

## **A RESEARCH STUDY REPORT**

**“ A Research Study On Migrant Tribal Women Girls in Ten Cities : A Study of Their Socio-Cultural and Economic Reference to Social Intervention ”**

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**A RESEARCH STUDY ON ‘ MIGRANT TRIBAL WOMEN AND GIRLS IN TEN CITIES : A STUDY OF THEIR SOCIO – CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS AND CONFLICT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOCIAL INTERVENTION.**

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**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

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Thousands of tribal women and girls migrate from their hinterlands in tribal areas to urban city centers mainly in search of employment. They are new to the city life style and environment and find it difficult to make adjustment with the changed situation and environment. They have to face a number of problems in the cities they get migrated. Moreover, they are exploited both financially and sexually by the non-tribals in the cities. With a view to examine the socio-economic conditions of these migrant tribal women and girls in the cities and to study the problems faced by them it was proposed to conduct a research study. Accordingly, a research study proposal was submitted to Planning Commission, Government of India which was approved on 16-06-2003. The main objectives of the study were as under -

1. To study the socio- economic status of migrant tribal women and girls in 10 cities in India.
2. To examine the nature and characteristics of socio-cultural conflicts faced by the tribal women and girls in these cities.
3. To analyse the dynamics of social adjustment the tribal women and girls in the cities have to make in relation to employment and residential facilities.
4. To evaluate the extent to which tribal women and girls adjust themselves in the new social milieu.
5. To elucidate the impact of social and cultural conflicts the tribal women and girls face in their social milieu and the resultant socio-cultural consequences of such conflict.
6. To discuss and understand the ramifications of exploitation of tribal women and girls in the cities.

7. To elucidate the extent of sexual and financial exploitation of tribal women and girls in cities.
8. To verify the effectiveness of the intervention methods in the context of dealing with alienation and conflict of tribal women and girls.
9. To develop a system of help and rehabilitation of migrant tribal women and girls so that they can achieve the goals of their life.
10. To suggest remedial measures of discouraging tribal migration to cities.

The present study was conducted in 10 major cities in India i.e. Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Nagpur, Pune, Ranchi, Bhopal, Bhubaneswar and Raipur. A sample of 3000 respondents (1500 migrant tribal women and 1500 migrant tribal girls) was drawn from the universe. In the first instance the study was planned to be completed within a period of 6 months and final report submitted to the Planning Commission. The time schedule, by and large, went on according to plan except in the case of primary data collection which was delayed abnormally beyond expectations due to difficulties faced by the investigators in contacting the respondents who were available only in early morning hours and in the evening. Due to this abnormal time consumed in collection of primary data, it was not possible to complete the work in the prescribed time as originally planned.

The migrant tribal women and girls living in the cities of Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Pune, Nagpur, Raipur, Bhubaneswar, Bhopal and Ranchi constituted the universe of the present study. The method of stratified sampling was used for selection of localities and families of migrant tribal women and girls. Purposive sampling was used for selection of 1500 women and 1500 girls as respondents.

Interview Schedule was used as the main instrument of data collection. It was drafted on the basis of major variables, parameters and objectives of the study. The investigators were also provided with observation

sheets to record relevant and useful observations. The Interview Schedule was pretested on 150 respondents (75 women and 75 girls) before it was used for field investigation.

Primary data was collected by a team of female investigators deputed in each city covered by the study. The secondary data was collected by the Project Director and the Project Research Officer. The data collected was edited and processing and analysis of data was carried out with the help of computers.

The following are the major findings of the study –

The tribal women and girls migrated to 10 cities covered by the study were found to have migrated from different tribal areas far away from the cities in which they have settled. It is observed that in the process of migration of tribal women and girls to cities the 'Push – Pull' factors have played an important role. The significant push factors located during investigation were very low rates of wages, unemployment and land alienation along with poverty and indebtedness. Marriage was found to be the single most important reason for migration of female members of tribal communities. Migration of Tribal Girls to big cities for education is very limited and hence negligible. Only about 0.8 per cent females migrate to big cities for education. It is, therefore, very clear that in spite of the facilities like free hostel facilities the tribal girls are not coming to big cities for higher education in sufficient number.

The indepth analysis of reasons for migration disclosed that out of a total of 1500 migrant tribal women and 1500 migrant tribal girls a majority of about 36 percent of the women and about 45 percent of the girls migrated to big cities reported lack of employment opportunities in the native place. Marriage was the main reason for migration to big cities as reported by 45 percent of the migrant women. Other reasons reported included acquisition of land/house for

development projects, repeated natural calamities like floods and famines, attraction of city life and education.

The study team examined the personal and family background of the migrant tribal women and girls and found that they belonged to major tribes as well as minor migrant tribal women and girls and found that they belonged to major tribes as well as minor tribal groups. A large majority of migrant tribal women were in the age group of 24 to 47 years and the tribal girls in the age group of 16 to 23 years . About 81 percent of the migrant tribal women were married.

A little More than 55 percent of women and 29 percent of girls were illiterates, about 12 percent and 16 percent respectively were educated up to middle school level and about 7 and 16 per cent respectively up to S.S.C. level . Only 6 percent of women and 11 percent of girls were graduates mainly in faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Those with P.G. qualifications were hardly 1 percent and 2 percent respectively.

Socio-economic background of migrant tribal women and girls disclosed that a large majority of them (Women 82% and girls 81%) migrated from purely tribal villages, or tribal dominated villages. They had mostly nuclear families (Women 73%; girls 74%). About 1 percent of the women and 3 percent of the girls were living alone and had no families. The average size of the family was 6 members .

The inquiry into the traditional family occupation of the respondents revealed that about 44 percent each of women and girls had farming as their traditional family occupation. About 27 percent of women and 35 percent of girls reported Farm Labour as their traditional family occupation. Families of 11 percent of women and 15 percent of girls were reported to be Bonded Labour.

Collection and sale of forest produce was reported as traditional occupation of families of 12 percent of women and 10 percent of girls.

A large majority of 73 percent of migrant tribal women and 61 percent of girls reported 1-2 earning members in the family. Though only about 23 percent of families of migrant tribal women and girls taken together had an annual income of Rs. 50,000 and more and the rest below that the data analysis revealed that the income status of these families improved significantly after migration.

The study team collected the information about the housing conditions and ownership of houses in which the tribal women and girls were living before and after migration to cities. The present study revealed that a majority of tribal women (84 percent) and tribal girls (79 percent) had their own houses in their hinterland before migration. After migration to cities the picture changed and only 47 percent of women and 46 percent of girls had the ownership of houses in which they were living. The rest of the migrant women and girls were living in rented houses.

The tribal concept of house is different from the urban understanding. Most of the tribals in India live in huts made of locally available material like grass, bamboo, wooden logs and mud. They have only one room in the house, which is used for all purposes. The study team examined the housing conditions of tribal women and girls before and after migration and found that 23 percent of the migrant women had one room in their house before migration but after migration their percentage increased to 37 percent. Similarly about 26 percent of the migrant tribal girls were living in one room tenement before migration but after migration 33 percent of them are living in one room tenements. Thus it seems that there is no significant change in the housing condition of migrant tribal women and girls who migrated to big cities for better life conditions.

Housing conditions include all civil amenities such as water, electricity, latrins, bathrooms, proper ventilation etc. An attempt was made by the study team to analyse the availability of these amenities in the houses of migrant tribal women and girls living in big cities of India. A comparative study of the facilities available to them prior to and after migration was also carried out by the study team. The study disclosed that there was a marked improvement in the quality and quantity of civic amenities available to tribal women and girls after their migration to big cities.

One of the important objectives of the present study was to examine the change, if any, that has taken place in the life style of migrant tribal women and girls after migration to cities. It was noticed during investigation that tribal women and girls migrated to cities belong to different tribal regions of different states in India and as such they had different patterns of life style. The study team found that in order to adjust with the pattern of life style in the cities, the migrant tribal women and girls had to gradually shift from their traditional life style to the local life style of the cities. The primary data collected from the respondents disclosed that 78 per cent of the migrant tribal women changed their food habits, 80 per cent changed their pattern of clothing, 73 per cent reported positive change in Standard of living, 63 per cent have changed their social behaviour and 62 per cent observed change in their cultural life after migration to and stay in the cities. Similar trend was reported by migrant tribal girls. As far as use of tribal language is concern a large majority of tribal women and girls (83 per cent) use their mother-tongue (tribal language) for intra-family and intra-community communication even after migration to cities. For out word communication 94 per cent of the migrant tribal women and 87 per cent of the migrant tribal girls used local (regional) language. Surprisingly, 88 per cent of migrant tribal women and 85 per cent of migrant tribal girls were able to speak in Hindi, (National Language).

The evaluation of the impact of migration on social, religious and cultural values of tribal society revealed that the tribal women and girls have preserved and protected their value systems even after migration to cities. This was confirmed from the responses of 89 per cent of the women and 88 per cent of the girls. About 84 per cent of the tribal women and girls taken together reported that they have continued, even after migration to cities, to celebrate traditional tribal festivals and performing tribal cultural programmes.

The penetration of alien culture in the cities has influenced all aspect of social, cultural and religious life of migrant tribal women and girls. They could not isolate themselves from non-tribals in the cities and as a result they join the mainstream in celebration of local, regional and national festivals. Around 80 per cent of migrant tribal women and 79 per cent of migrant tribal girls reported participation in the festivals organised by other community members and not belonging to tribal community. It was also observed from the responses of 73 per cent of the migrant tribal women and girls that the members of other community (non-tribals) had also participated in the tribal festivals, religious and social programmes organised by tribal communities.

The analysis of data relating to the relations of migrant tribal women and girls with the members of other communities, disclosed that nearly 50 per cent of them had good relations with the members of other communities living in their localities. They have also reported that the other community members always help them in times of difficulties (29%), occasionally (31%) and in emergencies (25%).

Majority (54 per cent) of the migrant tribal women and girls had tribal families as their next-door neighbours. A very large majority of respondents (96 per cent) had good, cordial and peaceful relations with their neighbours. About 79 per cent of them have maintained contact with other tribal people living in their cities.

About 41 per cent of the respondents meet other tribal families in the city occasionally, 17 per cent meet very often, 12 per cent meet at Community functions only and 11 per cent meet once in a month regularly.

Only 39 per cent of the respondents were aware of the functioning of a tribal associations in the city and only 7 per cent of them were members of such associations. Surprisingly, 4 per cent of the respondents informed that females were prohibited from the membership of tribal associations. The respondents were not satisfied with the activities of the tribal associations as the same were concentrating on celebrating the tribal festivals, tribal cultural programmes and social meets and have neglected the basic objective of protecting tribal interest.

The migrant tribal women and girls faced a number of problems immediately after their migration to cities which included difficulty of communication in local language, residential accommodation, employment, education of children, local contacts, adjustment with city life and environment etc. However, the most serious problems were housing (45%), adjustment with changed environment of city life (36%) and employment (38%). These problems were gradually solved. However, even after a long stay in cities the migrant tribal women and girls were facing certain critical problems such as insufficient residential accommodation (40%) lack of drinking water (15%), non-availability of electricity (8%) irregular employment (30%), very low rates of wages (35%) and absence of medical facilities in or nearby the locality (24%).

The study team also examined the employment status, income range and level of exploitation (both financial and sexual) of the migrant tribal women and girls in cities. About 41 per cent of tribal women and girls were employed. Nearly 48 per cent of them were domestic servants, 10 per cent were working as construction labour, nearly 8 per cent were industrial workers, 2 per

cent each were in government service and self employed and about 5 per cent were in private services. The average monthly income of migrant tribal women was Rs. 1239 and that of migrant tribal girls was Rs. 936. Only 31 per cent of women and 32 per cent of girls were getting regular payment of wages. Nearly 19 per cent of the women and 15 per cent of girls reported financial exploitation by employers to a great extent (27 per cent and 31 per cent respectively) and to some extent (14 per cent and 10 per cent respectively). The employers paid very low wages below the level of minimum wages, made illegal deductions, forced them to work for very long hours beyond the hours fixed by law. About 58 per cent of the respondents who reported financial exploitation showed their resistance to such exploitation. However, the practice was stopped only in 6 per cent of the cases. About 28 per cent of the protestors were removed from the job and 36 per cent were given strict warnings.

An attempt was made to collect the information about the sexual exploitation of migrant tribal women and girls in cities. The respondents were hesitating to report the facts about sexual exploitation. As a result, only about 6 per cent of women and a 9 per cent of girls disclosed that they had been the victims of sexual exploitation. Those involved in sexual exploitation were reported to be employers (20%), Supervisors (16%), Contractors (18%), Coworkers (14%), Shopkeepers (105), Money-lenders (9%) and Neighbour (7%). The principal causes of financial and sexual exploitation of the migrant tribal women and girls in cities were poverty, lack of employment opportunities, unorganised nature of labour force, misunderstanding of the local people about free sex in tribals, and lack of community support to victims of sexual exploitation.

The study team also examined the role played by Central and State Governments in socio-economic development of tribal women in general and migrant tribal women and girls in big cities in particular. The role played by voluntary agencies (NGOs) have also been examined to assess their relative contribution. The study team has not come across any N.G.O. or the Government Agency (Central or State) who have specifically devoted their efforts

for the socio-economic development of migrant tribal women and girls in cities. As far as the general tribal development programmes of the Government are concerned the study team observed that only 52 per cent of the respondents were aware of such programmes. As a result, only 26 per cent of them could take the benefit of free education, 15 per cent could get scholarships, 27 per cent could get employment due to reservation policy and 2 per cent were covered under Integrated Tribal Development Programmes. Though NGOs have played a significant role in socio-economic development of tribal people their work remained concentrated mainly in tribal regions. As such NGOs could not do any significant work for the development of migrant tribal women and girls in big cities. The Tribal Associations formed by the tribal people in big cities undertook some activities of socio-economic development but those were of general nature and not for the migrant tribal women and girls.

In conclusion, the study team feels that judged by any standards migrant tribal women and girls in big cities remained backward in all respects. In order to improve the socio-economic and cultural status of the migrant tribal women and girls in cities the study team would like to make certain suggestions with a view to provide a new base-line of action.

The tribals in India have inherited a rich culture from their ancestors. However, with the onslaught of industrialisation, urbanization and modernization and the resultant migration of tribal men, women and girls to urban centres the age-old culture of these primitive human societies is on the verge of extinction. It is suggested that allout efforts must be made to make the tribals realise the importance of their culture and to motivate them for preserving their unique culture at any cost. The greater responsibility in this respect rests with the migrant tribal women and girls who lost contacts with the tribal people in their hinterlands.

The growing trend of migration of tribals to cities must be arrested by providing ample employment opportunities to them in tribal areas so that they do not think of running to the urban areas in search of employment. Monetary support required for this purpose should be provided to the State Governments having sizable tribal population from the President of India's special fund.

Majority of the migrant tribal women and girls are reported to be illiterate. This situation is due to lack of awareness among the tribal communities about the schemes of State and Central Governments for providing free education to the tribal boys and girls. As such, it is necessary to create awareness on mass scale by involving NGOs working in the tribal areas. It is also necessary to provide facilities of primary and secondary education in the tribal localities and slum areas in the cities where migrant tribal women and girls have settled themselves.

The migrant tribal women should be motivated to adopt the family planning methods to limit the size of their families. It is very difficult to have a reasonable standard of living with a large number of members in the family having only one or two earning members. It is suggested that sufficient number of Family Welfare and Guidance Centres should be opened in or nearby the localities where migrant tribal women are living.

Most of the tribal women and girls are living in slum areas surrounded by unhealthy environment. Moreover, about half of them do not have their own houses and are living in rented accommodation. With a view to provide them better houses the Tribal Development Boards in respective states should undertake construction of Housing Complex for migrant tribal families settled in big cities.

The migrant tribal women and girls in big cities are living in acute poverty because they themselves or other earning members in their families are either unemployed or under employed. To overcome this problem it is necessary

to provide basic educational facilities alongwith hectic efforts of vocational guidance and training for development of their skills with a view to improve their potential for employment in public and private sector organisations.

The average monthly income of tribal women and girls in cities is very low i.e. below the minimum wage as most of them are employed as domestic workers and in private establishments where M.W.A. is not effectively implemented. It is, therefore, suggested that the M.W.A. should be strictly implemented in all the sectors of employment including domestic work. Moreover to reduce the exploitation by money-lenders SHGs of migrant tribal women should be formed for providing micro-credit facilities to them. The local NGOs should be motivated to take lead in forming such SHGs.

It was observed during the investigation that a large majority of tribal women and girls is unaware of the Tribal Development Programmes of the Union and State Governments. It is, therefore, suggested that these programmes should be given wide publicity through visual and written media. In addition, the educated youths from tribal areas should be trained and employed for door-to-door propaganda of Tribal Development Schemes of the Union and State Governments and for giving them proper guidance in seeking benefits from those schemes.

In order to solve the problems faced by migrant tribal women and girls in cities, the Government should involve the local NGOs and provide such organisations sufficient funds for effective work. These NGOs should, first of all undertake tracer-studies for identification and rehabilitation of migrant tribal women and girls in cities. There should be an integrated programme offering a package of services simultaneously from normal social, economic and educational fronts. No fruitful solution is likely to emerge without striking at the deep roots into the tentacles of the problem faces by migrant tribal women and girls in cities. Only then it will be possible to bring out a total transformation in the

lives of this most deprived section of India's population which has been the victim of atrocities, exploitation and social injustice.

The development process initiated by the Government and Voluntary Agencies among the tribals have, on one hand, created situations for "**restructuration**" of the tribal society and on the other, given rise to some '**structural**' problems. The formulation of specific plans for their social and economic uplift have surely brought about some favourable changes in the quality of life of the tribal communities. However, new problems emerging from these changes are, none the less, minor ones. Moreover, the migrant tribal women and girls could not be covered under the Tribal Development Projects because the same are being implemented in rural areas of tribal regions. We, therefore, would like to suggest that the Union and State Governments should design special programmes for the development of tribals in the cities and more specifically for migrant tribal women and girls in cities.

The analysis of educational levels of migrant tribal women and girls in the cities revealed that about 56 per cent of women and 29 percent of girls were illiterate. Out of literate the concentration is more at primary and middle school level and as such a large majority is deprived of higher education. As a result they are unable to take advantage of the seats reserved for them in technical and professional courses. They are also losing the chances of getting employment in State and Central Government services against the seats reserved for them. The employment opportunities thrown up by industrialization and modernization are also beyond their reach. This is all due to low education levels of tribal women and girls. It is only a massive education programme which can develop a forceful leadership from tribal women and girls which can stand against and fight the entrenched forces of exploitation of tribal women and girls in cities.

**( Dr. V. V. Devasia )**  
**Project Director**

## **CHAPTER - I**

# **Theoretical Background**

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India is a vast country spread over an area of 32,87,263 sq. kms. This vast tract of land has given shelter to 846.30 million people. India is the home to 16 per cent of the world's population. Since pre-historic time people have built up their settlements in different ecological zones of India, in the higher altitudes of Himalayas, in the deserts of Rajasthan, in the Indo-Gangetic plains, in the plateau of Deacon region, in the forests, in the coastal areas and even in islands. People here have got accustomed to live in varied ecological conditions. The people of India include a very large number of tribes which are intrinsic part of our national life with their rich cultural heritage. The tribals settled down in India in pre-historic times, inhabiting mostly in the sparsely populated parts of hills and forests of sub-Himalayan and North-Eastern regions, in the mountain belt of Central India between Narmada and Godavari rivers and in the Southern parts of the Western Ghats extending from Wynad to Kanyakumari.

The term tribe refers to a cultural and historical concept. It is used in terms of folk urban continuum along which different groups are classified, given a certain order of material culture and stage of technological growth and classified as tribes. According to Oxford Dictionary" tribe is a group of people in primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor".

For Verrier Elwin, the word 'tribe' has been derived from the Latin root, the middle English term "Tribuz" meaning the three divisions into which the early Romans were grouped, came to evolve into the modern English tribe. Similarly, various authors have described the tribes by different nomenclature. As Dr. Ghurye named them 'Backward Hindus', Das and Das renamed them as

'Submerged humanity', few named them Aboriginals, Primitive Tribe, Adivasi, Vanyajati, Vanabasi, Adimjati, Pahari, etc.

In the Constitution of India, the term tribe has not been defined clearly, only the term ' Scheduled Tribe' is explained as "the tribe or the tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities" which the President may specify by public notification (Article 342)

According to ILO Convention 107 (1957) the tribals or aboriginals have been defined as the tribals or semi-tribal groups of the Independent countries deprived socially or economically and having their own customary laws/conventions. Hence in this way the term 'tribe' have been defined by various writers, Anthropologists, Sociologists, economists and administrators in their own specific way. Bardhan defined the tribes as a "course of socio-cultural entity at a definite historical stage of development. It is a single, endogamous community, with a cultural and psychological make up going back into a distinct historical past. Mujumdar defines the tribe as "a collection of families or common groups bearing a common name, the members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession/occupation and have developed a well assured system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligations.

Hence, it is clear from the above definitions that tribe is a separate group of persons having their own identity and cultural traits. The tribals have their own mode of management to control their group or society. They have customary laws, which are unwritten, but they obey them strictly. From the different definitions the following common features of tribes emerge.

1. Socially, Culturally and Politically an ethnic and coherent group;
2. A Social group speaking its own dialect and possessing a culture;
3. A Social group which is small, homogenous and distinctive;
4. A group having a self – contained and self-sufficient economy;
5. A Social group which is geographically isolated.

## **Classification of Tribes:**

The tribal groups can be classified into six types mainly on the basis of occupation. Besides, their eco-system, traditional economy, their supernatural beliefs and practices and recent impacts are also taken into consideration in the classification. These six types are –

**1. Forest-Hunting Type:** It includes the tribal groups which live in forests and are exclusively dependent on forest for their livelihood. They live in huts made of the materials found in the forests. Their life revolves round the forest with primitive technology, limited skills and deep traditional and ritual practices. The Raji, the Soka in the Cis-Himalayan region, the Kukis and a section of the Nagas in Birhor, the Hill Kharea, the Korwa, Juanga Hill, etc. in middle India come under this type. However, the major concentration of this type of tribes is in Southern India.

**2. The Primitive Hill Cultivation Type :** The tribe of this category are distinguished by the techniques of shifting cultivation. Besides, they are also engaged in hunting and food gathering. In this, they chiefly subsist on slash and burn cultivation. The practice of hill cultivation continues to be widespread in India as tribals inhabiting the hill forests of Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and Mizoram in the North-Eastern regions, Orissa, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh in the middle India and Andhra Pradesh in the South are dependant on hill areas, and practice shifting cultivation.

**3. Plain Agricultural Type :** Predominantly the bulk of tribal population is dependant on agriculture besides supplementing their economy with hunting, gathering and fishing. They raise only one crop during the monsoon. Their life is marked by spiritism and celebration of seasonal and agricultural festivals.

**4. Simple Artisan Type :** The tribe under this category make crafts for livelihood such as basket making (bamboos), tool making (iron and wood), spinning and

making metal articles, etc. The Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh produce wood products, the Kanjar in U.P. and Machali in Bihar, U.P. and Orissa are engaged in basket making, the Karmali in middle India in iron smithy, the Argur and Agaria in Bihar and M.P. in cloth making, etc. A number of tribes from South India are engaged in making bamboo mats and baskets.

**5. The Pastoral and Cattle Breeder Type:** The tribe of Nilgiri in South India are examples of this type. The Toda are purely a pastoral type and in spite of all efforts to make them agriculturist they continue to cling to Pastoralism. In the North-Eastern Himalayas the Gujjars, the Bacarwals, the Goddis and the Jodhs are pastoral communities who roam with their flocks of sheep, goats and cattle in search of pastures on high altitudes. These tribal communities living in different ecological settings have adjusted themselves in many ways.

**6. Urban Industrial Worker Type:** The tribal areas in India in general and tribal area in middle India in particular are rich in mining and industrial resources which have remained unexplored before the British rule. These tribal areas began undergoing fast industrialization after First World War and specially after India's Independence followed by urbanization. The industrial urbanization in certain tribal areas of Bihar, Orissa, M.P. has adversely affected the tribal folk. Most of the tribals in these areas have shifted to urban areas and have become industrial workers.

### **Review of Literature :**

Anthropologically, a tribe is a social group the members of which live in a common dialect, uniform social organisation and possess cultural homogeneity having a common ancestor, political organisation and religious pattern. But, perhaps, it would be very difficult to find many tribal groups in India who possess all these characteristics. Again a number of tribal groups are recognized by the Government and they are the scheduled tribes. But since all the tribal and analogous social formations are not considered as Scheduled

Tribes, and when tribal population is considered, the number of actual tribal population must be much more than what is mentioned as Scheduled Tribe Population (Chaudhuri, 1992)

Some of the large tribal communities are distributed in a wide region and often profess varied occupations. A few tribal groups are divided into a number of sub-groups which are practically distinct tribal groups. In many cases, some distinct tribal groups have identical names.

### **Tribal Demography in India**

The tribals in India constitute 8.08. per cent of the total population. (Singh, et.al, 1996 : 16) The main demographic characteristics of tribals in India are – in some state and Union Territories they constitute an overwhelming majority; e.g. Mizoram (94.75%). Lakshadweep (93.15%), Nagaland (87.75%) and Meghalaya (85.53%). The States of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal account for 13 per cent of the total tribal population.

In terms of geographical location, the distribution of tribal population is classified into the following zones :

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| North-Eastern Region | : Comprising Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura.   |
| Eastern Region       | : Comprising Bihar, Orissa, Sikkim and West Bengal  |
| Northern Region      | : Comprising Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh   |
| Central Region       | : Comprising Madhya Pradesh   |
| West Region          | : Comprising Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Gujarat, Goa, Daman and Diu, Maharashtra and Rajasthan |
| Southern Region      | : Comprising Andhra Praesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.                               |
| Island Region        | : Comprising Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Lakshadweep                                    |

The tribes in India are derived from four racial genetic groups (Singh, 1994 : 4)

The Negrito	(the great Andamanese, the Onges and the Jarawas)
Proto-Austroloid	(the Munda, the Oraon and Gond)
Mongoloid	(the Tribes of the North – East)
Caucasoid	(the Toda, THE Rabari and Gujjar)

The tribals are predominantly rural. The literacy rate of the tribals is 23.63 per cent. This is lower than that of the general population (62.21%). The literacy rate of the rural tribal female is 12.74 per cent. The health status of the tribals is lower and inferior compared to that of the general population. It is so or it is because the attitude of the tribals towards health that disease is caused by supernatural powers and wrath of their deities and ancestral spirits and therefore, they can be cured by the pacification of these enraged supernatural powers by sacrifices of animals, religious rituals, sorcery and the witchcraft, Despite their upernatural beliefs the tribals have an indigenous medical system based on herbs. (Singh, et.Al., 1996: 15,16).

