life in the Village

Life in the villages is hard for the migrants and their households. They face multiple problems. Sometimes these problems aggravate to the extent that those facing them have no other choice but to migrate. The 300 respondents cited 14 kinds of problems they and their households face in the villages (Table 3.8⁶). The most important ones are the lack of employment and food security. However flooding and water logging are important, accounting for 11 percent of the responses. It was cited by 76 (25.3 percent) of all the respondents. Interestingly, 76 (25.3 percent) of the respondents mentioned the lack of toilets as a problem in the villages.

Analyses of the problems faced by the migrants according to their state of origin (Table 3.9) shows that of the 176 migrants in the sample from UP, apart from the lack of employment and food security, flooding and water logging emerges as the most important problem they face. 42 or nearly 24 percent of the respondents pointed this out as an issue in the villages they hail from. Lack of proper housing, toilets, safe drinking water and electricity are other important problems the migrants from UP face. For the 83 migrants from Bihar, the pattern is almost similar. In the case of the 38 migrants from Assam too flooding and water logging is a prominent issue. Otherwise the pattern for those from Assam is the same: lack of

The Bamboo processing industry provides livelihoods to hundreds of people in Barpeta, Assam.



Table 3.8 : Problems faced by the migrants in their home village

Ranks	Problem	Responses	Percent of Responses	Percent of Cases
1	Lack of Employment	160	23.2	53.3
2	Food insecurity	112	16.2	37.3
3	Flood/ Waterlogging	76	11.0	25.3
3	No toilet	76	11.0	25.3
4	No pucca house	61	8.8	20.3
5	Problem of electricity	56	8.1	18.7
6	Lack of medical facilities	40	5.8	13.3
7	Unavailability of pure drinking water	33	4.8	11.0
8	Displacement	14	2.0	4.7
9	Children's Education	12	1.7	4.0
10	Family dispute	9	1.3	3.0
11	Vector/ water borne diseases	8	1.2	2.7
11	Drought/ Crop Loss	8	1.2	2.7
12	Death threat	5	0.7	1.7
	Not Applicable	20	2.9	6.7
	Total	690	100.0	230.0

⁶ It might seem that there is not much of a difference between Table 3.1 and Table 3.8. Note that Table 3.1 discusses the reasons cited by the respondents that triggered off the migration process. Table 3.8 shows the problems they faced or their households continue to face in the village, despite the respondent migrating. Not all problems lead to migration nor does migration solve all problems.

Table 3.9: Problems Faced by the Migrants in their Village (By State of Origin)

Problems		Uttar Pradesh	Maharashtra	Bihar	Nagaland	Assam	Jharkhand	Total
Flood/ Water logging	Count (row %)	42(55.3)	1(1.3)	22(28.9)	11(14.5)	-	-	76 (100)
	Column %	23.9	100.0	26.5	28.9	-	-	25.3
Displacement	Count (row %)	10 (71.4)	-	2(14.3)	2(14.3)	-	-	14 (100)
	Column %	5.7	-	2.4	5.3	-	-	4.7
Food insecurity	Count(row %)	62(55.4)	-	30(26.8)	20(17.9)	-	-	112 (100)
	Column %	35.2	-	36.1	52.6	-	-	37.3
Death threat	Count (row %)	2(40)	-	1(20)	2(40)	-	-	5 (100)
	Column %	1.1	-	1.2	5.3	-	-	1.7
Family dispute	Count (row %)	8(88.9)	-	-	1(11.1)	-	-	9 (100)
	Column %	4.5	-	-	2.6	-	-	3.0
Vector/ water borne	Count (row %)	1(12.5)	1(12.5)	5(62.5)	1(12.5)	-	-	8 (100)
	Column %	0.6	100.0	6.0	2.6	-	-	2.7
No pucca house	Count (row %)	24(39.3)	-	27(44.3)	9(14.8)	-	1(1.6)	61 (100)
	Column %	13.6	-	32.5	23.7	-	100.0	20.3
No toilet	Count (row %)	32(42.1)	-	33(43.4)	10(13.2)	-	1(1.3)	76 (100)
	Column %	18.2	-	39.8	26.3	-	100.0	25.3
Unavailability of pure	Count (row %)	15 (45.5)	-	10(30.3)	8(24.2)	-	-	33 (100)
	Column %	8.5	-	12.0	21.1	-	-	11.0
Lack of Employment	Count (row %)	97(60.6)	-	40(25.0)	22(13.8)	-	1(0.6)	160
	Column %	55.1	-	48.2	57.9	-	100.0	53.3
Education for children	Count (row %)	6(50.0)	-	4(33.3)	1(8.3)	1(8.3)	-	12 (100)
	Column %	3.4	-	4.8	2.6	100.0	-	4.0
Lack of medical	Count (row %)	25(62.6)	-	13 (32.5)	1(2.5)	1(2.5)	-	40 (100)
	Column %	14.2	-	15.7	2.6	100.0	-	13.3
Problem of electricity	Count (row %)	22(39.3)	-	22(39.3)	12(21.4)	-	-	56 (100)
	Column %	12.5	-	26.5	31.6	-	-	18.7
Drought/Crop Loss	Count (row %)	5 (62.5)	-	1(12.5)	2(25.0)	-	-	8(100)
	Column %	2.8	-	1.2	5.3	-	-	2.7
Not Applicable	Count (row %)	11(55)	-	5(25)	4(20)	-	-	20 (100)
	Column %	6.3	-	6.0	10.5	-	-	6.7
Total	Count (row %)	176 (58.7)	1(0.3)	83(27.7)	38(12.7)	1(0.3)	1(0.3)	300
	Column %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

employment, food insecurity, proper housing and so on. Thus it does appear that flooding and water logging is a major cause for migration to Gorakhpur. Is the intensity of flooding and water logging increasing due to climate change? Are there other climate change factors in operation? Eight of the respondents did mention drought and ensuing crop loss as a problem in the areas they hail from. The next section discusses these issues in greater detail.

3.6 : Climate Refugees

Historically, the areas the migrants to Gorakhpur come from, that is Eastern UP, parts of Bihar and Assam have been flood prone, partly due to the nature of the rivers that criss-cross the region. In that sense, it comes as no surprise that some of the respondents, as discussed above, said their villages were affected by floods and water logging. Indeed, to the ordinary South Asian villager, weather fluctuations have long been a part of life and the cropping cycles as well as other aspects of life and livelihoods have evolved recognising the possibility of these. However, the contemporary climatic changes, caused by global warming, are affecting the villagers as their adaptation systems are unable to synchronise with the rapid and unpredictable fluctuations.

In India as a whole, it is projected that due to climate change, there will be an average increase of temperatures by 2° C to 4° C and marginal changes in rainfall during monsoon months, with large changes during the non-monsoon months. The number of rainy days during monsoons is projected to decrease by more than 15 days while the rainfall intensity is expected to rise by as much as 1-4 mm/day. Overall, the inter and intra annual (seasonal) variability is expected to increase. In fact, this has already started happening in many parts of the country (Mitra et al, 2008:1). Falling winter temperatures has led to, for instance, a reduction in the production of wheat and other winter crops. Climatic changes are manifested, among other things, through variability in water availability (Ibid).

In Eastern UP in particular, geography makes the region naturally sensitive to floods. Spread along the Terai region, there is a wide network of rivers, which originate in the mountains of Nepal and are known for their inordinate temperament. Heavy rains in Nepal often lead to a sudden rise in the water levels of the rivers in Eastern UP. The rushing waters from the mountains slow down and spread out on reaching comparatively gentle gradient of the slopes and the low lying lands in Eastern UP and induce water retention which becomes a menace as flood. Changes in the climatic conditions have only worsened the problem (GEAG, 2008:3).

However, in the last several decades, the ferocity and frequency of floods in Eastern UP has considerably increased, recurring every three to four years. In places, it has even become a regular annual feature, which greatly affects the livelihoods of the people. The people inhabiting the flood affected regions attribute this to climate change (Ibid).

Indeed, the climate of eastern UP has undergone a definite change in the last few years. For instance, it has now become normal for the temperature to cross 45° C and remain so for long periods during the summers. Such temperatures rises cause rapid melting of glaciers which is increasing the water level in the rivers. Rising temperatures also impact crop cultivation (Ibid). Also there has been a significant change in the monsoon period. The timings of the rains have become unpredictable. Previously, August-September was the usual period of flood, it is not so presently. In 2007, there were heavy rains in July, causing sudden floods, catching the people unawares. There was little time to respond and consequently, there was considerable loss of life and property (Ibid).

Unfortunately, there are no studies on the impact of climate change in the flood prone areas of Bihar and Assam. As was seen in the previous sections, the respondents from these states mentioned flooding and water logging as an issue in the areas they come from.

Does climate change contribute to migration? To ascertain this, the respondents were asked questions about flooding, riverine erosion, the land turning barren, and whether the area was drought prone as well. The responses are analysed below.

Table 3.10 : Flood affected Respondents

Response	Households	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	65	21.7	21.7
No	235	78.3	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

65 or nearly 22 percent of the respondents said their natal villages were flood affected. 62 of these 65 are cultivators. Taking the cultivators alone, that is the 159 respondents who said they do have some operational landholdings, it appears that nearly 39 percent of them are impacted adversely by floods. As is obvious from table 3.11 the majority of the flood affected farmers (some 85 percent) are extremely marginal ones. 28 (45.16) of them operate holdings upto 50 decimals and 40.32 percent from 51 to 100 decimals. Taking the extremely marginal farmers (that is those with holdings upto 1 acre) 37.1 percent are affected by floods.

Table 3.11 Flood affected according to operated area

Grouped operated area (in decimals)	Cultivable land flood affected		Total
	Yes	No	
Landless	3	138	141
1-50	28	77	105
51-100	25	13	38
101-150	3	5	8
151-200	3	1	4
201-250	2	0	2
251-300	1	0	1
>300	0	1	1
Total	65	235	300

Officially, those with operated holdings less than 250 decimals (1 hectare) are considered marginal farmers. In the sample for this study, there are 157 such farmers and 61 (or 88.85 percent) are affected by floods. Thus, 2 out of every 5 marginal farmer migrants are impacted adversely by floods.

Table 3.12 : No of weeks of inundation

Duration of inundation	Households	Percent
One week	3	1.0
Two weeks	6	2.0
Three weeks	7	2.3
Four weeks	41	13.7
Five weeks	3	1.0
Six weeks	5	1.7
Not applicable	235	78.3
Total	300	100.0

Table 3.12 gives the number of weeks the area is inundated. Out of the 65 responses, which may be considered as 65 different locations or villages, 41 are underwater for a month at least. Another 8 are flooded for a month and a half.

Table 3.13 : No of weeks of inundation according to operated area

Grouped operated area (in decimal)	No of weeks of inundation							Total
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Not applicable	
Landless	1	1	1	0	0	0	138	141
1-50	2	2	3	17	2	2	77	105
51-100	0	3	2	18	1	1	13	38
101-150	0	0	0	2	0	1	5	8
151-200	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	4
201-250	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
251-300	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
>300	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	3	6	7	41	3	5	235	300

Again, it is the extremely marginal farmers whose lands are inundated for the longest intervals: 35 out of the 143 farmers (24.48 percent) with operated lands ranging from 1 to 100 decimals have their fields underwater for a month (Table 3.13) Three cultivators in this category face inundation of their fields for five and six weeks each. No wonder they are forced to migrate.

3.6.1 : Geographical Spread of the Flood Affected Villages.

The respondents hail from 267 different villages across 34 districts of five states: UP, Bihar, Assam, Jharkhand (1) and Mahashtra(1). There is one migrant from Nepal's Kailali district in the sample. Each village represents a different setting, socially, economically and climate-wise. This has important implications for the representativeness of the sample and the conclusions that can be drawn from it about the grassroots realities.

The flood affected villages are spread across the following districts:

Flood Affected area



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Table 3.14 : Flood Affected Districts

State	Districts	Frequency (villages)	Percent
Uttar Pradesh	Maharajganj (UP)	15 (23.08)	5.0
	Gorakhpur (UP)	4 (6.15)	1.3
	Deoria (UP)	5 (7.69)	1.7
	Kushinagar,(UP)	17 (26.15)	5.7
	Siddarthanagar (UP)	1 (1.50)	.3
	Santkabir Nagar (UP)	3 (4.62)	1.0
	Azamgarh (UP)	1 (1.50)	.3
Assam	Bongaigaon ,(Assam)	1 (1.50)	.3
	Barpeta (Assam)	6 (9.23)	2.0
Bihar	Chhapra,(Bihar)	1 (1.50)	.3
	Betia,(Bihar)	1 (1.50)	.3
	Gopalganj (Bihar)	3 (4.62)	1.0
	Siwan (Bihar)	4 (6.15)	1.3
	Motihari (Bihar)	2 (3.08)	.7
	Narkatiagunj (Bihar)	1 (1.50)	.3
	Total	65	21.7
	Unaffected	235	78.3
	Total	300	100.0

(Figures in parentheses are percentages of the total affected villages)

Information about the amount of land affected by flooding and water logging was collected from the respondents. Out of the 62 cultivators operating some land, 34 said that 100 percent of their holdings were affected (Table 3.15). Grouping the ratio of the land that is flooded to the operated area shows that in the case of 36 out of 62 (58 percent) cultivators, 75 to 100 percent of the land is affected. In one case, it is more than 100 percent (actually 119 percent). Essentially, a major part of the holdings of this person is inundated and some 19 percent are permanently inundated.

Table 3.15 : Proportion of Operated Area Flood Affected

Flood affected operated area In per cent	Frequency	Percent	Percent Of Affected	Cumulative Percent
Upto 25	6	2.0	9.7	9.7
26-50	16	5.3	25.8	35.5
51-75	3	1.0	4.8	40.3
76-100	36	12.0	58.1	98.4
More than 100 percent	1	.3	1.6	100.0
Total	62	20.7	100.0	
Unaffected	238	79.3		
Total	300	100.0		

Table 3.16 Proportion of Operated Area Flood Affected according to land size class

Grouped Operated Area (in decimal)	Percent area flooded (grpd)					Total
	Upto 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	More than 100	
1-50	0	4	0	24	0	28
51-100	4	8	3	9	1	25
101-150	0	2	0	1	0	3
151-200	1	1	0	1	0	3
201-250	1	1	0	0	0	2
251-300	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	6	16	3	36	1	62

As is to be expected it is the extremely marginal farmers who are most affected: 33 out of the 36 farmers with flooded lands 76-100 percent of the operated area have holdings upto 100 decimals (Table 3.16). The lone farmer who has more than 100 percent of his operated holdings flooded is 38 year old Udayraj Yadav, an illiterate person from Uska village of Gorakhpur district. He works as a casual labourer in Gorakhpur. Some 80 decimals of his lands is flood affected. 40 decimals have been permanently lost due to river erosion. Apart from his wages as a casual labourer he has leased in 40 decimals land to barely manage to eke out a survival for himself and his family of six, that is his wife Vimla and five daughters. His family stays in the village in a single roomed kutcha house.

3. 6.2 : Riverine Erosion

Riverine erosion destroys hundreds of hectares of crop lands annually in the Ganges Brahmaputra-Barak Basin. Most of the districts the migrants hail from fall in this area.

Table 3.17 : Land Affected by Riverine Erosion

Riverine erosion	Frequency	Percent
yes	18	6.0
No	282	94.0
Total	300	100.0

Six percent of the 300 migrants have faced this problem (Table 3.17). The majority of them (16 out of 18) are extremely marginal farmers (3.18)

River erosion (1)



© Amit Mitra

River erosion (2)



Every year thousands of acres are eroded by rivers in the Brahmaputra-Barak-Ganges basin. The poor are the most affected.

