

Situation of Tribal Migrant Labourers of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha Districts of North Gujarat



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Acknowledgement

Our attempt to explore and describe the difficulties of the tribals of North Gujarat is pioneering. The migration of the tribals is an intricate issue; it is associated with the employment pattern in the region, as well as with the socio-cultural milieu. The migration, in itself is a large concern; besides it is not providing any solution to the problems of the tribals rather initiating another set of troubles for them. Our aim was to analyze the trend of Migration by the tribals in search of employment, taking place on a vast scale and to depict its consequences. The respondents from total 147 villages of three talukas; Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts have shared their pattern of migration and the associated difficulties; therefore we have highlighted their perceptions through numbers rather than through statistical formula to show rate of migration and level of associated difficulties.

We are thankful to the respondents of the study, sarpanch (head of the village), village panchayat members, and teachers of primary schools, social leaders and village people who participated in the PLA along with the staff members and have contributed to the study in different ways. The staff includes teams of Adivadi Sarvangi Vikas Sangh (Deepak, Kanti Rathod, Mohan, Kanti Pargi, Arvind, Ravindra, Rasik, Bhemabhai and Neta Pargi) who collected the supportive data form each taluka. The contribution of Harsukh Kathad, Gova Rathod, Kishor Chaudhari and Sarita Patel is also commendable for making necessary arrangements. Minaxi, Cecilia and Sunita have contributed to data entry, formatting and printing of the report and they too are acknowledged with due respect. Fr. Amalraj SJ has shared his insights and has made research team reflecting over ground reality and the data and we are thankful to him for his contribution. We thank all who have directly or indirectly contributed to the study from bottom of our hearts.

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Dr. Varsha Ganguly
Director

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Abbreviations

1.	NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
2.	ST	Scheduled Tribes
3.	PLA	Participatory Learning and Actions

Glossary

Adivasi	Indigenous people, officially called ‘ scheduled tribe and popularly known as tribal in India
Bhil	A tribe
Faliya	Street or Hamlet
Kachi Zupdi	Temporary shelter
Mat	unlicensed Labour Contractors who are from the community and works as a commission agent between a labourer and an employer
Mamltidar (Tehslidar)	Head of the Revenue Department of taluka level
Panch	A committee made of wise persons of the village / community
Gram Panchayat	Elected body of members for administration at the village level
Sarpanch	Elected head of the village
Anganwadi	Nursery school (run under– Integrated Child Development Programme for 0-5 years of children) plus immunization programmes for children and pregnant women established by government in rural areas.

Executive summary

A study was conducted in three talukas, Khedbrahma and Meghraj from Sabarkantha and Danta, from Banaskantha districts of North Gujarat, to underscore the difficulties of the tribals who have no choice than to work as migrant labours. The study was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, PLA was conducted in eighteen villages; taking six villages from each taluka; during Sep 2008 to March 2009, in which a total number of 579 participants (male and female) took part. In the second phase, a village level survey was held at 147 villages from all the three talukas. The 'Fadia' or 'street' of every village was taken as the criteria for the survey. The Survey was held during February 2009 to May 2009.

The Schedule tribes have a noteworthy presence in the area, specially tribes like, Dugri Garasiya, Bheel, Bheel Garasiya, Sokla Garasiya, Dungri Garasiya, and Rajput Garasiya. According to the study, their presence is highest in Danta block of Banaskantha district, at almost 80%, whereas at Khedbrahma it is 62.73%, and at Meghraj, it is the lowest at only 37.74%. It is observed that there are not adequate basic amenities available in the region. The number of streets in Danta is (6-15), Meghraj (7-12) and Khedbrahma (7-12). The population is observed to be dense in Danta, also reflected by a higher number of streets. As far as approach roads are concerned, in Meghraj, all the six villages have approach roads made of tar, in Danta and Khedbrahma both, four villages have tar made approach roads and two villages have 'kaccha' roads. As far as domestic roads are concerned, the situation is much better in Danta, as there are 11 roads made of RCC, one made of dammar/tar, and 19 are kaccha rastas. While there are 7 internal roads made of RCC, 3 made of tar and 21 are Kaccha rasta in Khedbrahma. In Meghraj, 5 roads made of RCC, 1 road made of tar, and 16 Kaccha rasta.

As far as drinking water is concerned, in all the covered 18 villages, there are 252 hand pumps, 443 wells, 202 Bores, 6 over head tanks, 2 underground tanks, 90 havada, 46 check dams and 34 ponds. While there is plenty water in Meghraj, there is scarcity in Khedbrahma, which affects the domestic life of the inhabitants as well as their financial condition.