### **Status of Tribal Women in India**

Status is customarily defined by social scientists as a recognised social position or socially defined position of an individual or a community within a society. In recent times many attempts have been made to understand the status of women in the tribal society. Robert Lowie (1920) has suggested four different criteria to determine the status of women in a society i.e. (i) actual treatment, (ii) legal status, (iii) opportunity for social participation and (iv) character and extent of work. Mujumdar and Madan (1956) state that “ expressed, some of which take a stand that primitive society” women are generally a depressed group”. For this reason Robert Lowie has stated that any general statement regarding the relation of women to the society must be taken with caution.

The women in the tribal community constitute about half of the tribal population. Their role in the tribal society is even more important than in other social groups in India, because the tribal women, more than women in any other social group, work harder and the family economy and management depends on them.

**Higher Social Status of Women :** It was reported by Furer Haimendorf (1943), Hutton (1921), Hunter (1973) and Firth (1946), that among Tharus of U.P. and Nagas and Garos of the North-East there is no child marriage and no stigma on widowhood. The tribal woman enjoys the right to decide about her marriage. Instead of dowry there is bride price which indicates a high social status of the tribal women. They earn and are therefore, to a great extent, economically independent. Among the tribal society, birth of a girl is not looked down upon because they are considered as economic assets. They participate in all agricultural operations (except ploughing), they work in all sectors of indigenous cottage industries, tribal arts and production of artifacts. Tribal women enjoy lot of freedom before and after marriage. The wife may divorce her husband on the grounds of cruelty, impotency, incompatibility, poverty, infidelity or negligence. Traditionally the institute of divorce exists and divorce is granted by the Village Panchayat. The tribal woman may just walk out of her husband's house with/without intimation to her husband. Though she enjoys full liberty to choose her life partner and also to break the marital bond and marry with another person, for the tribal men it is not possible to cause harm to the modesty of a married woman. Severe penalties and punishments are inflicted on the man in all such cases. The women thus enjoy an almost equal status with men except in the sphere of rituals.

**Low Status of The Tribal Women :** The tribal woman does not have property rights except in a matrilineal society which is a small proportion of the tribal population. She is paid less wages than her male counterpart for the same work. Besides this, the women work for more time than men, they receive wages in

kind which are enchased by males. The women do not have the decision making power. The division of work is heavily loaded against the tribal woman because in addition to an equal share in the economic production process she has to take the sole responsibility of household chores. In certain tribes only the males can participate in ancestor worship. Usually she cannot hold the office of a priest (Rajyalakshmi, 1996 : 18, 19).

**Economic Role :** Tribal women in India contribute positively towards economic pursuits by participating equally with men folk. They participate in all agricultural operations like sowing seeds, weeding and harvesting, felling and burning trees. In plough based cultivation, transplantation, weeding, winnowing and dehusking is done entirely by women. They work in all sectors of indigenous cottage industries, tribal arts and production of artifacts. Generally, the ploughing is done by men but in some tribal societies, women do the ploughing too. Though the women work for more time than men, they receive less wages and that too in kind which are enchased by males. However, there are some tribes where men and women are equal partners in socio-cultural and economic life and hence women are traditionally assigned an important role in the society (Singh, 1994 : 9; 10).

**Cultural Role :** The Cultural life of tribal communities is very rich and music, dancing and singing occupy pivotal place in their culture. They have community entertainment with total village participating and the men, women, boys and girls all participate at equal level. They freely sing and dance with each other and joking, laughing goes on freely specially on the occasion of marriages, and/on festivals like Holi, Dashera, etc. Men & women of all ages dance in ecstasy on the rhythm of the drums throughout the night. It is only in the tribal rituals connected with religious practices that the men folk get a priority over the women. Alcoholism among tribals also contributes towards the misery of the women in the house. Apart from giving rise to conflict between the spouses, it also creates economic crisis in the family. In cases of excess, the wife may even

desert her husband and enter other man's house as per her choice, (Deogankar, et. Al., 1996 : 40).

### **Education Among the Tribes :**

Education is not only a means of adjustment into the society and all round development, but it is also an end in itself. Education affords perfection to life, and it is closely associated with socio-economic development. After a long struggle when India gained independence, Government of India imbibed their commitment of mass education in the Constitution of India in article 45 of the directive principles. In this article, there is a "provision for free and compulsory education for children". It directs that the state shall endeavour to provide, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.

For the promotion of educational interests of the Scheduled Tribes the constitution includes an article in the chapter relating to the Directive Principles of the State Policy stating that the "state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation" (Thakur, 1995 : 17). As a result of this, now there is at least a primary school in every remote corner of the tribal belts within their easy approach.

Literacy levels of the various tribal groups in India differ widely. There are tribal groups with zero literacy rate. The urban Nagas had literacy rates of 71 per cent, 61 per cent and 66 per cent for males, females and total population respectively in 1981. On the other hand, in several tribal groups the rural female literacy was about 1 percent; in Bhils of Rajasthan it was even less than 1 percent. In Santals, which is one of the large tribal group, the rural female literacy rate was 4 to 5 per cent in Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. In 1991,. The

rural tribals had a literacy rate 21.81 percent compared to 46.35 percent in the urban tribals.

According to Anthropological Survey of India Report, 1994, in 1961 census the literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes at the national level was 8.53 per cent, which increased to 11.30 per cent in 1971 and to 16.35 percent in 1981. Thus it is observed that during a period of two decades (1961-81) the literacy among the Scheduled Tribes has almost doubled. Similarly, the sex wise literacy rate during this period shows a positive trend. According to 1961 census 13.89 per cent of the males and 3.16 per cent of the females were literate. This number increased to 17.63 per cent of the males and 4.85 per cent of the females in 1971, which further increased to 24.52 per cent of males and 8.04 per cent of females. Hence, this supports the findings that the girls are favoured in matter of education and there is no discrimination on ground of sex in matters of education. For the promotion of educational interests of the Scheduled Tribes, the number of educational institutions as well as teachers have been increased every year and today there are schools and colleges in every district town. There are special incentive schemes of scholarship and grant of books for scheduled tribe children to encourage the intelligent students to continue their education up to higher level. These facilities are provided by the Government and Christian Institutions. Hence, value of education is increasing day by day. The highest literacy rate of North-East tribe shows that they are very enthusiastic about education, they feel that without education their society as a whole cannot be advanced. Generally they know that educated children when grown up will get white collar jobs/will get Government jobs/other honorable professions, raise standard of living and have a secure life. The well to earn families hire tutor at home for coaching their children, and they also do not hesitate to send their boys and girls to different Universities. The State Government has provided a number of facilities as a part of the tribal education programme in the tribal areas. The rate of scholarship for girls is slightly higher.

## **Migration of Tribals**

The process of land alienation is having a fast increase now a day. In a predominately agrarian economy land alienation is characterised by highly distorted distribution of land and adverse land-man ratio aggravates the inequality in terms of income and wealth. The speedy increase of land alienation gives rise to a major change in the occupational distribution and creates tenants, agricultural laborers and at times paupers who leaving their heart-land in search of occupation other than agriculture, live a hard life in urban areas. Even after selling their lands the conditions of tribals in Indian States is very poor, and they are being continuously exploited by the able people. The genesis of land alienation began from the new pattern of social transformation taken by the tribal Society. This new formation of the tribal society is characterised by the forces of modernisation and migration.

The development process initiated by the Government and the voluntary agencies among the tribals have, on the one hand, created situation for structuration of tribal society and on the other, given rise to some structural problems. This has resulted in some changes in quality of life of the tribals, but new problems resulting from these changes are, never the less, minor.

One of the structural features of social formation and modernisation is the occurrence of Migration among the Tribals. Demographically speaking, the economic non-viability of land acts as a push factor to send the tribals to industrial towns and cities for earning a livelihood. A few of them living in the neighborhood of the states have migrated to urban centres. This depeasantised working class is found in factories, hotels and business centres. The household servants in the cities who sweep and clean utensils and do other domestic work are mostly women and girls.

The big cities in India work as receiving places for the tribal migrants moving from their hinterland. Tribal migration is somewhat different from migration among non-tribals, both at national and international levels. Generally,

the decision to migration is taken at the level of individual and family. This is found all over the world. Among the tribals the decision for migration is primarily taken at the level of kin, clan and village. If the village or people migrate to a particular place, a particular tribal family has not to decide about the place of the destination.

Sociologically speaking when members of a society or community migrate to another community there is always a change in the community of origin and also in the community of destination. Viewed from the sociological perspective of migration, it could be said that when tribals migrates from their hinterland there is a definite change in their social structure and also cultural system. Their first level (place of origin) of social structure and cultural system is essentially one or that of the village which are located in the place of residence. The tribal region consists largely of hills and forests. The topography and terrain in such place of origin is too difficult and unfriendly that it becomes nearly impossible for a tribal to overcome these and come to the plains. However, today most of these unfriendly barriers have been overcome with the help of development programmes.

This level of place of origin in terms of migration is one which is backward, mostly illiterate, animistic in religion and vulnerable to all kinds of exploitation. When tribals migrate from the first level of social structure and cultural system they find themselves introduced to the social level which is that of the cluster of villages in the plains. Here the contours are altogether different. The structure of the family, clan, kin, pattern of habitation and economic and political dimensions in the caste villages with whom the tribals reside is entirely different. The cultural aspects also undergo a drastic change. The fairs and festivals, the customs and ceremonies, in fact the total idiom of social and cultural life is under the influence of caste Hindus and non-tribal groups. This pattern of social structure and cultural system is oriented to better education and more opportunities of service.

When tribals belonging to first level of hinterland migrate to the third level of destination, jumping over in physical proximity of a community which is a big city or an urban or industrial town, perhaps in a state which is not their own. It is also possible that the tribals may migrate from second level of place of origin to the third level of a big city outside their own state.

When tribals cross the boundaries of their hinterland, they are exposed to a new kind of social structure and cultural system at the place of their destination. In such a case of migration the tribals ride over one or two generations in both the social structure and cultural system.

Migration, therefore, makes a social and cultural transformation at both the places.

Before independence the out-migration of tribals to the urban and industrial cities was very meagre. This was due to the physical environment constraints. The limited needs of the tribals also did not motivate them to come to cities. After independence the picture has changed considerably. The change has been due to the implementation of Five-Year Plans, which had and has a bias towards the tribal development. The directive principles of the state policy have made special programmes for the social, political and economic development of the tribals with the objective of integrating them at the various levels of rural and urban communities. Secondly, the safeguards provided by the constitution have made them available great opportunities of education, entrepreneurship and jobs in Government service and in organised sector. Reservations in service have opened up new avenues for the tribals. The process of social mobility has given a high status to the tribal migrants. As a matter of fact, the implementation of more than 100 development schemes for the tribals by different government departments has created a favourable ground for the immobile tribal population to undertake out migration to big cities and

towns. However, there are a large number of tribals who did not get any benefit from these development schemes. Even such tribals had to migrate to other urban towns and big cities in search of livelihood as they were left with no resources to stay in their hinterland and there was no other alternative left than to migrate to urban areas.

Along with men, tribal women and girls also migrate to urban towns and cities in different situations. For them the society and cultural system in the cities is totally new and different and adjustment is difficult in the initial stage. These tribal women and girls are facing a number of problems in the big cities in India where they have taken shelter. Their housing conditions are miserable, economically they are still poor, only few of them are in regular employment and they are financially and sexually exploited in these big cities. With a view to study their problems, their socio-cultural and economic status and conflict and social intervention, the present study is undertaken. The main thrust of the study will be on the socio-cultural constraints and the adjustment in a new environment totally different from their hinterland.

### **Migration of Tribal Women and Girls**

A large number of women and girls from tribal areas migrate to cities and towns all over India. Most of these women and girls are illiterate and unskilled. They work in inhuman conditions in cities as their living standard is extremely poor. A great number of these migrants are being exploited by middle men, contractors, construction companies and other types of employers. Many of these women and girls work as house maids where their working hours extend up to 18 hours per day.

A large number of tribal women and girls become victims of sexual and financial exploitation. Their children rarely get an opportunity to go to school and learn a productive skill. Gradually many women and girls lose contact with their kith and kins back home and become alienated from their culture and roots.

In tribal areas land is a symbol of the organisation of the community. When a transfer takes place beyond the threshold point, the community looks upon the process as alienation. It is thus obvious, that transfer of land is not merely a question of exploitation of innocent tribals by cunning people, there are more complex factors involved (Chaudhuri, 1990 : 74). One of the important problems which is arising in some areas, after enthusiastic response to the programme of education, is the psychological resistance amongst the tribals. For some time, the educated youth was able to get absorbed in the new opportunities in the surrounding region. But in those areas where the level of education has risen this is now becoming increasingly difficult. They find themselves blocked by the more advanced groups, who are more articulate and educationally better off. They psychologically, detach themselves from their local surrounding but when they fail to get a foothold in the modern sector, they get disappointed and develop frustration. The gulf between the life in the tribal home and the life in a residential hostel particularly in urban areas is an important contributing factor for non-adjustment. Another important fact is that the tribal has no social linkages with the urban areas.

These socio - psychological problems can be considered inevitable concomitant of the process of change. Hence, these will need to be accepted as a possible socio-psychological impediment which would arise in the process of change and which should be taken care of as a part of educational programme itself. When land alienation takes place, migration of tribals is inevitable.

### **Social Intervention in the Indian Context :**

In the Indian context, there are three distinct approaches to social work practice, namely : **Gandhian Social Work, Voluntary Social Work, and Professional Social Work.**

**The Gandhian Social Work:** It is a full time career, having an element of sacrifice, and the workers operate outside the framework of governmental programmes. They concentrate mainly in rural and tribal areas and work through

a Variety of Gandhian Institutions. Based on Gandhian ideas they aim at developing a 'Sarvodaya Samaj' through constructive work. Their activities include improvement of agriculture and village industries, rural development, education, land redistribution, setting up of cooperatives, rehabilitation of convicts and leprosy patients etc. Issues related to environmental degradation and devices have also attracted their attention. The training component is less academic and more practical. Greater emphasis is also placed on personal qualities of the worker (Ministry of Welfare 1987 : 141).

**The Voluntary Social Work** : It attracts philanthropists, religious persons, businessmen, industrialists and those with political ambitions and social activities of 'service clubs'. Those who come forward only to render assistance during the time of crisis also fall into this category. A great deal of voluntary social work is sporadic and intermittent in nature and surfaces during the time of suffering caused by natural calamities. Much of the voluntary social work involves working 'for' people in distress than 'with' them. Work of political parties and several religious-cultural organizations fall in this category (Ministry of Welfare, 1987 : 142).

**Professional Social Work** : It is characterized by the involvement of those who have received formal education in social work, possessing a degree or a diploma in social work. They work on a full time basis in any one of the fields of professional social work, namely; labour welfare and personnel management, medical and psychiatric institutions, correctional services, substance addiction, family planning and family counseling services, institutions for handicapped, urban, rural and tribal community development etc. Three basic methods used in social work are social casework, social group work, and community organization. Apart from the ameliorative services, they also work in the sphere of child development, social development, advocacy and research. Social work education they receive could be either generic or specialized in nature. (Ministry of Welfare 1987 : 140)

The philosophy of social work is based on worth and dignity of the individual, and her / his inherent potentials to grow, change and achieve personal fulfillment. Social workers acknowledge that while people have common human needs, each individual is unique and has special needs. This ideological framework guides the human processes in social work. The basic functions of social work are : to develop, maintain and strengthen the social welfare for all; to enable people to function optimally within their social institutional roles and statuses; and to support and improve social order and institutional structure of society (Siporin, 1975 : 13,14)

Over the past several decades, the field of social work has gained from knowledge acquired by behavioral, social and natural sciences. Social Work is thus built on a scientific and rational problem solving foundation. The change agent system, the client system, the target system are the basic systems involved in social work intervention. The social workers involved in the intervention methods and the NGOs employing them will form the change agent system. The client system includes the person with problems, his/her family and their collaterals .the target system vary in sign and could be at the level of the individual, family, group, agency, etc. It is this system which consists of all those who have come together to bring about a change in the client's situation (Friedlander and Apte, 1982 : 127, 128).

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## **CHAPTER II**

### **METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY**

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#### **The Problem**

A large number of women and girls from tribal areas migrate to cities and towns all over India. Most of these women and girls are illiterate and unskilled. They work in inhuman conditions in cities as their living standard is extremely poor. A large number of these migrants women and girls are being exploited by middlemen, contractors, construction companies and other types of employers. Many of these women and girls work as housemaids where their working hours extend up to 18 hours a day. A large number of migrant women and girls become victims of financial and sexual exploitation. Gradually, many women and girls lose contact with their kith and kins back home and become alienated from their culture and roots. After migration to cities they face a number of problems in the initial period of settlement and thereafter also. It was, therefore, thought to study the socio- economic condition of these migrant tribal women and girls and also to examine the social intervention on the part of Government agencies and the voluntary organizations to help them in improving their socio-economic status.

#### **The Research Study**

The present research study was proposed to study the socio-economic background of the tribal women and girls migrated to and settled in the cities. It was also proposed to study the problems faced by them. It was decided to study employment opportunities for them in the cities, their financial and sexual exploitation and the efforts made by the Government and voluntary organizations.

### **The Objectives of the Study :**

The study was undertaken with the following major objectives –

1. To study the socio-economic status of the migrant tribal women and girls in 10 cities in India.
2. To examine the nature and characteristics of the socio – cultural conflicts faced by the migrant tribal women and girls in these cities.
3. To analyses the dynamics of the social adjustment the migrant tribal women and girls in cities had to make in relation to employment and residential facilities.
4. To evaluate to what extent the tribal women and girls adjust themselves in the new social milieu.
5. To elucidate the impact of social and cultural conflict the women and girls in their social milieu and the resultant socio-cultural consequences of such conflict.
6. To discuss and understand the ramifications of exploitation of tribal women and girls in the cities.
7. To elucidate the extent of sexual and financial exploitation of migrant tribal women and girls in cities.
8. To verify the effectiveness of the intervention methods in the context of dealing with alienation and conflict of tribal women and girls.
9. To develop a system of help and rehabilitation of migrant tribal women and girls so that they can achieve the goals of their life.
10. To suggest remedial measures for discouraging tribal migration to cities.

### **The Research Questions**

The research questions were designed on the basis of the theoretical background, the review of the literature and the objectives of the study. The major research question were –

1. Why do tribal women and girls leave their hinterland and local customs and culture for migrating to cities?
2. What is the impact of their social adjustment and socialization in the cities?
3. How do these tribal women and girls react to new socio-cultural atmosphere.?
4. What type of relationship these migrant tribal women and girls have with their employers and neighbours?
5. What is the nature of social conflict they encounter in the cities?
6. How do they become victims of socio-cultural and economic alienation and what is the nature and characteristics of such alienation?
7. What arrangements can be made for the migrant tribal women and girls so as to have a better life style in their adopted society?
8. What kinds of welfare services are made available to the migrant tribal women and girls and how effective they are in the present context?
9. Has the intervention system been able to identify any alternative methods, which could be used while dealing with exploited migrant tribal women and girls? and
10. How to stop the migration of tribal women and girls to cities?

### **Research Design & Methodology**

Since the study is explorative and analytical in nature it required a highly scientific research methodology.

### **Universe of the Study :**

The migrant tribal women and girls in the cities of Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Pune , Nagpur, Raipur, Bhubaneshar, Bhopal and Ranchi constituted the universe of the present study. The migrant women and girls in

these cities are migrated from different regions and states like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Maharashtra and they all form the part of universe of the study.

### **Sampling Design:**

Social science surveys involving large number of people and vast scattered area have to be carried out on the basis of sampling procedure. Though total coverage is a welcome effort, time factor and resources make it difficult to go in for study of the entire population distributed over a wide area. The sampling method of investigation is, therefore, the most suitable method for conducting investigation where the size of universe is quite large. Depending on the type of data required Sampling can be used on the basis of certain statistical guidelines. With systematic sampling it is possible to arrive at meaningful results.

It should be borne in mind that no sampling procedure is full-proof. According to convenience and requirements, the different stages of investigation have to be based on different sampling techniques. It is unnecessary to cover all the units in the universe, which will be time consuming. It is on this logical inference that out of a large number of cities where tribal women and girls have migrated and settled only 10 cities were selected using purposive sampling method.

The present study is based on stratified sampling, which is done at three levels i.e. city, locality and family. The cities were selected using purposive sampling method. Though locality is taken as the second level of stratification, for practical reasons, all the localities in the respective cities were selected as migrant women and girls were spread over different localities, though, not in sufficient number. Recognising the fact that tribal women and girls are distributed in all the localities, choosing only some localities would have led to a lacuna in

the sampling techniques. To avoid this it was decided to extend the investigation to all the localities wherever the tribals had their residential houses.

At the third stage of sampling the families of tribals and tribal woman and girls were identified for investigation. Care was taken to see that the women or the girl selected as subject does not belong to the same family. The sample consisted of 1500 migrant tribal women and 1500 migrant tribal girls in the age group of 21 to 50 years and 16 to 23 years respectively, drawn from the following cities –

### **Sample Size**

<b>S.N.</b>	<b>CITY</b>	<b>WOMEN</b>	<b>GIRLS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
1.	New Delhi	200	200	400
2.	Kolkata	200	200	400
3.	Mumbai	200	200	400
4.	Hyderabad	150	150	300
5.	Pune	100	100	200
6.	Nagpur	150	150	300
7.	Bhopal	100	100	200
8.	Bhubaneshwar	100	100	200
9.	Raipur	150	150	300
10.	Ranchi	150	150	300
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1500</b>	<b>1500</b>	<b>3000</b>

### **Tools and Methods of Data Collection**

The next stage was that of data collection. Proper tools and methods had to be designed for data collection before setting out for fieldwork. Keeping in view the composition of the universe of investigation, it was decided to use interviewing and observation techniques. The tribal women and girls migrated to cities were mostly illiterate and were not well conversant with social science investigations. Hence, Interview Schedule was used as th main tool of data collection. The Interview Schedule was drafted on the basis of major

variables, parameters and objectives of the study. Along with the Interview Schedule the investigators were also provided with observation sheets to record relevant and useful observations with a view to strengthen and cross-check the information gathered through other tools.

The interview schedule was pre-tested on 75 women and 75 girls. In the light of the experience of pre-testing , the interview schedule was modified where-ever necessary. Primary data was collected, using the interview method , from the migrant tribal women and girls. Secondary data was collected from Tribal Associations, Tribal Research Centers and Government agencies.

As indicated earlier, interview method was used for collecting data from both the migrant tribal women and girls. The respondents were ignorant of such inquiries. Added to this the interview schedule was designed to get comprehensive information from the respondents which took about 60 to 90 minutes for each respondent due to requirement of careful attention and certain clarifications both on the part of respondent and the investigator. In addition to interviewing the investigator had to conduct herself up to the expectations of the respondents. All significant information had to be recorded mostly by observation. To meet these requirements only female investigators were appointed and carefully trained.

As a general guideline and for practical reasons, it was decided to interview the elderly woman and eldest girl in the tribal family migrated to city to collect data on various items of interview schedule. One of the general observations by the investigators was that the respondents viewed the study with some kind of suspicion and hence reservation.

To elicit all the relevant information, it was estimated that each interview would take an hour or more. One of the objectives of the study was to have an on the spot account of migrant tribal women and girls and their social,

cultural and religious inter-actions with the large non-tribal community in the locality and the city. This was done in order to understand their relations with other communities.

Almost all investigations of this type have to face certain problems connected with contacting the respondents. The respondents covered by the present study were largely engaged in different occupations. Hence, they were to be contacted only early in the morning. In view of this it was often difficult to meet the respondents in the houses. It was only on Sundays that they were mostly free. It consumed a lot of time of the investigators, which delayed the work of data collection beyond expectations.

### **Data Processing**

The interview schedules administered on migrant tribal women and girls were edited, codified and tabulated. Data processing was carried out with the help of computers.

The data analysis was planned in such a way that possible errors during data processing would be excluded. Numerical symbols were assigned to the responses in the interview schedule yielding a total of 58 variables. Computers were also used for statistical analysis of the data. In the first instance sorting was done to generate frequency tables for each independent variable.

The report that follows incorporates the data, analysis, the interpretation and the inferences draw there from.

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## **CHAPTER III**

### **Migrated Tribal Women and Girls in the Cities**

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The tribal people are the oldest ethnological segment in the Indian population. Over 8 percent of the Indian population is represented by tribals . Nearly 50 percent of this population is represented by females. The tribals are mainly concentrated in Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar , West Bengal, Rajasthan, Gujrat, assam, Mizoram, Southern India and Andaman and Nicobar.

These tribals in different regions have different tribes and they vary in the matter of culture, food, dress, language, social life, religious beliefs and practices, degree of technological development and level of cultural contact. As far as the status of women and girls is concerned, it also presents some uniqueness.

Every year, a large number of tribal women and girls migrate to big cities in India along with men in search of job. Some tribal girls come to cities for higher education. The city environment, society and culture do not match with their own. It is necessary, therefore, to know about their background.

#### **Background of Tribal Women and Girls**

Tribal women and girls have always played a dominant role in all agricultural operations as well as crafts and forest – based economy. Unlike non-tribal women and girls, they, in general, are not treated as drudges or burden. These and many other characteristics of tribal women and girls, their life and problems warrant proper attention.