Table 3.18 : Riverine Erosion Affected according to operated area

Grouped operated area (in decimal)	Is the land riverine erosion affected?		Total
	Yes	No	
Landless	0	141	141
1-50	9	96	105
51-100	7	31	38
101-150	0	8	8
151-200	2	2	4
201-250	0	2	2
251-300	0	1	1
>300	0	1	1
Total	18	282	300

Table 3.19 : Districts affected by river erosion

District	Frequency	Percent	Percent of Affected
Maharajganj	5	1.7	27.8
Gorakhpur	1	.3	5.6
Deoria	2	.7	11.1
Kushinagar	8	2.7	44.4
Siwan	1	.3	5.6
Motihari	1	.3	5.6
Total	18	6.0	100.0
Not affected	282	94.0	
Total	300	100.0	

The majority of those who have been affected by riverine erosion are from Eastern UP. Kushinagar has the maximum number of such people (44.4 percent) followed by Maharajganj (27.8 percent) There are two such persons from Bihar, one each in Siwan and Motihari districts (Table 3.19) . The mean amount of lands lost by these 18 farmers is 1.94 decimals.

3.6.3 : Drought

Many of the areas from which the migrants hail are drought affected (Table 3.20). Twenty percent of the respondents said their village is affected by drought.

Table 3.20 : Drought prone Area

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	61	20.3
No	239	79.7
Total	300	100.0

The distribution of these respondents according to their district of origin is given in Table 3.21

Table 3.21: Drought Proness according to district of origin

District	Is the area drought prone too?	
	Yes	No
Maharajganj	9	
Gorakhpur	7	
Deoria	4	
Betia	3	
Kushinagar	15	
Barpeta	2	
Chhapra	1	
Begusarai	1	
Siddarthanagar	2	
Gazipur	1	
Gopalganj	4	
Siwan	3	
Santkabir Nagar	4	
Ballia	1	
Vaishali	1	
Motihari	2	
Bhojpur	1	
Total Responses	61	

A Farmer sitting in picture of a drought effected field



© GEAG Resource Centre

Respondents from 18 districts said their villages were affected by droughts. Historically, most of these districts are flood prone. Thus, Kushinagar and Maharajganj in Eastern UP are infamous as being prone to floods as is Gorakhpur district. Are droughts in flood prone regions early warnings of climate change? Are there then villages that are affected by both droughts and floods? Analyses of the data showed that there are 17 such villages in UP alone. Table 3.22 gives the list of such villages according to the district in UP.

Interestingly, in four of these villages, according to the respondents, the lands are affected by riverine erosion. Further, in many places in these four villages deposits of huge amounts of sandy silt brought in by the flood waters has rendered substantial amounts of the land uncultivable. It would be worthwhile probing the ground situation in these villages through some in-depth studies. It does not seem that such studies have been conducted in the region.

Table 3.22 : Villages affected by Floods, Droughts, Riverine Erosion and Barrenness (UP)

District	Village affected by Floods and Drought	Riverine Erosion Affected	Lands turned Barren and infertile
Maharajganj	Baghouna	Yes	Yes
	Bajaha	No	
	Gulrajpur	No	
Gorakhpur	Naturi	No	
	Bharwal	No	
	Sahajua	No	
Deoria	Uska	Yes	Yes
	Chauburpur	No	
	Lehda	No	
Kushinagar	Nai Bazar	No	
	Amwa Bela	Yes	Yes
	Bhailaha	Yes	
	Bhaisaha	No	
	Gujaliya	No	
	Jamuniya	Yes	Yes
	Mathiya Alam	No	
	Paro Rahi	No	

3.7 NREGS

Recognising the linkage between employment, food security and migration, the government has put in place programmes like the National Rural Employment Guarantee (NREGS) scheme across the country. The programme assures 100 days of employment at a stipulated wage of Rs 100 per day. It seeks to arrest migration. It is interesting to see the respondents view on this programme.

The respondents hail from 267 different villages across 34 districts of five states : UP, Bihar, Assam, Jharkhand (1) and Mahashtra(1). There is one person from Nepal's Kailali district in the sample. All the respondents, irrespective of where they came from or whether they or their households were personally involved in NREGS were asked if the programme had arrested migration. To begin with, everyone knew about the programme. But an overwhelming majority, 280 persons (93.3 percent) said it had failed to arrest migration from the villages (Table 3.23)

Table 3.23 : Has NREGS arrested migration?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	20	6.7
No	280	93.3
Total	300	100.0

"I have a job card. But I have never gone in for NREGS work. Do I really need such work? I know many people who don't need such work just make arrangements with the mate and get some money. Perhaps even my name is being used by someone. The really needy people always get left out. The money is too little in any case. They say you are entitled to Rs 10000 but rarely does anyone get that money. At the most you get Rs 7000 in a year. How can you manage with that for the whole year? Everything is so expensive. I work here in this hotel and get Rs 4000 per month and free food. I send part of the money home. I use the rest for my requirements as I am studying," says 24 year old Deepak who hails from a village in Kushinagar district. Deepak has been working in one of the better hotels of Gorakhpur for the last two years. He is enrolled in a local college in the BA second year. He says that apart from his salary he also earns Rs 800-1000 a month as tips given by customers.

Deepak's views on NREGS is borne out by the respondents also. Only 20 percent of the respondents said some member of their household back in the village has benefited from NREGS.

Table 3.24 : Any HH member in NREGS ?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	61	20.3
No	239	79.7
Total	300	100.0

Out of the 61 respondents who have at least one person from their household in NREGS, 21 (34.43 percent) are landless (Table 3.25) . The rest are all marginal farmers. What is important is that even in NREGS, 85.11 percent of the landless households have been excluded.

Table 3.25 : Household (HH) member in NREGS according to land size class of respondent

Grouped operated area (in decimal)	Any HH member in		Total
	Yes	No	
Landless	21 (34.42)	120 (50.21)	141 (47.00)
1-50	28 (45.90)	77 (32.22)	105 (35.00)
51-100	9 (14.75)	29 (12.13)	38 (12.67)
101-150	2 (3.28)	6 (2.51)	8 (2.67)
151-200	1 (1.64)	3 (1.25)	4 (1.33)
201-250	0 (0.0)	2 (0.84)	2 (0.67)
251-300	0 (0.0)	1 (0.42)	1 (0.33)
>300	0 (0.0)	1 (0.42)	1 (0.33)
Total	61 100.00	239 100.00	300 100.00

(Figures in parentheses are column percentages)

Table 3.26 : No of NREGS Job Cards in HH

Card holders	Frequency	Percent
1	45	15.0
2	10	3.3
3	2	.7
4	3	1.0
8	1	.3
Not Applicable	239	79.7
Total	300	100.0

Among those who have got some benefits of the programme, the majority (45 or nearly 74 percent) have one job card in the household (Table 3.26) However, as seen from Table 3.27, having a job card does not necessarily translate into employment.

Table 3.27: Total Employment in NREGS

No of days of Employment	Frequency	Percent	Percent of those with job cards	Cumulative Percent
Nil	9	3.0	14.8	14.8
1-20	30	10.0	49.2	63.9
21-40	16	5.3	26.2	90.2
41-60	3	1.0	4.9	95.1
81-99	1	.3	1.6	96.7
100 & above	2	.7	3.3	100.0
Total	61	20.3	100.0	
Not applicable	239	79.7		
Total Responses	300	100.0		

Also, it is worth noting that only in the case of 2 households was the employment for the stipulated number of 100 days. The majority of those who got work that is 46 out of 52 people were employed for a maximum of 40 days.

Deepak was right about the inadequacy of the emoluments. Indeed, there seems to be something very wrong about the implementation of the programme in the regions where the respondents come from. Computing the earnings from NREGS per job card (some households had more than one card) showed that while 3 persons, despite having worked for 2, 9 and 20 days respectively just got no money, only 1 person out of the 52 respondent's households who got work received Rs 10000. This job card holder apparently worked for the stipulated maximum 100 days in Kaptanganj village of Kushinagar district. The rest of the job card holders got varied amounts ranging from Rs 25 to Rs 4800 for the whole year (Table 3.28)

Table 3.28 : Income from NREGS per job card in Rs per annum

Income (Rs)	Frequency	Percent
0	3	1.0
25-500	9	3.0
501-1000	9	3.0
1001-2000	12	4.0
2001-3000	16	5.3
3001-5000	2	.7
10000.00	1	.3
Job card but no work	9	3.0
Not Applicable	239	79.7
Total	300	100.0

Unfortunately, unlike in say Rajasthan no social audits have been undertaken NREGS in UP, especially in the eastern districts or in Bihar. NREGS might not be able to arrest migration but it does certainly help ease the financial burden of the poor to some extent.

3.8 : Conclusion

The most important cause the respondents cited as the reason for migration was poverty. But that was not all. Careful analyses of their responses as well as the qualitative data show that they migrate for multiple reasons the roots of which lie not just in poverty but a culture that perpetuates their deprivation. The employment they get in the villages does not enable them to get out of the poverty trap. On top of it basic expenses, be they on agriculture, social items like death or marriage or on health care need to be met, leading the migrants to borrow at exorbitant costs. The inadequate health infrastructure and lack of credit for marginal farmers adds to their woes. These problems persist across the three states where the majority of the migrants come from. It can be concluded that the State has stopped being welfarist and the poor do not benefit from most of the poverty alleviation measures and policies.

On top of it, almost one in five persons suffers the vagaries of nature, in the form of floods, droughts, riverine erosion. Some suffer all these. Indeed they are the victims of climate change processes that accentuate the adverse impacts of poverty and trigger off migration. The state support structures, including marketing of agricultural produce or subsidized farm inputs is weak and has too many leakages to be of benefit to them.

The other important issue, outside the purview of this study but seemed apparent from some of the qualitative responses, is that many of those with some land were given these during the land reforms of the 1950s and 1960s. The lands given them were extremely fragile and vulnerable to flooding and river erosion. The quantum of land, over the generations, has been fragmented. However, this is an area that needs further research. Studies on these issues do not seem to exist.

That these people are victims of the culture of deprivation is borne out by the design and structure of the states employment guarantee programme : (NREGS). Most of the respondents said that it doesn't benefit them and in any case the amount paid is too small to be able to check migration. Thus factors that are supposed to improve the condition of the poor, including the programmes run by the state, fail to deliver. On the whole, the people live a miserable existence in the villages and perforce migrate. But do they face better conditions in the city? Are they able to get out of the poverty trap? These issues are discussed in the next chapter.

Life in the City

Migrants in thousands come to Gorakhpur every year in search of a living, with hopes and aspirations for a better future. Many come from far off places but most of them come from other districts of Eastern UP and the adjoining district of Bihar. It is not known how many leave the city in frustration as their aspirations are not fulfilled. But most migrants seem to hold on, visiting home at varying intervals to come back recharged to face the rigours of life in Gorakhpur. This chapter analyses the reasons why the migrants came to Gorakhpur and how they fare in the city.

Thousands flock to Gorakhpur anyway they can in search of livelihoods



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4.1 : Reasons for Coming to Gorakhpur

The migrants have many reasons for coming to Gorakhpur, but going by the responses of the 300 respondents in this study, better income opportunities compared to their place of origin and proximity to their native village seems to be the most important ones. Implicitly, they were saying that it was a question of earning a livelihood, but 16.3 percent of the respondents preferred to point out explicitly that livelihoods was the prime reason (Table 4.1). Very few come because their relatives are already in Gorakhpur.

Table 4.1: Reasons for Coming to Gorakhpur.

Reasons for Coming to Gorakhpur	Frequency of	Percent of	Percent of
Proximity to native place	129	35.9	43.0
Better income opportunity	158	44.0	52.7
Multiple job options	4	1.1	1.3
Easily availability of work	6	1.7	2.0
Livelihood	49	13.6	16.3
Better education option	2	0.6	0.7
High cost of living in bigger cities	5	1.4	1.7
Relatives Live Here	3	0.8	1.0
Safety	3	0.8	1.0
Total	359	100.0	119.7

Of course, for 56 percent of the respondents, Gorakhpur was not the first migration destination (Table 4.2). People have been as far as Kashmir and quite a few (47 or 15.7 percent) have travelled all the way to Punjab to work as agricultural labourers. Many have travelled to big cities like Mumbai and Delhi. Ram Kishore, 52, from Deoria, who drives a rickshaw in Gorakhpur says he came to the city in 1972 but left soon after. He travelled all the way to Kanyakumari district in South Tamil Nadu to work as a casual labourer, mostly loading and unloading trucks. He has been to Pondicherry and Surat. But for the last decade or so he has been in Gorakhpur only, except once when he went to Madurai to meet his son who works as a casual factory labourer there. He says he was awestruck seeing the big Meenakshi temple in that city. What is interesting is that he worked his way to Madurai and even when he was there he worked: loading stones

Table 4.2 : 1st Migration Destination

Ist Destination	Frequency	Percent
Gorakhpur	132	44.0
Kanpur	4	1.30
West bengal	3	1.00
Kathmandu	3	1.00
Lucknow	13	4.30
Nainital	7	2.30
Delhi	18	6.00
Mumbai	17	5.70
Mau	2	.70
Punjab	47	15.7
Indore	1	.30
Kashmir	5	1.70
Guwahati	7	2.30
Himanchal Pradesh	2	.70
Assam	4	1.30
Bihar	3	1.00
Banaras	4	1.30
Agra	1	.30
MP	2	.70
Ahmedabad	3	1.00
Gonda	2	.70
Rajasthan	5	1.70
Meerut	2	.70
Haridwar	4	1.30
Haldwani	2	.70
Basti	4	1.30
Arunachal Pradesh	2	.70
Hardoi	1	.30
Total	300	100.0

4.2 : Social Embeddedness of Migratory Processes

Migration is socially embedded in South Asia. While 88.3 percent of the respondents took the decision to migrate on their own (Table 4.3) the migration process was enabled and facilitated by relatives, other villagers and friends in 95.3 percent cases (Table 4.4). Only 4.3 percent of the migrants did not have anyone to fall back on for support. And only one person, who also paid Rs 1500, depended on a contractor for migration. The days of the *arkatis* are clearly over in this part of the country.

Table 4.3: Migration Decision-maker

Decision maker	Frequency	Percent
Self	265	88.3
Discussion with husband	10	3.3
Discussion with friends	5	1.7
With Parents	12	4.0
Other family members	1	.3
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.4 : Migration Facilitator

Migration Facilitator	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Relatives	126	42.0	42.0
Friends	47	15.7	57.7
Self	13	4.3	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

4.3 : Occupational Mobility and Diversification

Occupational diversification is said to be an important survival strategy for workers in the informal sector, more so for the footloose labour who have also been described as wage hunters and gatherers or the underbelly of the labour force (Bremen, 1994 & 1996). In cities like Gorakhpur when a migrant arrives from the village the first readily available job is that of a casual labourer, especially in the construction sector. Such jobs do not require much skill.

Table 4.5 : Occupational Mobility -- First occupation and present Occupation

1 st Occupation	Present occupation									Total
	Rickshaw puller	Casual labourer	Waste Worker	Handcart Puller	Domestic Help	Petty Shop	Mechanic	Vendor/Hawker	Others	
Rickshaw	12	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	14
Casual labourer	52	73	8	4	0	2	1	6	4	150
Waste Worker	0	2	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	37
Handcart Puller	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
Domestic Help	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	6
Petty Shop	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	6
Mechanic	1	1	0	0	0	0	11	2	1	16
Vendor/Hawker	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	10	0	15
Others	15	13	7	3	0	0	1	5	9	53
Total	82	91	52	11	4	5	17	23	15	300

(Note: In the above table, the three persons from Maharashtra, Jharkhand and Nepal are included)

The migrant has to be physically strong and be able to put in hard labour for long hours. The migrants, mostly marginal farmers who in the villages worked as agricultural labour in order to supplement their incomes and landless agricultural labourers, have to fit in since they do not have a choice. This is reflected amongst the 300 migrants in the sample: for exactly half of the respondents' the first occupation was casual labour. But casual labour in urban markets has high seasonalities and many uncertainties. It's physically very demanding and full of risks. Accidents occur frequently. Migrants with a longer term perspective strive to move out of this sector into something that is financially more stable and brings in higher returns. Plying a cycle rickshaw is the most sought after occupation in cities like Gorakhpur. Over time, slightly more than a third of the 150 migrants who joined the labour force in Gorakhpur as casual labour became rickshaw pullers. However, getting a chance to become a rickshaw puller is not easy (see Box 1 : **The Rickshaw Pullers of Gorakhpur**). More than two thirds of the casual labour have remained so.