As far educational scenario is concerned, there are 25 *Anganwadis*, 33 primary schools and two secondary and higher secondary schools (situated only in Meghraj block). Not all the villages have electricity; this facility is available only in two villages of Danta, and four villages of Khedbrahma. However, all the six villages of Meghraj, covered under PLA had electricity. It is observed that the State transport buses and private vehicles are available in all three blocks.

Out of six villages of Danta, there were only three Panchayats and similarly in Meghraj too, the number was three, out of total six villages. However in Khedbrahma out of six villages there were only two Panchayats. In all the three blocks, there are two ration shops per six villages. However, the villagers have to cover long distances to approach these shops as the villages are very scattered.

There are five dairies in Meghraj and three dairies each in Danta and Khebrahama. Animal husbandry is found to be very popular in Meghraj block, as there is plenty of water and grazing land available. There are four community halls in each block of Danta and Meghraj whereas Khedbrahma has only one. However, the condition of these halls is not good due to poor quality of construction and lack of maintenance.

Almost all the villages, except Zarda village of Meghraj, are inhabited on the environs of range of mountains. The forests are a prime source of survival for the villagers of Meghraj and Khedbrahama and they are dependent on selling various products of forest and mountains, for their living. However, in Danta, the inhabitants have less access to forests being treated as reserved areas.

As a large portion of land has been acquired by the forest department and in absence of appropriate resources; the remaining land generates very little income which is insufficient for their survival. Therefore, the tribal's are left with no option than to migrate to other places in search of work. It is observed that chiefly they migrate to work as share croppers, workers in B.T. Cotton Fields, masonry workers and agricultural labours.

The village survey held at fadia level revealed that a large number of tribals migrate to work as Share croppers. Out of 147 villages, a total number of 13825 people work as share croppers. The findings of the PLA held at 18 villages also supported this fact as it was revealed that 77.8% people from these villages migrate to work as share croppers. The maximum number of tribal migrants, 9411 is from the Khedbrahma taluka who migrate for working as a share cropper.

It is observed that the migrant share croppers of Khedbrahma receive either fifth or sixth share in the total produced crops, whereas the share cropper from Danta receive fourth, fifth or sixth share. However, the share croppers from Meghraj receive only fifth or as low as seventh share of the crop. Out of 13,825 total share cropper, the maximum number of share cropper, 5522 (39.9%) is of Child labourers.

The Child Labour is found to be very high. According to the PLA held at 18 villages, approximately 200 to 300 children migrate to work as B.T. Cotton workers from Veenchi village of Khedbrahma taluka, while in Kansa village in Danta taluka ,out of a total 197 households, two children from every household are reported to be migrating to work in B.T. Cotton fields, which suggests that 200-400 children work as labourers. There are a very high number of child labourers in Khedbrahma (3423) and Danta (2094) who are working as migrant share croppers. In Danta, the number of child labours is significantly higher than the number of adult male (1339) or female (963) labourers. However, the highest presence of Child labour is found in Khedbrahma taluka at 8660 (62.5%).

The highest number 5522 (39.9%) of child labourers are engaged in Share cropping, while 4118 (29.7%) are engaged in B.T. Cotton fields, and 3374 (24.4%) are working as

Agricultural labours. However, the percentage of child labour in Masonry works is insignificant with 6.1% at 840. Thus, a total number of 13854 out of total 32518 House holds are child labourers. The highest presence of Child labour is found in Khedbrahma taluka at 62.5%.

Regarding B.T. Cotton workers, it is observed that out of total 19088 workers, the maximum 11428 (59.9%) are from Khedbrahma, and Meghraj stands on the second rank with 4297 (27.3%) BT cotton workers, while only 2441 (12.8%) are from Danta. With regard to the male-female scenario, it is observed that out of all BT cotton workers, 9694 (51.1%) are male, 5192 (27.3%) females and 3280 (21.6%) are children.

An analysis of the migration trend revealed that the migrants of Danta taluka, prefer to migrate to Deodar, Deesa, Dhanera, Palanpur, Vav, Tharad, Radhanpur, Ider and Khedbrahma talukas. While the survey indicated that the migration is also done to Ambigadha, Kheralu, Visnagar, Mehsana, Kankrej, Dantivada, Patan, Vadali and Vijpur. Out of total 2441 migrants, the number of males is 1663, females are 377, and number of children is 401. These labourers are paid a daily wage between rupees 40 to 60.

As far as tribals who migrate for working as Masons are concerned, it was observed that 4811 (73.3%) masons are from Meghraj, 1097 (16.7%) of masons are from Khedbrahma and 656 (10%) of masons are from Danta. Thus the highest number of masons is from Meghraj. The masons are paid a daily wage from 60 to 90 rupees.