Theoretically, the low status of tribal women has been accepted in majority of tribal societies. But according to Dhebar Commission Report (1961) the tribal women exercise a firm hand in family matters. The position of tribal women seems to be better in matriachal, matrilineal and polyandrous societies. In most of the tribes men seem to be pulling the strings from behind the curtain, However, tribal women and girls in matriarchal and matrilineal societies are better off in comparison to tribal women and girls in patriarchal and patrilineal societies. Tribal women as a whole seem to enjoy comparatively more freedom and are devoid of many constraints that are imposed on caste Hindu women. The tribal women lead a very hard life as far as physical labour is concerned but they certainly enjoy more freedom than their counterparts among the caste Hindus.

The tribal women can roam about freely and are usually free to select their life partners. In many a tribes, they can divorce and remarry without social sanctions. They have a firm hand in family matters and their social participation is not curtailed as in the case of caste women. Thus, in every society, a woman's status can be compared to a moving equilibrium at various times. If we review some known facts about a tribal woman's life in her community, this fact will be borne out -

- i) The tribal women of Gond Community enjoy status and freedom in the choice of life partner , premarital sex, and seeking divorce. But in other aspects of social life they are a depressed group working for their husbands like servants.
- ii) A Madia Gond girl has the freedom to have premarital sex and choose husband of her own choice. As a married women she has a freedom to take divorce if the husband gives ill treatment to her or if she cannot beget a child from him .She has a right to spend her earnings. A husband does not interfere in her affairs. However, even these women are tabooed during menstruation and are not allowed attending the festivals.

- iii) In Toda community the women get a very kind treatment from male members and are never made a target of social contempt. These women are known to be the most pampered tribal women as compared to women in other tribal communities. In spite of this, they are debarred from ritual ceremonies and sacred duties, which occupy the foremost place in Toda culture. Todas do not touch their women during certain periods during which women are considered to be polluted. These women freely mix with men and they are given a respectful treatment.
- iv) Sema Haga women also enjoy a high social status. Their marriages are settled on the basis of convenience but no girl is forced to get married against her will. After marriage, she occupies a high position in her husband's home. But even these women are not given a right to possess the property.
- v) In Khasi community the women enjoy considerable freedom as daughters in sexual matters. As wives they are shared by a group of brothers. These women have to work hard outside the home to make both ends meet.
- vi) In many tribes of Interior India, the tribal women are engaged in hard work, they age prematurely and are subjected to a lot of restrictions and conventional limitations. However, there are some exceptions. Among the Tharas of National Tarai, Uttar Pradesh, women's status is proverbially high. They dominate their husbands, have property rights, keep poultry, own it, do fishing, make baskets and sell the products of their labour. They are free to spend their earnings in the manner they want.
- vii) Tibetans and some sub-tribes of Bhotias treat their women with great consideration. These women are hardy, resolute and capable of doing heavy and onerous kind of tasks and they share with their men equal opportunities and equal rights.
- viii) Women enjoy a very high status among the Garos in Assam. Among Khasis a husband's authority is negligible as women take initiative in all family matters and the husband is simply a co-earner and a partner.

We generally find divergent views regarding the status of tribal women in India. However, due precaution should be taken while accepting sweeping statements regarding women's place in tribal society because diametrically opposite views can be found on any aspect of tribal women's life. It is necessary to make a distinction between the status of a woman, the treatment meted out to her and her character and behaviour.

It is a fact that tribal women contribute a lot to the economic development in a more substantial way than tribal men do. The tribal women constitute about 6 percent of the total female population of India and contribute to about 29 percent of the female working population of India. Thus, it is clear that woman as active workers constitute a large section of tribal labour force in particular and women's labour force in general. They work as agricultural labourers, industrial labourers and construction labourers. They also collect minor forest produce such as leaf , gum, fruit-seeds, herbal plants, broom grass and forest grass etc. in addition to various agricultural activities like sowing weeding, transplanting and harvesting. They are also found in mining, mineral collection and other industrial operations. However, the major contribution of tribal women labourers is found in construction industry. Tribal women are employed in large numbers at various levels of construction like soil-lifting, sand-cement mixing and brick-lifting etc. Thus, in different societies tribal women have different kinds of jobs and responsibilities.

Some sociologists and anthropologists have investigated the economic role of women in different tribes and the general conclusions in all these studies indicate the substantive contribution of tribal women to tribal economy.

Coming to the point of literacy among the tribal women the Census Report indicated that about 8 per cent of them are literate as against national literacy rate of about 25 per cent for females. Thus the literacy rate of tribal women is only one-third of the literacy rate of women in India as a whole.

## **Migration of Tribal Women and Girls to Cities**

The tribal women and girls belonging to different tribes habitated in different States of India migrate to big cities with different reasons.

Migration is a special process. It increases with the technical and economic progress. Social scientists, planners etc. have made many studies on migration. Ravenstein was pioneer in the formulation of laws in this regard and according to him, migration occurs from (i) low opportunity area to high opportunity area, (ii) within a short distance, (iii) from rural area to small towns and (iv) from villages or towns to big cities. Based on this, Lee (1966) developed a model based on 'Push' and 'Pull' factors at the place of origin and the place of destination.

Migration is one of the most important characteristics of phenomenon in all the societies. Clarke (1969) observes that unemployed persons are more migratory than employed. However, migration among the tribals and that of tribal women and girls is different from the migration of other community members in the sense that tribals do not migrate voluntarily, they do so under a number of compulsions. In the case of tribal women and girls who migrate to big cities the compulsions are still different.

The research team tried to find out the reasons for which the tribal women and girls come to stay in big cities and never return back to their hinterland.

Every movement of population, whether general or tribal, is associated with some definite reasons like economic, social, political and so on. In the case of tribals 'Push-Pull' factors play an important role in the process of migration to big cities. The push of tribal males and females from the place of origin to big cities is associated with very low wage rates, unemployment and land alienation. In addition, indebtedness and poverty among the tribals motivate them for migration to big cities. Migration for education is very limited among the tribals.

The migration of the younger age group is mainly of the tribal children including girls who participate in the working force at their school-going age. Even after migration the tribal girls are mainly engaged in house-hold activities when their parents spend the major part of the day time at their place of work. Although there are primary and secondary schools in their own locality or nearby locality providing free education the tribal children can not afford time to attend the school in the absence of free time.

Marriage is the single most important reason for females for migration.

It has already been stated that migration for education is very limited and negligible among the tribals. Only about 3 per cent males and 0.8 per cent females migrate to cities for higher education. In spite of the facilities of free education, scholarships and other facilities the tribal girls are not coming to cities for higher education in sufficient numbers.

Besides the above-mentioned reasons for out-migration of tribal women and girls, there are different family reasons, which force them to move from their hinterland to cities.

A sociological interpretation of migration was given by Clifford Jonsen who wrote about the differential aspects of migration. Those who decide to take to migration are, largely, the poor peasants and farm labourers who do not have enough resources of survival. A little better off families tend to satisfy themselves with whatever resources they have to work in the villages of their origin. The economists who have made a study of migration argue that migration is an economic problem as it brings economic imbalances. Land alienation also seems a significant factor in the process of migration of tribals from their hinterland. The marginal tribal families with smaller land holdings had to leave their native land and go in search of non-agricultural occupations. Exploitation was another factor involved in the process of tribal migration but during our fieldwork no respondent has made a reference to this factor.

The study team wanted to know as to why tribal women and girls migrate to big cities and hence a question on reasons of migration was included in the interview schedule. The responses are presented in the following table –

**Table No. 3.1**

**Reasons for Migration to Cities**

Reasons Of Migration	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Code * (A)	535 (35.67%)	682 (45.47%)	1217 (40.57%)
(B)	82 (5.47%)	140 (9.33%)	222 (7.40%)
(C)	60 (4.00%)	293 (19.53%)	553 (13.43%)
(D)	674 (44.93%)	----	674 (20.86%)
(E)	42 (2.80%)	71 (4.73%)	113 (3.76%)
(F)	37 (2.47%)	71 (4.73%)	108 (3.60%)
(G)	70 (4.66%)	243 (16.20%)	313 (10.43%)
<b>Total</b>	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

**. Explanation of Codes:**

(A) = Lack of employment opportunities in the native place.

(B) = Agricultural land and house of the family was acquired for development project.

(C) = No proper facilities of education in village or nearby towns.

(D) = Marriage (husband was living in city).

(E) = Repeated natural calamities like floods and famines.

(F) = Lured by the pleasures of city life.

(G) = Any other.

A majority of 45 percent of the 1500 women respondents covered by the study stated marriage to a person living in the city as the main reason for

migration whereas, about 45 percent of the girls who were in majority specifically told the investigators that lack of employment in the native place and nearby areas was the principal reason for migration of their families to big cities. About 35 percent of the women respondents also reported lack of employment at the native place as the principal ground for migration to cities. Lack of proper facilities of education was the main reason of migration to cities for 4 percent of women and about 20 percent of girls. There were cases of migration caused due to family land or house acquired by the government for development project but no alternate land or house was provided as compensation in the course of rehabilitation. This was reported by about 5 percent of women and about 9 percent of girls. Nearly 3 percent of women and 5 percent of girls pointed out that repeated natural calamities like floods, earthquakes and famines compelled them to shift to cities far away from their native lands. Only 2 percent of the women and about 5 percent of the girls were lured by the pleasures of city life and hence migrated to cities. However, now they were repenting as they are facing a large number of problems. In addition, a number of other reasons were also reported for migration to cities by about 5 percent of tribal women and 16 percent of tribal girls. Such reasons include land alienation, freedom from bonded labour etc.

### **Profile of Migrant Tribal Women and Girls in Cities**

In a research study like the present one it is necessary to study the demographic variables of the subjects to carry out the proper analysis of data and to arrive at the correct conclusions. Hence the present chapter examines the personal and family profile of the migrant women and girls in the 10 selected cities i.e. New Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Pune, Nagpur, Bhopal, Bhubaneswar, Raipur and Ranchi. The variables selected for personal and family profile of 1500 migrant tribal women and equal number of migrant tribal girls include their community, age, marital status (only for women), and education.

The data analysis of the communities to which the migrant tribal women and girls belonged disclosed that they belonged to a variety of tribal communities (tribes) in India. The citywise analysis disclosed that -

1. Delhi attracted tribal women and girls from communities like Santhals, Banjara, Gadulia Lohars, Valga, Midia, Bhils, Sidhis, Halba, Kol, Kilala, Bhatga, Gadba, Kanda, Gond, Vilala etc.
2. In the city of Kolkata the respondents were drawn from the tribal communities like Kharia, Munda, Santhal, Khadia, Mahati and Orion.
3. Majority of the respondents in Mumbai belonged to adivasi Gond, Hindu Malhar Koli, Adivasi Bhil, and Hindu Kokua.
4. In Hyderabad the migrant tribal women and girls were drawn from tribal communities like Apaspalli Thonda, Balu Boglingampalli Thanda, Banjara Tanda, Naik Banjara, Dundiya Tanda, Bangaligampalli, Gudi Tanda, Addagulter and Kancharpalli.
5. Most of the respondents in Pune belonged to Lamani and Banjara communities.
6. In Nagpur the respondents were from Korcu Gond, Pradhan Gond, Raj Gond, Nibare Gond, Halba, Bhil and Madia Gond communities.
7. The respondents from Bhopal belonged to Madia, Urao, Bhil and Damor Communities.
8. In Bhubaneswar the respondents interviewed were from Kondha, Koya, Kutia Kondu,

Dongria Kondu, Dongria Kondu, Sabana, Souna, Gadba and Chuklia.

9. Gond, Najasia, Ghora, Sahariya, Kol, Dhuru Gond, Kavar, Pradhan, Biywar, Majhi, Kol and Raj Gond were the communities to which respondents from Raipur belonged to.

10. Respondents from Ranchi were drawn from Munda, Santhal, Khariya, Porchaiya and Oraon .

### **Age Composition of Respondents**

Age exerts considerable influence on different aspects of the composition and structure of the population. Age also influences other factors like education, employment, marriage, occupational composition and certain social and cultural activities of the community. In order to have a detailed understanding of the distribution of migrated tribal women and girls by age at different level it was decided to stratify the age group of respondents covered by the study.

It was necessary to define the lower and upper age limit for the migrated tribal girls to be included as subjects in the study. Hence, only the unmarried girls in the age –range of 16-30 were covered for the purpose of this study.

The following table presents the age-wise distribution of respondents separately for women and girls.

**Table No. 3.2**

#### **Age-wise Distribution of Respondents**

<b>Age in Years</b>	<b><u>Number of Respondents</u></b>		
	<b>Women</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>
16 - 23	125 (8.33%)	1169 (77.93%)	1294 (43.13%)

24 - 31	375 (25.00%)	331 (22.07%)	706 (23.53%)
32 -39	422 (28.13%)	-----	442 (14.07%)
40 - 47	302 (20.13%)	----	302 (10.07%)
48 - 55	171 (11.50%)	----	171 (5.75%)
56 & Above	105 (7.00%)	----	105 (3.50%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The data presented in the table shows that a very large number of respondents out of 3000 were in the age group of 16-23 years (43%) and 24-31 years (24%). Thus about 69 percent of the total respondents were in the age range of 16-31 years. This is because of the fact that the girl-respondents are placed only in 16-23 and 24-31 years age group and not beyond that.

The analysis of data collected for women only disclosed that about 28 percent of women out of 1500 covered by the study were in the age group of 32 –39 years and about 25 percent in the age group of 24-31 years. Only 8 percent of the women were in the lower age range of 16-23 years as against 20 percent in the age group of 40-47 years and about 12 percent in the age group of 48-55 years. Only 7 percent of women respondents were of the age of 56 years or above.

As already pointed out the tribal girls were grouped under two classes only. A very large majority of girls was observed in 16-23 years age group (about 78 percent) followed by 22 percent in the age group of 24-31 years.

In conclusion, more than 50 percent of the tribal women migrated to cities were in the age range of 24 to 39 years and more than 75 percent migrant tribal girls were in the age range of 16 to 23 years.

Citywise analysis of data disclosed that majority of migrant tribal women in different cities were in the age group as indicated below –

City	Majority Age Group	Percentage to city sample
New Delhi	32 – 47	50%
Kolkata	32 – 47	54%
Mumbai	24 --39	56%
Hyderabad	24 – 39	60%
Pune	24 – 39	54%
Nagpur	32 – 47	48%
Bhopal	16 – 31	64%
Bhubaneshwar	24 – 39	58%
Raipur	24 -- 39	55%
Ranchi	24 – 39	80%

The majority of the migrant tribal women in Ranchi, Raipur ,Bhubeneshwar, Pune, Hyderabad and Mumbai were in the age group of 24 to 39 year and those in New Delhi, Kolkata & Nagpur were in the age group of 32 to 47 years . As an exception in Bhopal the majority of the women was in the younger age group of 16 to 31 years. Similarly a very large majority of migrant girls in all the cities was found in the age group of 16 to 23 years.

### **Marital Status of Respondents**

The traditional tribal norms are somewhat liberal for women and most of them continue to enjoy more freedom in matters of marriage, re-marriage and divorce. Tribal women are usually free to select their life partners. The tribal woman is married when she is mature and if her marriage is a failure, she has a right to divorce. The frequency of divorce, however, differs in different tribes. As

far as widows are concerned, the widowhood does not carry a stigma in tribal society. A widow need not lead a restricted life. She can even remarry if she so desires. The marital status of the women respondents is presented in the following table –

**Marital Status of Respondents**

<b>Married Status</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>
Unmarried	07 (0.46%)
Married	1211 (80.73%)
Separated	55 (3.66%)
Divorced	61 (4.06%)
Widow	162 (10.80%)
Living Together	04 (0.26%)
Total	1500 (100%)

The analysis of marital status of migrated tribal women disclosed that nearly 81 per cent of them were married and only 0.5 per cent were unmarried. The unmarried women were those girls who crossed the age of 31 years and still remained unmarried. About 11 per cent of the tribal women were widows. This seems to be an abnormal situation as the tribal woman is free to remarry. On further analysis it was observed that they were all in upper age-groups i.e. above 41 years. The percentage of those separated was around 4 per cent and those of divorced was also nearly 4 per cent. Only 4 cases of living together without marriage were reported one each from Raipur and Ranchi and 2 from Bhubaneswar. Maximum number of cases of separated tribal women were reported from New Delhi (19) followed by Ranchi (12). Similarly out of 61 divorced women 34 were reported from Hyderabad and 12 from New Delhi. Out of 162 widows a maximum number of 44 was reported from New Delhi followed by 31 from Mumbai, 20 from Nagpur and 13 from Raipur.

Thus, maximum number of migrated tribal women were married.

Citiwise analysis of marital status of migrant tribal women revealed that majority of them was married i.e. New Delhi (61%), Kolkata (92%), Mumbai (84%), Hyderabad (66%), Pune (88%), Nagpur (85%), Bhopal (90%), Bhubaneswar (71%), Raipur (86%) and Ranchi (82%). Maximum percentage of widows (22%) was found in New Delhi and maximum cases of divorcees (33%) were observed in Hyderabad. Highest percentage of cases of separation (9.5%) were detected in New Delhi. Only 4 cases of living together without entering into marriage bond were detected out of which 2 were in Bhubaneswar and one each in Raipur and Ranchi.

### **Educational Level**

Women's education in general and that of women from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in particular has assumed special significance in the context of human development. Education enables women and girls to acquire basic skills and abilities and foster a value system, which is conducive to raising their status in the society.

In spite of the great emphasis laid on women's education in the five year plans and the facilities and incentives given, it was noticed that as far as tribal women and girls were concerned, no expected results were shown due to poor enrollment of tribal girls. Hence, special efforts were made to enroll and retain tribal girls in schools, specially in rural areas and urban slums. To expedite education among the tribal girls additional facilities were given under the Development of Backward Classes Programmes. In spite of all out efforts the tribal women and girls remained educationally backward. The literacy rate among the tribal women and girls is abnormally low.

In order to find out the level of education among the women and girls migrated to cities the relevant data was collected. Since there are better facilities of education in cities it was expected that the migrated women and girls will have

better opportunities of education and their level of education will be higher as compared to their counter-parts in their hinterland. However, the results of our study as shown in. Table No. 3.3 reflects the dismal picture of female literacy among the women and girls migrated to cities in different States of India.

**Table No. 3.3**  
**Education Level**

Educational Level	Number of Respondents		Total
	Women	Girls	
1. Illiterate	836 (55.73%)	438 (29.20%)	1274 (42.36%)
2. Primary	187 (12.46%)	244 (16.26%)	431 (14.36%)
3. Middle School	172 (11.46%)	196 (13.06%)	368 (12.26%)
4. S.S.C.	102 (6.80%)	234 (15.60%)	336 (13.20%)
5. H.S.S.C.	94 (6.26%)	180 (12.00%)	274 (9.13%)
6. Graduate	90 (6.00%)	164 (10.94%)	254 (8.47%)
7. Post Graduate	18 (1.20%)	37 (2.47%)	55 (1.89%)
8. Any others	01 (0.06%)	07 (0.47%)	08 (0.26%)
TOTAL	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The analysis of data presented in the above table indicates that out of 1500 migrated tribal women a large majority of about 56 per cent were found illiterate as against only 13 per cent who had education up to primary level and 12 per cent up to middle school level. Those who got education up to SSC level were 7 per cent. Only 6 per cent of these women were graduates mostly in Arts and Commerce disciplines and only about 1 per cent were having post-graduate education.

The data analysis of educational level of 1500 migrated tribal girls disclosed that about 29 per cent of them were illiterate and about 16 per cent were educated up to primary level. As against this those tribal girls who could reach up to middle school level were about 13 per cent. It was further observed that around 16 per cent of them were educated up to SSC level and 12 per cent up to H.S.S.C. level. Nearly 11 per cent of these girls were graduates about 2 per cent were holding post-graduate degrees.

The comparison of educational level of migrated tribal women with migrated tribal girls indicated that girls have better educational achievements than women. The reason may be the better educational facilities available to girls in the cities after migration.

Taking migrated women and girls together we find that about 42 percent of them were illiterate, about 14 percent educated up to primary level, about 12 percent up to middle school level, 13 percent up to SSC level and 9 percent up to H.S.S.C. level. Only 8 percent of them were graduates and about 2 percent were postgraduate degree holders.

In conclusion, nearly half of the tribal women and girls are illiterate. It must be noted at this point that the Government policy after the Third Five - Year Plan lays more stress on education than any other aspects of tribal life. In a way an analysis of educational level of any group of people could be taken as an indicator in its developmental activities. Keeping this point in view we have analysed the educational attainments of migrated tribal women and girls at different levels primary, middle school, secondary, higher secondary, undergraduate and postgraduate.

The fact that illiteracy is rampant among the tribals in India is clearly substantiated by our study as even the tribal women and girls who after migration to big cities where ample opportunities and facilities are available

remained illiterate to the extent of 42 percent. As regards primary education only 14 percent tribal women and girls having reached that level cannot be considered as educated. Middle School Education is very limited among the migrated tribal families as only about 12 percent of the migrated women and girls had education up to middle school level. As far as secondary and higher secondary school education is concerned the data returned from the ten major cities in India is not encouraging. On the whole only 13 percent and 10 percent of tribal women and girls had education up to secondary and higher secondary level respectively. When it comes to college education more than 88 percent of the women and girls come under negative category as only 11 percent could reach up to graduation or post graduation level of education.

Further analysis of data disclosed that Bhopal accounted for the highest percentage of illiterate tribal women (92%) and girls (81%) followed by Hyderabad where this percentage was 86 for women and 46 for girls. The percentage of illiterate women was about 67 percentage in Mumbai and Raipur. In Delhi and Pune also about 55 percent of tribal women were illiterate.

Illiteracy was thus widespread among the tribal women and girls migrated to big cities in India.

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## **Chapter IV**

### **Socio-Economic Background of** **Migrant Tribal Women & Girls**

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The bulk of the Indian Tribal population lives in villages within or nearer to the forests. As such their socio-economic conditions are influenced by agrarian and primitive type of economy. Novelty and change had all through a far less positive appeal for them. Conservatism seems to be the essential characteristic of the tribal society. As a result of traditionalism, an attitude of fatalism prevails in the tribal societies. This is intimately related to the forces of tradition and constitutes a major barrier to change. The tribals love their land too much and are not willing to leave it in normal conditions. They migrate from their hinterland only when the life becomes unbearable. But, even after migration they do not sacrifice their social and cultural traditions.

With the rapid growth of industrialization and urbanization in the country some of the tribal have come in contact with urban societies. However, a great majority of the tribals have still not got into the mainstream of change and naturally have preferred to remain isolated within the narrow confines, preserving some of their ancient patterns of life.

It is evident that the tribals play an important role in the Indian Social life. They form a weaker section of our population and in most of the cases they suffer under the grinding wheel of the poverty. With a view to avail better conditions of life they migrate to cities under compulsions. However, even in cities they find it difficult to meet basic requirements of life. In a study like one in the hand it becomes necessary to examine the socio-economic background of the tribals who migrated to cities in India. It is in this reference that the present study intends to examine the socio-economic background of migrant tribal women and girls in the cities covered by the study.

The principal variables considered for the study include type and size of family, traditional occupation of the family, family income, civil amenities and facilities, social and cultural traditions, relations with urban community etc. Questions directly or indirectly related to these variables were included in the interview schedule to collect the relevant information from the respondents.

### **Nature of Native Place**

All the tribals are basically the residents of villages within the forests or nearby the forests. Gradually, they shifted to plain areas near and around the forests. They are found in large numbers in Tribal Villages, Tribal Dominated villages, Semi-tribal villages and small towns having mixed population. With a view to know the background of tribal women and girls migrated to big cities in India the information about their original place of residence was collected. The data presented in the following table reflects the nature of native place of the migrated tribal women and girls.

**Table No. 4.1**

### **Nature of Native Place**

Native Place	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Purely Tribal Village	619 (41.26%)	553 (36.87%)	1172 (39.07%)
Tribal Dominated Village	236 (15.73%)	209 (13.93%)	445 (14.83%)
Semi-Tribal Village	365 (24.33%)	399 (26.60%)	764 (25.46%)
Small Town (Mixed Population)	249 (16.60%)	291 (19.40%)	540 (18.00%)
Forest Village	31 (2.07%)	48 (3.20%)	79 (2.63%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

Prior to migration, out of 1500 tribal women migrated to cities about 41 per cent were living in purely tribal villages and about 16 per cent in tribal

dominated villages. Nearly 24 per cent of them were living in semi-tribal villages and only about 2 per cent in forest-villages. Those living in small town having mixed population but within the tribal belt were about 17 per cent.

The tribal girls, before migration to cities had their places of residence in tribal areas. They were living in purely tribal villages, semi-tribal villages, forest villages, villages dominated by tribal population and small towns in tribal areas wherein there was mixed population. The analysis of data disclosed that out of 1500 girls a majority of 37 per cent of them have migrated from purely tribal villages and 14 per cent from tribal dominated villages as against this only 3 per cent of the tribal girls were living in semi-tribal villages and 19 per cent in small towns having mixed population habitated in tribal areas.

It is clear from the analysis of data that a large majority of tribal women and girls have migrated to cities from villages in tribal belt. As such, they have brought with them the social and cultural norms of tribal societies from their hinterland.

### **Type and Size of Family**

The type and size of family explain the social, economic and political prospects of any society. The earlier family structure of tribal communities was mostly economy oriented. Tribal Communities lived and moved in groups. Agricultural tribal communities preferred large families to meet the labour force required. However, as civilization progressed, the idea of individualism promoted nuclear families. Urbanization, industrialization and education supported small families, to some extent. Population influx and migration to cities are also contributing factors in reducing the size of family.

**Table No. 4.2**  
**Type of Family**

Family Type	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Nuclear	1099 (73.27%)	1110 (74.00%)	2209 (73.63%)
Joint	384 (25.60%)	350 (23.33%)	734 (24.47%)
Single	17 (1.13%)	40 (2.67%)	57 (1.90%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The tabulated data disclosed that a large majority of migrated women (about 73 per cent) and girls (74 per cent) were having nuclear families whereas only about 26 per cent and 23 per cent respectively were living with joint families. Only 1.13 percent of women and 2.67% per cent of girls had single families. Thus, even in tribal communities the nuclear family pattern has replaced the traditional pattern of joint families.