Working with waste is considered the lowest amongst the occupations. The earnings are not very high. It is a hazardous occupation with many associated health risks and is also considered socially degrading. Moreover, the way it is organised, the profession is closed to people of a particular community and region (see Box 2 : The Waste Workers of Gorakhpur). Of the present 52 waste workers amongst the 300 respondents, 35 began in this profession and have remained so. No one has moved out of the profession, so it can be said that the mobility amongst them is virtually non-existent, due to a host of social, economic and political factors. On the other hand, for some people including 8 casual labourers, there has been a fall socially and economically and they have become waste workers. Thus the migration situation experience is not even for all. While some rise in the hierarchy of work and workers others fall.

BOX 1 : The Rickshaw Pullers of Gorakhpur

“My body aches as I have to sleep on the cold barren earth with just a blanket and a bed sheet,” says 65 year old Ramprasad, a rickshaw puller in Gorakhpur. He cannot recall when exactly he came to Gorakhpur but raises his wrinkled right hand about three and a half feet from the ground to show his height then. The consensus of the other rickshaw pullers sitting around him in North Humayunpur's Mritunjay Rickshaw Company, owned by Ramesh Gupta, is that he must have been around 10 years then. He is certainly one of the oldest rickshaw pullers in Gorakhpur.

The Rickshaw Pullers of Gorakhpur



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"My rotis maybe thick but not uncooked," says Sohanlal, 3, a rickshaw puller who stays with other rickshawpullers in the rickshaw company premises

He hails from Baghona village of Maharajgunj district. He inherited 0.45 acres land, but 0.30 acres have been lost to river erosion. Food scarcity in the village led him to come to the city. He says schooling was a luxury he couldn't afford. Instead he began his career in an eatery washing the utensils. He got married sometime, has a married son who stays in the village. Ramprasad's wife, daughter in law and three grandchildren all stay in a mud and thatch hut in the village. No one has ever been anywhere near a school.

In the city, he stays in the rickshaw "company." There are 15 other rickshaw pullers who stay with him in the same compound. He is lucky, there is a concrete roof over his head: an incomplete building, open on all sides. But the floor is just the bare earth, where all of them sleep with just a blanket and a sheet, facing the elements throughout the year. They defecate in the open near the railway tracks. There is a hand-pump in the compound. Three bricks put together serve as the hearth. Most of the rickshaw pullers form small groups and take turns to cook: thick rotis and some dal once in a while. They cook once during the afternoon and keep aside the rotis for dinner. Sometimes, perhaps once in a month, they pool some money and buy mutton.

Ramprasad plies his rickshaw from 4 in the afternoon to 10 in the evening. He cannot, as he says, work in the morning shift, from 5 to 11 AM, like the others as his bones ache. He has to pay Rs 40 as the rental for the rickshaw to Ramesh Gupta daily. On an average, he earns Rs 50 to 100 daily. But he gets an old age pension (Rs 150 per month) and somehow manages with that. He wishes he had a ration card that would enable him to avail of the government subsidised foodgrains. Due to a crisis in the family, he had to borrow from a moneylender in the village. The outstanding amount is Rs 50000, the monthly rate of interest is 10 percent. He hopes he can work till the debt is repaid or else the burden will fall upon his son. He rues that there are passengers who try to short change him as he is old

and cannot fight back.

Amongst the 300 migrants surveyed for this study, there were 82 rickshaw pullers. Of them, 12.2 percent are less than 25 years old. The majority, 77 percent are between the age of 26 and 50. 77 of the rickshaw pullers work upto 25 days a month. 54.9 percent of them work between 9-12 hours daily and only 31.7 percent just eight hours a day. The mean monthly income of these 82 rickshaw pullers is Rs 4633 (the median Rs 4500), with a range of Rs 2400 to Rs 9000. All of them have a per capita daily household income of less than \$ 2 a day, in fact for the majority (79.3 percent), this is less than a dollar a day. Only for 20.7 percent households is the per capita daily income between \$1 and \$2.

Most of Gorakhpur's 12000 licensed rickshaw pullers (the unlicensed

rickshawpullers could be double that number, but no one seems to know) live in the rickshaw companies. Typically, an owner has anything between 15 to 40 rickshaws. The rickshaw pullers stay in the compound in the open, sometimes in lean-to's made with plastic sheets. The rental paid for a rickshaw varies from Rs 25 to Rs 40, depending on the condition of the rickshaw. The living conditions are rather harsh and most of the rickshaw pullers suffer from chronic fatigue as well as numerous ailments, ranging from gastro-intestinal problems to malaria. Many have tuberculosis. Getting a rickshaw is not so easy. There are strong regionalities as company owners typically give rickshaws to men from their own districts. Apparently, many pullers run away with the rickshaw. Ramesh Gupta, the Mritunjay Company owner said, "We give a rickshaw through a guarantor. The person has to be known, his credentials are verified. Even then so many just disappear with the vehicle. Sometimes even the guarantor runs away." Another company owner who didn't want to be named said, "The Biharis are not to be trusted. They just go away to Bihar with the rickshaw. Who will run after them?" Most company owners provide basic shelter and sometimes allow arrears in the daily rental if the puller cannot pay on a particular day for various reasons. Water is generally provided for and a few provide for free electricity for lighting purposes only.

The Municipality has a system of rules and regulations for the licencing. Rickshaw licence are issued/renewed in April and May every year for a fee of Rs 49.00 per rickshaw. For delays, a monthly fee of Rs 5 is charged. However, some rickshaw company owners said they have to pay Rs 69 per rickshaw. The rickshaw pullers have to get a 'drivers' licence for an annual fee of Rs 5. The licence is sent to the address given by the puller. A 15 day grace period is given for the renewal of driver's licences but after 10 years the licence is not renewed and a fresh one has to be made. The rickshaw licences are made in the name of the drivers and not the owners. Officially there are several eligibility criteria for getting a driver's licence:

The rickshaw puller applicant should not suffer from any contagious disease, be physically handicapped or more than 60 years old;

- The rickshaw should be in a good condition and manufactured according to dimensions specified by the licencing authority.
- There should be curtains and a shade of waterproof material and the seats should be comfortable and made of rexine.
- There should be lights in the front and rear and the brakes should be in good condition.

A new rickshaw costs Rs 8000 to Rs 10000. Several owners pointed out that they have to pay a monthly protection fee to the police. Chandan, the owner of 18 rickshaws, said he gave Rs 5000 monthly so that he is not harassed by the Municipal authorities. When a big leader comes, the rickshaws have to be taken off the roads in the concerned area, resulting in a loss of earnings for 5-6 days.

Shyam Kumar, 30, a rickshaw puller pointed out : "The Municipality gets so much money from the rickshaws. They are major source of revenue for it. The babus also earn a substantial amount as pocket money. But what facilities do we get? I've been slapped by passengers for asking the correct fare. I sleep on the barren ground. Even cattle are treated better." Most of Gorakhpur's rickshaw pullers would agree with him.

The Municipality has fixed the fares for some routes (see Appendix 1). But these fares are totally arbitrary and have no relationship between the distance covered and the amount fixed. Most citizen's and even rickshaw pullers don't know about the existence of such a fare chart. Sitaram, a rickshaw puller had heard of such a chart but said that if they had to follow that, they would not even be able to pay the daily rental.

The Municipal authorities claim that many facilities have been provided for the rickshaw pullers. Its claimed that at the railway station, central bus and taxi stands, 25 seater 80 feet long and 15 feet wide night shelters with water and toilet facilities have been built for the rickshaw pullers. These shelters have tin roofing. Apart from the sheer inadequacy of numbers provided for, the fact is that the sheds have been occupied by snacks vendors, the faucets stolen and the toilets are unusable. The sheds are a mired in filth and unlivable.

All the rickshaw pullers were unanimous in pointing out that the Municipality should at the bare minimum provide for basic shelter, toilets, water and arrange for temporary ration cards and cheap fuel to ameliorate their hardships. Some voiced the need for free medical care.

There is a rickshaw pullers union in the city. But it is almost defunct, with just 750 members who pay an annual fee of Rs 12. The union leaders mention a few successes, like getting some pullers life insurance and accident relief/compensation. These successes are too isolated and far in between to have made any significant mark on the life of the average rickshaw puller of Gorakhpur.

BOX 2 : The Waste- workers of Gorakhpur

"Our life and livelihood depends on these dirty rags and the tonnes of waste the city spews out daily", said Ahmad, a 45 year old waste worker who lives in the Chilmapur, Rustampur ward of the city.

A typical waste workers' settlement in Gorakhpur



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No one knows the exact number of waste workers in the city. However, the elders in the community estimate the number to be around 300 to 500, with around 5-7 members in each household. The waste workers forage the city, collecting and sorting often hazardous waste when the city sleeps. By the time day breaks they are invisible, retreating to their hovels, essentially plastic sheets put together in the form of rooms, in the piles of stinking waste.

In Gorakhpur about 90 percent of waste workers

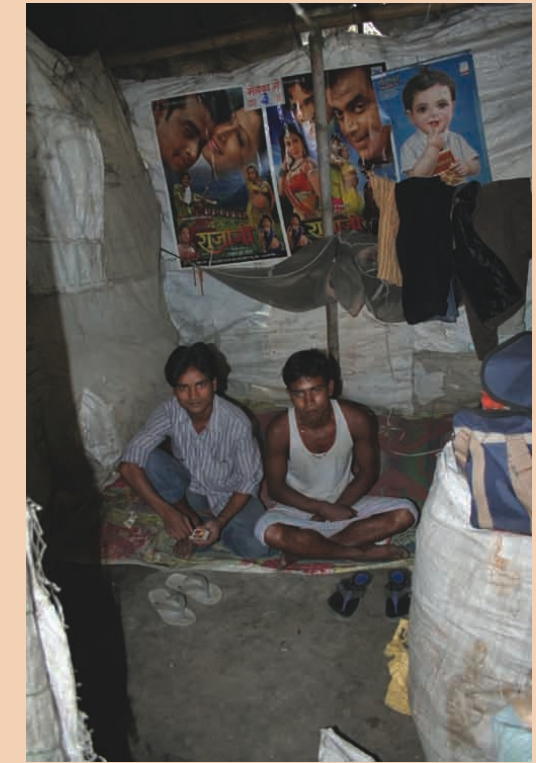
hail from Assam. Since they are Muslims and speak various dialects of Bangla (but have problems with standard colloquial Bengali) they are often branded as Bangladeshis. The fact is that though they are from areas that are now in Bangladesh, most of them migrated to Assam with the active encouragement of local politicians in the 1930s and 1940s, in any case generally before Independence. They were generally excluded in Assam as well, so much so that many can't speak Assamese properly. They are often targeted by terrorist groups such as the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA). This and the recurrent floods has forced these people to migrate to other parts of the country, including Gorakhpur and Varanasi.

A typical day begins at 3.00 am. By 9 am they are back to their shanties. On an average they work for 4 hours in the morning collecting rags and waste from different parts of the city. Those who have wide space in front of their hutments collect waste using a trolley. Men usually sort the waste while adolescent girls, women and children collect it.

Amina khaton, 40, of Mahewa ward, has been a waste worker for the last seven years. She says, "We collect scrap from streets, market places, garbage bins and waste dumps, picking up paper, cardboard, plastic, iron scrap, tin containers, and broken glass, in fact almost anything thrown away by households, shops, workshops, or other establishments, that can be sold to the dealers who buy these for the recycling industry.". She adds, "Sorting of waste is an art. The cost of rags for instance depends upon how efficiently the rags are sorted."

Usually, the women do the picking and the men the sorting. A large number of children, between the age of 10 to 15 are engaged in this work, both picking and sorting waste. An estimated six out of 10 of the children of the waste workers are in this profession, working long hours without rest. Housing, sanitation and water supply is pathetic. The workers are perpetually at the mercy of their malik (owner) who brings them from Assam and settles them. Said Nilima, 27, of Mahewa, "We live on the mercy of the malik. Throughout the city, the waste workers live on the land given to them by their owners, that is the dealers. We put up plastic shanties, settle down and sort the waste. The mate, who is one of us, keeps a record of the weights of the various sorted products. Every month the malik sends a truck to collect the sorted waste. He decides the

Wasteworkers Islam and Monir relaxing in their shelter



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Children play in the waste their parents have collected



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prices. Usually, we are given Rs 1.50/ kg for glass materials, Rs 2.50/kg for cardboard, and Rs 8.00/ kg for plastics." The waste workers know that the dealers sell the waste for much higher prices to the industries. However, when asked what prevents them from collectivising and selling the products directly or at least bargaining for higher returns, Aliya, 35, said, "We borrow from the malik to buy necessary food items and medicines. Yes, we have to spend a lot on medicines. We, especially the children, keep falling ill due to living in such unhygienic conditions. The malik deducts from the amounts due to us when he makes a payment for the waste we sort. Because he gives us loans, we cannot bargain about the weights or the prices," said Aliya, a 35 year old waste worker from Assam.

The waste workers don't use any precautionary measures in their work, both picking and sorting. This makes them vulnerable to health hazards like skin infections, cuts and bruises and even tuberculosis. Malaria is rampant. Many of the youth engage in substance abuse and gambling. The children don't go to school as they don't understand Hindi. Most of the waste workers settlements have a hand pump for about 50 households that often malfunctions'. The toilets are just holes in the ground with jute sacking curtains. The stench marks them out. But even these toilets are just one in a slum, used mostly by the women. The others perforce defecate in the open. The monsoons flood the settlement, forcing them to go and stay on the roads that are on higher ground. The sorting is affected then as they don't get enough space. There is no electricity in the settlements.

4.4 : Earnings and Incomes of the Migrants

Data was meticulously collected about the incomes and earnings of the migrants. To ensure accuracy, the migrants were asked about their daily earnings, the number of earning members in their households as well as the total incomes of the households per month from all sources irrespective of whether the other earning members were in Gorakhpur or back home in the villages. The list of non-earning dependents was also compiled. The investigators spent considerable time cross checking the details and the veracity of the information. Due to the seasonality of incomes from agriculture, the annual income from agriculture, if any, was estimated by the respondent and then added to the monthly incomes from the non-agricultural sources. A substantial part of the meagre agricultural production of those who operate some land does go into domestic consumption.

The analysis of the incomes data was finally made on a per capita daily basis for each member of each household. The mean per capita daily income of all the members of all the households taken together is Rs 31.50. (Table 4.6)

What is clear is that despite the migration of at least one member from the household (there are 199 households where the migrant is the sole earner), the overwhelming majority have not been able to cross the threshold of poverty, taking it to be \$1 per capita per day. As seen in table 4.6, 30.3 households live in extreme poverty, that is less than 50 cents per capita per day (\$1= Rs 45). Overall, 84.7 percent of the migrant households (254 out of 300) live on less than per capita \$1 a day. And there is no household with members who live on more than \$2 daily. In fact, there is just one household whose members have a per capita daily income of Rs 90 or \$2. In effect then it can be accurately said that working in Gorakhpur has not ameliorated the poverty of the migrants and their families.