While, the labours of all the above said three categories face numerous difficulties, like lower wages, bad working conditions, exploitation etc., and the labours who work as agricultural labour is in a better condition. It is observed that an agricultural labours migrate to nearby villages and sometimes a payment is not involved rather there is an exchange of labour.

In all the categories, a specific trend is observed with regard to individual or family movement. It is observed that there is always an individual movement for migration to work as masonry worker and in that too, an adult male from each family tends to opt for this job, however for working in B.T. Cotton fields children or adolescent tends to migrate. While for share cropping the entire family migrates to distant places. For working as agricultural labour or other miscellaneous jobs, one adult from each household migrates. This movement is observed to be individual, and the migrants rarely take their family along.

While searching for the reasons for migration, besides poverty and unemployment, the failure of NREGA was also observed as an affecting factor. It was found that out of all covered villages, 28553 (87.81%) have get their hob card made. If we look at the scenario in talukas, in Danta, 6423 (65.42%) have get their job card made, whereas in Khedbrahma 13674 (96.54%) and in Meghraj 8456 (99.06%) have get their job card made. Thus, the situation is better in Meghraj, as far as job card is concerned. Though a total of 14479 (50.71%) have applied for work , only 29.56% got work for 1-30 days, 17.68% got work for 31-60 days,

8.24% got work for (>61 days). Despite getting work 25.16% reported of not getting remuneration and only 32.12% reported getting payment. However, 18.02% reported that the work under NREGA has not started in their village yet.

The major concerns which arise through the study are: inhuman working conditions, violation of the Minimum wages Act 1948, a high practice of child labour, dismal living standards, less education, violation of human rights- exploitation, sexual harassment, verbal abuse etc., absence of legal protection, facing health hazards, lack of stability and so on.

The problems seems to be unending, however the study suggests deliberate efforts and explicit strategy to combat the issue. A strict implementation of the Minimum wages Act 1948 and The Prevention of Child labour act would be a mile stone in this direction. Apart from this, a provision of a legal contract between the land owner and a share cropper, making provisions for insurance of the labours, ensuring better facilities at the work place, restricting the work hours as per labour laws, make arrangement for getting overtime, taking strict action against complaints of sexual abuse etc are highly recommendable.