As pointed out earlier the tribals prefer to live in joint families. However, the changing conditions have compelled them to shift to nuclear families. This is more so with those migrated to cities. With the changing time and compulsions of city life they are also limiting the size of family. As such the respondents were asked to state the number of members in the family. Their responses are presented in the following table –

**Table No. 4.3**  
**Size of Family**

Family Size (Members)	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
01	17 (1.13%)	40 (2.67%)	57 (1.96%)
02	96 (6.4%)	00 (-)	96 (3.2%)

03	100 (6.88%)	197 (13.13%)	297 (9.9%)
04	392 (26.13%)	472 (31.47%)	864 (28.8%)
05	412 (27.46%)	331 (22.07%)	743 (24.76%)
06	99 (6.6%)	110 (7.33%)	209 (6.9%)
07 & More	384 (25.6%)	350 (23.33%)	734 (24.47%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The data revealed that a majority of women respondents (about 27 per cent) had a family of five members as against about 26 per cent with family size of 7 and more members. About 26 per cent of respondents had 4 (four) members in their family as against about 7 per cent with a family size of 3 members. Only 6 per cent of the women respondents had family of 2 members and about 1 percent had one member family i.e. living alone.

The migrant tribal girls reported that about 23 per cent of them had 7 or more than 7 members in their family and about 7 per cent had families consisting of 6 members. About 22 per cent girls had families with 5 members and the size of family in the case of about 31 per cent of them was that of 4 members. Nearly 13 per cent of the girls had family with 3 members and only about 3 per cent of them had no family as such and were living alone.

The data analysis shows that the families with larger number of members are still prevailing among the tribal communities even after migration. It, however, appears that the migrant tribal women have realised the importance of small families and they are gradually adopting the concept of family planning.

### **Number of Girls in the Family**

The data relating to number of girls in the family was collected with a view to examine whether the tribal families make any discrimination between the boys and girls and whether they try to restrict the birth of a girl child. It is

observed that tribal communities do not discriminate between the male child and female child. The data presented in the following table supports their contention.

**Table No. 4.4**

**Number of Girls in Families**

Number of Girls	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Nil	340 (22.67%)	73 (4.87%)	413 (13.77%)
One	511 (34.06%)	506 (33.74%)	1017 (33.90%)
Two	390 (26.00%)	530 (35.40%)	920 (30.70%)
Three	154 (10.27%)	205 (13.97%)	359 (12.12%)
Four	74 (4.94%)	134 (8.94%)	208 (6.94%)
More than Four	31 (2.06%)	52 (3.46%)	83 (2.76%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The data analysis disclosed that the tribal families from which the samples of women and girls were drawn did not attempt to prohibit the birth of a girl child. Except in 13 per cent of the families out of 3000 where there was not even a single girl, in all other families the number of girls was sufficient. From 83 (2.76%) families out of 3000, more than four girls were reported to be living with the families as against 4 girls in about 7 per cent of the families, 3 girls in 12 per cent of the families. 2 in 31 per cent of families and one in 34 per cent of the families covered by the study. Thus about 65 per cent families of migrated tribal women and girls have one to two girls in the family. It clearly indicates that the migrated women have adopted the concept of a small family to improve their socio-economic condition and status.

## **Occupation of Respondents**

One of the objectives of the present study is to understand the economic conditions of the tribal women and girls migrated to cities. In this connection the role of occupation has to be taken into consideration in all perspectives as it constitutes the important criterion in assessing the economic conditions. The study also intended to know whether the migrated tribal women and girls have shifted to occupations other than their traditional ones. In other words it is intended to study whether these women and girls have achieved any occupational mobility. Therefore, the respondents were asked to give their present occupation as well as traditional family occupation before migration to the cities.

The responses of migrated tribal women and girls regarding their traditional family occupation before migration to cities are recorded in the following table –

**Table No. 4.5**  
**Traditional Family Occupation Prior to Migration**

Occupation	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Farming	653 (43.53%)	514 (43.53%)	1167 (38.90%)
Farm Labour	403 (26.87%)	528 (35.20%)	931 (31.03%)
Bonded Labour	169 (11.27%)	220 (14.60%)	389 (12.97%)
Collection & Sale of Forest Produce	181 (12.07%)	144 (9.60%)	325 (10.83%)
Any other	94 (6.27%)	94 (6.27%)	188 (6.27%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

Farming was the principal traditional occupation of majority of the tribal communities in India. In the different parts of the country, generally, three

agricultural patterns are followed by the tribals i.e. shifting cultivation, settled cultivation and cultivation of plantation crops. The tribals are fully depended on agriculture for their livelihood. Some of them do not possess any land or have very small holdings. As a result they have to work as agricultural labourers. However, money lenders, and other non-tribal people have continued to grab the land belonging to the tribals on one pretext or another. As a result land alienation took place on a very large scale and the tribals were forced to shift to other occupations like collection and sale of forest produce, bonded labour, handicraft, handloom and the like. The women and girls migrated to cities when asked for their traditional family occupation reported as under –

- (a) About 44 per cent of migrated tribal women and about 34 per cent of migrated tribal girls stated 'farming' as their main traditional family occupation.
- (b) Farm labour was reported as traditional family occupation by about 27 per cent and 35 per cent of the migrated tribal women and tribal girls respectively.
- (c) Nearly 11 per cent and 15 per cent women and girls respectively stated that their families were working as bonded labourers in their hinterland.
- (d) Collection and Sale of forest produce was stated as traditional family occupation by 12 percent of women and 9 per cent of tribal girls.
- (e) About 6 per cent each of tribal women and tribal girls stated a variety of traditional family occupations like dairy, piggery, gottery, poultry, fishing, cane-furniture making, weaving, handicrafts etc.

Thus majority of tribal women and girls migrated to cities had farming and farm labour as their principal traditional family occupation.

After migration to cities the tribal women and girls could not continue with their traditional family occupation and had to shift to urban occupations.

## **Family Earnings**

The economic status of a family is judged by total earnings. The size of total income of the family depends upon the number of earning members. It is, however, incorrect to say that larger the number of earning members in the family greater is the size of income because if the income per member on an average is less, the total income of the family will also be less. But, even under these situations the families having larger number of earning members do enjoy a better life as compared to those having one or two earning members. Hence, in order to examine the economic background of the migrant tribal women and girls the information about earning members in their family was collected during field investigation.

**Table No. 4.6**

### **Number of Earning Members in Family**

<b>Number of Earning Members</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>		
	<b>Women</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>
One	575 (38.34%)	430 (28.67%)	1005 (33.50%)
Two	516 (34.40%)	487 (32.47%)	1003 (33.43%)
Three	191 (12.74%)	293 (19.54%)	484 (16.13%)
Four	109 (7.26%)	161 (10.73%)	270 (9.00%)
More than Four	109 (7.26%)	120 (8.60%)	229 (7.63%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1500</b> (100%)	<b>1500</b> (100%)	<b>3000</b> (100%)

The data presented in the above table shows that in about 38 per cent families of migrant tribal women out of 1500, there was only one earning member as against 2 in about 34 per cent of the families. About 13 per cent and 7 per cent of the women respondents stated that they had three and four earning members respectively in their families. Only 7 per cent of the women reported

that there were five or more earning members in their families. The responses from the migrant tribal girls disclosed that in about 29 per cent of the families there was only one earning member, whereas in about 32 per cent of the families there were 2 earning members. The percentage of families of migrant girls having 3 and 4 earning members was 20 and 11 per cent respectively. Families having 5 or more earning members were about 9 per cent only.

It is thus very clear that in majority of the families to which the migrant tribal women and girls belong there were only one or two earning members. Prior to migration to big cities practically every able-bodied member in the family was earning some money, though not sufficient. After migration every one could not get the work in the city.

The following table indicates the total income of the family.

**Table No. 4.7**

**Total Income of Family (P.A.)**

Income in Rupees	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Below Rs. 10,000	143 (9.54%)	109 (7.27%)	252 (8.40%)
10,000 to 15,000	147 (9.80%)	131 (8.74%)	278 (9.27%)
15,000 to 20,000	143 (9.54%)	167 (11.14%)	310 (10.34%)
20,001 to 25,000	105 (7.00%)	92 (6.14%)	197 (6.57%)
25,001 to 30,000	152 (10.13%)	75 (5.00%)	227 (7.56%)
30,001 to 35,000	141 (9.40%)	121 (8.07%)	262 (8.73%)
35,001 to 40,000	149 (9.93%)	208 (13.87%)	357 (11.90%)
40,001 to 50,000	186 (12.40%)	230 (15.33%)	416 (13.87%)
50,001 & Above	334 (22.28%)	362 (24.41%)	696 (23.34%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

On the basis of the analysis of data relating to total annual income of the families of migrant tribal women and girls the following observations are made-

1. Only about 10 per cent of the families of tribal women and about 7 per cent of tribal girls had total annual income up to Rs. 10,000 as against about 10 per cent and about 9 percent respectively having total income between Rs. 10,001 and Rs. 15,000.
2. The percentage of families whose total annual income was more than Rs. 15,000 but less than Rs. 20,000 was about 10 per cent in the cases of women respondents and 11 per cent in the cases of girls respondents.
3. Those families whose total annual income ranged between Rs. 20,001 and Rs. 25,000 were 7 per cent as reported by tribal women and 6 per cent as reported by tribal girls.
4. About 11 per cent of the women respondents and 5 per cent of the girls respondents stated that their total annual family income was between Rs. 25,001 and Rs. 30,000.
5. About 9 per cent of the families of tribal women and girls together had annual income between Rs. 30,001 to Rs. 35,000 and about 12 per cent between Rs. 30,001 to Rs. 40,000.
6. Nearly 14 per cent families of the total respondents had an annual income of Rs. 40,001 to Rs. 50,000 and the percentage of families with earnings of above Rs. 50,000 was nearly 23 percent.

The data analysis revealed that the annual family income of tribal women and girls showed improvement after migration to cities. However, this was sufficient only for providing basic amenities of life. Majority of the migrant

tribal women and girls were not satisfied with the quantum of annual family income and reported that they were facing economic problems in the city life.

### **Pattern of Housing (Ownership)**

One of the basic necessities of human life is a house to live in. Ownership of such necessities gives a psychological satisfaction. It also reflects the economic status and living standard of the people. Tribals living in village have, by and large, have their own houses and very few live in rented accommodation. The housing pattern in villages is generally a reflection of social status by caste. Therefore, people belonging to a particular community, generally, reside in a particular area of the village. When the tribals migrate to cities, the first problem that they face is that of housing accommodation. Most of them take shelter in slums in the cities and construct their own huts on unauthorised land, while other procure one-room tenements on rent. Those in private or government service construct their own houses by taking advantage of housing loan facilities available in cities.

The information relating to ownership or otherwise of the houses of the migrated tribal women and girls before and after migration to cities was collected with a view to compare their housing patterns before and after migration.

The present survey revealed that the majority of the tribal women (about 84 per cent) and girls (79 per cent) had their own houses in their hinterland before migration. But, after migration to cities only 47 per cent of women and 46 per cent of girls had their own houses. The five year plans saw that certain sums were earmarked for helping the tribals to acquire the land for house construction and to provide them a roof to live under. However, the migrated tribals could not take any advantage of these facilities. This is very clear from the data presented in the following table -

**Table No. 4.8****Ownership of House Before & After Migration**

Type of House	Before Migration			After Migration		
	Women	Girls	Total	Women	Girls	Total
Own	1258 (83.87%)	1189 (79.27%)	2447 (81.57%)	705 (47.00%)	694 (46.27%)	1399 (46.63%)
Rented	242 (16.13%)	311 (20.73%)	553 (18.43%)	795 (53.00%)	806 (53.73%)	1601 (53.37%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The data analysis of ownership of house disclosed that nearly 84 per cent of the tribal women had their own houses in their original place of residence but after migration only 47 per cent of them had the ownership of the houses they were living in. Rest of them (16 per cent) were living in the rented houses. Similar trend was observed in the cases of migrant tribal girls, as, before migration 79 per cent of them had the ownership of houses they were living in but after migration only 46 per cent of them were living in own houses. Thus nearly 53 per cent of women and girls had to live in rented houses after migration to cities. On further analysis it was noticed that those who were settled in the city for more than 9 years have constructed their own houses where-as those who have not decided to settle in the city and who had little earning could not construct their own houses and preferred to stay in rented houses. We have also come across certain cases where the families of the women or girls had good earnings due to employment in Government with high status. They had the capacity to construct their own houses but still they preferred to live in rented houses due to possibility of transfer to other places.

## **Number of Rooms In The House Before And After Migration**

The economic and social status of a family is measured by the number of rooms in the house in which it lives. The tribal's concept of a house is different from that of urban understanding. Most of the tribals in India live in huts constructed by using locally available material like grass, bamboos, wooden logs and mud. Bricks and Cement are rarely used. Most of the tribals have only one room in the house which is used for all purposes – cooking, living and sleeping. Those tribal families who are economically better off are having houses with multiple rooms. After migration to cities the housing conditions depend upon the local conditions. Those tribal families who migrated to cities in search of jobs live in slums, those who get good job shift to better localities. However, a large number of them are compelled to raise temporary huts in slums or procure hutments on rent.

In order to find out the nature of housing conditions of migrant tribal women & girls they were asked to state the number of rooms in their houses. Their responses are presented in the following table –

**Table No. 4.9**

### **Number of Rooms in House Before and After Migration**

Number of Rooms	Number of Respondents					
	Before Migration			After Migration		
	Women	Girls	Total	Women	Girls	Total
One	345 (23.00%)	388 (25.86%)	733 (24.43%)	553 (36.87%)	495 (33.00%)	1048 (34.93%)
Two	465 (31.00%)	379 (25.27%)	844 (28.13%)	502 (33.47%)	537 (35.8%)	1039 (34.63%)
Three	444 (29.60%)	529 (35.27%)	973 (32.43%)	269 (17.93%)	294 (19.60%)	563 (18.77%)

Four	188 (12.53%)	155 (10.33%)	343 (11.43%)	149 (9.93%)	129 (8.60%)	278 (9.27%)
Five & More	58 (3.87%)	49 (3.27%)	107 (3.57%)	27 (1.80%)	45 (3.00%)	72 (2.45)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

A comparative study of housing accommodation disclosed that before migration 23 per cent of women and 26 per cent of girls were living in a house having only one room whereas, after migration the percentage of those women and girls living in houses with one room only increased to about 37 per cent and 33 per cent respectively. Before migration to cities about 31 per cent women and 25 per cent girls were having houses with 2 rooms but after migration this percentage increased to 33 and 35 per cent respectively. This increase is not positive as those who were having houses with more than two rooms were shifted to two rooms tenaments. About 30 per cent of women and 35 per cent of girls were living in houses with 3 rooms before migration but after migration this percentage was reduced to 18 per cent and 20 per cent respectively. Only 13 per cent of women and 10 per cent of girls had houses with four rooms before migration, but after migration only 10 per cent and 9 per cent of them respectively were having houses with four rooms. The percentage of women and girls living in houses with five or more rooms was about 4 and 3 before migration but after migration the percentage declined to 3 in case of women and remained 3 in case of girls. This however, were exceptional cases as the women and girls involved were from well-to-do tribal families. In conclusion we can say that a large majority of tribal women and girls migrated to big cities in India were living in houses with one or two small rooms only. As such, there seems no significant change in their housing conditions even after migration to cities.

## **Basic Civil Amenities Available Before & After Migration**

Housing is one of the basic necessities of human being . It is an abode where basic human integrations take place and future citizens of a country moulded. Bad housing conditions have evil effects such as sickness and diseases, absentism and labour turnover. Better housing condition is necessary not only for raising the level of living but also to increase the productivity of family members. Housing, therefore, includes all civil amenities such as water, electricity, latrin, bathroom etc. In addition facilities of comforts like telephone, T.V., Conveyance are also to be considered in the concept of modern housing.

Against this background, an attempt has been made in this study to analyse the conditions of civic amenities available in the houses of migrated tribal women and girls migrated to cities. In order to see whether the present facilities are better or otherwise as compared to the facilities available before migration the data about conditions prior to migration is also collected. The data was collected with regard to important facilities like water, electricity, latrins. bathrooms, telephone, vehicle, television sets etc. The following table presents the data collected in this reference.

**Table No. 4.10**

### **Basic Civil Amenities Available Before and After Migration**

Type of Amenity Available	Number of Respondents					
	Before Migration			After Migration		
	Women	Girls	Total	Women	Girls	Total
Tap Water	174 (11.6%)	171 (11.4%)	345 (11.5%)	796 (53.07%)	696 (46.40%)	1492 (49.73%)
Wel Water	1080 (72.0%)	1111 (74.07%)	2191 (73.03%)	355 (23.67%)	335 (22.33%)	690 (23.00%)
Tap+Wel Water	158 (10.53%)	89 (5.93%)	247 (8.23%)	259 (17.27%)	264 (17.6%)	523 (17.43%)
Electricity	552 (36.80%)	368 (24.53%)	920 (30.47%)	1284 (85.60%)	1152 (76.80%)	2436 (81.20%)
Latrin	328 (21.86%)	261 (17.40%)	589 (19.63%)	837 (55.80%)	862 (57.47%)	1699 (56.63%)

Bathroom	426 (28.40%)	314 (20.93%)	740 (24.67%)	907 (60.47%)	899 (59.93%)	1806 (60.20%)
Telephone	44 (2.93%)	54 (3.60%)	98 (3.27%)	273 (18.20%)	258 (17.20%)	531 (17.70%)
T.V.	156 (10.40%)	133 (8.87%)	289 (9.63%)	661 (44.07%)	672 (44.80%)	1333 (44.43%)
Bicycle	205 (13.67%)	259 (12.27%)	464 (15.47%)	627 (41.80%)	556 (37.07%)	1183 (37.77%)
Moped	43 (2.87%)	62 (4.13%)	105 (3.50%)	246 (16.40%)	225 (15.00%)	471 (15.70%)
Car	00 -	00 -	00 -	22 (1.47%)	17 (1.13%)	39 (1.30%)
Refrigerator	11 (0.73%)	23 (1.53%)	34 (1.13%)	220 (14.67%)	215 (14.33%)	435 (14.50%)
Any Other	07 (0.46%)	00 -	07 (0.23%)	21 (1.4%)	11 (0.73%)	33 (1.10%)
Nil	32 (2.13%)	30 (2.0%)	62 (2.06%)	03 (0.2%)	01 (0.07%)	04 (0.13%)

The analysis of data relating to basic amenities available at homes of the tribal women and girls before and after migration to cities disclosed that –

- (I) Nearly 11 per cent of the women as well as girls reported that the facility of tap water was available to their families before migration. After migration this facility was made available to the families of about 53 per cent of migrant women and about 46 per cent of migrant girls.
- (II) Contrary to the above, well water was used by about 72 per cent of women and 74 per cent of the girls before migration. However, after migration to cities only 24 per cent of women and 22 per cent of girls were using well water.
- (III) Cases where tap as well as well water was used were also reported. Before migration about 11 per cent of women and 6 per cent of girls were using tap as well as well water but after migration this percentage increased to 17 per cent in each case.

- (IV) Significant change was noticed in the use of electricity in the families of tribal women and girls before and after migration. Electricity was a rare thing for them before migration as only about 37 per cent of the migrant women and about 25 per cent of the girls reported that they had electricity in their house. The situation radically changed after migration and now a large majority of about 86 per cent of the migrant women and about 77 per cent of the migrant girls had electricity in their houses.
- (V) Prior to migration, only 22 per cent of the women and 17 per cent of the girls were using latrins and the rest were compelled to go for morning duties in the fields nearby the house. After migration about 56 per cent of the women and 57 per cent of the girls informed that they had latrins attached to their houses and the rest were using public latrins in the slums or localities provided by the municipal corporation of the city.
- (VI) As far as facility of bathroom attached to house is concerned only 28 per cent of women and 21 per cent of girls stated that they had such facility in their houses before migration, the rest were taking bath in the open air in the open space around the house or on the banks of the river or at the well where they used to go for fetching water. After migration about 60 per cent each of the women and girls were using bathrooms attached to their houses or public bathrooms provided by local authorities in their locality.
- (VII) We could never think of a tribal family living in hilly areas and thick forest using telephone. However, the investigators came across about 44 migrant women and 54 migrant girls who reported that they had telephone facility in their houses. These were well-to-do families from the tribal areas with good financial condition but migrated to cities for education and enjoyment. After migration also there was no significant change in the situation. Only about 18 per cent of women and girls stated that they were having telephones at their residence. These women and girls were from

such families in which they themselves or one of their family member was employed in government or private service and drawing a salary of Rs. 10,000/- per month or more.

- (VIII) About 10 per cent of women and 9 per cent of girls had T.V. in their houses before migration. The study team observed a significant change in this situation, as after migration the percentage of women and girls having T.V. sets in their houses rose to about 45 per cent in each case.
- (IX) Bicycle has become the most popular mode of conveyance in rural India. However, it appears, that our tribal people cannot avail even this cheapest mode of conveyance and are accustomed to walk on foot for long distance. It is, therefore, that only about 14 per cent of women and 12 per cent of girls reported that prior to migration their family had a bicycle as a mode of conveyance. Now, after migration about 42 per cent of women and 37 per cent of girls reported that their families possessed bicycles.
- (X) Hardly about 3 per cent of the families of migrant tribal women and about 4 per cent that of tribal girls possessed scooters or other mopeds before migration but after migration this percentage increased to about 16 and 15 for families of women and girls respectively.
- (XI) No family of tribal women and girls was in possession of car before migration but after migration 16 per cent families of women and 15 per cent families of girls have purchased car. These families are from higher income group.
- (XII) Nearly 15 per cent women as well as girls stated that they had purchased refrigerator after migration as against this only about 1 per cent women and 2 percent girls informed that they had refrigerator in their house before migration.

Thus the comparison of civic amenities availed by the migrant women and girls before and after migration revealed that there was significant improvement in the quality and quantity of civil amenities after migration to cities.

### **Length of Residence in the City after Migration**

In order to assess the impact of migration on the socio-cultural and economic conditions of the tribal women and girls it was thought necessary to collect data relating to the length of their stay in the cities after migration. It was observed during the fieldwork that the tribal women and girls come to industrial and big cities mostly for earning a livelihood, as a result of marriage or for taking higher education. A majority of tribal girls who come to cities only for education, go back to their native places after they complete the education. Hence the duration of their stay in cities ranges between 2 and 5 years. However, some of them get employed in the same city and never go back to their place of origin. As against this, the tribal women who get migrated to cities never think of going back and they generally, get settled in the city. The following table throws light on the length of their stay in cities -

**Table No. 4.11**

#### **Since How Long Living in the City ?**

Period	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Less than One year	30 (2.00%)	70 (4.67%)	100 (3.33%)
1- 3 years	151 (10.07%)	208 (13.87%)	359 (11.97%)
4 – 6 years	258 (17.20%)	248 (16.53%)	506 (16.87%)

7 – 9 years	297 (19.80%)	288 (19.20%)	585 (19.50%)
10 and More Years	764 (50.93%)	686 (45.73%)	1450 (48.33%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The tabulated data revealed that more than 50 per cent of the tribal women and 45 per cent of the tribal girls were living in the same cities for 10 years or more after migration. About 20 per cent each of the tribal women and girls were residing in the same cities for about 7 to 9 years after migration. The percentage of tribal women and girls living in the same cities after migration for about 4 to 6 years was about 17 per cent each. Only 10 per cent of women and 14 per cent of girls had a duration of 1 to 3 years of stay in the cities whereas only 2 percent women and 5 per cent girls were living for a period of less than a year after their migration to the cities.

In conclusion it can be said that about three-fourth of the migrant tribal women and about two-third of migrant tribal girls were living in the cities for more than 6 years after migration.

### **Change In Life Style After Migration**

The life style of any group of people or community is shaped by the surroundings in which they live. The tribals are habitated in different regions of India and hence have different life styles. Therefore, different tribes have different patterns of life style in India. The tribals are very rigid in the matter of life style and they generally do not discard it. When the tribals migrate from their hinterland to plains in general and to cities in particular, they are placed in a surrounding where majority of the people have a life style totally different from one they follow. The tribals are then caught in conflict. On one hand they have their own life style which they have followed generation after generation and on

the other there is the local life style totally foreign to them. In order to adjust with the new environment the tribal gradually shift from their traditional life style to the local life style in the new land. In order to know whether the tribal women and girls migrated to cities have undergone any changes in their traditional life style particularly with regard to food habits, clothing pattern, Standard of living, Social behaviour and cultural life the data was collected from the respondents covering these aspects of life style. The responses from the migrant tribal women and girls are separately recorded in the following table -

**Table No. 4.12**

**Change in Life-Style after Migration**

Change in	Number of Respondents					
	Women			Girls		
	YES	NO	TOTAL	YES	NO	TOTAL
Food Habits	1171 (78.07%)	329 (21.93%)	1500 (100%)	1120 (74.67%)	380 (25.33%)	1500 (100%)
Clothing Pattern	1193 (79.53%)	307 (20.47%)	1500 (100%)	1174 (78.27%)	326 (21.73%)	1500 (100%)
Standard of Living	1089 (72.60%)	411 (27.4%)	1500 (100%)	1062 (70.80%)	438 (29.2%)	1500 (100%)
Social Behaviour	945 (63.05)	555 (37.00%)	1500 (100%)	869 (57.93%)	631 (47.07%)	1500 (100%)
Cultural Life	925 (61.67%)	575 (38.335)	1500 (100%)	844 (56.27%)	656 (43.73%)	1500 (100%)

The data presented in the above table revealed that after migration to cities a large number of tribal women and girls changed their life-style either willingly or under compulsions of the surroundings. A significant change in food habits was noticed in about 78 per cent of women and about 75 per cent of girls. This was mainly due to non-availability of their traditional food in the new places to which they have migrated. Similarly, about

80 per cent of the women and about 78 per cent of the girls discarded their traditional clothing and dressing pattern and adopted the pattern of clothing and dressing of the local people. As far as social behaviour was concerned about 63 per cent of women and 58 per cent of girls reported a marginal change in social behaviour to adjust themselves in the new society. Change was also observed in the cultural life of tribal women and girls after migration to cities. Nearly 62 per cent women and 56 per cent girls have confessed that they had to sacrifice some of their traditional cultural norms to adjust with the changed environment in the cities.

Thus a large majority of tribal women and girls migrated to big cities reported significant change in their food habits, clothing pattern, social behaviour and cultural life.