Table 4.6 : Per capita daily income of the Households

Daily income In rupees	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
less than 22.50	91	30.3	30.3	30.3
22.51-45.00	163	54.3	54.3	84.7
45.01-67.50	37	12.3	12.3	97.0
67.51-90.00	9	3.0	3.0	100.0
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

To determine the correlates of poverty, a series of correlations were worked out with the per capita per household daily income is independent of variables like the primary occupation, sex, age, number of years in Gorakhpur, literacy and education, religion, caste or place of origin.

However, as can be expected, there is a positive correlation with the number of earning members and also with landownership, that is the higher the number of earning members in a household the higher the total household income and also the latter rises if the household owns land. But the correlations are weak as shown in table 4.7

Table 4.7 : Correlation of the per capita Daily Income of the Households with number of earning members and Land ownership

Variables		Per capita daily income of the Household	Earning members	Self Owned Land
Per capita daily income	Pearson Correlation	1	.184(**)	.177(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.001	.002
	N	300	300	300
Earning members	Person Correlation	.184(**)	1	.215(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001		.000
	N	300	300	300
Self Owned Land	Person Correlation	.177(**)	.215(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.
	N	300	300	300

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

On the other hand a significant negative correlation was found between the family size and the household incomes that is the larger the family, the lower will be the per capita daily household incomes (Table 4.8)

Table 4.8 : Correlation between Per capita daily household income and Family Size.

Variables		Family size	Per capita daily income (HH)
Family size	Person Correlation	1	-.527(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	300	300
Per capita daily income (HH)	Person Correlation	-.527(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	300	300

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

However, it has to be noted that controlling for variables like the number of earning members in a family produces insignificant correlation results between the per capita daily incomes and the family size. (Table 4.9) So it cannot be said that the poor are so because of large families or that poverty is due to population i.e. that the poor remain so as they have a large number of children.

Table 4.9 : Correlation Between Per capita daily household income and family size controlling for the number of earning members.

Control Variables			Per capita daily income (HH)	Family size
Earning members	per capita daily income (HH)	Correlation	1.000	-.648
		Significance (2-tailed)		.000
		df	0	297
family size		Correlation	-.648	1.000
		Significance (2-tailed)	.000	
		df	297	0

In fact, 50 percent of the households have up to five members (Table 4.10)

Table 4.10 : Family size of the respondents

Family size	Frequency	Percent
2.00	8	2.7
3.00	25	8.3
4.00	41	13.7
5.00	76	25.3
6.00	58	19.3
7.00	38	12.7
8.00	25	8.3
9.00	13	4.3
10.00	6	2.0
11.00	7	2.3
12.00	1	.3
13.00	2	.7
Total	300	100.0

In this context, it has to be pointed out that there is a common misperception that Muslims have larger families compared to Hindus. The data on the family sizes of the respondents shows that Hindus have larger families (Table 4.11)

Table 4.11 : Family Size according to Religion

Family size	Religion			Total
	Hinduism	Islam	Sikhism	
2.00	4	4	0	8
3.00	16	9	0	25
4.00	28	13	0	41
5.00	51	25	0	76
6.00	41	16	1	58
7.00	30	8	0	38
8.00	18	7	0	25
9.00	9	4	0	13
10.00	3	3	0	6
11.00	4	3	0	7
12.00	1	0	0	1
13.00	0	2	0	2
Total	205	94	1	300

As seen in table 4.11 , Hindus with family size above 5 comprise 51.74 percent of the 205 Hindu respondents while the Muslim households with family sizes larger than five are 45.74 percent of the 94 households. Putting it differently, out of the 150 respondents with family sizes of more than five members, 106 (70.67) are Hindus and 43 (28.67) are Muslims. One is a Sikh. The Hindus in the sample have on the whole higher dependency ratios (the number of dependents per earner).

Table 4.12 : Dependency Ratios according to religion

Grouped Dependency Ratios	Religion			Total
	Hinduism	Islam	Sikhism	
upto 2	19 (9.3)	14 (14.9)	0 (0.0)	33 (11.0)
2.10-4	80 (39.0)	37 (39.4)	1 (100.0)	118 (39.3)
4.1-6	72 (35.1)	29 (30.9)	0 (0.0)	101 (33.7)
6.1-8	29 (14.1)	10 (10.6)	0 (0.0)	39 (13.0)
>8	5 (2.4)	4 (4.3)	0 (0.0)	9 (3.0)
Total	205 (100.00)	94 (100.00)	1 (100.00)	300 (100.0)

This seems contrary to expectations or commonly held notions about gender and work across the religious divide. The Muslims in the sample are mostly waste-workers. Most

of them are originally from Assam, fleeing in the face of the political discrimination and violence they face. Even if they don't want to, women in the household have to work perforce to make ends meet. Given the strong kinship ties amongst them, the dependency ratios and also the size of the family is due to many, especially women, coming to Gorakhpur. Some of them are unable to work for a wage due to a host of reasons such as pregnancy, ill health or just that they have recently arrived. However, they do help a lot in not only the household chores but also sorting the waste at home. But they are not considered 'earners' by the respondents as they don't work /or don't get a wage.

4.5 : Hunger and Poverty

Poverty and hunger go together. The majority of the respondents eat twice a day (Table 4.13).

Table 4.13 : Number of meals taken per day

No. of meals /day	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	1	.3	.3
2	286	95.3	95.7
3	13	4.3	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

However, a significant number (29 percent) said they do face starvation sometimes (Table 4.14). In fact, nearly 20 percent of the respondents have to go without a meal at least once a week and 7 percent twice a week (Table 4.15).

Table 4.14 : Are there days when you get no food?

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	87	29.0
No	213	71.0
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.15 : Number of days without meals in a week

Meal less days	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
One day	59	19.7	19.7
2	22	7.3	27.0
3	3	1.0	28.0
4	3	1.0	29.0
Not applicable	213	71.0	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

Four of the nine respondents who comprise single women headed households said they have to face hunger regularly: two faced a day without meals once a week and another

two starved twice a week. Not finding employment (accounting for 23.9 percent of the responses and 25 percent of the respondents) accounted for the single largest reason for going hungry. Other reasons included heavy rains and not getting food on time.

There is an association between the occupations and regular hunger (Table 4.16).

Table 4.16 : Days without Food According to Occupation

Occupation	Are there days when you get no food?		Total
	Yes	No	
Rickshaw puller	20	62	82
Casual Labourer	23	65	88
Waste worker	17	35	52
Handcart puller	2	9	11
Casual Construction Worker	1	1	2
Paid domestic work	0	4	4
Floor polishing	0	1	1
Shop	1	4	5
Fruit vending	0	1	1
Vegetable vending	0	3	3
Mechanic	5	5	10
Agent	1	0	1
Hawker	14	4	18
Handloom worker	0	4	4
Driver	1	5	6
Barber	1	0	1
Chaat Thela	0	1	1
Puncture mechanic	0	7	7
Power loom operator	1	2	3
Total	87	213	300

One out of four rickshaw pullers and casual labourers; and one in three waste workers have to starve at least one day in the week. The hawkers are the worst off with 14 out of 18 (78 percent) saying they go without meals regularly.

Table 4.17 : Proportion of Daily Income spent on Food

Proportion of Income spent on food (%)	Respondents	Percent	Cumulative Percent
upto 25	55	18.3	18.3
25-50	171	57.0	75.3
50-75	48	16.0	91.3
75-100	18	6.0	97.3
>100	8	2.7	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

More than 75 percent of the respondents spend upto half their daily earnings on food generally staples like rice or chapattis and some dal and on lucky days a vegetable (Table 4.17). "Food prices are high so we cannot afford to eat vegetables daily," said Ashok, who works as a head-loader in a vegetable mandi. There are some who spend more than what they earn on food. "What is the alternative? The stomach has to be filled. We borrow from the malik to buy rice. He deducts from the amounts due to us when he makes a payment for the waste we sort. Because he gives us loans, we cannot bargain about the weights or the prices," said Aliya, a 35 year old waste worker from Assam. Indeed, it is a pitiable sight observing what some of the waste workers eat. While the "richer" ones amongst them eat a few pieces of rather putrid fish once in a while, others manage on some rice and salt. Samima, an emaciated 25 year old waste worker quickly covered the pot she was cooking in when I went inside her 'hut' made of piles of waste plastics. She was embarrassed as it was really foul smelling. "I found some dal in a refuse heap. And I managed to get some chicken innards, the parts of the chicken that babus like you throw away. Even that is pretty expensive now, but the man gives it to me for Rs 25 a kilo in the evening. Otherwise it can cost much more. I am

Table 4.18 : vegetarians and Non-vegetarians

Dietary Preference	Frequency	Percent
Non-vegetarian	256	85.3
Vegetarian	44	14.7
Total	300	100.0

boiling the dal and the chicken and will put a lot of chillies. Otherwise how can we eat chicken? You get used to the smell after sometime." Sometimes, maybe once in a month, those who live together in say a rickshaw company, get together and buy some mutton and have a feast.

As such, only some 15 percent of the respondents said they were vegetarians.

The majority of the non-vegetarians could not afford non-vegetarian food more than once a month. And the mutton/chicken or fish is not of the best quality. Bones, innards, heads or portions not usually eaten in middle class homes or of such quality that it is about to be thrown away is bought by these people at reduced prices so as to get the psychological satisfaction of eating non-vegetarian food.

Table 4.19 : Frequency of Non-vegetarian meals in a month

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
One time	200	66.7	66.7
Twice	49	16.3	83.0
Thrice	7	2.3	85.3
Not applicable(Vegans)	44	14.7	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

Despite the high food prices, none of the respondents had ration cards valid in Gorakhpur that would enable them to get subsidised cereals. In fact, 32.33 percent of them do not have ration cards at all. The rest have ration cards back home in their villages. In many cases, the family ration cards include their names. Canceling the name from the ration card at home is difficult and also it would deprive the family of some grains. And even if they were to do so, getting a new ration card would not be possible in Gorakhpur due to the bureaucratic hassles and the corruption

involved. Moreover, most of them do not have a permanent address or proof of address in the city, an apparent necessity if a new ration card has to be made. This precludes nearly half of the 91 respondents who live in the city with their families from getting a ration card. Of course, the remaining don't have a ration card in Gorakhpur. But going by the calculations made in this study, most of them would be eligible for BPL if not Antodaya cards⁷.

Table 4.20 : Ownership of ration card according to whether staying alone in Gorakhpur

Ownership of ration card	Live alone in gorakhpur		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	156*	47	203
No	53	44	97
Total	209	91	300

*The ration card is in the village and not in the city

4.6 : Living Conditions of the Migrants

Nearly 70 percent of the respondents stay alone in Gorakhpur while their families live in the villages (Table 4.21)

Table 4.21 : Live in Gorakhpur alone or with Family

Live in gorakhpur	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Alone	209	69.7	69.7
With Family	91	30.3	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

People live where they can in not so pleasant conditions (Table 4.22)

Table 4.22 : Place of stay in Gorakhpur

Place of Stay	Frequency	Percent
Footpath	12	4.0
Godown	32	10.7
Factory	9	3.0
Open land	1	.3
Slum	70	23.3
Rickshaw company	73	24.3
Jhuggi jhopdi	57	19.0
Other	46	15.3
Total	300	100.0

The majority of the respondents stay in the slums (23.3 percent) and the premises of the rickshaw companies (24.3 percent). The latter are exclusively for men and women or families are not allowed. It is a kind of a chummary where the men sprawl, sleep and cook and eat. Migrants whose families stay with them usually stay in a jhuggi jhopdi (19 percent).

⁷ Under the scheme Antyodaya Anna Yojana, the extremely poor are eligible to be provided 35 kg or cereals at subsidized rates (Rs 2 per kg) cf: http://www.karmayog.org/publicdistributionsystem/publicdistributionsystem_2619.htm

Table 4.23 : Place of Stay according to whether respondent stays alone or with family

Place of Stay	Live alone in Gorakhpur		Total
	Yes	No	
Footpath	10	2	12
Godown	28	4	32
Factory	9	0	9
Open land	0	1	1
Slum	40	30	70
Rickshaw company	73	0	73
Jhuggi jhopdi	15	42	57
Other	34	12	46
Total	209	91	300

There are about 110 authorised slums in the city. There are some illegal/unauthorised slums and those staying there constantly face the threat of eviction by the municipality. In 2009, 30-40 households living on the pavement of Deoria Bypass, and near the Railway Station were evicted by the municipal corporation.

Nearly 10 percent of the migrants stay inside various godowns. About 12.5 percent migrants stay in these places with their families (4 out of the 32 staying in godowns live with their families). Jhuggi jhopdis are basically shacks made out of virtually any available materials --- from plastic sheets to mud with tin roofs. The waste workers all live in such shacks on the land given to them by their maliks (owners) that is the dealers who give them a place to settle and sort the waste and also buy the sorted products. The municipality cannot evict these people. However, there can be illegal jhuggi jhopdis as well, like the ones that two of the respondents stay in with their families. One is a 40 year old waste picker, Matalib from Assam. His household has 4 members. The other is a 30 year old Kurmi (OBC) petty shop keeper Shri Ram who lives in Gorakhpur with his 26 year old wife, two sons and a daughter.

Table 4.24 : Residence according to ownership of dwelling units and staying alone in Gorakhpur

Live alone in Gorakhpur	Place of Stay	Ownership of dwelling units				Total
		Owned	Rented	Illegal	Not applicable	
Yes	Footpath	0	0	0	10	10
	Godown	0	2	26	0	28
	Factory	0	0	0	9	9
	Slum	0	37	3	0	40
	Rickshaw company	0	0	0	73	73
	Jhuggi	13	2	0	0	15
	Other	21	11	2	0	34
	Total	34	52	31	92	209
No	Footpath	0	0	2	0	2
	Godown	0	0	4	0	4
	Open land	0	0	1	0	1
	Slum	0	30	0	0	30
	Jhuggi jhopdi	35	4	2	1	42
	Other	7	5	0	0	12
	Total	42	39	9	1	91

Table 4.25 : Place of Stay according to occupation

Occupation	Place of Stay								Total
	Footpath	Godown	Factory	Open land	Slum	Rickshaw company	Jhuggi jhopdi	Other	
Rickshaw puller	3	0	0	0	3	64	4	8	82
Casual labourer	2	24	2	0	40	7	6	10	91
Waste Picker	1	4	0	1	6	0	28	12	52
Handcart Puller	2	2	0	0	1	1	1	3	10
Domestic Help	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	4
Petty Shop	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	5
Mechanic	2	0	1	0	2	1	1	10	17
Vendor/Hawker	0	0	0	0	8	0	13	2	23
Others	1	1	6	0	6	0	1	0	15
Total	12	32	9	1	70	73	56	46	299

Physical availability of domestic water is not a problem for the migrants (Table 4.26). Majority have access to handpumps (82.7 percent) while some (17.3 percent) meet their needs from a municipal tap. However, the quality of the water cannot be taken for granted.

More than half (55 percent) have access to electricity, at least the electricity points seem to exist (Table 4.27). Whether there is a steady power supply --- and Gorakhpur is infamous for its prolonged power cuts throughout the year --- is a different matter. However, only 31 out of the 166 or 18.7 percent actually have to pay for the power they consume (Table 4.28).

Table 4.26 : Source of Domestic Water

Source of domestic water	Frequency	Percent
Hand pump	248	82.7
Municipality Tap	52	17.3
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.27 : Existence of Electricity Facility

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	166	55.3
No	134	44.7
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.28 : Pay for Electricity

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	31	10.3	10.3
No	135	45.0	55.3
Not applicable	134	44.7	100.0
Total	300	100.0	

The vast majority (73 percent) don't have a sanitary toilet in the premise where they stay (Table 4.29). In fact, slightly more than half of the migrants are forced to defecate in the open. Very few have access to public toilets (Table 4.30).