### **Use of Tribal Language for Intra-Family Communication**

The tribals in India do not belong to a single tribe. They are from different tribes. Each tribe has its own dialect. Hence, there is no single common language of tribals and there are as many languages as the number of tribes. One peculiarity of tribals is that they maintain their linguistic identity where-ever they go. Hence, when tribals get migrated to cities they learn the local and regional language for public communication. However, their intra-family communication and communication with clan-persons continues in their mother tongue. After a long stay in a new region the subsequent generations of tribals gradually shift from their mother tongue to the regional language. The tribal women and girls migrated to cities covered by the present study were, therefore, asked as to whether they were still using their own-language in intra-family communication. The responses were as given in the following table –

**Table No. 4.13****Use of Tribal Languages**

Use of Tribal Language	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
YES	1317 (87.8%)	1178 (78.54%)	2315 (83.17%)
NO	183 (12.2%)	322 (21.46%)	505 (16.83%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The data analysis revealed that a very large majority of migrant tribal women (87.8 per cent) and girls (79 per cent) used tribal language in communication with their family members, relatives and others belonging to their tribes. It is only about 12 percent of women and 21 per of girls that have totally adopted local language (language spoken in the city) for communication. Many of such women and girls who belong to new generation did not know the language of their tribe. It is thus clear that the tribals normally stick to their mother tongue for intra-family communication even when they migrate to the areas far away from their hinterland where a totally different language is spoken.

**Knowledge of Other Languages**

When the tribals come out of their hinterland and enter the non-tribal regions the first problem they encounter is the language spoken by the majority of the people in the new place. However, it is observed that they pick up the working knowledge of the local market language gradually and are able to communicate with the local people. In course of time, they also learn national language. On the backdrop of this situation the migrant tribal women and girls covered by the study were asked to state whether they could speak, read and write in languages other than their own i.e. regional language, national language

(Hindi) and English language. The tables given below throw light on the responses –

**Table No. 4.14**

**Knowledge of Other Languages**

**(A) WOMEN**

<b>Speak, Read or Write</b>	<b>Local (Regional)</b>	<b>National (Hindi)</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Any other</b>
Speak	1412 (94.13%)	1243 (87.87%)	178 (11.87%)	53 (3.53%)
Read	304 (20.27%)	503 (35.53%)	318 (21.28%)	34 (2.27%)
Write	268 (17.87%)	481 (32.07%)	318 (21.28%)	34 (2.27%)

**(B) GIRLS**

<b>Speak, Read or Write</b>	<b>Local (Regional)</b>	<b>National (Hindi)</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Any other</b>
Speak	1304 (86.93%)	1280 (85.33%)	398 (26.53%)	15 (1.00%)
Read	624 (41.60%)	811 (54.87%)	597 (39.80%)	14 (0.93%)
Write	577 (38.47%)	748 (49.87%)	597 (39.8%)	14 (0.93%)

Analysis of data disclosed that a very large majority of 94 per cent of the migrated women and 87 per cent of the migrant girls stated that they could speak local language, however only 20 per cent of women and 41 per cent of girls were able to read the script of the local language and about 18 per cent and 38 per cent of them respectively were able to write in the regional language. The

percentage of women and girls who were able to speak, read and write the regional language was 18 per cent and 38 per cent respectively.

As far as National Language Hindi was concerned it is surprising to note that about 88 per cent of the migrant tribal women and 85 per cent of the girls reported that they could speak in National language Hindi. However, only about 34 per cent of the women and 55 per cent of the girls were able to read the script written in Hindi. As reported, about 32 per cent of the women and 50 per cent of the girls were able to write in Hindi. The number of women and girls who could speak, read and write in national language was 481 and 748 respectively.

It was encouraging to note that out of 1500 migrant tribal women covered by the present study about 12 per cent could speak, read and write in English and about 11 per cent could read and write but could not speak in English. Thus speaking in English seems to be a limitation for about 44 per cent of the women who could read and write English.

Out of 1500 migrant tribal girls about 27 per cent could speak, read and write in English and about 13 per cent could read and write but could not speak in English..

Out of 1500 migrant tribal girls about 27 per cent could speak, read and write in English and about 13 per cent could read and write but could not speak in English.

The number of women and girls who could speak read and write in any other language was negligible.

### **Impact of Migration on Social, Religious and Cultural Norms of Tribal Society**

Every tribal community in India has through ages developed its own social, religious and cultural value systems. The community member is bound to follow these values in his personal and social life. In different tribal societies the women are given good status and sufficient freedom in certain aspects of life.

But, they too have to follow the traditional norms strictly. The tribals, even after migration to a region where a different value system of social, cultural and religious life prevails, stick up to the cultural, social and religious norms of their respective tribal society. The investigation carried out for the present study revealed that the tribals have preserved and protected their value systems even after migration. However, they had to make certain adjustments at times as an influence of urban society and culture of the local people. The following table throws light on the views of the respondents about the preservation of tribal values after migration.

**Table No. 4.15**

**Impact of Migration on Social, Religious & Cultural Values**

Response	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes, Fully	580 (38.67%)	475 (31.67%)	1055 (35.17%)
Yes, To Some Extent	705 (47.00%)	774 (51.60%)	1479 (49.33%)
Yes To a Great Extent	50 (3.33%)	67 (4.47%)	117 (3.90%)
No	165 (11.00%)	184 (12.26%)	349 (11.63%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The migrant tribal women and girls who were about 39 per cent and 32 per cent respectively confirmed that even after migration to cities they have preserved their social, religions and cultural norms of the tribal society fully, whereas, about 47 per cent of women and 52 per cent of girls reported that they were following such norms to some extent. In about 3 per cent cases of women and 4 per cent cases of girls it was observed that norms of tribal society were

followed by them to a great extent, though not fully. Only about 11 per cent of women and 12 per cent of girls did not follow the social, religions and cultural norms of the tribal society. Further analysis disclosed that those fully devoted to the values and norms set by the respective tribal society were mostly poor people engaged as labour in construction industries, factories and doing other manual work, whereas, those who totally refrained from these norms and accepted the norms of the urban society were mostly highly educated and employed in jobs carrying high status in the urban society.

To conclude majority of tribal women and girls migrated to cities still follow the values and norms set by their respective tribal society in their social, religious and cultural life.

### **Celebration of Tribal Festivals and Performing Cultural Programmes**

Festivals and cultural programmes constitute important part of religious and social life of tribals in India . As a matter of fact these festivals and cultural programmes have enriched the life of the tribals in all aspects.

The women and girls play a significant role in celebrating festivals and organising and managing cultural programmes in tribal society. The study team was interested in finding out as to whether the tribal women and girls migrated to cities celebrate tribal festivals and perform cultural programmes. A question seeking this information was included in the interview schedule. The response from women and girls are presented in the following table.

**Table No. 4.16**

#### **Celebration of Tribal Festivals and Cultural Programmes**

Celebration of Festivals	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total

Yes, All Festivals	501 (33.40%)	480 (32.00%)	981 (32.70%)
Yes, Only Some	778 (51.87%)	750 (50.00%)	1528 (50.90%)
No	221 (14.73%)	270 (18.00%)	491 (16.40%)
Total	1500 (11.00%)	1500 (12.26%)	3000 (11.63%)

It is evident from the tabulated data that migration from tribal land to non-tribal regions and to cities in particular has significantly affected the cultural and religious life of the migrated tribal women and girls. About 15 percent of the women and 18 percent of the girls covered by the study have totally left celebrating tribal festivals and performing tribal cultural programmes in the city. As against this, a majority of 52 percent of the women and 50 percent of the girls celebrated only selected tribal festivals and arranged selected tribal cultural programmes in the city. However, it is worth noting that about one-third of the tribal women and girls continued to celebrate all tribal cultural programmes in the city.

The culture, traditions, social practices and religious beliefs of tribals have grown out of and strengthened by their own experience. Their system is indigenous. However, the tribals migrated to plains and cities are gradually opening up to the outside forces. In non-tribal areas, cities and towns the tribals are coming in close proximity with the non-tribal population. As far as women are concerned the penetration of alien cultural has influenced all aspects of their social, cultural and religious life. The tribals cannot isolate themselves from non-tribals in big cities and they are directly or indirectly dependent upon the non-tribal population in the city. As a result they also join the mainstream in celebration of local, regional and national festivals. The following table shows the level of celebration of these festivals by the migrant tribal women and girls in the city.

**Table No. 4.17****Celebration of Festivals Not Belonging to Tribal Community**

Celebration	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes, All of them	307 (20.46%)	279 (18.60%)	586 (19.53%)
Yes Some of them	897 (59.80%)	906 (60.40%)	1803 (60.10%)
No	296 (19.73%)	315 (21.00%)	611 (20.37%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The data presented in the above table presents a picture of the process of tribals being drawn in the national stream. The parameter used to assess the degree of their association with local people was the celebration of local, regional and national festivals by the tribals migrated to cities. It is observed that about 60 percent of migrant tribal women and girls have reported that they were celebrating some of the local, regional and national festivals while about one-fifth of them were celebrating all of the local, regional and national festivals which did not belong to tribal communities. The remaining 20 percent of the tribal women and girls informed that they did not celebrate any festival of the local or regional people but they did celebrate the Republic Day and the Independence Day, which were of National Importance. In short about 80 percent of the tribal women and girls celebrated local, regional and national festivals in varying degrees.

As reported earlier about 80 percent of the migrated tribal women and girls celebrated all or some of the tribal festivals in the city. Since they have developed close contact with the local population it is expected that they will invite their family friends from other communities to participate in tribal festivals

they celebrate. Whether they do so or not was the point of enquiry. The relevant information was collected and the same is presented in the following table –

**Table No 4.18**

**Participation of Other Community Members in Tribal Religious, Social and Cultural Programmes**

Participation	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes, Always	287 (19.13%)	329 (21.93%)	616 (20.53%)
Yes, Sometimes	796 (53.07%)	769 (51.27%)	1565 (52.17%)
No	417 (27.80%)	402 (26.80%)	819 (27.30%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The collected data revealed that a large majority of about 72 percent of migrant tribal women and about 73 percent of the girls covered by the study confirmed that they did invite the members of other communities to participate in tribal festivals organized by them. However, about 28 percent women and 27 percent girls said that though they had invited other community members in their religious, social and cultural programme the members of other communities did not participate. In conclusion, about three-fourth of the tribal women and girls confirmed that members belonging to communities other than tribals attended the religious, social and cultural programmes organised by the tribals. This clearly shows that the migrated tribal women and girls have good social relations with other communities living in the locality.

**Table No. 4.19****Invitation to Tribal women and Girls in Religious, Social and Cultural programmes Organised by Other Community**

Participation	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes, Always	369 (24.60%)	319 (21.27%)	688 (22.93%)
Yes, Sometimes	848 (56.54%)	846 (56.40%)	1694 (56.47%)
No	283 (18.86%)	335 (22.34%)	618 (20.60%)
Total	1500 (11.00%)	1500 (12.26%)	3000 (11.63%)

It is very clear from the tabulated data that about 81 percent women and 80 percent girls were invited to participate in the religious, social and cultural programmes organised by the members of other communities in their locality. Only a negligible percentage of women (19%) and girls (22%) , however, reported that they were not invited for such functions. This also confirms our earlier conclusion that the migrant tribal women and girls have developed good social contact and relations with other communities living in their localities.

The tribal women and girls reported that they were being invited to attend the social, cultural and religious functions organised by members of other communities. It was interesting to note that with a view to develop social contact and maintain cordial, relations with the local people a large majority of the respondents did participate in those functions. The data presented in the following table confirm this fact.

**Table No. 4.20****Participation in Programs of Other Communities**

Participation	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes, Always	333 (22.20%)	317 (21.14%)	650 (21.67%)
Yes, Sometimes	737 (49.13%)	768 (51.20%)	1505 (50.17%)
No	147 (9.80%)	80 (5.34%)	227 (7.57%)
Not Applicable	283 (18.87%)	335 (22.32%)	618 (20.59%)
Total	1500 (11.00%)	1500 (12.26%)	3000 (11.63%)

Out of 1500 migrant women 81 percent were usually invited in the religious social and cultural programmes but only 71 percent of them always participated (22%) or participated only sometimes (49%). The remaining 10 percent did not attend the functions though invited due to a number of reasons.

Similarly, out of 1500 girls migrated to cities only about 79 percent were invited by other community members for attending different social, cultural and religious functions organised by them. Excluding 5 percent, the remaining 74 percent of the tribal girls did participate in those functions – always (22%) and sometimes (51%). Thus majority of the migrant girls attended the social, cultural and religious programmes organised by other communities. This leads us to draw a conclusion that the social, cultural and religious relations among the tribals and other communities were harmonious.

**Table N. 4.21****Relations with Other Community Members**

Quality of Relations	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Good	754 (50.27%)	763 (50.87%)	1517 (50.57%)
Not – So - Good	89 (5.93%)	168 (11.20%)	257 (8.56%)
Satisfactory	355 (23.67%)	332 (22.13%)	687 (22.90%)
Normal	278 (18.53%)	217 (14.47%)	495 (16.50%)
Conflicting	24 (1.60%)	20 (1.33%)	44 (1.47%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1500</b> (100%)	<b>1500</b> (100%)	<b>3000</b> (100%)

The analysis of tabulated data revealed different patterns of relations of migrant tribal women and girls. Nearly 50 % each of the women and girls reported good relations with other community members living in the locality, whereas, around 23 percent each of them reported that their relations with other community members were satisfactory. The percentage of tribal women and girls who stated normal relation with other community members was about 19 and 14 respectively. Very few cases of conflicting relations were detected i.e. women about 2 percent and girls about 1 percent. No difference was observed between the women and girls as far as quality of relations with other communities was concerned.

Good and cordial relations with non-tribal communities bring a number of benefits to the tribal families. The members of other communities do help the tribal families when they are found in difficulties. This is confirmed by the data exhibited in the table given below –

**Table No. 4.22****Help from other Community Members in Times of Difficulties**

Help in Difficulty	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes, Always	434 (28.94%)	437 (29.14%)	871 (29.03%)
Yes, Occasionally	455 (30.34%)	463 (30.86%)	918 (30.60%)
Yes in Emergency	391 (26.06%)	345 (23.00%)	736 (24.53%)
No	220 (14.66%)	255 (17.00%)	475 (15.84%)
Total	1500 (11.00%)	1500 (12.26%)	3000 (11.63%)

The data analysis disclosed that only about 15 percent of Migrant Women and 17 percent of girls could not get any help from the members of other communities when those women and girls were in difficulties. In depth analysis of difficulties revealed that these women and girls were in need of temporary credit, they required help in settlement of disputes with their neighbour, number of times they wanted protection from anti-social elements within the locality and such other problems. It seems that the other community members thought it proper to abstain from involvement in their personal problems and affairs. This is seen as a general trend in modern cities. In spite of such a situation about 29 percent women and girls proudly reported that the members of other communities always helped them in times of difficulties; about 30 percent women and 31 percent girls sought such help occasionally and about 26 percent women and 23 percent girls stated that other community members stood firm behind them in times of emergency and gave them moral and economic support.

To conclude a large majority of women and girls have received help from other community members always, occasionally or in emergency in times of difficulties.

### **Next Door Neighbours**

Before migration to cities the tribal women and girls were living in localities mostly inhabited by tribals. They had tribal families as their next-door neighbours. Even after migration to cities they preferred to live in a locality dominated by tribals and were also selective in having a tribal family living next to/close to their house, as far as possible. The study team wanted to know whether after years of migration the tribals have changed their attitude in this regard. A question was, therefore, included in the interview schedule through which the information about the community of the next-door neighbour was collected. The following table contains the responses of migrant tribal women and girls.

**Table No. 4.23**

#### **Next Door Neighbours**

<b>Neighbours (Community)</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>		
	<b>Women</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>
Tribals	853 (56.88%)	754 (50.27%)	1607 (53.57%)
Hindus	424 (28.26%)	472 (31.46%)	896 (29.87%)
Muslims	79 (5.26%)	106 (7.07%)	185 (6.17%)
Christians	111 (7.40%)	143 (9.54%)	254 (8.47%)
Any Other	33 (2.20%)	25 (1.67%)	58 (1.92%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The analysis of data presented in the above table disclosed that a majority of respondents both women and girls had neighbours belonging to tribal communities. This was reported by about 57 percent of women and 50 percent of girls. Hindus were reported as next-door neighbours by about 28 percent of women and 31 percent of girls. Muslims, Christians and others were not in cognisable number and hence insignificant. The percentage of Christian next door neighbours was slightly more than the Muslims. The data revealed that the families of migrant tribal women and girls preferred to live in a house, as far as possible, where the next door neighbour was a tribal. About 2 percent women and girls in each case reported that their next door neighbours were not Hindus, Muslims or Christians but most of them were Boudhas, Bahamis and others.

Thus more than 50 percent of the respondents had tribals as their next-door neighbours.

**Table No. 4.24**

**Relations with Neighbours**

Quality of Relations	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Good	1032 (68.80%)	1049 (69.94%)	2081 (69.37%)
Cordial	239 (15.93%)	200 (13.35%)	439 (14.63%)
Peaceful	178 (11.86%)	181 (12.07%)	359 (11.97%)
Conflicting	26 (1.66%)	47 (3.14%)	72 (2.4%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

A very large majority of about 69 percent of migrant women and 70 percent of girls reported good relations with neighbours as against about 16

percent women and 13 percent girls who reported cordial relations. About 12 percent women and girls in each case stated that they have maintained peaceful relations with their neighbours and there arose no ground for any dispute though the neighbours belonged to a different community or religion. In about 2 percent of the cases each of women and girls respondents reported conflicting relations with neighbours. The reason was not that the neighbours were from non-tribal communities but the lack of understanding on the part of both the families. The quarrels broke out on very minor issues. About 2 percent of women and 3 percent of girls, however, did not have any relations good or bad with the neighbours and they were found to be indifferent in having such relations.

### **Contact with Other Tribal Families in the City**

Tribal families migrate to cities in search of jobs from different regions of the nearby states. As such they do not belong to a single tribe or community. In majority of the cases it is observed that they move to cities from their hinterlands not individually but in groups. When, they enter the city it is only this group and some other families shifted to cities earlier which are known to them. As time passes they come in contact with other tribal families migrated from their own region or other regions. Such families may be in their localities or other localities of the city. The tribals are known for their close social contacts. The research team desired to know whether this spirit of social contact was still alive in the new environment of the city life. Therefore, the respondents were asked as to whether they had any contact with and how frequently they were meeting other tribal families in the city.

**Table No. 4.25**

#### **Contact with Other Tribal People in city**

<b>Contact with Other Tribals</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>		
	<b>Women</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>

Yes	1195 (79.66%)	1173 (78.20%)	2368 (78.93%)
No	305 (20.34%)	327 (21.80%)	632 (21.07%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

It is seen that about 80 percent of the migrant tribal women and about 78 percent of the migrant tribal girls had maintained contact with other tribal families in the cities in which they got migrated and presently living. However about 20 percent of the women and 22 percent of the girls have no contact with other tribal families in the city. The high percentage of women and girls keeping contact with other tribal families in the city clearly shows their urge to have a tribal social life in the city. Since, the tribal originally used to live in a tribe they try to come together wherever they go.

### **Contact with other Tribal Families in the City**

Tribal families migrate to cities in search of jobs from different regions of the nearby states. As such they do not belong to a single tribe or community. In majority of the cases it is observed that they move to cities from their hinterlands not individually but in groups . When , they enter the city it is only this group and some other families shifted to cities earlier which are known to them. As time passes they come in contact with other tribal families migrated from their own region or other regions. Such families may be in their localities or other localities of the city. The tribals are known for their close social contacts. The research team desired to know whether this spirit of social contact was still alive in the new environment of the city life. Therefore, the respondents were asked as to whether they had any contact with and how frequently they were meeting other tribal families in the city.

**Table No. 4.26**  
**Frequency of Meeting Tribal Families**

Frequency	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Once a Month	185 (12.34%)	149 (9.94%)	334 (11.14%)
Very Often	253 (16.87%)	259 (17.27%)	512 (17.07%)
Occasionally	624 (41.60%)	596 (39.74%)	1220 (40.67%)
At Community Functions	183 (8.87%)	169 (11.27%)	352 (11.74%)
Not Applicable	305 (20.34%)	327 (21.80%)	632 (21.07%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The analysis of data revealed that majority of the tribal women (about 42 percent) and girls (about 40 percent) were meeting other tribal families in the city occasionally. The percentage of those meeting very often was 17 percent for women and girls in each case. About 12 percent of women and 10 percent of girls reported that they were meeting other tribal families in the city once in a month; as against this 9 percent of women and 11 percent of girls informed that they generally had a meeting with other tribal families in the city only at the community functions and festivals. This question was not applicable to 20 percent of women and 22 percent of girls, as they did not maintain any rapport with other tribal families in the city.

Thus, majority of the migrant tribal women and girls meet other tribal families in the city only on certain occasions and at community functions.

## **Tribal Associations**

In order to bring the members of a community together social associations are formed. These associations provide a platform for organising different social, cultural and religious functions for the members. In addition, they also act in the direction of protecting the socio-economic interests of the community. The migrant tribals have also formed their associations in different cities. State level associations of tribal people are also working in different regions of the country. The study team thought it necessary to seek the opinion of migrant tribal women and girls on the utility and working of such associations.

**Table No. 4.27**

### **Awareness about Tribal Association in the City**

<b>Awareness : Tribal Association in the City</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>		
	<b>Women</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>
Yes	576 (38.40%)	598 (39.87%)	1174 (39.14%)
No	767 (51.14%)	763 (50.87%)	1530 (51.00%)
There is no Association	157 (10.46%)	139 (9.26%)	296 (9.87%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

It appeared that majority of migrant tribal women (51%) and girls (51%) covered by the study was not aware about the existence of tribal association in their respective cities. Only 38 percent of women and 40 percent of girls informed that they have heard about such association in the city while 10 percent of women and 9 percent of the girls, stated that there was no tribal association in their cities.

The respondents who were aware of the existence of Tribal Association were further asked to state as to whether they have taken the membership of the association. The responses are presented in the following table –

**Table No. 4.28**

**Membership of Tribal Association**

Membership	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes	122 (8.14%)	101 (6.73%)	223 (7.43%)
No	381 (25.40%)	447 (29.67%)	828 (27.60%)
Not Allowed	73 (4.86%)	50 (3.33%)	123 (4.10%)
Not Applicable	924 (61.60%)	902 (60.17%)	1826 (60.87%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

Out of 1500 migrant tribal women only about 8 percent were enrolled as members of the Tribal Association. Similarly, only 7 percent migrant girls were members of such associations. Thus, majority of tribal women and girls in the cities covered by the study were not enrolled as members of Tribal Associations. Surprisingly, about 5 percent of women and 3 percent of girls reported that they were not allowed to become the members of tribal association as the membership was open to males only.

The respondents were also asked to state the nature of activities undertaken by the tribal Associations. Out of 1500 women and 1500 girls respondents about 25 percent of women and 33 percent of girls reported that the association mainly celebrated tribal festivals. The principal activity of the tribal

association was organising and conducting tribal cultural programmes, was the report of about 24 percent of women and 33 percent of girls. Organising annual social gathering of the tribal communities was stated, as the main activity of the tribal association by 21 percent of women and 19 percent of girls . however 19 percent of women and 20 percent of girls stated that the main activity of Tribal Association was protection of tribal interests. The responses are presented in the following table –

**Table No. 4.29**

**Activities of Tribal Association**

Activities	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Celebration of Tribal Festivals	374 (24.94%)	463 (32.87%)	837 (27.90%)
Cultural Programmes	374 (24.94%)	463 (32.87%)	837 (27.90%)
Protection of Tribal Interest	288 (19.21%)	294 (19.60%)	582 (19.40%)
Annual Social Meet	321 (21.41%)	281 (18.74%)	602 (20.07%)
Any Other	01 (0.07%)	04 (0.27%)	05 (0.17%)
Not Applicable	924 (61.60%)	868 (57.87%)	1792 (59.74%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

**Problems Faced By Migrant Tribal Women & Girls in the Cities :**

The migrant tribal women and girls faced certain problems immediately after their emigration in the big cities. These were the problems of settlement in new environment. They were still facing certain problems at the

time of investigation. The study team examined the nature of these problems by collecting relevant information from the respondents .

Immediately after migration the migrant tribal women and girls faced the following problems –

Problem Code -	Problem
(A)	: Local Language
(B)	: Residential Accommodation
(C)	: Employment
(D)	:Education of Children or Self
(E)	: Lack of social Contacts
(F)	: Difficulty in adjustment with changed environment
(G)	:Any other Problems
(H)	: No Problem

The responses of the women and girls are presented in the following table --

**Table No. 4.30**

**Problems Faced By Migrated Tribal Women and Girls in the Cities**

Problems Faced (Code)	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
A	478 (31.86%)	363 (24.20%)	841 (28.03%)
B	722 (48.13%)	628 (41.87%)	1350 (45.00%)
C	646 (43.07%)	504 (33.60%)	1150 (38.33%)
D	114 (7.60%)	70 (4.67%)	184 (6.13%)
E	456 (30.40%)	381 (25.40%)	837 (27.90%)

F	527 (35.13%)	548 (36.53%)	1075 (35.83%)
G	70 (4.67%)	191 (12.73%)	261 (8.70%)
H	155 (10.33%)	43 (2.87%)	198 (6.60%)
Total	-	-	-

**\* Multiple Choice Question**

Out of 1500 migrant women and 1500 migrant girls about 32 percent women and 24 percent girls had difficulties in understanding the local language and as a result were uneasy in the initial period after migration. Nearly 48 percent of women and 42 percent of girls could not find suitable place of residence in the city. Employment was the major problem faced by about 43 percent of women and 34 percent of girls immediately after migration. About 8 percent of women and 5 percent of girls were worried about the education of their children and self-education respectively. Local language as the medium of instruction and non-availability of schools in the locality was the main reason. Lack of social contact was the main problem faced by 30 percent of women and 25 percent of girls. About 35 percent of women and 37 percent of girls faced difficulty in adjustment with the changed city environment. No major problem was faced by 10 percent of women and 3 percent of girls.