Table 4.29 : Existence of sanitary toilet facility in dwelling unit

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	82	27.3
No	218	72.7
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.30 : Place of defecation

Defecation place	Frequency	Percent
Open	153	51.0
Public toilet	65	21.7
Personal toilet	82	27.3
Total	300	100.0

“In our camp we have three toilets,” laughed Azad, 40, a waste-worker staying in one of the waste worker settlements in the city. “There are some 42 families staying here. So you can imagine the condition of these toilets. Basically the women and sometimes the sick use them. In the monsoons the place is submerged in waist deep water and we have to go and stay on the roads nearby. It is really difficult at that time. We all, men, women and children, have to defecate in the open. Privacy is a luxury.” An 'inspection' of a toilet is a nauseous affair. It is just a pit latrine surrounded by some plastic sheets on three sides and a curtain in the front that can blow in the wind. The stench emanating from it makes finding it easy.

Many localities of Gorakhpur are inundated during the monsoons due to its peculiar topography. The poorer citizens live in these areas and often their residences are flooded. Thus 85 percent of the respondents said that their locality gets flooded and another 42 percent have flooded homes during the during the monsoons. Out of four respondents, 1 lives in a locality without pucca roads (Tables 4.34 to 4.33).

Table 4.31 : Dwelling unit inundated during rainy season

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	127	42.3
No	173	57.7
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.32 : Locality in undated during Mansoons

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	85	28.3
No	215	71.7
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.33 : Pucca road in front of residence

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	227	75.7
No	73	24.3
Total	300	100.0

Table 4.34 : Inundation of residence during monsoons according to inundated locality and pucca road in front of dwelling unit

Pucca road in front of residence	Residence inundated during monsoons	Locality inundated during monsoons		Total
		Yes	No	
Yes	Yes	39	56	95
	No	19	113	132
Total		58	169	227
No	Yes	17	15	32
	No	10	31	41
Total		27	46	73

As is obvious, the worst off are the 17 respondents whose dwelling units are flooded in the monsoons and who live in localities that are underwater and without pucca roads. It is tempting to think that the situation in their villages may be better.

4.7 : The Standard of Life

Ironically, all but seven respondents said that they have a higher standard of living in Gorakhpur compared to their villages (Table 4. 35). That 98 percent of the migrants, from 267 villages across 19 districts and five states feel that despite the deplorable conditions they live in the city, it is better than in their villages is a telling comment on the state of rural development in the country.

Table 4.35 : Improvement in Living Standards in Gorakhpur compared to Village of Origin

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	293	97.7
No	7	2.3
Total	300	100.0

That the migrants face a severe crisis of employment and livelihoods in the rural areas due to their social position, a crisis accentuated by climatic factors is borne out by 95 percent of the respondents saying that the employment prospects are better in Gorakhpur than in their village (Table 4.36).

Table 4.36 : Reasons for Improvement in Living Standards

Reasons for Improvement of Living Standards in GKP	Responses	Percent of Responses	Percent of Cases
Better employment opportunities	284	82.6	94.7
Self business	1	0.3	0.3
Better life style	5	1.5	1.7
Education	17	4.9	5.7
Women Employment	1	0.3	0.3
Food Security	10	2.9	3.3
Peace	4	1.2	1.3
Regular employment	1	0.3	0.3
Better Wages	4	1.2	1.3
Savings	8	2.3	2.7
Good health	2	0.6	0.7
No improvement	7	2.0	2.3
Total Responses	344	100.0	114.7

Those who said their living standards have not gone up did not attribute the same to the lack of employment. They rued the lack of social bonds and the prevalent high levels of individualism in the city.

Yet despite the majority saying that their standard of life has improved compared to that in the village, the migrants felt that their lot in the city can be improved considerably. This is a telling comment with methodological implications for migration studies. Given their position in the lived social hierarchy, most of the migrants are used to playing a submissive role throughout their lives. A question like the one asked, that is whether their lives have improved in the city will obviously draw a positive response. It is one way of protesting about the realities of rural life they have lived and their families continue to experience. It is also a way of pointing out that things are not as should be in Gorakhpur for they expect middle class observers /researchers to see and understand. When it comes to it, they adeptly listed the problems they face in city. The full list of problems is given in table 4.37. to illustrate that life in the city is not easy.

Table 4.37 : Problems Faced in the City

Problems	Responses	Percent of Responses	Percent of Cases
Residence related	139	15.7	46.3
Water logging & drainage	56	6.4	18.6
Lack of sanitation, toilets & bathing facilities	100	11.3	33.3
Mosquito menace	15	1.7	5.0
Irregular Employment/poor /irregular Payment of wages	103	11.6	34.3
Food insecurity	54	6.1	18.0
Illness & lack of healthcare facilities	58	6.4	19.3
No Electricity	54	6.1	18.0
Poor quality drinking water	48	5.4	16.0
Traffic jam & transportation	5	0.5	1.7
Gundaism, theft, harassment and threats to life	49	5.5	16.3
Cooking	70	7.9	23.3
Lack of bedding /proper sleeping Arrangements/ nowhere to keep belongings	20	2.2	6.6
Food costly	7	0.8	2.3
Unemployment during Monsoons	25	3.6	8.3
Children's education	6	0.7	2.0
Loneliness	15	1.7	5.0
No ration card	29	3.3	9.7
Money problem	4	0.5	1.3
Others*	7	0.8	2.3
No response/silence	23	2.6	7.7
Total Responses	885	100.0	295.0

* Includes 1 count each of problems cited : Child care during work, Waste collection early in the morning, lack of respect, husband left, lack of Fuel, lack of government fair price shops and lack of government schemes for the poor.

The most frequent problem cited relates to inappropriate places to stay, a problem mentioned by almost every second migrant. This is just the physical space to stay. If

issues related to water logging, drainage, lack of sanitation and toilets, lack of drinking water and the menace of mosquitoes be taken together, almost all the migrants are affected. The city needs these people, yet the arrangements for living decently don't exist and nobody seems to care much as long as they render the services. Some even complained of the lack of bedding, compelling them to sleep on the barren ground. Often there is no space to store one's belongings and thefts are not uncommon. Gorakhpur is highly malaria and Japanese encephalitis infested. Lack of sanitation, open defecation and contaminated domestic water makes the citizens, especially the poorer ones, highly vulnerable to diarrhoea, jaundice and various gastro-intestinal diseases. Many (19.3 percent of the respondents) complained about the lack of adequate public health care facilities in the city.

The other major set of issues relate to work: the very reason that brings migrants to the city. Even the payments/remuneration or wages are paid reluctantly and irregularly. Unemployment is common and often during the rains many don't find work.

There is rampant high handedness by local toughs (goondas). Threats to life and the little possessions the migrants own are common as nearly 16 percent respondents pointed out.

Male respondents, torn from their family and living alone in the city face many problems, Not used to cooking their own meals at home, 23 percent of the respondents found preparing food a problem. Gender division of work apart, lack of space is often a problem. Natha, 29 who lives on the premises of a rickshaw company pointed out, "I learnt how to make rotis. Of course, my rotis are not perfectly round. They may be thick but are not uncooked. But often, we don't have a place to cook or to keep the atta and the utensils. Dogs lick them." Natha is relatively new to Gorakhpur, having arrived from Maharajganj just six months ago. "I have to eat out sometimes. But it costs too much. I end up paying at least Rs 30 for a filling meal," he adds.

City life is expensive. Soaring prices of food and a high inflation rate plagues the migrants. Not having ration cards in the city excludes most migrants to obtain subsidised cereals distributed through the government's public distribution system. Ironically, these migrants had to flee their villages due to the lack of appropriate and adequate employment, leading to food insecurity. Yet many of them continue to face hunger in the city too, partly due to the lack of employment and partly due to irregular or underpayment of wages.

Life in the city is lonely, as five percent respondents pointed out. Almost 8 percent respondents remained silent about the problems they face. Silences speak. Perhaps they were trying to communicate that the list of problems is so long that it would be useless to point them out. One respondent said, "What is the use of narrating our woes? There will be no solution and life will continue to be as it is if not worsen."

4.8: Hours of Work

Most migrants have to put in long hours of work, on an average 9.20 hours daily, to make ends meet. However, it also depends on the availability of work: the average number of days the migrants work in a month is nearly 24. While 20 percent work upto seven hours daily, the majority (37.7 percent) work between 9 to 12 hours a day. Another 35.3 percent work for eight hours. There are some (7 percent) who have to put in more than 13 hours to earn a livelihood (Table 4.38).

Table 4.38 : Daily hours of work

Daily Working Hours	Respondents	Percent
2-4	14	4.7
5-7	46	15.3
8 -9	106	35.3
9-12	113	37.7
>=13	21	7.0
Total	300	100.0

Analysing the number of hours of work according to occupation shows that most of the rickshaw pullers (54.9 percent) work between 9 to 12 hours a day (table 4.39). The casual labourers on the other hand mostly work for eight hours a day (52.8 percent) though a substantial number (40.7 percent) have to work for more than 8 hours. The majority of

Table 4.39 : Daily hours of work according to occupation

Occupations	Daily hours of work					Total
	2-4 hours	5-7 hours	8 hours	9-12 hours	>=13 hours	
Rickshaw puller	0 (0.0)	9 (10.97)	26 (31.76)	45 (54.87)	2 (2.4)	82 (100.0)
Casual labourer	1 (1.09)	5 (5.49)	48 (52.76)	26 (28.57)	11 (12.09)	91 (100.0)
Waste Picker	7 (13.46)	20 (38.46)	18 (34.62)	7 (13.46)	0 (0.0)	52 (100.0)
Handcart Puller	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (27.27)	8 (72.73)	0 (0.0)	11 (100.0)
Domestic Help	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (100.0)
Petty Shop	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (20.0)	3 (60.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100.0)
Mechanic	0 (0.0)	2 (11.74)	4 (23.52)	7 (41.18)	4 (23.54)	17 (100.0)
Vendor/Hawker	4 (17.39)	9 (39.13)	2 (8.69)	8 (34.79)	0 (0.0)	23 (100.0)
Others	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (20.0)	9 (60.0)	3 (20.0)	15 (100.0)
Total	14	46	106	113	21	300

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages)

the waste workers (73.1 percent) work between 5-8 hours daily. Some handcart pullers (30 percent) put in 8 hours of work, but the majority work at least 9-12 hours a day

4.9 : Number of days worked in a month

The majority of the migrants work between 21 to 25 days but a large number (32.3 percent) work between 26 to 30 days. There are around 81 migrants who work only between 11 and 20 days.

Table 4.40 : Days worked in a month

Working days	Frequency	Percent
upto 10	4	1.3
11-20	81	27.0
21-25	118	39.3
26-30	97	32.3
Total	300	100.0

From the discussions with the migrants, it emerged that the fluctuations in the number of days worked in a month depends a) on the availability of work b) on the need to go home and c) forced rest due to illness.

Table 4.41 : Days worked monthly according to whether migrant stays alone

Days worked monthly	Live alone in gorakhpur		Total
	Yes	No	
Up to 10 days	4	0	4
11-20 days	60 (28.71)	21 (23.07)	81
21-25 days	84 (40.19)	34 (37.36)	118
26-30 days	61 (29.19)	36 (39.57)	97
Total	209 (100)	91 (100)	300

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages)

Most of the migrants (40.19 percent) who stay alone in Gorakhpur work between 21-25 days a month while amongst those who stay with their families, the majority (39.57 percent) work between 26-30 days (table 4.40). The former prefer to go home or rest, that is if they get work. For the rickshaw pullers work is rather regular and they can afford to go home or rest, but for the casual labour, given the uncertainties of the market and the wage rates, rest or going home does become a luxury for the majority (38.46 percent). They have to work upto 30 days a month (Table 4.42)

Table 4.42 : Days worked monthly by occupation

Days Worked Monthly	Occupations									
	Rickshaw puller	Casual labourer	Waste Picker	Handcart Puller	Domestic Help	Petty Shop	Mechanic	Vendor/Hawker	Others	Total
upto 10 days	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
11-20 days	40	26	8	1	0	0	4	2	0	81
21-25 days	33	29	30	5	0	2	4	7	8	118
26-30 days	7	35	14	4	4	3	9	14	7	97
Total	82	91	52	11	4	5	17	23	15	300

4.10 : Health Seeking Behaviour of the Migrants

For most of the migrants, health care means going to a private practitioner or just simply going to a local pharmacy and asking for medication, given by the shop owner. Diagnosis of ailments by the chemist shop personnel is simple: aches, colds or stomach problems. Instant cures are sought and the migrants cannot afford to lie ill in bed. Antibiotics are prescribed and often injected as are pain killers. The quacks also follow this line of treatment. About the private practitioners, it is really difficult to say how many are really qualified physicians (irrespective of allopaths, homeopaths or ayurveda specialists). There is little reliance on pathological tests and in any case most migrants cannot afford the same. Very few (13.1 percent cf. Table 4.43) go to the government health care facilities due to a whole range of reasons: from being too time consuming to lack of doctors on duty and unavailability of medicines. Not only the migrants but a large number of poor people go to state run health care facilities when the illness is serious and they have run out of all other options.

Table 4.43 : Health Care Seeking Behaviour

Health facilities	Responses	Percent of Responses	Percent of Cases
Private practitioner	194	42.3	64.7
District hospital	55	12.0	18.3
Pharmacy	194	42.3	64.7
Block Hospital	5	1.1	1.7
Quacks	11	2.4	3.7
Total Responses	459	100.0	153.0

On an average, the 300 migrants spend Rs 142.57 on health care a month. The range of expenditures is wide, varying from Rs 10 to Rs 2500, depending on the nature of illness, the number of family members who are ill as well as the demographic composition of the household. Too many aged or young persons mean higher healthcare expenses. However, nearly 95 percent of the migrants spend up to 10 percent of their meagre incomes on health care a month (Table 4.44), pointing to the need for more efficient and cheap state provisioning of health care.

Table 4.44 : Proportion of monthly income spent on healthcare

Proportion of monthly income Spent on healthcare (%)	Respondents	Percent
Up to 10	284	94.7
11-25	11	3.7
More than 25	5	1.7
Total	300	100.0

Expenditure on medicines is certainly a major component of the migrants' household budgets. The migrants had been asked to list the major heads on which they spend their money. Medicines came second after children's education with 24.3 percent of the respondents mentioning this item (Table 4.45).

Table 4.45 : Items on which the Migrants Spend

Expenditures On	Responses	Percent of Responses	Percent of Cases
Festivals	14	3.3	4.7
Children's Education	106	24.7	35.3
Fuel	57	13.3	19.0
Milk	2	0.5	0.7
Children	42	9.8	14.0
Agriculture	8	1.9	2.7
Medicines	73	17.0	24.3
Addiction	57	13.3	19.0
Using toilet	3	0.7	1.0
Food and clothes	64	14.9	21.3
Repaying Interest	1	0.2	0.3
Not answered	3	0.7	1.0
Total Responses	430	100.0	143.3

4.11 : Remittances

In the literature on migration, it is generally accepted that easy generalisations cannot be made about the relationships between poverty and migration as it varies according to the 'level of development of the area under consideration,' (Skeldon, 2003). Some hold that "Although migration can increase income inequality, the relative impact of remittances on the poorest households should be large enough to significantly improve their quality of life even when wealthier households receive greater benefits from migration," (Deshingkar and Farrington, 2009:12).

In Section 4.4 (table 4.6), it was seen that about 85 percent of the migrants in the sample live on a per capita daily income of \$1 a day taking the earnings of the entire households. This includes the remittances sent home by the migrants.

This section analyses the remittances sent by the migrants in detail. At the very outset, it must be pointed out that though the data on the remittances are reasonably accurate, being made by trained and experienced investigators and the migrants themselves, they

Table 4.46 : Remittances sent home by the migrants

Amount Sent Home	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Rs100-500	76	25.3	36.4	36.4
Rs.501- 1000	56	18.7	26.8	63.2
Rs.1001- 1500	31	10.3	14.8	78.0
Rs.1501- 2000	38	12.7	18.2	96.2
More than Rs 2000	8	2.7	3.8	100.0
Total	209	69.7	100.0	
Don't Send	91	30.3		
Total	300	100.0		

are at best estimates. This is due to the very nature of the informal sector. The earnings fluctuate seasonally, monthly and sometimes daily. These migrants do not get fixed salaries. However, the data was collected for both annual figures (taking the last year as a the reference point) as well as monthly data and computed on a monthly basis (table 4.46)

As seen in table 4.46, 30.3 percent of the migrants do not send any money home. This is because 91 of the migrants in the sample stay in Gorakhpur with their families and do not need to send money home.

All the 209 persons whose families do not stay in Gorakhpur send money home at regular intervals. The majority (36.4 percent) send between Rs 100 to Rs 500 per month. However, nearly 18 percent send between Rs 1500 and Rs 2000 a month. Of those who send money home, 96 percent send less than Rs 2000 monthly. These amounts, considering the number of dependents and the high prices of food and other essential items, do not seem sufficient to greatly improve the standard or quality of life of the migrants, even if it be considered that most migrants take something home (food items like say biscuits or sometimes clothes bought from the flea markets). These items do not substantially add to the quality of life of the dependents but rather contribute just to their survival⁸.

Efforts were made to calculate the amounts that the migrants are left with to survive on in the city after remitting money home. However, it was not possible to get an accurate picture of this due to the nature of earnings, the ways in which money is sent home and also the survival strategies of the migrants. "I send money sometimes through someone going to the village when there is an emergency like my youngest son falling ill. For this I have to borrow money occasionally. There are times when the contractor I work for delays payments on the plea that he is yet to get money from the owner of the building. I borrow money or even go to the Gorakhnath temple to eat. At other times, I eat at the dhaba on credit. It's like managing somehow with what little I earn. I have to go without food too every now and then. There are times in the year when I earn a lot, like before Holi and Diwali when people get their homes painted. I eat more then and also send more money home," said Ramcharan, 33, a casual labourer who works mostly in the construction and house-painting sector. Jainal, 26, an itinerant vegetable hawker, said he doesn't keep any accounts or even estimates. "My first priority is to send money home, according to the needs of my family. I manage with whatever is left, anyway in which I can. Many people give me leftover food." Focus group discussions with some of the respondents as well as other migrants who were not in the sample but work in the informal sector revealed that the migrants spend at the most between 10-15 percent of what they earn on themselves, mostly on food.

4.11.1 : Methods of Remitting Money

The respondents send money through various means, with many using more than one method. However, of the 209 respondents who do send money home, the most prevalent way of doing so is to take it themselves when they visit their villages.

⁸ These items are not taken on every visit nor does every migrant necessarily take them. The migrants could not exactly attribute monetary values but said that the investigators should include them in the total remittances.

Table 4.47 : Ways of Sending Money Home

Method of Remitting Money	Count	Percent of	Percent of
Friends	64	18.6	21.3
Self	176	51.2	58.7
Western Union money transfer	3	0.9	1.0
Post	5	1.5	1.7
Bank Ac	4	1.2	1.3
Family members	1	0.3	0.3
Not applicable (do not send)	91	26.5	30.3
Total	344	100.0	114.7

Apart from carrying the amounts themselves, the respondents also send money home through friends. It can be seen from Table 4.47 that the migrants prefer personal means of remitting money than impersonal ones like say money orders (through the post office) perhaps due to the costs of the transactions. Also, since they stay rather close by and do visit home frequently, they chose to carry the money themselves.

4.11.2 : Reasons for Remitting Money

It has been argued in the literature that migration can result in positive outcomes for the poor (Deshingkar and Farrington, 2009:13). "Remittances are used for productive purposes ranging from farm inputs to non-farm enterprises to investments in education. Households also use remittances to fund social events like weddings or funerals, positively impacting the local economy and those community members who do not migrate. Other studies show that remittances are spent on healthcare or to repay debt. Ellis and Harris (2004) point out that remittances play an important role in the cumulative process of poverty reduction by diminishing the need for access to credit, which often serves as an obstacle to entrepreneurial endeavours. They also note that migration can lead to an accumulation of human capital and the transfer of ideas" (Ibid).

The migrants in the sample were asked why they send money home. Several reasons were given by the 209 migrants who do so, but the overwhelming majority (Table 4.48) said they sent the money to support parents and their own families (meaning their spouse and children). Support here implies purchasing essential food items and sometimes second hand clothes. Of course, 13.7 percent of the respondents also mentioned that they sent money for their children's education while 6.3 percent said that they sent money for purchasing medicines also. No one mentioned sending money for investment in agriculture, though 136 (65.1 percent) of the respondents who send money

Table 4.48 : Rationale for Sending Money

Reasons for Sending Money	Count	Percent of Responses	Percent of
Parents	24	8.96	8.00
Family	184	68.65	61.30
Education of children	41	15.30	13.70
Medicine	19	7.09	6.30
Total Responses	268	100.00	128.24

home own some land. The impact of remitting money for children's education shall be analysed in a chapter 5.

4.12 : Visiting Home

As discussed earlier, life in the city is not easy for the migrants. There is loneliness and fatigue as well as the irregularity of work. Given the division of labour in society, major decisions relating to the household management are taken by the male head of the household who is also accepted as the prime earner. Women's tasks, both productive and reproductive are underplayed. Then those who have some land need to supervise the agricultural operations on their farms. Out of the 300 respondents, 209 (69.67 percent) stay alone in the city and 155 (51.67 percent) own some land. These people visit their homes at regular intervals. Proximity of the village to the city is a major determinant of the frequency of the home visits. Even the 91 respondents who stay in the city with their families have not totally cut off their ties with their villages. Only 19 of the respondents said they never visit home.

Table 4.49 : Annual frequencies of village visits

Frequency of village visit	Responses	Percent
never	19	6.3
1-6 times	133	44.3
7-12 times	42	14.0
13-19 times	6	2.0
20-36 times	66	22.0
more than 36 times	34	11.3
Total	300	100.0

As is obvious from Table 4.49, the majority (44.3 percent) visit their villages upto six times a year. The time they spend in the village depends on the situational exigencies and varies from person to person (Table 4.50)

Table 4.50 : Duration of each village visit (days)

No of days spent in village per visit	Frequency	Percent
1	31	10.3
2	57	19.0
3	45	15.0
4	26	8.7
5	24	8.0
6	9	3.0
7	6	2.0
8	5	1.7
9	1	.3
10	30	10.0
12	1	.3
14	1	.3
15	24	8.0
20	7	2.3
24	2	.7
25	1	.3
30	9	3.0
45	1	.3
Did not answer	1	.3
not applicable	19	6.3
Total	300	100.0

The majority (44.3 percent) spend upto three days per village visit. These are the ones who stay closest to the city.

Table 4.51 : Reasons for Visiting Village

Reasons for visiting village	Count	Percent of	Percent of Cases
To look after house	32	5.2	10.7
To look after the land/ agriculture	46	7.5	15.3
For family	149	24.3	49.7
During marriages/ deaths	48	7.8	16.0
To cast vote	65	10.6	21.7
Meeting people	32	5.2	10.7
Celebrating Festivals	104	16.9	34.7
To give money	120	19.5	40.0
Don't visit village	19	3.0	6.0
Total Responses	615	100.0	205.0

Multiple reasons were cited by the respondents for visiting their villages. The most important reasons, however, were caring for the family (or to maintain familial ties), giving money and celebrating festivals (Table 4.51)

4.13: Conclusion

Ostensibly, the migrants come to the city to escape and improve the deplorable conditions they face in their villages of origin. They come to Gorakhpur and work hard, day and night, living in equal misery: without water, sanitation, toilets or even a roof over their heads. They spend a substantial amount of what they earn buying food in the open market as they don't have ration cards since they don't have the privilege of having a permanent address in the city. Yet, at the end of the day, despite all the hardships they undergo, this study found, that they are not able to get out of the clutches of poverty. 85 percent of the sampled respondents live on a per capita daily household income of less than \$1 a day.

The city hardly cares for them. Apart from infrastructure provisioning or subsidised food grains, the citizens of Gorakhpur do not pay the migrants enough so that they can get out of the clutches of poverty, something that the migrants seem to have inherited as a part of their legacy. The culture of deprivation works in such way that the progeny of the migrants are doomed to live a life of indignity, below the economic poverty line but socially also as they continue to remain excluded. This is illustrated in the next chapter that looks at education, something that is considered to be one of the ways of getting out of the poverty trap.

The Contours of Literacy and Education

"I remember when I came to Bombay in 1972, when I left the hotel at 4 o'clock in the morning; I could not recognise the street where thousands of people were sleeping. I asked myself what is the hope for them who have been born on the streets, sleep on the streets, who marry on the streets and who die in the streets --- what is the use of literacy to them" Paulo Friere⁹

In Chapter 2 (cf Table 2.4) it was discussed that the overall level of illiteracy of the migrant respondents, at 59 percent, is rather high. 89.5 percent of the women respondents are illiterate. However, in the sample, 13 percent have passed high school and nearly 4 percent have completed their intermediate studies. There are 50 persons, or one out of every six, in the sample who have completed their high school. Finishing high school or even the intermediate level and then plying rickshaws or working as a migrant casual labour for a wage that is insufficient to keep body and soul together is a telling comment on the sad state of affairs of the quality of education. It also shows that education (or for that matter literacy) alone is not sufficient to enable some sections of the population in India to get out of poverty.

However, over the last few decades, there has been a tremendous growth in literacy and education provisioning in India, including in the states the migrants hail from. Given this, one would expect that there would be fewer illiterates (or those without any educational experience) amongst the younger generation of the migrants than amongst the older ones.

In this chapter, data is presented that demonstrates two key issues pertinent to the educational debate. First, the evidence confirms that despite the rhetoric of education for all, and the transformative potential of schooling, education does not enable the migrant workers to break free of class, caste, religious and gender hierarchies both in terms of access and outcomes.¹⁰

⁹ Cited in Patel (ed) 2001: p xvii

¹⁰ There is a growing body of literature on this subject. Cf. Kumar, 1993, Nambissan, 2000 a & b, Nambissan, 1996, Sarangapani, 2003, Balagopalan, 2005 and Willis, 1977.

Secondly, while educational investments are often justified in terms of rates of return, calculated as increases in per capita incomes, there is no clear correlation between levels of education and incomes earned in the present sample of migrant workers¹¹. Instead social networks appear to be more crucial in facilitating better jobs and improved earnings

But before going into the debates on education, development and poverty reduction, the contours of literacy and education of the migrant respondents and their families is analysed from various angles.

5.1 : Reproduction of Inequalities

In table 5.1, the literacy status of the migrant respondents is presented. Illiterates have been defined as those who have never been to school, even though some of them might have learnt from the school of life to just sign their names.

Table 5.1 : Literacy Status in different age groups

Literacy Status	Age group (in years)			Total
	upto 25	26-40	above 40	
Literate	21 (46.7)	70 (45.2)	32 (32.0)	123 (41.0)
Illiterate	24 (53.3)	85 (54.8)	68 (68.0)	177 (59.0)
Total	45	155	100	300

(Figures in parenthesis are percentages of the total of the number of respondents in any age group)

What is interesting is that while there is a rather sharp decline in the illiteracy rates comparing those who are above 40 and those below, there is no major difference in the ratio of literates to illiterates in the two age groups that is those below 25 years and those below 40. This points to the fact that despite the stress on elementary education over the last two decades, especially during the last 10 years, 20 percent of the migrants in the sample who have been children below 18 and hence of school going age, were deprived of education for various reasons. Effectively education, irrespective of its quality, does not reach a substantial section of the population.

Who are these deprived people? The obvious correlates would be caste, religion and landholdings. These are examined in the next few tables.

Firstly, women, cutting across all social classes have a much lower literacy rate. 17 out of the 19 women respondents (89.5 percent are illiterate. One each completed middle school (class 8) and high school (class 10).

The SCs have the highest levels of illiteracy. On the other hand, the general castes have the highest proportion of high school and intermediate pass respondents. Essentially, this table 5.2 shows that the chances of attaining higher education (or going beyond the

¹¹ The rate of returns to education, suggested by the World Bank has been criticised in the literature all over the globe. For an understanding of the approach and its criticisms, see for instance Bennell, 1996, Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004, Preston and Dyer, 2003 and Tilak, 2007.

primary level) increases as one goes up the caste hierarchy. This result is not anything unexpected and is in accordance with all India trends.

Analysis of the literacy status according to the caste of the respondent across age groups shows that for the general castes, while there were a higher proportion of illiterates in the middle age group

(26-40 years) the literacy levels of those up to 25 years of age has been 100 percent. Among the SCs, however, the proportion of illiterates is the highest in the oldest age group (above 40 years) and the lowest in the youngest age group. The proportion of illiterates in the youngest age group is the highest amongst the OBCs (Table 5.3). On the basis of this data, it cannot be said that there is a lower preference for education among the OBCs as such. However, amongst the younger OBC migrants working for a living seems to be more important than going to school. Determination of the causal factors for this would necessitate further probing as schooling is highly location specific and there are many factors, ranging from say the non-existence of schools and teachers in a particular place to individual household characteristics/traits that determine accessing schooling

Table 5.2 : Caste and Literacy

Educational Level	Caste Category					
	General		OBC		SC	
	Count	Col %	Count	Col %	Count	Col %
Primary	2	7.7	36	18.3	9	11.7
Middle			21	10.7	5	6.5
High School	8	30.8	24	12.2	7	9.1
Intermediate	2	7.7	5	2.5	4	5.2
Illiterate	14	53.8	111	56.3	52	67.5
Total	26	100.0	197	100.0	77	300.0
					82	100.0

Table 5.3 : Literacy Status according to Age and Caste

Caste Category	Literacy	Age group 2			Total
		upto 25	26-40	above 40	
General	Literate	3 (100.0)	5(35.7)	4(44.4)	12
	Illiterate	0	9(64.3)	5(55.6)	14
	Total	3(100.0)	14(100.0)	9(100.0)	26
OBC	Literate	15(41.7)	52(48.6)	19(35.2)	86
	Illiterate	21(58.3)	55(51.4)	35(64.8)	111
	Total	36(100.0)	107(100.0)	54(100.0)	197
SC	Literate	3(50.0)	13(38.2)	9(24.3)	25
	Illiterate	3(50.0)	21(61.8)	28(75.7)	52
	Total	6(100.0)	34(100.0)	37(100.0)	77

Values in parentheses refer to percentages

5.2 : Religion and Educational Status

On the whole, cutting across all age groups, the proportion of illiterates is much higher, at 71.3 percent amongst the Muslims than the Hindus (53.2 percent illiterate). This is of course ignoring the sole Sikh respondent who has never been to school.



"Uncle, why can't I go to school?" Asked nine year old Juin, a child in the waste-workers' settlement. She had quickly gone to her hut to dress up thinking that we had come to enroll them in school.