The initial problems faced immediately after migration were gradually settled down. However, the migrant tribal women and girls in cities are facing some critical problems even after a long stay in cities. An enquiry into these problems revealed that following are some of the problems they are facing even today –

**Problem Code**

**Problem**

- (A) : Insufficient residential accommodation.
- (B) : Drinking water facility not available
- (C) : Electricity not available
- (D) : No latrines in home , public latrines insufficient

- (E) : Irregular nature of employment  
 (F) : Very low income  
 (G) : No school in the locality  
 (H) : Medical facilities not available  
 (I) : Any other

**Table No. 4.31****Problems Faced by Respondents Even Today**

Problems Faced (Code)	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
A	594 (39.60%)	589 (39.27%)	1183 (39.43%)
B	280 (18.67%)	185 (12.33%)	465 (15.50%)
C	125 (8.33%)	105 (7.00%)	230 (7.67%)
D	429 (28.60%)	391 (26.07%)	820 (27.33%)
E	451 (30.07%)	435 (29.00%)	886 (29.53%)
F	555 (37.00%)	476 (31.73%)	1031 (34.37%)
G	257 (17.13%)	174 (11.60%)	431 (14.37%)
H	430 (28.67%)	289 (19.27%)	719 (23.97%)
I	87 (5.80%)	33 (2.20%)	120 (4.00%)
Total	-	-	-

\* Multiple Choice Question

The data presented in the above table shows the nature of problems faced by migrant tribal women and girls in cities. The major problem reported was that of insufficient residential accommodation. About 40 percent women and 39 percent girls informed that their residential house did not provide sufficient accommodation to live in. Moreover, there were no civic amenities available in the house. Drinking water was another problem faced by them. The drinking water was inadequate and they were required to fetch it from distant places. This was reported by about 19 percent of women and 12 percent of girls.

Nearly 8 percent of women and 7 percent of girls had the problem of electricity connection in their houses. Most of the respondents had to use public latrines as the latrines were not attached to the house. Moreover, the latrines were dirty and were not cleaned by local authorities. About 29 percent of women and 26 percent of girls have reported this problem. Some of the women and girls complained that they had come to the city far away from their hinterland in the hope of regular employment but here too they were not getting jobs on regular basis. Nearly 30 percent of women and 29 percent of girls had the problem of irregular employment. The next problem faced by these women and girls was that of difficulty in family maintenance due to very low income. This was stated by 37 percent of women and 32 percent of girls. Education of children was the problem faced by about 17 percent of women. These women complained that there were no schools in their locality or nearby localities and hence they could not send their children to schools. As per reports of about 29 percent of women and 19 percent of girls proper and adequate medical facilities were not available in their localities. Their main grievance was that nobody cares for them. The local civic authorities do not provide any civic facilities to them as they do not pay the taxes and so on.

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## **CHAPTER V**

### **EMPLOYMENT AND EXPLOITATION OF MIGRANT**

#### **TRIBAL WOMEN AND GIRLS IN CITIES**

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The tribal economy is characterised by absence of any organised sector of labour. The tribal people are mostly engaged in agriculture, forestry and such other part-time labour. Not often, they migrate to far-off places and big cities in search of employment. A large number of tribal men, women and girls from tribal areas have shifted to cities mainly in search of jobs as no employment opportunities were available in their hinterlands. Since, more employment opportunities are available in big cities a large number of tribals migrate to big cities in India from different tribal regions in the country. In cities they get jobs in factories and mills, construction industry and are employed as casual labour for different seasonal activities. As far as migrant women and girls are concerned, they are mostly employed as domestic servants in upper class and middle class families. Some of the women and girls who are well educated get employment in Government Organisations or private enterprises. Those who do not get any job remain in the family as housewives. Women and girls who are employed suffer from financial as well as sexual exploitation.

The present chapter examines the employment status, income and exploitation of migrant tribal women and girls in 10 cities in India.

The table that follows shows that nearly 59 percent of the women and girls were unemployed as against about 41 percent who were engaged for some kind of work in the city -

**Table No.5.1****Employment of Women & Girls**

Whether Employed	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes	623 (41.53%)	621 (41.40%)	1244 (41.47%)
No	877 (58.47%)	879 (58.60%)	1756 (58.53%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The analysis of data shows that out of 1500 migrant women about 42 percent were employed and 58 percent were not in employment. Further analysis disclosed that out of 58 percent of the unemployed women about 23 percent were willing to work outside the home but could not get any job. The remaining were not willing to work outside the home due to a number of reasons.

Out of 1500 migrant girls only 41 percent were employed and the rest were unemployed. Among those who were not in employment about 20 percent were making efforts to seek some job but could not get it. Nearly 6 percent were compelled to stay at home for looking after the younger siblings in the family, as the mother had to go for outdoor work. About 33 percent of the girls were students and were taking higher education.

The data about the occupation of respondents were also collected by the study team. The occupationwise distribution of women and girls is exhibited in the following table –

**Table No. 5.2****Present Occupation of Respondents**

Present Occupation	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
1. House-wife cum Domestic Worker	815 (54.33%)	333 (22.20%)	1148 (38.27%)

2 .Domestic Servant	235 (15.66%)	341 (22.73%)	576 (19.20%)
3. Industrial Worker	109 (7.27%)	123 (8.20%)	232 (7.73%)
4. Industrial Worker	109 (7.27%)	123 (8.20%)	232 (7.73%)
5.Constrion Labour	181 (12.07)	131 (8.73%)	311 (10.40%)
6. Private Service	80 (5.33%)	66 (4.40%)	146 (4.87%)
7. Government Service	46 (3.07%)	11 (0.73%)	57 (1.90%)
8. Self employed	34 (2.27%)	---	57 (1.90%)
9. Student	--	495 (33.00%)	495 (16.50%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The tabulated data disclosed that out of 1500 a majority of tribal women migrated to cities could not find any outdoor job and were confined to homes as house-wives. Such women were 815 (about 54%) of the women covered by the study. About 16 percent of them were working as housewife-cum-domestic servants in addition to their duties as housewives. Nearly 12 percent of them were construction labour and about 7 percent industrial workers in factories and mills. Only 5 percent and 3 percent of them were in private service and Government Service respectively. Negligible number (about 2 percent) were self-employed. Thus, about 50 percent of the migrated tribal women were housewives, about 15 percent domestic servants, nearly 19 percent industrial or constriction labour and about 8 percent were in private or Government service.

As far as the present occupation of the migrant tribal girls is concerned, contrary to the expectation that majority of them would be in the process of higher education or in good job, it was observed that only 33 percent of them were students taking education in higher secondary schools and colleges and only about 5 percent were employed in private offices inspite of the policy of reservation for tribals. As a result they were forced to work as domestic servants (23 percent) and Industrial Workers (8 percent) for earning their

livelihood. Equal number of them who had little education or no education had to work as construction labour (about 9 percent) or remain at home for helping mothers in domestic work. Only 4 percent of the migrated tribal girls were in private service and less than 1 percent in Government Service. Thus, the migrated girls could not be benefited by the employment opportunities in the big cities.

### Personal Income of Respondents

The personal income of a person indicates his/her earnings. The data pertaining to income of the respondents was collected in order to assess their economic conditions and the standard of living. The following table gives the details of personal income of the tribal women and girls migrates to 10 major cities in India .

Income in Rs.(per month)	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Nil	815 (54.33%)	828 (55.20%)	1643 (54.76%)
Up to 1000	335 (22.33%)	396 (26.40%)	731 (24.37%)
1001 - 2000	190 (12.67%)	199 (13.27%)	389 (12.97%)
2001 - 4000	80 (5.33%)	66 (4.40%)	146 (4.87%)
4001 -6000	46 (3.06%)	11 (0.73%)	57 (1.90%)
6001 - 8000	25 (1.67%)	---	25 (0.83%)
Above Rs. 8000	09 (0.60%)	---	09 (0.60%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

It is observed that a majority of migrant tribal women (54%) and tribal girls (55%) had no income and were dependent on family, whereas 35 percent of the women and 40 percent of the girls had monthly income up to 2000 only. These women and girls had monthly income up to 2000 only. These

women and girls were mostly employed on part-time basis for domestic duties like cleaning utensils, sweeping, washing cloths and looking after children in surrounding nearby localities in middle class and upper households. Women and girls who were mostly employed as labour in construction work, mills and factories had monthly income ranging from Rs. 2001 to 4000 were 5 percent and 4 percent respectively. The monthly income of women (3%) and girls(1%) employed as peons, clerks and other class III cadre in private or government organisation was between Rs. 4001 and Rs. 6000. Only about 2 percent of the women covered by the study were in the income range of Rs. 6001 to 8000 and about 1 percent of them who were in officers cadre were having monthly income of more than Rs. 8000. It is to be noted that 62 women and 51 girls were not employed. However they had some income from minor work like tailoring, craft and tuition's.

Thus, it is very clear that a large majority of women and girls who migrated to cities in the hope of getting jobs were jobless (55%); about 37 percent had to be satisfied with monthly income which ranged between Rs. 500 to Rs. 2000 and 7 percent with income between 2001 to 6000. Those having income of more than Rs. 6000 were only about 2 percent. Thus, the overall income condition is far from satisfactory.

It is common practice in private enterprises not to pay salaries/wages to the employees regularly and on a fixed day of the month or week. Hence the respondents were asked as to whether they were getting their salaries/wages regularly. Their responses are given in the following table –

**Table No.5.3**

**Regular Payment of Wages/ Salary by the Employers**

Whether Employed	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total

Yes	472 (31.46%)	476 (31.74%)	948 (31.60%)
No	151 (10.07%)	145 (9.66%)	296 (9.87%)
Not Applicable	877 (58.47%)	879 (58.60%)	1756 (58.53)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

It is observed from the data that only about 31 percent of women and about 32 percent of girls who were employed were getting their salaries / wages regularly . Out of 1500 women and girls each about 10 percent of women equal percentage of girls reported that they were not paid by their employers regularly. Some of them complained that they had to go without wage for months together. This irregularity in payment of wages compels them to borrow money from moneylenders, relatives and friends or make purchases of food grains and other necessities of life on credit for which they pay interest at heavy rates. This question was not applicable to 877 women and 879 girls since they were not employed. It was also not applicable to 46 women and 11 girls who were in Government Service. Similarly, 34 self-employed women also were not under this category. However, they were included in the number of respondents getting regular salaries or wages.

In conclusion it can be said that about 10 percent of the tribal women and girls were not getting regular payment of salaries/wages from their employers and as a result had to face financial problems.

### **Exploitation of Migrant Tribal women and Girls**

Since long the tribals have been exploited by non-tribals, moneylenders, contractors, forest officers and traders in a variety of ways. The study team was interested in knowing as to whether, even after migration the tribals and particularly the women and girls are subject to financial exploitation. In addition to financial exploitation the migrant tribal women and girls in the cities

have also to face the problems of sexual exploitation. Hence, it was thought necessary to collect relevant information for the purpose of the present study.

The following table reveals the feelings of migrant tribal women and girls regarding financial exploitation.

**Table No. 5.4**

**Feeling of Exploitation**

Whether Employed	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes	283 (18.87%)	227 (15.13%)	510 (17.00%)
No	340 (22.67%)	394 (26.27%)	734 (24.47%)
Not Applicable	877 (58.46%)	879 (58.63%)	1756 (58.53)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The tabulated data revealed that out of 3000 respondents about 17 percent had a feeling of financial exploitation as against about 24 percent who did not feel that they were financially exploited by the employers. This question was not applicable to about 59 percent of the respondents, as they were not employed. Further analysis of data disclosed that as compared with the girls, greater number of women had a feeling of financial exploitation. In short, both migrant tribal women and girls were financially exploited by the employers.

It was also thought necessary to examine the extent of financial exploitation. Hence the respondents were asked to state the extent of exploitation by the employers. Their responses are presented in the following table -

**Table No. 5.5.**

**Extent of Financial Exploitation**

Extent of Exploitation	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total

To a great extent	411 (27.4%)	472 (31.47%)	883 (29.43%)
To some extent	212 (14.14%)	149 (9.93%)	361 (12.03%)
Not Applicable	277 (58.47%)	279 (58.60%)	1756 (58.54)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

It is observed that out of 3000 respondents about 29 percent reported that they were financially exploited by the employers to a great extent as against about 12 percent of them reporting financial exploitation to some extent.

Out of 1500 women respondent 27 percent were of the view that they were financially exploited to a great extent. However, about 14 percent of them thought that they were being exploited financially to some extent. As compared to the women the girls were subjected to greater degree of financial exploitation. About 31 percent of the migrant tribal girls out of 1500 informed that they were financially exploited by the employers to a great extent, as against 10 percent of them reporting exploitation to some extent. It is clear from the analysis that a large majority of employed women and girls in the cities are financially exploited by their employers to a large extent or to some extent.

### **Nature of Financial Exploitation**

The employers financially exploit the migrant tribal women and girls in a number of ways, principal among them are very low wages, illegal deductions from wages, long hours of work, no payment for overtime work and so on. In all 1244 respondents of which 623 were women and 621 were girls who had been financially exploited by the employers were asked to describe the nature of such exploitation. They were given the following options to record their responses with multiple choice. -

#### **Exploitation Code**

#### **Nature of Exploitation**

(A)

: Very low wages (below the level of minimum wages)

- (B) : Illegal deductions from wages  
 (C) : Very long hours of work  
 (Beyond the hours fixed by law)  
 (D) : No compensation for over-time work  
 (E) : Any other

The following table presents the responses from the employed tribal women and girls -

**Table No. 5.6**  
**Nature of Financial Exploitation**

Nature of Exploitation	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
(A)	428 (68.69%)	503 (80.99%)	931 (74.75%)
(B)	507 (81.38%)	493 (79.38%)	1000 (80.38%)
(C)	342 (54.89%)	387 (62.32%)	729 (58.60%)
(D)	128 (20.54%)	213 (34.30%)	341 (27.41%)
(E)	17 (2.73%)	21 (3.38%)	38 (3.05%)

In the above table the percentage for women was calculated on 623 respondents and for girls on 621 respondents. The percentage in total column was calculated on 1244.

The data presented in the above table disclosed that out of 1244 respondents (both women and girls) about 75 percent reported that their financial exploitation was in the form of payment of wages at a very low rate i.e. very low than the rates fixed under the minimum Wages Act of 1952, followed by a very large majority of about 80 percent reporting illegal deductions from wages. Nearly 58 percent out of 1244 respondents complained about very long hours of work and about 27 percent about non-payment of compensation for overtime

work. Only about 3 percent of the respondents referred to other forms of financial exploitation like forceful collection, deduction of double the amount of wages for remaining absent and so on.

Out of 623 migrant tribal women who were employed about 69 per cent complained of very low rates of wages, 81 per cent about illegal deductions from wages, about 55 per cent about very long hours of work, and nearly 20 per cent about non-payment of compensation for over-time work. Nearly 3 per cent of the women said that they were required to work even on national holidays and on the days of religious festivals.

Out of 621 migrant tribal girls in employment described their financial exploitation in the form of very low wages (81%), illegal deductions from wages (79%), very long hours of work (62 per cent) and non-payment for overtime work (34%). About 3 per cent of them described other forms of exploitation.

To conclude a large number of migrant tribal women and girls in the cities are financially exploited by the employers and the forms of exploitation are very low rates of wages, irregular payment of wages, illegal deductions from wages, long hours of work and non-payment of compensation for overtime work.

### **Resistance to Financial Exploitation**

Out of 1244 respondents who reported different ways in which they were financially exploited by their employers only 510 (283 women and 227 girls) had a strong feeling of exploitation. These 510 respondents were asked as to whether they have raised their voice against such exploitation. Their responses are recorded in the following table –

**Table No. 5.7****Resistance to Financial Exploitation**

<b>Resistance to Exploitation</b>	<b><u>Number of Respondents</u></b>		
	<b>Women</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>
Yes	162 (57.24%)	134 (59.03%)	296 (58.04%)
No	121 (42.76%)	93 (40.97%)	214 (41.96%)
Total	283 (100%)	227 (100%)	510 (100%)

It appears from the responses that though the feeling of the respondents against exploitation was very strong only 58 per cent out of 510 could resist the financial exploitation by employers. Out of 283 migrant tribal women only 57 percent had the courage to raise their voice against financial exploitation and the remaining 43 per cent meekly tolerated it though they exhibited strong resentment against such practices on the part of the employers. Similarly, out of 227 migrant tribal girls about 59 per cent resisted the exploitation but 41 per cent did not resist.

The non-resistance of exploitation by employers was due to a number of reasons i.e. ignorance, fear of removal from the job, non-availability of alternate jobs, acute poverty, lack of courage and so on.

Citywise analysis of data revealed that extent of exploitation was more in New Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai and Hyderabad as compared with Pune, Nagpur, Bhopal, Raipur, Ranchi & Bhubneshwar. However the degree of resistance was found greater in Pune, Nagpur, Bhopal, Raipur, Ranchi, bhubneshwar and Mumbai as compared with the remaining cities.

**Consequences of Resistance**

As seen earlier only 296 respondents showed the courage to raise their voice against financial exploitation by employers. These respondents

included 162 women and 134 girls. They had to suffer the consequence of their fight against exploitation. In some cases, however, the resistance proved fruitful and the exploitation was partially or totally stopped. But, in majority of the cases the respondents had to suffer. The data presented in the following table shows the effects of resistance –

**Table No. 5.8**  
**Consequences of Resistance**

Consequences	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
1. Exploitation was stopped	11 (6.79%)	07 (5.22%)	18 (6.08%)
2 .Exploitation was Reduced to some extent	47 (29.01%)	41 (30.60%)	88 (29.73%)
3. Exploitation continued with strict warning	58 (35.80%)	50 (37.31%)	108 (36.47%)
4. Removed from employment	46 (28.40%)	36 (26.87%)	82 (27.72%)
Total	162 (100%)	134 (100%)	296 (100%)

The data presented in the table discloses that about one-fourth of the 296 respondents who resisted financial exploitation had to lose their jobs as a result of raising their voice against the evil practices. This included 46 women and 36 girls. About 36 per cent of the respondents were given strict warning of removal from job if they raise voice against exploitation in future. However, the exploitation continued. In about 30 per cent of the cases, the exploitation was reduced to some extent as a result of resistance. It was only in about 6 per cent of the cases that due to resistance by the respondents the financial exploitation was totally stopped by the employers. Girls were observed to be more

aggressive in fighting against exploitation as compared with women and as such had to suffer more in comparison with women.

### **Sexual Exploitation of Migrant Tribal Women and Girls in Cities**

Sexual exploitation of women and girls by the employers or their agents is not just a private problem between the exploiter and the victim; it is an issue which has implications for all at the workplace. There is growing concern at national and international levels about preventing and combating sexual exploitation of women at workplace. Sexual exploitation may be defined, as any unwanted sexual act that is explicitly or implicitly made a condition for favourable decisions affecting employment of a woman. The tribal women and girls who migrate to cities from their hinterland in search of jobs have to face the problem of sexual exploitation. Many of the employer or their agents, after providing jobs to these tribal women and girls, take every opportunity to exploit them sexually. Many a time sexual contact is a pre-condition for giving jobs to these women and girls. Due to acute poverty and non-availability of jobs the tribal women and girls surrender themselves for sexual exploitation against their will. This problem has assumed a serious form but no cognisance has been taken of its severity by the society, or the Government so far. Some N.G.Os, however, have now taken this issue on their agenda.

It was in the backdrop of this situation that the study team thought of examining the ground realities of the problem of sexual exploitation of migrant tribal women and girls in the cities selected for study.

An attempt was made to seek the opinion of the respondents about the presumption that migrant tribal women and girls are sexually exploited by different people in big cities. Their responses are presented in the following table

**Table No. 5.9****Sexual Exploitation of Migrant Tribal Women and Girls in Cities**

Sexual Exploitation	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
YES	546 (36.40%)	587 (39.14%)	1133 (37.77%)
NO	265 (17.67%)	233 (15.54%)	498 (16.60%)
Have no knowledge	689 (45.94%)	680 (45.34%)	1369 (45.64%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

Out of 3000 respondents about 38 per cent agreed that the migrant women and girls were sexually exploited by different people in the cities but about 17 per cent of them did not agree with this presumption. A large majority of about 46 per cent of them said that they had no knowledge of any such problem. Out of 1500 women respondents about 36 per cent opined that different people in the cities did sexually exploit tribal women and girls migrated to cities whereas about 18 per cent of them did not agree with their views. About 46 percent of the women were totally ignorant about sexual exploitation. Similarly, out of 1500 about 45 per cent of the girls were not aware of the sexual exploitation of migrant tribal women and girls in the cities. About 15 per cent of these girls denied that they were sexually exploited in the city. As against this, about 40 per cent agreed that sexual exploitation of migrant tribal and girls was on large scale in big cities.

The respondents who were of the opinion that migrant tribal women and girls were sexually exploited by different people in the city were further asked as to whether they were sexually exploited after migration to cities. These respondents were 1333 and their responses are presented in the following table

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**Table No. 5.10****Victims of Sexual Exploitation**

Victims of Sexual Exploitation	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
YES	94 (6.27%)	136 (9.06%)	230 (7.67%)
NO	452 (30.13%)	451 (30.07%)	903 (30.10%)
Not Applicable	954 (63.60%)	913 (60.87%)	1867 (62.23%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

It is clear from the data presented in the table given above that out of 3000 respondents only about 8 per cent had been the victims of sexual exploitation. The migrant tribal girls who were sexually exploited out numbered women. Out of 1500 girls about 9 per cent were the victims of sexual exploitation against 6 per cent women out of 1500 who were sexually exploited by different people in the city.

**Perpetrators of Sexual Exploitation**

The migrant tribal women and girls in cities are sexually exploited generally by any one who gets an opportunity to do so. This is because of the fact that majority of the tribal women and girls migrated to cities are poor and have no social protection. The persons involved in sexual exploitation are employers, supervisors, contractors, coworkers, shop-keepers, frequent visitors and neighbours. The respondents covered by the study were asked as to who were the persons who generally exploit the tribal women and girls sexually. Their responses were as under –

**Table No. 5.11****Who are involved in Sexual Exploitation of Tribal Women / Girls**

Category of Exploiter	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Employer	308 (20.53%)	287 (19.13%)	595 (19.83%)
Supervisor	257 (17.13%)	235 (15.67%)	492 (16.40%)
Contractor	280 (18.67%)	274 (18.27%)	554 (18.47%)
Co-worker	210 (14.00%)	197 (13.13%)	407 (13.57%)
Neighbour	68 (4.53%)	32 (2.13%)	100 (3.33%)
Frequent Visitor	104 (6.93%)	43 (2.87%)	147 (4.90%)
Shop-Keeper	141 (9.40%)	126 (8.40%)	267 (8.90%)
Any other	46 (3.07%)	28 (1.87%)	74 (2.47%)

\* Multiple Choice Question

Out of 3000 respondents covered by the study a majority of about 20 per cent pointed at the employers as perpetrators of sexual exploitation. The employers included heads or other elders in the family where the tribal women or girls were engaged as domestic workers. About 18 per cent of the respondents named contractors as perpetrators of sexual exploitation. Supervisors under whom the women and girls were working were stated to be the persons involved in sexual exploitation by about 16 per cent of the respondents. Nearly 14 per cent of the respondents held co-workers responsible for sexual exploitation and about 9 per cent named shop-keepers who provided credit facilities to them as perpetrators of sexual exploitation. Neighbours and frequent visitors were also stated to be the persons involved in sexual exploitation.

### Causes of Exploitation

The study team examined the causes of exploitation of migrant tribal women and girls. The investigators discussed this issue with the

respondents when different factors were reported as causes of exploitation; the prominent among these are as under :-

1. Poverty
2. Ignorance about provisions of Minimum Wages Act
3. Unorganised Labour
4. No knowledge of institutional finance and credit facilities
5. Lack of employment opportunities in the city
6. Loans from non-registered money-lenders.
7. Misunderstanding among the non-tribal people about the free sex in tribal communities.
8. Ignorance about the law giving protection from forced sexual exploitation.
9. Indifferent attitude of police department when complaints of sexual exploitation are lodged in the nearby police stations.
10. Lack of social and community support.

As a result of the causes stated above the cases of financial as well as sexual exploitation of migrant tribal women and girls are increasing in the urban areas. Some social activists in big cities and a very limited number of NGOs have taken up the issue on their agenda but they too could not do much to stop the exploitation. Good education and the courage to fight the exploitation are the only ways open for resisting exploitation of migrant exploitation of migrant tribal women and girls.

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## **Chapter VI**

### **Social Intervention to Help the Migrant Tribal Women and Girls in Cities**

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After independence the Government of India and the State Governments made special efforts through the process of planning to bring about economic development of tribal people habitated in different regions of India. But, inspite of special efforts made during nine Five Year Plans, the tribal people have not come at par with other sections of Indian Society. Though some improvement has taken place in the economic condition of tribals and male members of the tribal society, due mainly to educational facilities provided to them, have made some progress, the women and girls still remained deprived of the various development schemes introduced during last 50 years. The present chapter examines the role played by Central and State Governments for the socio-economic development of tribal women in general and for migrant tribal women and girls in cities in particular. In this context, the role played by voluntary agencies have also been examined to assess their relative contribution. The Government endeavours to bring change in the socio-economic development of tribal women through plan projects which are implemented by the bureaucratic machineries. Voluntary agencies through their work also play an important role in this regard.

During the period of freedom struggle a few voluntary agencies had emerged to change the socio-economic condition of tribals in India. Taking inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi the then social workers like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, L.M. Shrikant, Amrit Lal, Thakkar Bappa, Sane Guruji etc. took lead in voluntary work for the betterment of tribal people. They organised on all India level one organisation on the pattern of Gujrat Adim Jati Sangha and two organisations namely Santhal Paharia Seva Mandal and Adim Jati Seva Mandal. Besides this, Akhil Bhartiya Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram and Ramkrishna Math also

emerged in this field. Very recently an organisation named 'Badalao' also emerged with a view to provide employment to tribals.

After independence the pattern of working of these organisations have gone a sea-change. More bureaucratization has emerged in their office and their pattern of working. Therefore, their work in limited field is more efficient and effective in comparison to similar work done by government organisations. During the plan-era which starts from 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1952 the voluntary organisations have also started work on the basis of some projects. They get funds from Government for implementing these projects. Workers of these voluntary organisations are committed and devoted workers who are more firm in their principles than those who are hankering for money. They gather under a symbolic banner for bringing out a change in the society through their services. They work enthusiastically only on a nominal wage. But, on the other hand, the development workers of the Government are working only for work sake, somehow or other, they are in a mood to fulfil their targets without considering the substance. Naturally, the work done by NGOs is expected to be sound and solid but that of Government agencies is not so. However, with the starting of planning era, changes are being observed in the workers of NGOs also. They too, now, are dogging the Government pattern, their nature and attitude and grasping the Government workers malady.

As far as intervention of Government agencies and NGOs in the field of socio-economic development of migrant tribal women and girls in the big cities in India is concerned we have not come across any NGOs or the Government agency who has specifically undertaken this activity. Some NGOs have however, shown limited interest in the problems faced by migrant tribal women and girls in cities. The study team collected the opinion of tribal women and girls migrated to 10 cities in India about the intervention by NGOs and Government agencies in solving the problems faced by them.

The study team, first of all, wanted to assess the awareness about the tribal development programmes among the migrant women and girls in 10 selected cities. It was observed from the data collected from 10 big cities that about 48 per cent women and about 56 per cent girls were aware of such programmes. It is, however, a serious matter that out of 3000 respondents about 48 per cent were totally ignorant of the development programmes specially designed for them. The data presented in the following table makes the situation more clear –

**Table No. 6.1**

**Awareness of Tribal Development Programmes**

Awareness	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
Yes	723 (48.20%)	844 (56.27%)	1567 (52.23%)
No	777 (51.80%)	656 (43.73%)	1433 (47.77%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The tabulated data revealed that out of 3000 respondents about 52 percent were aware of the tribal development programmes but 48 per cent were totally unaware of the same. Out of 1500 women about 48 per cent had the knowledge of tribal development programmes, however, a majority of 52 per cent was totally ignorant of these programmes. A slightly different trend was observed in the responses of girls. About 56 per cent out of 1500 girls were fully aware of different types of tribal development programmes as against 44 per cent who were not aware of any such programmes. Thus, a little more than 50 per cent of the respondents had the knowledge of different tribal development programmes. It shows that tribal development programmes are not widely publicized among the tribals who got migrated to cities from their hinterlands. As compared to women, girls have better awareness of tribal development programmes.

In all 723 migrant tribal women and 844 migrant tribal girls making a total of 1567 respondents who were having the knowledge of tribal development programmes were asked to state the benefits, if any, they or any of their family members have drawn from such programmes. To record their responses a number of alternatives were suggested to them and they were free to select one or more. The alternatives provided were as under –

<b><u>Programme Code</u></b>	<b><u>Programme</u></b>
(A)	: Free Education
(B)	: Scholarships to students
(C)	: Reservation in Services
(D)	: Vocational Training
(E)	: Free Hostel Facilities
(F)	: Micro-credit Facilities
(G)	: Subsidised Housing
(H)	: Integrated Tribal Development Programme
(I)	: None of the above

The responses received are presented in the following table –

**Table No. 6.2**

**Benefits Drawn From Tribal Development Programmes**

<b>Benefit Code</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>		
	<b>Women</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Total</b>
(A)	335 (22.33%)	457 (30.47%)	792 (26.40%)
(B)	175 (11.67%)	287 (19.13%)	462 (15.40%)
(C)	392 (26.13%)	410 (27.33%)	802 (26.73%)
(D)	79 (5.27%)	106 (7.07%)	185 (6.57%)
(E)	64 (4.27%)	133 (8.87%)	197 (6.57%)
(F)	35 (2.33%)	32 (2.13%)	67 (2.23%)
(G)	157 (10.47%)	72 (4.80%)	229 (7.63%)
(H)	28 (1.87%)	31 (2.07%)	59 (1.97%)

(l)	777 (51.80%)	656 (43.73%)	1433 (47.77%)
Total	*	*	*

\*Multiple choice question

The data presented in the table revealed that a majority of 27 per cent of the total 3000 respondents reported that they were benefited from the tribal development programme through reservations in services. This they said was a great benefit to their family for improving their economic condition. About 26 per cent of the respondents were benefitted as a result of free education facilities provided under tribal development programmes. The scheme of scholarship to students of tribal communities helped a large number of tribal students to prosecute higher studies. About 15 per cent respondents stated that the boys and girls in their families could go for higher education only due to the scholarships made available to them under tribal development programme. Nearly 8 per cent of the respondents reported that their families could have their own houses only due to the scheme of subsidised housing under tribal development programmes. The benefit of free hostel facilities accrued to about 7 per cent of the respondents or their family members. Similarly 6 per cent of the respondents or other members of their families got the benefit of vocational training which helped them to get a job and improve their economic condition. The benefit of micro-credit facilities was drawn by only 2 per cent of the respondents or any other family member. Similarly only 2 per cent reported having drawn some benefit under integrated tribal development programme. It is, however, to be noted seriously that about 48 per cent of the respondents reported that neither they nor any member in their family got any benefit from any of the tribal development programmes.

Thus, it is clear from the analysis of data that nearly 50 per cent of the migrant tribal women and girls could not get any benefit from any of the tribal development programmes. This may be due to the fact that most of the tribal development programmes are implemented in the tribal areas and not in big cities. Secondly, there is no wide publicity of these programmes among the migrant tribal people living in cities like Delhi, Mumbai and Kolkata. To examine

whether the Tribal Welfare or Social Welfare Departments of the respective State Governments designed and implemented any programmes for the welfare and upliftment of tribal women and girls migrated to big cities in India, the respondents were asked to state whether they had any knowledge of any such programmes. It was observed that about 45 per cent of the women respondents out of 1500 and nearly 50 per cent of the girls out of 1500 informed that they have no knowledge about the intervention of State Department of Social Welfare or Tribal Development having designed and implemented programmes for the migrant tribal women and girls in the cities. As against 13 per cent of the women and 12 per cent of the girls specifically stating that no such programmes have been designed and implemented by the State Governments, about 41 per cent women and 39 per cent girls reported that yes, such programmes were designed and implemented in the cities by the State Governments. Further analysis disclosed that majority of these respondents were from New Delhi, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Nagpur, Bhopal, Raipur and Bhubneshwar. It can, therefore, be concluded that most of the State Governments are not serious in designing and implementing special programmes for the welfare and upliftment of migrant tribal women and girls in cities. They are, however, covered by the routine programmes of tribal development.

Those tribal women and girls who had the knowledge of specially designed programmes for welfare and upliftment of migrant women and girls in cities were asked to specify the nature of such programmes. Such women and girls were 621 and 577 in number respectively making a total of 1198 out of 3000. For their guidance some of the programmes like adult education, Skill Development Training, Vocational Training, Self-employment Guidance and Training, Reproductive Health and Child Care, Family Planning, Legal Awareness, Self-Help Groups and Mahila Mandals were suggested to them for the purpose of accuracy. The following table gives the details of their responses.

**Table No. 6.3****Nature of Welfare & Development Programmes**

Nature of Programmes	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
1. Adult Education	401 (26.73%)	349 (23.27%)	750 (25.00%)
2. Skill Development Training	166 (11.06%)	190 (12.67%)	356 (11.87%)
3. Vocational Training	221 (14.73%)	233 (15.53%)	454 (15.13%)
4. Self-employment Guidance & Training	253 (16.87%)	283 (18.87%)	536 (17.87%)
5. Reproductive Health & Child Care	264 (17.60%)	188 (12.53%)	452 (15.07%)
6. Family Planning & Welfare	416 (27.73%)	255 (17.00%)	671 (22.37%)
7. Legal Awareness	212 (14.13%)	205 (13.67%)	417 (13.90 %)
8. Self-Help Groups	262 (17.46%)	166 (11.07%)	428 (14.27%)
9. Mahila Mandals	291 (19.40%)	153 (10.20%)	444 (14.80%)
10. Not Applicable	879 (58.60%)	923 (61.53%)	1802 (60.07%)
<b>Total</b>	*	*	*

- Multiple Choice Question

The analysis of data disclosed that about 25 per cent of the total 3000 respondents identified Adult Education as programme of tribal development, followed by about 18 per cent who stated that self-employment Guidance & Training was really meant for tribal development and they were largely benefitted by that programme. Vocational Training was identified by about 15 per cent of the respondents who could improve upon their vocational skills which helped them in getting jobs. Nearly 15 per cent respondents said that they could improve their knowledge of child care since they were covered by the Reproductive Health and Child Care Programme. Skill Development Training imparted under Tribal Development Programme helped about 12 per cent of the tribal women and girls in improving their skills which helped them a lot in their jobs. About 22

per cent of the respondents were covered under Family Planning and Welfare Programme and about 14 per cent drew the benefit from Legal Awareness Programme. Nearly 14 per cent of the respondents stated that Self-Help Group membership helped them in managing their savings and investments. About 15 per cent of the respondents were members of Mahila Mandals which helped them to develop their personality. Thus, the tribal women and girls in cities who were aware of different tribal development programmes of the State Government could get adequate benefit from such programmes.

The Government of India and the State Governments have launched a number of programmes for the empowerment of women and girls. The study team examined as to whether the respondents had taken benefit of one or more of these programmes. Only the following programmes were selected for assessment –

<u>Programme Code</u>	<u>Description</u>
(A)	: Reproductive Child Health Care Scheme
(B)	: Integrated Child Development Scheme
(C)	: Integrated Women's Empowerment Project
(D)	: Distance Education Programme
(E)	: Non-formal Education
(F)	: Awareness Creation
(G)	: Vocational Guidance and Training for Self Employment
(H)	: Self-Help Groups
(I)	: Family Planning and Welfare Programme
(J)	: Any other

**Table No. 6.4**

**Benefit Drawn from Programmes of Empowerment of Women & Child**

Programme Code	Number of Students					
	Women			Girls		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
(A)	298 (19.87%)	1202 (80.13%)	1500 (100%)	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
(B)	336 (22.40%)	1164 (77.60%)	1500 (100%)	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
(C)	188 (12.53%)	1312 (87.47%)	1500 (100%)	111 (7.40%)	1389 (92.60%)	1500 (100%)
(D)	73 (4.87%)	1427 (95.13%)	1500 (100%)	62 (4.13%)	1438 (95.87%)	1500 (100%)
(E)	127 (8.47%)	1373 (91.53%)	1500 (100%)	110 (7.33%)	1390 (92.67%)	1500 (100%)
(F)	240 (16.00%)	1360 (84.00%)	1500 (100%)	226 (15.7%)	1274 (84.93%)	1500 (100%)
(G)	197 (13.13%)	1303 (86.87%)	1500 (100%)	233 (15.13%)	1267 (84.87%)	1500 (100%)
(H)	232 (15.47%)	1268 (84.53%)	1500 (100%)	116 (7.73%)	1384 (92.27%)	1500 (100%)
(I)	441 (29.40%)	1059 (70.60%)	1500 (100%)	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
(J)	657 (43.80%)	843 (56.20%)	1500 (100%)	677 (45.13%)	823 (54.87%)	1500 (100%)

The analysis of collected data presented in the above table disclosed that not more than 30 per cent of the women and/or girls have been benefited by any of the programmes of empowerment. The programme wise analysis disclosed that about 29 per cent women were beneficiaries of Family Planning & Welfare Programme, about 22 per cent had the benefit of Integrated Child Development Scheme, about 20 per cent drew benefit from Reproductive Child Health Care Scheme and 16 per cent of the women could continue education under the scheme of Non-formal Education. Integrated Women's Empowerment Project was designed to cover maximum number of women from backward classes. However, out of 1500 migrant tribal women covered by the study only about 13 per cent could be benefited from it. The programme of Distance Education was designed to provide facilities of higher education without attending regular courses in schools and colleges. However, only 5 per cent of

the women took advantage of this facility to improve their educational qualifications. Around 16 per cent of the women were largely benefitted by the Awareness Creation Programme. The tribal women could earn good money if they get self-employed. Hence, Vocational Guidance and Training Programme was designed and implemented for their empowerment. However, it seems that due to lack of awareness only 13 per cent of the migrant tribal women could take the benefit of such programmes. Similar was the fate of Self-Help Groups as only 15 per cent of the women became the members of such groups.

When responses from the migrant tribal girls were analysed it was found that only 7 per cent were benefitted by Empowerment Projects, 4 per cent from Distance Education Scheme, 7 per cent from Non-formal Education and 15 per cent from awareness creation. Only 5 per cent of the tribal girls could draw benefit from Vocational Guidance and Training for self-employment and about 7 per cent were members of Self-Help Groups.

The analysis leads us to conclude that the migrant tribal women and girls in cities could not draw much benefits from the programmes launched by the Central and State Governments for the empowerment of women and girls.

As already pointed out the NGOs also play a significant role in socio-economic development of tribal people. However, their work is concentrated mainly in tribal areas and by exception in cities. Voluntary action is a form of organising activities, supporting, strengthening and helping to develop work to meet all types of legitimate needs of individuals and groups in a society. Voluntary agencies (NGOs) are supposed to be potentially superior to official agencies. Therefore, after independence, the Government of India, on its part, started a programme of financial assistance to NGOs for undertaking programmes of social welfare. Thus, the Government, in the first 20 years of independence, adopted policy of working with NGOs for promoting welfare of the people. As a result several NGOs were formed in the tribal areas of different states which are working for the tribal development with the financial assistance

of the Government and public donations. Among important is Bhartiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangha which was set up in 1948 on the initiative of Thakkar Bappa, with the objectives of development of the tribal communities of India, socially, economically, culturally and educationally, with a view to enable them to take their legitimate place in the national life of the country as equal citizens. Other important non-official agencies, covering tribal welfare in their programmes are – (1) Servants of India Society (2) Sarva Seva Sangha (3) Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (4) Kasturba Smarak Nidhi (5) The Tata Institute of Social Sciences (6) The Indian Council of Child Welfare and (7) Bharatiya Lok Kala Mandir. These and other NGOs, in recent years, are playing a significant role in advancing the social and economic development of S.C., S.T. and other Backward Classes. Some of these are working on All India Basis with grants from Central Government, while others whose activities are confined to one or two states are assisted by the respective State Governments.

Based on this information, the migrant tribal women and girls were asked as to whether any city based NGO has intervened and provided them support to solve their socio-economic problems. Their responses were as under –

**Table No. 6.5**

**Intervention By N.G.O.s**

Intervention	Number of Students		
	Women	Girls	Total
YES	232 (15.47%)	355 (23.67%)	587 (19.57%)
NO	467 (31.14%)	345 (23.00%)	812 (27.07%)
Do No Know	801 (53.40%)	800 (53.33%)	1601 (53.36%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

More than 50 per cent of the respondents had no knowledge of social intervention by any NGO in the city to solve the problems faced by migrant

tribal women and girls in the cities and to improve the quality of their life as against 27 per cent of them who firmly stated that not even a single NGO from the city has taken up the problems faced by them. Only about 20 per cent of the total respondents reported that some NGOs did intervene and attempted to work for the tribal people in their localities but there was no continuity and consistency in their work and hence they could not get cooperation from the tribals. Moreover, they had no specific programmes for the socio-economic development and specially empowerment of tribal women and girls in cities.

Out of 1500 women respondents 15 per cent and out of 1500 girls about 24 per cent did agree that some city based NGOs did approach them and tried to help them in improving their socio-economic conditions. The remaining 85 per cent of the total respondents either expressed ignorance or flatly rejected any intervention by city-based NGOs in solving their socio-economic problems.

Most of the respondents who reported non-intervention by local city-based NGOs were from Kolkata, Pune, Bhubaneswar, Raipur and Ranchi and they were living in slum-areas of the respective cities. Those who reported intervention by city-based NGOs were from New Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Nagpur and Bhopal.

To conclude a large majority of migrant tribal women and girls were either ignorant of the role played by NGOs in socio-economic development or reported that no such intervention was done.

In big cities the migrated tribal people have formed their associations for social, cultural and economic development of tribals. They also undertake a number of activities for the protection of interest of tribal communities. The respondents covered by the study were therefore, asked as to whether any Association of Tribal People had intervened and implemented any

programmes for improving the socio-economic conditions of migrant tribal women and girls in the city. Their responses are given in the following table –

**Table No. 6.6**  
**Intervention By Tribal Associations**

Intervention	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
YES	301 (20.07%)	352 (23.47%)	653 (21.76%)
NO	420 (28.00%)	327 (21.80%)	747 (29.90%)
Do not Know	779 (51.93%)	821 (54.73%)	1600 (53.34%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

It is interesting to note that while more than 50 per cent of the respondents had confirmed that Tribal Peoples Association were active in their cities, when it came to intervention of these tribal associations for solving the problems of migrant tribal women and girls in cities, only about 22 per cent of the respondents came forward to state that they were doing so. Such respondents constituted 20 per cent of migrant tribal women and 23 per cent of such girls. About 30 per cent of the respondents confirmed the intervention of Tribal Peoples Associations but could not spell out as to what exactly these Associations have done for the socio-economic development of migrant tribal women and girls in cities. These respondents consisted of 28 per cent women out of 1500 and 22 per cent girls out of 1500. The remaining 53 per cent women and girls taken together were totally unaware of the intervention of the Tribal Peoples Associations in their cities.

It is, thus, very clear that even the Associations of Tribal People are not very serious about solving the problems of tribal women and girls migrated to cities and no programmes of socio-economic development have been taken up for solving the problems they were facing.

Thus, whatever social intervention was on Government level or NGOs level; it was observed that it was of general nature and not specific to the needs of migrant tribal women and girls in city. However, even through the general programmes, some of the migrant women and girls got some benefits which helped them to improve their social status and also the economic condition. The following table indicated the number of beneficiaries –

**Table No. 6.7**

**Benefits from Social Interventions**

Benefit	Number of Respondents		
	Women	Girls	Total
YES	656 (43.74%)	654 (43.60%)	1310 (43.67%)
NO	131 (8.74%)	117 (7.80%)	248 (8.27%)
Can't Say	713 (47.92%)	729 (48.60%)	1442 (48.06%)
Total	1500 (100%)	1500 (100%)	3000 (100%)

The data revealed that only about 44 per cent of the respondents out of 3000 got the benefit of social intervention by the Government and NGOs as against 48 per cent of them who could not express their opinion clearly. Nearly 8 per cent of the total respondents firmly stated that they got no benefit from the social intervention by Government agencies or NGOs.

Analysis of responses from 1500 migrant tribal women in cities revealed that about 44 per cent of them were benefitted from social intervention by NGOs as well as Government agencies as against 9 per cent of them who were not benefitted. Nearly, 48 per cent of the women respondents were ignorant about the social intervention and hence could not give definite response.

Out of 1500 migrant girls in the cities about 44 per cent confirmed to have some benefit from social intervention but about 8 per cent of them refuted this claim as they could not draw any benefit from social intervention. The remaining 49 per cent girls expressed their inability to give concrete reply.

Thus, only about 44 per cent of the migrant tribal women and girls taken together were the beneficiaries of social intervention by NGOs and the Government agencies.

One important issue to be examined here is that the migrant tribal women and girls who happened to draw some benefits from social intervention by Government or voluntary organisations were covered under the common programmes and projects for all women and girls and in some cases for tribal women and girls. No special package of projects or programmes was designed and implemented specifically for migrant tribal women and girls in the cities.

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## Chapter – VII

### Major Finding, Conclusions And Suggestions

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The present study was undertaken with the following objectives –

1. To study the Socio-economic status of the migrant tribal women and girls in 10 cities in India.
2. To examine the nature and characteristics of the socio-cultural conflicts faced by the tribal women and girls in these cities.
3. To analyse the dynamics of the social adjustment the tribal women and girls in the cities have to make in relation to employment and residential facilities.
4. To evaluate the extent to which the tribal women and girls adjust themselves in the new social milieu.
5. To elucidate the impact of social and cultural conflicts the tribal women and girls face in their social milieu and the resultant socio-cultural consequences of such conflict.
6. To discuss and understand the ramifications of exploitation of tribal women and girls in the cities.
7. To elucidate the extent of sexual and financial exploitation of the migrant tribal women and girls in the cities.
8. To verify the effectiveness of the intervention methods in the context of dealing with alienation and conflict of tribal women and girls.
9. To develop a system of help and rehabilitation of migrant tribal women and girls so that they can achieve the goals of their life.
10. To suggest remedial measures of discouraging tribal migration to cities.

The present chapter deals with the major findings of the study based on analysis of data relating to socio-economic conditions and the problems faced by migrant tribal women and girls in 10 cities covered by the study together with other aspects germane to the objectives of the study. It also

includes conclusions drawn from the findings and the suggestions of the study team to improve the socio-economic status and the quality of life of the migrant women and girls in the cities.

The study was undertaken in 10 major cities i.e. Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Pune, Nagpur, Raipur, Bhopal Bhubaneshwar, Hyderabad and Ranchi. A sample of 1500 migrant tribal women and 1500 migrant tribal girls making a total of 3000 was drawn from these cities. Care was taken to see that the respondents were selected from different localities in these cities so as to give proper representation to migrant tribal women and girls belonging to different socio-economic groups of tribals.

Only those aspects of demographic background which were useful for the present study were considered.

**The major findings of the study are as under –**

1. The tribal women and girls have migrated to cities covered by the study from different states of India mainly in search of jobs along with other family members.
2. The reasons stated for migration were – lack of employment opportunities in the native place (41 per cent), acquisition of land and/or house property by the government for development projects (7 per cent), no facilities for education of the children in native place or nearby towns (13 per cent), marriage with a person living in city (21 per cent), repeated natural calamities like floods and famines (4 per cent) and attraction of city life (4 per cent). Thus, a large number of tribal families have migrated to cities mainly due to lack of job opportunities in their tribal region and with the expectation that they will get some job to survive in the cities.
3. The migrant tribal women and girls in the cities covered by the present study belonged to different tribal communities habitated in different States of India.

They included Santhals, Bhills, Banjara, Gond, Kharia, Naik Banjara, Munda, Orion, Apaspalli, Lamani, Gadba, Kanda etc.

4. Nearly 28 per cent of the migrant tribal women in the cities were found in the age group of 32 to 39 years followed by about 25 per cent in the age group of 24 to 31 years and about 20 per cent in the age range of 40 to 47 years. Thus a large majority of tribal women in cities (73%) was in the age bracket of 24 to 47 years.
5. A large majority of 78 per cent of the migrant tribal girls in cities was observed in the age group of 16 to 23 years and only 22 per cent girls were found in the age group of 24 to 31 years.
6. An inquiry into the marital status of migrant tribal women revealed that a very large majority of 81 per cent of them was married and only 0.46 per cent were unmarried. About 11 per cent of them were widows and about 8 per cent were separated or divorced. A new trend of living together without marriage was, for the first time, observed during investigation. Out of 1500 tribal women, 4 were found living together without formal marriage bondage. Out of these 4 cases 2 were found in Bhubaneshwar and one each in Raipur and Ranchi.
7. Maximum number of women (56 per cent) and girls (29 per cent) migrated to cities were illiterate. Bhopal accounted for highest percentage (92 per cent) of illiterate tribal women and girls (81 per cent), followed by Hyderabad where this percentage was 86 for women and 46 for girls. Nearly 12 per cent of women and 16 per cent girls were educated up to primary level and 11 per cent and 13 per cent respectively up to middle school level. Those women and girls who could reach up to S.S.C. level were 7 per cent and 16 per cent respectively and those reaching up to H.S.S.C. level were 6 per cent and 12 per cent respectively. Only 6 per cent of the tribal women and 11 per cent of the tribal girls were graduates and only 1 per cent and 2 per cent were post-graduate degree holders respectively.
8. The study disclosed that the tribal women and girls have migrated to cities from tribal villages, tribal dominated villages, semi-tribal villages and small towns having mixed population. Majority of the tribal women (42 per cent)

and tribal girls (37 per cent) have migrated to cities from purely tribal villages followed by about 24 per cent and 27 per cent respectively from semi-tribal villages. Nearly 16 per cent of women and 14 per cent of girls had migrated from tribal dominated villages. It is surprising to note that 2 per cent of women and 3 per cent of girls have migrated to cities from forest-villages. Tribal women and girls migrated to cities from small towns with mixed population were 17 per cent and 19 per cent respectively. Thus majority of the tribal women and girls had described their native place as purely tribal villages, tribal dominated villages and semi-tribal villages.

9. The migrated tribal women and girls had to face a number of problems immediately after their migration to cities. The main problems were communication through local language, residential accommodation, employment, education, lack of social contacts, difficulties in adjustment with local environment etc. About 32 per cent of migrant women and 23 per cent of migrant tribal girls had problem of communication in local language. Nearly 45 per cent of the total respondents faced difficulties in getting proper residential accommodation and 38 per cent of them could not get the jobs mainly for which they have shifted to cities. Education of children was the problem for about 8 per cent of women and 5 per cent of girls. Nearly 28 per cent of the total respondents (women and girls) had no social contacts and found themselves isolated from the rest of the city people and for about 36 per cent of them it was very difficult to adjust with the local situation. However, about 10 per cent of women and 3 per cent of girls did not face any major problems after their migration to cities.
10. The problems faced initially after migration were gradually solved. However, even at the time of investigation the migrant tribal women and girls in cities were facing certain problems like insufficient residential accommodation, problem of drinking water, electricity, latrins, very low earning, medical care and educational facilities. Nearly 39 per cent of the total 3000 respondents complained about improper and insufficient residential accommodation in an unwanted locality. Paucity and irregular availability of drinking water was

reported by about 16 per cent of the respondents. Even after repeated efforts about 8 per cent of the respondents could not get electricity connection in their houses. The houses of about 27 per cent of the respondents were without attached latrin and hence they were using public latrins; but the number of public latrins was inadequate as compared to the number of users. About 30 per cent of the respondents had no regular employment and hence they were without jobs for a number of days in a month. The income of 34 per cent of respondents was not sufficient to make both the ends meet. Lack of educational facilities within the locality was reported by about 15 per cent of the respondents, whereas about 24 per cent of them complained about non-availability of medical care facilities in or nearly the locality.