© Amit Mitra

Table 5.4 : Literacy Status according to Age and Religion

Religion	Literacy Status	Age group 2			Total
		upto 25	26-40	above 40	
Hinduism	Literate	17(65.4)	55(52.9)	24(32.0)	96(46.8)
	Illiterate	9(34.6)	49(47.1)	51(68.8)	109(53.2)
	Total	26(100.0)	104(100.0)	75(100.0)	205(100.0)
Islam	Literate	4(21.1)	15(30.0)	8(32.0)	27(28.7)
	Illiterate	15(78.9)	35(70.0)	17(68.0)	67(71.3)
	Total	19(100.0)	50(100.0)	25(100.0)	94(100.0)
Sikhism	Illiterate		1(100.0)		1(100.0)
	Total		1(100.0)		1(100.0)

Values in parentheses refer to percentages

lower incidence of literates in the youngest age group amongst the OBCs (Table 5.3) as 89.4 percent of the total 94 Muslims in the sample said they belonged to the OBC category. Given the predominant occupation of the Muslims in the sample (waste-workers) and that the majority of them hail from Assam, it shows that younger Muslims are migrating due to the volatile situation in their home districts. Many of the

Muslim families do want to educate their children (in fact some of the migrant respondents did grow up to adults in Gorakhpur itself) but cannot due to situational exigencies (see Box : The Waste Workers of Gorakhpur in chapter 4).

5.3 : Education and Land Ownership

As is well known, the ownership of assets and material resources, including land, does contribute to the acquisition of literacy and education. Though state provided primary and secondary schooling in most of the states where the migrants come from is free, there are other costs (clothes for instance) that potentially deter parents from sending children to school. Ownership of some assets in such a scenario, does contribute somewhat to going to school. The survey results confirmed this fact (Table 5.5). The ratio of literates (or those who got some schooling) to illiterates (those who never went to school) amongst the 300 sample households is 52.3 percent to 47.7 percent amongst those who own some land while it is 29 percent to 71 percent for the landless.

5.4 : The Demand for Education

All the respondents interviewed for this study, literate or illiterate, did re-iterate the need for education and felt it was important to improve the quality of life. No one, even amongst those rickshaw pullers or casual labourers who had completed high school or intermediate levels, asked of what use was their getting educated when they had to work

While among the Hindus, the propensity to go to school has increased amongst the younger age groups (cf Table 5.4), there is a sharp fall in the youngest age group amongst the Muslims. This partly explains the

Table 5.5 : Literacy Status according to Age and Landownership

Self Owned Land	Literacy Status	age group 2			Total
		upto 25	26-40	above 40	
Yes	Literate	16(64.0)	46(57.5)	19(38.0)	81(52.3)
	Illiterate	9(36.0)	34(42.5)	31(62.0)	74(47.7)
	Total	25(100.0)	80(100.0)	50(100.0)	155(100.0)
No	Literate	5(25.0)	24(32.0)	13(26.0)	42(29.0)
	Illiterate	15(75.0)	51(68.0)	37(74.0)	103(71.0)
	Total	20(100.0)	75(100.0)	50(100.0)	145(100.0)

manually. Yet there was a general feeling that despite getting educated they were 'jobless' in the sense that they did not have a formal salaried job. The illiterate respondents (177 or 59 percent) were asked why they didn't go to school and those who had gone to school were asked why they discontinued studies. Their responses are given below in Tables 5. 6 and 5.7.

Table 5.6 Reasons for not Studying

Reasons for not studying	Responses	Percent of Responses	Percent of cases
Parents Illiterate	21	6.5	7.0
Poverty			
Malfunctioning of school	166	51.8	53.0
Death of parents	4	1.2	1.3
Unwillingness of parents	5	1.5	1.7
Not applicable (went to school)	123	37.8	41.0
Total Responses	325	100.0	108.3

Poverty emerges as the biggest factor both for never going to school as well as discontinuing studies. Unwillingness of guardians, parents or elder brothers who take the place of parents (read father) when the latter are no more is another factor. Ultimately, the ability of a person to earn, here and now, becomes more important than studies that might not necessarily be translated into future incomes.

Table 5.7 : Reasons for discontinuing Studies

Reasons for discontinuing studies	Responses	Percent of Responses	Percent of
Death of parents	12	3.8	4.0
Unwillingness of elder brother	15	4.8	5.0
Poverty	103	32.8	34.0
Illiterate parent	3	1.0	1.0
Not Interested	4	1.3	1.3
Not Applicable (Never went to school)	177	56.4	59.0
Total Responses	314	100.00	104.7

5.5 : The returns to education

Learning acquisition is not a major contributor to the occupation of a migrant nor does it substantially contribute to the incomes. As is seen from Table 5.8, in the sample there are 11 respondents who have cleared their Intermediate studies (12 years of schooling) yet their occupations do not require such levels of schooling. Four of them are rickshaw pullers and five work as casual labourers. Putting it differently, their occupations and the level of educational qualifications do not match

Nor does acquiring some education reflect in substantially higher levels of earnings (Table 5. 9). Of the nine respondents who have the highest level of per capita daily household earnings, that is Rs 67-90 (or US\$ 1.5 to 2 daily), eight have never been to school. On the other hand, nearly 43 percent of those respondents whose households live on per capita daily amount of 50 cents have been to school, some of them even having completed their intermediate level.

Table 5.8 : Educational level in different occupational group

Educational Level	grouped occupations									Total
	Rickshaw puller	Casual labourer	Waste Picker	Handcart Puller	Domestic Help	Petty Shop	Mechanic	Vendor /Hawke	Others	
Primary	10	22	5	3	0	0	2	4	1	47
High School	8	18	3	0	1	0	2	3	4	39
Intermediate	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	11
Middle	6	11	2	1	0	0	3	0	3	26
Illiterate	54	35	42	7	3	5	10	15	6	177
Total	82	91	52	10	4	5	17	23	15	300

Table 5.9 : Educational Level and Per Capita Daily Household Incomes in Rupees

Educational Level	Per capita daily income HH (grpd)				Total
	less than 22.50	22.51-45.00	45.01-67.50	67.51-90.00	
Primary	14	26	6	1	47
High School	13	23	3	0	39
Intermediate	5	5	1	0	11
Middle	7	16	3	0	26
Illiterate	52	93	24	8	177
Total	91	163	37	9	300

Literacy or the acquisition of some learning or going to school seems to have some uses. Amongst the respondents, it was noted that a higher proportion of the illiterates had monthly incomes upto Rs 3000 per month (35 percent) than those who had some education (Table 5.10). As is seen from the table, as the level of education increases, so does the proportion of persons in the higher income groups (more than Rs 3000 per month.

Table 5.10 : Educational Level and Monthly Earnings

Educational Level	Monthly earnings grpd			Total
	Upto Rs3000	Rs3001-6000	More than Rs 6000	
Primary	10 (21.3)	37 (78.7)	0 (0.0)	47
High School	7 (17.9)	31 (79.5)	1 (2.6)	39 (100.0)
Intermediate	2 (18.2)	9 (81.8)	0 (0.0)	11 (100.0)
Middle	5 (19.2)	21 (80.8)	0 (0.0)	26 (100.0)
Illiterate	62 35.0	110 (62.1)	5 (2.8)	177 (100.0)
Total	86 (28.7)	208 (69.3)	6 (2.0)	300 (100.0)

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages within educational level)

However, the levels of incomes as well as the occupational profile and that the illiterate earn nearly as much as their educated counterparts reflects partly the kind and quality of education imparted. It also points to the fact that the survival of a migrant or doing well (relatively) depends not so much on the kind of education but on the formation of social capital and the networks and connections a migrant worker is able to build over time, that is the years spent in a particular migration destination. Kinship, both real and fictitious, the place of origin of the worker, and also the individual temperament all contribute to this. Religion is a major factor: most of the waste workers and their employers are Muslims. There is a lot of variation in all this according to the occupation of the migrant and also factors like the area of origin and the number of days the migrant stays in the a month. It is not possible to generalize and say that the income of the migrant varies directly with the number of years of stay in the city nor can a direct association be made between these two variables. This was also observed in the case of the 300 respondents (Table 5.11).

Thus, of those who have spent upto five years in Gorakhpur, about 35 percent earn upto Rs 3000 per month. The majority of those who have spent upto five years (64.2 percent) earn between Rs 3000 to Rs 6000 monthly. However, of those who earn upto Rs 3000 monthly, the majority (40.7 percent) have been migrants to the city for more than 10 years. 38.4 percent of the migrants here have been so for upto five years.

Table 5.11 : Monthly earnings and the number of years in Gorakhpur

Monthly earnings	Number of years in gkpgrp2			Total
	1-5 years	6-10 years	More than 10 years	
Upto Rs3000	33 (34.7)	18 (24.7)	35 (26.5)	86 (28.7)
Rs3001-6000	61 (64.2)	54 (74.0)	93 (70.5)	208 (69.3)
More than Rs 6000	1 (1.1)	1 (1.4)	4 (3.0)	6 (2.0)
Total	95 (100.0)	73 (100.0)	132 (100.0)	300 (100.0)

(Values in parentheses refer to percentages within educational level)

There is no school that the migrant waste-workers' children can attend in Gorakhpur.



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On the other hand, of those who have spent between 6 to 10 years, the majority (74.0 percent) earn between Rs 3000 to Rs 6000 a month. Amongst those who have spent more than 10 years in the city, the majority do earn between Rs 3000 and Rs 6000 monthly, but there is a large proportion (26.5 percent) who earn upto Rs 3000 monthly. It also shows that after a certain age, the migrant workers cannot work anymore and return to their villages. Age and disease affects the ability to work. There are only 25 (8.33 percent) respondents in the sample whose age is above 50 years.

Parents all over South Asia, including the migrants surveyed, say that they are willing to make any sacrifice and suffer all hardships for the welfare of their children. Education, at least elementary schooling, is seen as an integral part of child welfare, more so over the last decade. The state's right to education act provides for free and compulsory education for all children between 6 to 14 years (both included). Data about the educational/occupational status of the children in the households of the migrants was collected from each respondent. Out of the 1741 persons in the households of the respondents, 436 (25 percent) are children in the age group 6 to 14 years. 227 are girls and 209 are boys.

Out of these, one child, a 14

year old boy, is married. None of the others are married, a rather positive sign given the propensity to marry off children, especially girls, in rural areas. However, 132 children (30.27 percent) have

never been to school. 65 of them are girls and 67 boys so there is hardly any difference in gender terms amongst the children who do not go to school. Incidentally, the proportion of the children in this age group who do not go to school is higher in Gorakhpur than in the rural areas. Thus of the 134 children between the age of 6 and 14 who stay in the city, 72 or 53.73 percent have never been to school while those who amongst those who stay in rural areas (302 children or 69.26 percent of all the children in this age group) 60 or 19.87 percent have not been to school.

The majority of the children who don't go to school do not work for a wage. Only 9 of them work, and of them 8 stay in Gorakhpur. More of the Muslims don't go to school

compared to the Hindus (cf Table 5.13).

It is well known that Muslims are more deprived than Hindus in terms of education¹². In the present situation, it has been discussed how the Muslims, mostly waste-workers originally from Assam, cannot send their children to school because of language and other social issues. Interestingly, when the parents were asked in formal terms why their children did not go to school, all of them except one attributed the reasons to poverty or the child not being interested. The lone exception to this was the case of a handicapped child. No one blamed the supply of education, including the parents of the Muslim children who don't go to school but stay with their parents in Gorakhpur. Their parents work as waste workers and they help them in sorting or helping their younger siblings.

The rest of the children are in various classes, starting from lower kindergarten (LKG) to high school (above class 8).

5.7 : Conclusion

As Paulo Friere once said, "Literacy is not something which many people think it is, a mirage, a kind of magical instrument which you distribute to people to save them. No, no, no, it does not exist¹³." In the foregoing sections, it was seen that the educated migrants are engaged in occupations that do not require schooling. Though they are not at the bottom of the hierarchy, the kind and quality of the education acquired doesn't allow them to break through the glass ceiling of caste, class and religion. The contextually 'highly' educated migrants take up jobs similar to their illiterate counterparts. Their earnings and the prevalent conditions in both the city and the villages of origin leads to a perpetuation of economic and social inequalities as they are unable to send their children to school.. Although education is valued by all, there is a propensity to drop out after middle school.¹⁴ Individual, personal reasons such as poverty are cited by the respondents for this.

¹² See the Justice Rajendra Sachar Committee Report for more details of this (Sachar, 2007).

¹³ Patel (ed) 2001 : pvi.

¹⁴ Cf. Bowles and Groves, eds.2005.

Table 5.13 : Religion of the children who don't go to school

Religion	Children not going to school In number	Percent
Hinduism	54	41
Islam	78	59
Total	132	132

Samima, 10, took time off from her 'cooking' to say that she wanted to go to school. Her parents are waste workers.



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Conclusions and Strategies for Moving Ahead

6.1 : The Inadequacy of Migration Models

The survey of 300 migrants in Gorakhpur, hailing from 267 different villages across 34 districts of five states -- UP, Bihar, Assam, Jharkhand (1), Maharashtra (1) and Nepal (1) showed very importantly that attempting to analyse migration in terms of individual decision making paradigms, such as envisaged in what is popularly known as push-pull models, does not enable an understanding of the intricacies and the processes involved. These paradigms considered migration to be individual decisions in response to rural-urban earnings (Lewis, 1954; Harris and Todaro, 1970). Subsequently, the original model has "been extended to explain some specific features of migration such as chain or bridge head migration and some recent models have emphasised the role of information and the risk-spreading and co-insurance character of the migration process, both within the household and the larger community group which assists in the migration," (Janarth, 2010:33, see also Stark and Bloom, 1985). These kinds of models do not enable the understanding of distress migration from the rural areas to other rural and urban areas in search of the means of survival (Janarth, op cit). Nor does it explain why and how the distress is perpetuated across generations and involving the same groups, the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, other backward castes and minority religions.

In the Indian situation there is also a strong perpetuation of migration from specific regions. The hinterland of the migrants to Gorakhpur city for instance, Eastern UP and parts of Bihar, have been so for more than a century and a half. Sometimes successive generations from the same households have been migrants, barely scratching out a survival wage just to keep their body and soul together. The majority of the migrants and their households, nearly 85 percent, live on less than \$1 per capita daily. Even after migration, 29 percent go without food the whole day at least once a week. The living conditions of the migrants, be they rickshaw pullers, waste workers or casual labour is appalling. Safe drinking water, toilets or even a basic roof over the head kind of shelter is lacking. Additionally, there is always a real physical security threat in the form of goons or goons masquerading as cops. As pointed out by Kishenji, 30, a migrant manual worker who cleans sewers, "When we are beaten, it is our body that gets hurt. What difference does it make whether it's a *policewallah* (cop) or a *goonda*? Both are the same." He had tried to sell fruits near a cinema theatre and was first beaten by goons as he didn't want to give a *hafta* (protection money). Later he was picked up by the cops for the same reason. Now he is back to the profession he started with as a migrant, though he hates it.

The schooling, as provided, is increasingly oriented towards individual results and competition, removing the students from the innate propensity to associate, from which the so-called soft skills (such as negotiation or communication) can be picked up. The underprivileged have an innate tendency to associate, it is a part of their culture. In chapter 4, it was seen that the majority of the migrants came to Gorakhpur through personal, that is familial or village level, contacts. While the education provisioning does not enhance employability, it does tend to dampen the associative skills to some extent. Simultaneously it enhances the 'meekness' and subjugation of the migrants as clients and employers value these qualities. The migrants tend to assume that these qualities go with the package of being educated (*parhe-likhe*) and do not question or interrogate their working conditions and the inability to associate creatively, by say unionising, to change their conditions. Only one of the 300 migrants said he was a trade union member. However, the union he mentioned is practically defunct.

Education, of the kind provided, then does play a major role in perpetuating the culture of deprivation. In the reality of India today, while there is an emphasis on schooled education for all, there has been little attention to the link between this and the availability of employment. For instance, in the NREGS even educated youth can only get manual labour.