11. The tribals generally like to live in Joint Families. However, when they migrate to cities they prefer to have nuclear families. The data collected during investigation revealed that a large majority of migrant tribal women (73%) and girls (74%) in 10 cities covered under the study were living in nuclear families and only about one-fourth of them had joint families. About 2 per cent of tribal women and girls taken together were living alone. Thus the migrated tribal people have adopted nuclear family pattern.
12. With the growing awareness about the importance of small families and the compulsions of city life the tribals are limiting the size of their family. About 1 per cent of women and 3 per cent of girls were living alone. More than 50 per cent of the tribal women and girls had families with 4 to 5 members and about one-fourth of them had 7 or more than 7 members in their families. The average size of the family was 4 members as against modal size of 5 members.
13. The data relating to number of girls in a family disclosed that 77 per cent families of migrant tribal women and girls had 1 to 3 girls in the family. It is, thus, clear that the migrated tribal families do not prohibit the birth of a girl child.
14. Prior to migration to cities, the tribal women and girls had farming, farm labour, bonded labour, collection of forest produce etc. as their principal

traditional family occupation. About 40 per cent of the migrant tribal women and girls taken together reported farming as their traditional family occupation, 31 per cent stated farm labour, 13 per cent disclosed bonded labour and 11 per cent indicated collection and sale of forest produce as their traditional family occupation. Thus majority of tribal women and girls migrated to cities had farming and farm labour as their principal traditional family occupation.

15. To examine the economic status of the families of migrant tribal women and girls the information about the earning members in the family and family income was collected. It was observed that about 38 per cent of tribal women and 29 per cent of tribal girls had only one earning member in their family. About 33 per cent tribal women and girls reported 2 earning members in their family as against 3 and 4 earning members reported by 16 and 9 per cent of the tribal women and girls respectively. Only about 8 per cent of women and girls stated that there were more than 4 earning members in their family. Thus a majority of tribal women and girls (67 per cent) reported 1 to 2 earning members in their family.
16. As reported by the respondents the annual income of their families increased after migration to cities, however, the same was inadequate to meet the basic requirements of food, clothings and shelter. About 10 per cent of women and 7 per cent of girls stated that their total family income per annum was less than Rs. 10,000/-. Taking monthly expenditure of Rs. 3000/- per month for a small family of about 4 members, the minimum annual income of a family should not be below Rs. 36,000/-. However, the data in respect of annual family income shows that a little more than 50 per cent of the families of tribal women and girls had total income below Rs. 36,000/-. Only about one-fourth of the respondents reported total family income of more than Rs. 50,000/-. Thus, majority of the migrant women and girls in cities were living in lower class families.
17. The present study revealed that a large majority of the migrant tribal women (84 percent) and girls (79 percent) had their own houses in their native places

before migration to cities. But, the situation changed after migration in cities and now only 47 percent of women and 46 percent of girls were having their own houses. The remaining tribal women and girls in cities were living in rented houses. Before migration a majority of 60 percent of women and 50 percent of girls had 2 to 3 rooms in their house but after migration they had only one room. Those having four or more than four rooms in their house before migration had to live in house having only 2 to 3 rooms after migration to cities. Thus a large number of women and girls migrated to cities were living in houses having one or two small rooms.

18. An attempt was made in this study to examine the conditions of civic amenities available in the houses of migrant tribal women and girls in the city before and after migration. Before migration about 11 percent of tribal women and girls together were using tap water, after migration about 50 percent of them had tap water in their houses. About 73 percent women and girls were using well water before migration ; this percentage has gone down to 23 percent after migration to cities. Electricity was a rare facility before migration as only 31 percent of the total respondents had electricity in their houses. After migration to cities about 81 percent of them have electricity connections. Before migration only 20 percent of the respondents had latrine attached to their houses, now, after migration this percentage has increased to 57. There was no bathroom facilities within the houses of 75 percent of the respondents but after migration about 40 percent of them have houses without provision of bathrooms inside. Around 3 percent of the respondents had telephone facility at their residence before migration, however, 17 percent of them were availing this facility after migration . The percentage of respondents using bicycle rose from 15 percent to 38 percent after migration . The percentage of respondents using moped increased by four times (from 4 % to 16% )after migration to cities. Very few respondents had possession like T.V., Fans, Cars and Refrigerators before migration but after migration there was increase in their number. It is thus clear that there was cognisable improvement in the living standard of migrant tribal women and girls in cities.

19. About three-fourth of the migrant tribal women and two-third of the migrant tribal girls were living in the cities covered by the study for more than 6 years after migration.
20. A large number of tribal women and girls had to change their traditional life style either voluntarily or under the compulsions of city life after migration. Nearly 78 percent of the women and 75 percent of the girls had changed their food habits. About 80 percent of women and 78 percent of girls changed their clothing pattern to suit the city life. There was significant change in the standard of living of 73 percent of women and 71 percent of girls. Marked change was observed in the social behaviour pattern of 63 percent of women and 58 percent of girls. Change was also noticed in the cultural life of 62 percent of women and 56 percent of girls. Thus, in order to adjust with the changed environment and the local conditions the tribal women and girls sacrificed their traditional life style and embraced the life style of the city.
21. The tribals are proud of their dialect and they preserve it where-ever they go. Therefore, even after migration to cities 88 percent of migrant tribal women and 79 percent of the girls continued to use tribal language for intra-family communication and in communication with other families in the city belonging to their tribes. However, for communication with the local community members they had to acquire working knowledge of the local language which is generally the regional language of the state and also of the national language Hindi which is generally understood by most of the people in all the states of India. It was observed that 94 per cent of the migrant tribal women and 87 per cent of the girls were able to speak local (regional) language. Similarly, 88 per cent of the women and 85 per cent of the girls could speak in Hindi which is a national language. Only 12 per cent of the women and 27 per cent of the girls who were highly educated could speak in English. Out of 1500 migrant women only 20 per cent could read and 18 per cent could write in the local (regional) language. Similarly, out of 1500 tribal girls 42 per cent could read and 39 per cent could write in local language. As regards reading

and writing in national language Hindi, 35 per cent of women and 55 per cent of girls could read Hindi and 32 per cent and 38 per cent respectively could write in Hindi. About 21 per cent of women and 39 per cent of girls could read and write in English. Thus majority of tribal women and girls had knowledge of local language and the national language - Hindi.

22. Every tribal community in India has its own social, religious, and cultural value system. Even after migration to cities the tribals stick up to their value system. About 86 per cent of the migrant tribal women and 83 per cent of the girls reported that they still follow the social, religious and cultural norms prescribed by their tribes even after migration to cities. They celebrate tribal festivals and perform cultural programmes like tribal dance on relevant occasions. However, the tribal families migrated to cities cannot isolate themselves from non-tribals. Hence, they also join the non-tribal people in celebration of local, regional and national festivals. The migrant tribal women and girls too participate in social, religious and cultural programmes of the non-tribal population in the city. This was confirmed by 80 per cent of the tribal women and 79 per cent of the tribal girls migrated to cities.
23. The migrant tribal women and girls in cities did invite the members of other communities in their religious festivals and social and cultural programmes. This was reported by 72 per cent of women and 73 per cent of girls. Reciprocally, they (tribal women and girls) were also invited for the social, religious and cultural functions organised by non-tribal communities in the cities. About 81 per cent of tribal women and 78 per cent of girls confirmed this during investigation. Nearly 71 per cent of the women and 72 per cent of the girls actually participated in the programmes organised by other community members.
24. As far as the quality of relations with other community members was concerned it was revealed that about 50 per cent each of the migrant tribal women and girls had good relations, 23 per cent each had satisfactory

relations and about 19 and 14 per cent had normal relations with other community members. Very few cases (women 2% and girls 1%) of conflicting relations were reported by the respondents.

25. The tribal women and girls migrated to cities and settled there, were getting necessary help from the members of other communities in their locality in times of emergency and difficulties. About 85 per cent women and 83 per cent girls agreed that they got all the help from non-tribal people in the locality whenever they were in difficulties. It was due mainly to cordial relations with non-tribal people in their locality.

26. The tribal women and girls migrated to cities preferred to live in a locality where other families of tribals were already living. As far as possible, they wanted a tribal family as their neighbour. However, this was not possible due to peculiar condition of housing in the city. As such, majority of them had families belonging to non-tribal communities as their neighbours. About 30 per cent of tribal women and girls had Hindu families about 6 per cent had Muslims families and nearly 8 per cent had Christian families as their next door neighbours. However, majority of 54 per cent of migrant women and girls had tribal families as their next door neighbours. The relations with neighbours were good in 69 per cent of the cases, cordial in about 15 per cent of the cases and conflicting in nearly 2 per cent of the cases. About 2 per cent of the tribal women and girls avoided any contact with neighbours to avoid conflict.

27. After migration to cities the tribals search for other tribal families in those cities. They gradually develop and then keep contact with those tribal families. About 80 per cent of migrant tribal women and about 78 per cent of the migrant tribal girls had searched other tribal families in the city and have maintained close contact with them. The tribals are known for their close social contacts. In order to examine whether after migration they maintain this

spirit, the relevant data was collected. It was observed that about 80 per cent of tribal women and 78 per cent of tribal girls have tried to keep close contact with other tribal families in their city by meeting them once in a month, very often, occasionally and at community functions.

28. The migrated tribal people in the cities have formed Tribal Associations for providing a platform for different social, cultural and religious activities as also for protecting the interests of tribals in the city. It is surprising to note, however, that a little more than 50 per cent of the migrant tribal women and girls had no knowledge of any such associations in the city. Moreover, only about 7 per cent of them were members of such associations. Many of the tribal women and girls having knowledge of the tribal association in the city were not fully aware of the different types of activities organised and conducted by those associations.

29. The tribal women and girls have come to cities from their hinterland since they were living in acute poverty due to lack of employment and with the expectation that they would get jobs in the city at least for survival. However, all of them could not get jobs in the city. Out of 1500 tribal women migrated to cities only about 42 per cent could get employment and rest of them were still unemployed. Similarly, out of 1500 migrant tribal girls in 10 cities only 41 per cent were employed and the rest were either students or without jobs. This indicates that their hopes to get jobs in the cities were not materialized, as jobs were not easily available.

30. The occupational distribution of respondents made it clear that a majority of the women had to work at home as housewives in spite of their desire and need for out-door jobs for supplementing the family income. Nearly, 54 per cent of the tribal women in 10 cities were looking after home and were purely housewives, about 16 per cent were domestic servants with upper class and middle class families, about 7 per cent were working in industries as workers, about 12 per cent were working as labour in construction industry and about 2

per cent were self-employed. In spite of statutory reservation for Tribals in Government services, only 3 per cent of the tribal women in cities were in Government service and about 5 per cent in private organisations.

As regards migrant tribal girls in 10 cities covered by the study 33 per cent out of 1500 girls were students undergoing their studies. About 22 per cent of them were helping their mothers in domestic work while about 23 per cent were domestic servants. Nearly 8 per cent each of the girls were working as labour in industries and construction activity. Four per cent of them were employed in private sector organisations and less than one per cent in Government Organisations. Thus, majority of the girls were labourers by profession.

31. In order to assess the economic conditions and standard of living of the migrant tribal women and girls in cities the data relating to their personal income was collected and analysed. It was observed that the average monthly income of women was Rs. 980 and those of girls Rs. 750. Nearly 54 per cent of the women who were house-wives had no personal income. Similarly, 59 per cent of the girls who were undergoing education (33%) and who were unemployed (26 per cent) had no personal income. Thus, it is very clear that a large majority of women and girls who migrated to cities were without jobs.

32. The migrant tribal women and girls employed in private sector organisations, construction industry, industrial organisations and employed as maid-servants were not getting their wages/salaries regularly at the end of every week or month as per understanding. In some cases the respondents reported that they were not paid for months together. Moreover, they were financially exploited by some of the employers. About 66 per cent of tribal women out of 623 and nearly 76 per cent of the tribal girls out of 621 who were employed stated that they were financially exploited by their employers to a great extent,

whereas those reporting financial exploitation by employers were about 34 per cent and 24 per cent respectively.

33. The employers used a number of mechanisms of financial exploitation. About 69 per cent of women and 81 per cent of girls out of 623 and 621 respectively were paid very low wages/salaries much below the rates fixed under Minimum Wages Act. Illegal deductions were made from the wages of 81 per cent of the women and 79 per cent of the girls. About 55 per cent of women and 62 per cent of girls had to work beyond the standard working hours fixed by law. No compensation was paid by the employers to 21 per cent of women and 34 per cent of girls for overtime work beyond working hours. Thus, a large number of migrant women and girls in cities were financially exploited in a number of ways like payment of wages at a very low rates, irregular payment of wages, illegal deductions from wages, very long hours of work and non-payment for overtime work.
34. Not all but some of the migrant tribal women (57%) and girls (59%) did resist the financial exploitation by employers. Others did not resist due to ignorance, helplessness, non-availability of alternative jobs and fear of removal from the jobs. The extent of exploitation was comparatively more in Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai and Hyderabad as compared to Pune, Nagpur, Bhopal, Raipur, Ranchi and Bhubaneswar. However, the degree of resistance was comparatively more in Pune, Nagpur, Bhopal, Raipur, Ranchi and Mumbai.
35. The tribal women and girls who resisted financial exploitation by employers had to face the resultant consequences. This included 151 women and 127 girls. It was only in the cases of 11 women and 07 girls that the exploitation was totally stopped but in majority of the cases they had to suffer. Out of 296 respondents raising voice against financial exploitation about one-fourth had to lose their jobs and about 36 per cent were given warning with threats of

termination of services. The exploitation, however, continued. Thus, the resistance had little impact on the employers.

36. In addition to financial exploitation the migrant tribal women and girls in cities were also subject to sexual exploitation by different people. About 36 per cent women and 39 per cent girls agreed with the general presumption that migrant tribal women and girls in cities were sexually exploited on a large scale by the employers, their agents, co-workers and other people. Of these 546 women and 547 girls nearly 17 per cent and 23 per cent respectively were victims of sexual exploitation. As reported by the tribal women and girls the perpetrators of sexual exploitation were employers (20 per cent), Supervisors (16 per cent), contractors (18 per cent), co-workers (18 per cent), Neighbours (3 per cent), frequent visitors to family (5 per cent), shop-keepers (9 per cent) and others including money-lenders and family friends (2 per cent).

Poverty, ignorance of law, unorganised nature of tribal labour force, lack of awareness of institutional finance and credit facilities, loans from money lenders and credit from shop-keepers were the main causes for financial exploitation of migrant tribal women and girls. The factors responsible for their sexual exploitation were feeling among the non-tribal people that tribal women and girls could be easily persuaded for sexual activities as there was free sex in the tribal communities, ignorance of law relating to protection against forced sexual exploitation and that of social support.

37. The assessment of awareness among the migrant tribal women and girls in cities about the tribal development programmes of State and Central Government disclosed that only 48 per cent of the women and 56 per cent of the girls were aware of such programmes. Out of a total of 723 migrant tribal women and 844 migrant tribal girls who had the knowledge of the tribal development programmes the percentage of those who were personally

benefitted from different programmes was very low. Only 22 per cent of women and 30 per cent of girls had been benefitted by the programme of free education. The programmewise percentages of benefits from other programmes were Scholarships for Education (women 12%, girls 19%), Reservation in Service (women 5%, girls 7%), Free Hostel Facilities (women 4%, girls 9%), Micro-Credit Facility (women and girls 2% each), Subsidised Housing (women 10%, girls 5%) and Integrated Tribal Development Programme (women and girls 2% each). Nearly 52 per cent women and 44 per cent girls reported no benefit from any of the tribal development programmes.

Thus, nearly 50 percent of the migrant tribal women and girls could not get any benefit from any of the Tribal Development Programmes of the State Governments or Government of India.

38. The inquiry into the special programmes designed and implemented by the Department of Social Welfare of the respective State Governments revealed that about 45 per cent of the women and 50 per cent of the girls had no knowledge of such programmes. Another 13 per cent of the women and 12 per cent of girls specifically told that no such programmes had been designed and implemented by the Social Welfare Departments of their respective State Governments. However, 41 per cent of women and 39 per cent of girls agreed that such programmes had been designed but not properly implemented in the cities where they were living. These respondents were mainly from Delhi, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Nagpur, Bhopal, Raipur and Bhubaneswar. Thus, the state Social Welfare Departments were not very serious about designing and implementing special programmes for the welfare and development of migrant tribal women and girls in cities over and above the routine programmes for all tribals in the state.

.39. The tribal women and girls migrated and settled in the cities covered by this study identified certain Tribal Development Programmes from which they or their family member were benefited. However, the number of such women and girls was 621 and 577 out of 1500 each. In a number of cases benefits were drawn from multiple programmes. Adult Education, and Family Planning and Welfare were identified as important programmes of Tribal Development by 25 percent and 22 percent of the total respondents, followed by Self-Employment Guidance and Training (17%), Vocational Training (15%), Reproductive Child Health Care (15%), Self-Help Groups(14%), Legal Awareness(13%) and Skill Development Programme(12%). Thus a good number of migrant tribal women and girls(40%) had identified the above programmes as important programmes of tribal development.

40. The Government of India and the State Governments have launched a large number of programmes for the empowerment of women and for the development of girls. An enquiry into the benefits drawn by migrant tribal women and girls from certain selected programmes revealed that 20 percent of women were beneficiaries of Reproductive Child Health Care Scheme, 22 percent got benefit of Integrated Child Development Scheme and 13 percent benefited from Integrated Women Empowerment Project. Nearly 5 percent and 8 percent of the women could continue their education under the Distance Education and Non-Formal Education Programmes respectively. Awareness Programme proved useful for 16 percent of the women and 13 percent of them were benefited by Vocational Guidance and Training for Self-Employment Scheme. Family Planning and Welfare Programmes proved to be a boon for 29 percent of the women and about 15 percent could improve their standard of living through Self-Help Groups.

The migrant tribal girls in the cities were also benefited from Distance Education Programme (5%), Integrated Women's Empowerment Programme (7%), Non – formal Education Scheme(7%) Awareness Creation Programme(15%) Vocational Guidance and Training (5%) and Self-Help Groups(8%).

41. The NGOs also play a significant role in socio-economic development of tribal people . However, their work is mainly concentrated in Tribal areas. Some of the NGOs in big cities , however, are also working in the city for providing social support and welfare services to migrant tribal women and girls in cities. Leading among these NGOs are Servants of India Society, Sarva Seva Sangh, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Kasturba Smarak Nidhi, Harijan Sevak Sangha, Ramkrishna Math, The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, The Indian Council of Child Welfare, Akhil Bhartiya Janjati Seva Madal and Bhartiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh. In addition City, State and National level Associations are also working in different cities. However, as far as migrant tribal women and girls are concerned only 20 percent of them know about the work done by these NGOs in improving their socio-economic status. Moreover, even these 20 percent of the tribal women and girls were critical of the work done by the NGOs indicating that there was no continuity in their activities and they had no specific programmes for migrant tribal women and girls. The remaining 80 percent of the respondents had no knowledge of any work done by NGOs for them. Most of these respondents were from slum areas of the cities covered by the study.

42. Tribal Peoples, Associations formed by the migrant tribals in the city for social, cultural, religious and economic development of tribals also undertake some programmes of tribal development and some of these associations also get financial assistance from Central and State Governments. Social Intervention by such associations was reported by only 20 percent of migrant tribal women and 23 percent of girls. However, majority of the respondents stated that they have no information about the work done by these associations.

43. Only 44 percent of women and girls each have endorsed the benefits drawn from social intervention by Government and Voluntary Organisations as against 8 percent of them refuting such a claim. The remaining respondents expressed their inability to make any comments.

## **Suggestions**

From the conclusions drawn the study team feels that measured by any standards the migrant tribal women and girls are backward in all respects. Here are some suggestions emerging out of the study, which if implemented, will reduce their misery and help in improving their socio-economic conditions. It will also help in solving the problems faced by them in the changed city life. These include both the short term and long term policy measures on the part of the Government as a committed agency particularly in the face of persistence of the problems encountered by the migrant tribal women and girls in big cities. These tribal women and girls continue to be the most neglected section in the cities as far as socio-economic matters are concerned. In the backdrop of such a situation the following suggestions are made on a pragmatic basis and with a view to provide a new base-line of action.

1. Since the tribals are descendents of some primitive human civilization, they have inherited a rich cultural heritage from their past ancestors. The traditional folk dance, folk songs, folk instruments, folk art and craft are unique cultural heritage of the tribal people. The traditional beliefs and practices have helped tribals in India in preservation of their age-old culture. But with the onslaught of industrialization, urbanization and modernisation and resultant migration of tribal men, women and girls to urban centres the age-old culture of these primitive human societies is threatened with extinctions. It is suggested that all out efforts must be made by the policy makers to make the tribals realise the importance of their culture and motivate them to preserve this rich culture at any cost. Efforts must be made to see that the women and girls migrated to cities maintain their links with the people in their hinterlands so that they do not get cut-off from the tribal culture.

2. The migrant tribal women and girls have moved from tribal regions to cities due to non-availability of employment opportunities resulting in acute poverty in addition to floods, famines, volcano and other natural calamities. To stop migration of tribals to cities it is necessary that ample employment opportunities

should be provided to the tribal families in and around their hinterlands. Moreover, the employment should be provided throughout the year. To reduce the extent of migration the State Governments should be provided sufficient money from the President's Fund to confront with the problem of employment in tribal region of different states. The work for construction of roads, anicuts, check-dams bunds, wells, ponds, school buildings etc. should be undertaken.

3. In spite of the great emphasis laid on women's education in the five years plan and the facilities and incentives given majority the tribal women and girls remained without education even after migration to cities. The main reason for educational backwardness of migrant tribal women and girls was non-availability of sufficient number of educational institutes in the tribal areas as well as in the slum areas of cities where majority of the migrant tribal women and girls live. It is, therefore, suggested that the Zilla Parishads, City Corporations and the Gram Panchayats should be directed to provide Schools in tribal villages and the tribal localities in the big cities.

4. It is observed that nearly three-fourth of the migrant tribal women and girls were living in nuclear families which is a good indication. However, when it comes to the size of family it was seen that the tribals do not make any special efforts to limit the size of family. As a result it becomes very difficult for them to maintain big families in cities with their limited income. It is necessary to create awareness about the importance of small families among the migrant tribal women by opening sufficient number of Family Welfare Centres in localities in which the tribals are living in majority. This will help them to plan their families. A special drive by the State Health Department will be a welcome step.

5. The migrant tribal women and girls in cities suffer from poor housing conditions. Most of them have their houses in slum areas surrounded by unhealthy environment. In addition, more than 50% of the migrant tribal women and girls are living in rented houses. With a view to provide better housing facilities to migrant tribal women and girls the Tribal Development Boards in the respective states should raise Tribal Housing Complex in the cities having migrant tribal population and provide houses to the tribal families on Hire-Purchase basis with subsidy or

on nominal rental basis. The funds for this purpose should be provided by central Government.

6. The tribal women and girls migrated to cities are living in acute poverty. The main reason for their poverty is either no employment or under-employment. It is necessary to provide basic educational facilities alongwith hectic efforts of vocational guidance and training for development of their skills with a view to improve their potential for employment in public as well as private sector organisations.

7. The average monthly income of migrant tribal women and girls is observed to be very low. This is because of the fact that a large member of them are employed as domestic servants where Minimum Wages Act is not applicable . It is also not effectively implemented in construction industry, factories and other organisations where these migrant tribal women and girls are employed. It is, therefore, suggested that the Minimum Wages Act be made applicable to all types of employment including domestic work and the provisions of the Act should be strictly implemented to reduce the financial exploitation of tribal women and girls by the employers. In order to free the tribal women and girls from the clutches of money-lenders there is a need to provide them micro-credit facilities. The NGOs in the city should come forward and help the migrant tribal women and girls by forming their SHGs to meet their micro-credit requirements.

8. It was observed during the investigation that a large majority of migrant tribal women and girls are unaware of the Tribal Development Programmes of the Union and State Government. It is, therefore, suggested that to create awareness about the Tribal Development Programmes of the Central and State Governments such programmes should be given wide publicity through both visual and written media. In addition, the educated youth from tribal communities should be trained and employed for door-to-door propaganda of Tribal Development Schemes for Women and girls and helping them in taking benefits from these programmes.

9. City-based NGOs should be involved in solving the major problems faced by migrant tribal women and girls in cities. The NGO should come forward in a big

way to tackle the problem of identification and rehabilitation of migrant tribal women and girls in cities. There should be an integrated programme offering a package of services simultaneously from the normal social, economical and educational fronts without which the solution is not likely to strike deep roots into the tentacles of the problems faced by migrant tribal women and girls in the cities and to bring out a total transformation in the lives of the most deprived section of India's population who have been the victims of atrocities, exploitation and social injustice.

10. The development process initiated by the Government and voluntary agencies among the tribals have, on one hand, created situations for "restructuration" of the tribal society and on the other, given rise to some structural problems. The formulation of specific plans for their social and economic uplift have surely brought about some change in quality of life of the tribals, but new problems resulting from these changes are, none the less, minor ones. More over, the migrant tribals and specifically the migrant tribal women and girls could not be covered under the Tribal Development Projects as the same were implemented in rural areas of tribal regions. It is, therefore, suggested that the Union and State Governments should design special programmes of Tribal Development needed by the tribals in cities and more specifically for migrant tribal women and girls in cities.

11. In the present circumstances, education for the tribal women and girls is more than mere acquisition of knowledge. In the absence of education, the tribal women and girls are unable to take advantages of the seats reserved for them in technical and professional courses. They are unable to use reservation facilities provided for them in State and Central Government Services. The employment opportunities thrown up by industrialization are also beyond their grasp. Above all it is only massive education programme which can throw up a forceful leadership from women and girls which can stand against and fight the entrenched forces of exploitation of tribal women and girls in big cities in India. In fact, without education, the economic development of migrant tribal women and girls in cities may not be possible.

The analysis of educational levels of migrant tribal women and girls in the cities disclosed that about 56 percent of migrant tribal women and 29 percent of migrant tribal girls were illiterate. It is necessary to make them literate for which there is a need for creating awareness about the importance of literacy for better understanding of life situations, followed by a massive drive of adult literacy specially designed for migrant tribal women in cities. For tribal girls different programmes of non-formal and continuing education will be more effective and useful. Such programmes should be given to NGOs having good record of honest working in the field of Tribal Development.

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