From an interventionist point of view, there is then the possibility of improving the quality of work, in the sense of actualizing decent work, including the freedom to associate. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Education, for the elite at least plays a major role in building social networks for instance through the various alumni associations for instance¹⁵. This can be extended, with the help of say a civil society organization (CSO) to the poor too. Similarly, networks can be build up of people from a particular district.

Then there are many children whose elementary education gets totally neglected due to the fact of migration. Due to various constraints, including that of language, these children are not admitted to local schools. Yet there are many within these migrant communities who are educated and can pass on at least elementary education to the children, provided they are organized and motivated. The intervening CSOs could take up such initiatives.

¹⁵ Cf. Bordieu, 1977, 1984

Many studies across the country have noted the sheer exploitation the migrant workers and their families face, in terms of wages and earnings, hours of work, the arduousness of the work itself and the deprivation of basic health and education facilities. Most migrants, including those in the sample for this study, do not have ration cards, preventing them from accessing subsidized food distributed through the public distribution system. Nor do they have effective collective bargaining systems to improve their working conditions and wages. Legal protection mechanisms do not seem to apply to them (cf NCEUS, 2006, Singh and Iyer, 1985, Krishnaiah, 1997, Breman 1996, Teerink 1995, Smita and Panjiar, 2007, Janarth 2010). Migrant women are also exposed to the risk of sexual harassment and exploitation (Acharya, 1986; Saradmoni, 1995, Teerink 1995; Janarth 2010).

Putting together all these conceptualizations and empirical studies, including the present one of migrant workers in Gorakhpur city, brings across a stark reality: the persistence and perpetuation of a culture of deprivation. While the causal factors for migration are many, and new factors such as climate change are emerging, it needs to be asked why is it that the same socio-economic groups such as the STs, SCs and OBCs as well as religious minorities such as Muslims continue to migrate in distress. Indeed, it can be said that distress as a phenomenon continues through the generations, even though it takes new forms, such as being adversely impacted by climate change, from time to time. This is due to the continuity of inherent social structures and institutions, such as caste, religion and gender that historically define the power equations in society; changing in form to adapt to changing contexts though the content remains unchanged. It is a fact that social inequalities are reproduced through various institutions and structures (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984) including the provisioning of education.

Official policies play an important role in the formation and perpetuation of the culture of deprivation. Rooted in colonial structures, such policies insist on being settled or having a fixed address as a prime criterion for the extension of benefits (cf Janarth, 2010:27). Migrants don't have ration cards or at best some have them in their villages simply because they can't produce a 'proof of address.' For similar reasons most amongst them are a disenfranchised lot. To participate in the electoral process, a voter's card is needed that requires a proof of address. Thus 25 percent of the sample in this study didn't have a voter's identity card. For those who did, often it is not possible to go back to the village to cast the vote simply because they can't afford to do so. To possess a voter's identity card one needs a ration card and to possess a ration card a voter's identity card is considered 'proof of residence.' Not possessing either could be interpreted to mean that the person is not an Indian citizen, as happens, say in the case of the Muslim waste workers of Gorakhpur city. Of course, the class position of the person becomes a critical parameter¹⁶.

Marginalized, deprived and disenfranchised as they are, the migrants are shunned by the political parties and trade unions. None of the respondents or anyone from their households are members of any political party nor do they participate in any political

¹⁶ One of the researchers for this study for instance, never had a ration card simply because he felt that he didn't need one. He had a voter's card as he could produce proof of residence by showing his passport, a document he got due to his connections in the bureaucracy. His voter's card lapsed when he changed his address and the new electoral rolls were made. Now despite all his efforts, he has not been able to get a voter's card due to administrative tardiness and his principled refusal to grease palms. Essentially then one cannot expect an illiterate or semi literate migrant to procure these documents and/or have the means to pay for them.

rally. Yet some of them do take the pains, including spending money to go back to their villages to cast their votes come election time. The political processes have continued to marginalize them, thereby perpetuating the culture of deprivation. Many have land, albeit in very small amounts, but the support that is essential both in terms of inputs and credit, as well as the marketing infrastructure, to make small holding agriculture viable is denied them. Simultaneously, there is the rhetoric of small holding agriculture being unviable.

The public institutions that ostensibly are meant for the welfare of the masses, especially the poor seek to control and not benefit them. Governance is reduced to governing in ways such that the labour of the poor is obtained in constant and assured supply, it is sustained and yet the very poor are blamed for their condition. The mechanisms of implementation and programme delivery are often suggested for the malaise, but deeper probing reveals that it is the very nature and the structure of the programmes and the institutions that are responsible as they do not challenge the unequal distribution not only of material assets but of power. This is evident for instance in the way migrants are viewed in urban settings.

6.2 : Distress Migration and Urban Deterioration

As has been pointed out by Deshingkar and Farrington (2009:12), "the work of Shekhar Mukherji, of the Indian Institute of Population Studies (IIPS) in Mumbai has been an important influence on the thinking of policy makers since the 1970s. His concepts of distressed migration and urban decay were incorporated into various urban policies in India and have become firmly embedded in the discourse on urban poverty and development." Essentially, Mukherjee (2001) saw the process of distress migration leading to urban decay as involving "masses of poor, landless, illiterate, and unskilled agricultural labourers and petty farmers" (Deshingkar and Farrington, op cit:13) migrating to the metros and putting the urban infrastructure to under severe stress; causing the growth of urban poverty. Since the metros have limited employment opportunities, the migrants are absorbed in the poorly paid informal sector. While such migration helps avoid starvation, it doesn't improve their economic situation or permit social mobility. In fact, the migrants are moving from rural to urban poverty. Consequent to such migration, "the metros seem to grow in population but not in prosperity. The mega cities deny the migrants even the basic provision so water, sanitation and electricity. This leads to extreme squalor and filth and is very cruel to poor children, women and the weak; the poor, the old and the destitute. The metros are rapidly becoming the scenes of extreme social and economic inequalities creating to a potentially dangerous situation that can lead to crime, violence and class conflict," (Ibid).

While Mukherjee's analysis pertained to the big metropolises, the overall conclusions are that circular migration is driven by poverty and leads to poverty. The policy conclusions are that "all efforts should be made to prevent migration through rural employment programmes and migrants should not be welcomed in towns and cities," (Ibid).

This kind of approach prevails not only in the officialdom but of many CSOs. It is nobody's argument that distress migration is a good thing and efforts should not be made to stop the same. However, creation of rural employment programmes or even land distribution doesn't stop migration partly because the amounts paid through such programmes are inadequate in meeting the needs of the household in times of high food

price inflation or the lack of adequate support (in terms of inputs, credit and marketing) to the marginal and small farmers. In the survey, it was seen that NREGS has not actually benefited the migrants.

Moreover, such approaches do not question the institutions and the structures that perpetuate poverty of some sections of the population.

The other aspect that such approaches do not take into account is the services that the migrants provide a city. Take for instance Gorakhpur: if the rickshaw pullers stop working, the city will come to a standstill. Those who don't not have cars, and they are in a majority, will be severely affected. If the waste workers stop plying their trade, the city will be buried in tonnes of garbage in no time. And if the casual labourers, the hawkers and the itinerant petty traders go on a strike, it can be imagined what the condition of the city will be. Most of the manual services, ranging from rickshaw pulling to domestic help, are performed in Gorakhpur by the migrants. The migrants are citizens of this country and perform services so essential for the survival of a city. Yet they are denied their basic rights, food, shelter, sanitation and minimal wages. Their children are not only denied the right to education but also the right to childhood. To top it all, they are treated as unwanted pests, essentially a ploy to keep them under control so that they do not voice their legitimate demands. The threat of eviction hangs like the sword of Damocles perpetually on their heads. CSOs and even ordinary citizens need to consider the important roles the migrants to any city play and work out how they can be given their rights.

6.3 : Intervention Strategies for Migrant Support

To begin with, it has to be realised that arresting migration is a long term phenomenon and requires a re-examination of the rural development policies thoroughly. Target oriented development interventions that do not question the basic power equations that perpetuate the culture of deprivation will not be able to check migration. The poor do not migrate voluntarily. They do so simply because they have no choice. Breaking this cycle will take time. Apart from being excluded in numerous ways, the rural poor are facing disproportionately the adverse impacts of climate change. Awareness needs to be built on these issues. Moreover, given the widespread prevalence of migration it would be perhaps more relevant if strategies were worked out to reduce the social and economic costs of migration and increasing the returns for the poorest and not the reduction of migration (Mosse et al, 2002). Providing timely and cheap credit and other agricultural inputs along with efficient marketing facilities is one of the ways of doing this. Such efforts will succeed better if done through organized community based groups.

However, that does not mean that giving the migrants in Gorakhpur their basic human rights need to wait till the processes of checking migration are put in place. The migrant workers have to be provided essential services so that they can live with dignity. This can only happen if the work of the migrants gets the recognition it deserves.

Intervention strategies will necessarily have to begin by organising the migrants so that over time the migrant organisations can provide the critical migrant support needed. Over time in fact some of these organisations can play a lead role in changing the cultures of deprivation in their villages in order to arrest migration. The organisations of Gorakhpur will gain greater leverage and bargaining power if they are linked to similar

national and international bodies.

In the city the migrants need to be assured of:

- Minimum wages linked to the cost of living index. This means, for instance, the rickshaw fares need to be increased from time to time on a regular basis. This is a right of all workers and cannot be compromised.
- Fixed working hours where applicable. Where it is not applicable, like in the case of the rickshaw pullers, introduction of night charges.
- Safe drinking water
- Sanitation
- Education for both adults and children
- Housing/shelter that is habitable
- Health Care
- Temporary ration cards so that the migrants can get the benefits of subsidised food grains. The law provides for such temporary cards but the Municipal authorities are reluctant to issue them as it is considered a "headache" (as told by an official). It might be necessary to launch an agitation for the issuance of such cards as has been done in Nashik in Pune (Borhade, 2007)
- Provisioning of cheap fuel such as LPG.
- Provisioning of credit through banks
- Formation of locality based self help groups that go beyond credit provisioning but the members actually stand by each other in crises. Through these organisations skill enhancement strategies for interested members could be tried out.

A lot of these issues can be addressed by setting up of a speedy grievance redressal cell by the Municipality but monitored by the NGOs. The NGOs can set up several information centres in across the city to aid the migrants. Ultimately such centres can be handed over to the migrant workers' organisations. Setting up a toll free help-line will go a long way to address the needs of the migrant workers.

In specific sectors the following measures could be taken

1. Rickshaw pullers

There is strong need to set up rickshaw pullers associations. These could be set up in

Photo 21 : A makeshift toilet for the slum-women. The men and children defecate in the open



The sole hadpump in the waste-worker's colony breaks down often and is useless in the monsoons as the plot gets inundated.

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each locality and federated at the appropriate levels. The associations would need to ensure the basic rights of the rickshaw pullers are given them, including the right to work with dignity and free of harassment. The fares could be fixed by these associations, which could also take steps against errant rickshaw pullers following complaints by passengers or owners. The NGOs could organise these pullers and build up membership based organisations. They could negotiate with the municipality to ensure that the pullers are given proper housing, temporary ration cards and so on.

2. Waste Workers

The waste workers play a very vital role for the maintenance and cleanliness of the city. This role needs recognition. Yet they live and work in appalling conditions and are terribly exploited by the 'maliks' that is the waste merchants. The waste-workers could be organised by forming self help groups of the women who could then trade in the waste directly. Formal credit can be provided so that they don't have to depend on the merchants and get tied in the process. Sanitation, provisioning of shelter and health care are urgent and immediate needs.

The waste-workers perhaps the most amongst all the migrants urgently need the provision of temporary ration cards. Their children need basic education but cannot enroll in local schools due to language issues. Yet there are some people amongst them who can teach provided their earnings are taken care of. This needs to be explored in consultation with the community. It is often said that they should be given identity cards by the Municipality but that could lead to exclusionary / discriminatory processes. If such cards should be given at all, it should be done by the community organizations.

Also, efforts will have to be made to link the waste-workers organisations with national and international bodies like the Alliance of Indian Wastepickers, a national network of

35 organisations working with the waste workers across 22 Indian cities and the Global Alliance of Waste Pickers and Allies.

3. Casual Workers

Here too the basic needs have to be met. There is also a need for safety provisioning and regulation of hazardous work.

4. Hawkers

The hawkers in the city lead a miserable life, being perpetually at the mercy of the cops and the goons. Apart from the provisioning of basic rights, food, health care and so on, their right to earn a livelihood free from ruthless exploitation by the authorities has to be ensured. This would entail an examination of the licensing procedures of the Municipality. The hawkers need to be organised in local community based groups, federated across the city and also linked to the National Alliance of Street Vendors of India.

In all of the above processes Civil Society Organisations (CSO) can play a lead role, but with a clear cut strategy of forming community based organisations that ultimately take over the operations and running of the organisations. The CSOs can network with similar organisations that are working for migrant rights across the country¹⁷.

¹⁷ There are many such organisations across the country. Some notable ones are Janarth in Aurangabad or Gramin Vikas Trust in Gujarat.

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Appendix

Rickshaw tariff from railway station to different parts of the city

S.no	From	To	Distance km	Fright fixed by NN in Rs	Actually taken Rs
1	Railway Station	Town Hall	1.90	6.00	15.00
2	Railway Station	Miya Bazar	3.50	6.00	25.00
3	Railway Station	Gol Ghar	1.18	5.00	10.00
4	Railway Station	Dharmshala	.86	5.00	7.00
5	Railway Station	University crossing	.60	5.00	7.00
6	Railway Station	University	1.12	5.00	10.00
6	Railway Station	Urdubazar	4.20	8.00	25.00
7	Railway Station	Baxipur	2.74	8.00	25.00
8	Railway Station	Humayupur	3.00	8.00	25.00
9	Railway Station	Dairy colony	2.50	8.00	15.00
10	Railway Station	Betiahata	2.52	8.00	12.00
11	Railway Station	Mohhadipur	2.35	8.00	15.00
12	Railway Station	Baulia colony	2.15	8.00	25.00
13	Railway Station	Asuran	2.56	8.00	20.00
14	Railway Station	Jafrabazar	4.00	9.00	30.00
15	Railway Station	Turkmanpur	4.00	9.00	25.00
16	Railway Station	ghosecampany	2.47	6.00	20.00
17	Railway Station	Basantpur	3.90	9.00	30.00
18	Railway Station	Shahpur	3.36	9.00	30.00
19	Railway Station	Basaratpur	4.35	9.00	45.00
20	Railway Station	Rajghat	5.10	10.00	25.00
21	Railway Station	Kuraghat	4.46	10.00	50.00
22	Railway Station	Bichiya	3.00	10.00	30.00
23	Railway Station	Ilahibag	4.19	10.00	45.00
24	Railway Station	Tiwaripur	5.00	10.00	45.00
25	Railway Station	Surajkund	4.14	10.00	30.00
26	Railway Station	Gorakhnath	3.40	10.00	30.00
27	Railway Station	Reti chowk	2.72	6.00	20.00
28	Railway Station	Airforce	6.50	12.00	50.00
29	Railway Station	Engg. College	7.87	12.00	50.00
30	Railway Station	Domingarh	5.23	12.00	55.00
31	Railway Station	kachari	2.34	6.00	20.00
32	Railway Station	Nausar crossing	6.10	12.00	30.00
33	Railway Station	Trasnportnagar	5.85	12.00	25.00
34	Railway Station	Fertilisernagar	14.00	15.00	60.00
35	Railway Station	Medical college	10.00	15.00	60.00
36	Railway Station	Ranidiha	8.00	15.00	45.00
37	Railway Station	Moharipur	10.00	15.00	55.00