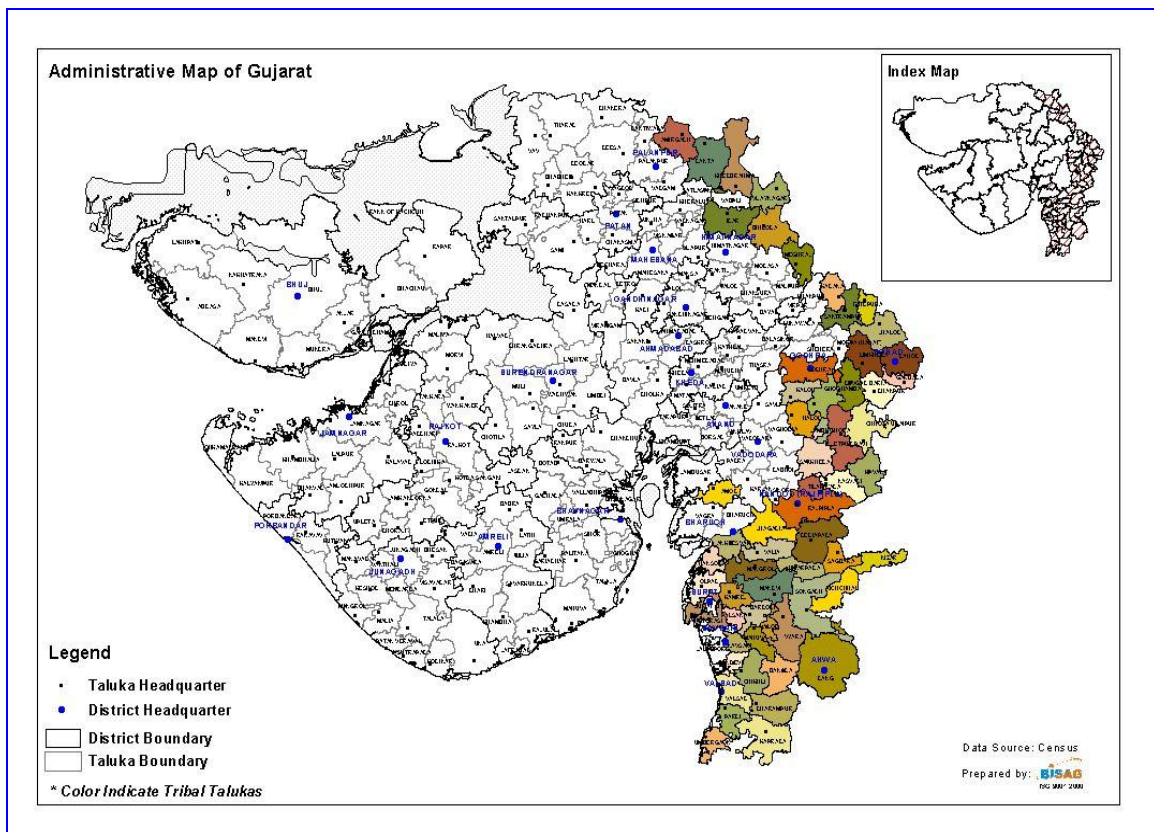
Summary of the Study

No	Details	Taluka							
		Danta		Khedbrahma		Meghraj		Total	
1.	Number of villages covered under the survey	50		47		50		147	
2.	Number of villaged covered under the PLA	06		06		06		18	
3.	Population from covered villages	56050		101868		46920		204838	
4.	Total female	27664		44506		22897		95067	
5.	Total male	27956		49520		24033		101509	
6.	Total households	9818		14164		8536		32518	
7.	Total child labourers	2502		8660		2692		13854	
	Major livelihood source of Adivasi	No of laboure	%	No of labourers	%	No of labourers	%	No of labourers	%
8.	Share cropping	4396	7.8	9411	9.2	18	0.0	13825	6.7
9.	B.T. Cotton	2441	4.4	11428	11.2	5219	11.1	19088	9.3
10.	Masnory work	656	1.2	1097	1.1	4811	10.3	6564	3.2
11.	Other labour work (Casual / Agri)	1665	3.0	15786	15.5	4919	10.5	22870	11.2
	Total labourers	9158	16.3	37722	37.0	14967	31.9	62347	30.4
	Total populations of the taluka	56050	100	101868	100	46920	100	204838	100

Chapter 1: Introduction

Situation of tribals in Gujarat

Of total population, the population of scheduled tribes (ST - also called 'tribal' and 'adivasi') is 15%, i.e. about 75 lakhs in Gujarat. In Gujarat 28 scheduled tribes are enlisted and of them 8 are primitive tribes, mainly belong to Gir, Barda and Alech forests (mainly Junagadh and Jamnagar district in western Gujarat) and Ahmedabad district in central Gujarat. About 21 tribes are spread over 12 districts (north-eastern belt) in Gujarat. (see map – tribal population highlighted with colour)



The tribal of Gujarat may be divided into following three parts in accordance with their intense population;

- Bhils and their sub tribes such as Rajput Garasiyas, Dungri Garasiyas and Bhil Garasiyas live in the North Gujarat explicitly in Banaskantha and Sabarkantha districts.
- Scheduled tribes of Bhils that is Pateliya, Dhanka, Naikda and Rathva live in central Gujarat precisely in Panchmahal and Vadodara districts.
- Whereas Vasava, Tadvi, Dubala, Gamit, Kukna, Dhodiya, Varli, Bhil, Nayaka, Chaudhari and primordial groups as Kathodi, Kolgha and Kotvadiya live in the South Gujarat namely in the Dangs, Valsad, Surat and Bharuch districts.

The major problems of the tribes in north Gujarat (Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Panchmahal, Dahod and Vadodara) are – lower level of literacy, scanty forest cover and no or negligible

access to forest or forest produce, high rate of unemployment and high incidences of sickle cell anemia and related health problems.

The Government of Gujarat has taken steps like launching JFM, Vanbandhu Yojana and such development programmes but its effect is limited in providing employment and better quality of life. Panchayati Raj Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, 1998 (PESA) was expected to provide opportunity to tribals for local self-governance but it has not been implemented by the government. In this situation, tribal development has remained centralized and largely government dependent. Unfortunately, the industrial houses have not thought of engaging tribal educated youth meaningfully in respective units.

The agriculture has been a subsistence economy as due to small and medium landholding; that too is rain-fed agriculture and traditional ways of farming, which results in low returns. Land alienation among tribals is very rampant across north-eastern belt of Gujarat. It is reported that officially about 7-8% tribals are alienated from land; informal survey reveal this extent to 15%. Our earlier studies reveal that due to a combination of policies of liberalization, privatization, globalization and some political and religious factors; they are on the verge of losing their identity and self respect. Due to frequent cutting of forests in the process of Industrialization, their natural resources of livelihood are diminishing.

In light of problems of unemployment and high rate of migration in search of livelihood, a need was felt to identify reasons for migration, occupations in which tribal migrants are engaged and the problems they face for living and working conditions. This study is part of development intervention for tribal migrants in Sabarkantha (Khedbrahma and Megharaj taluka) and Banaskantha (Danta taluka) districts.

Objectives of the Study

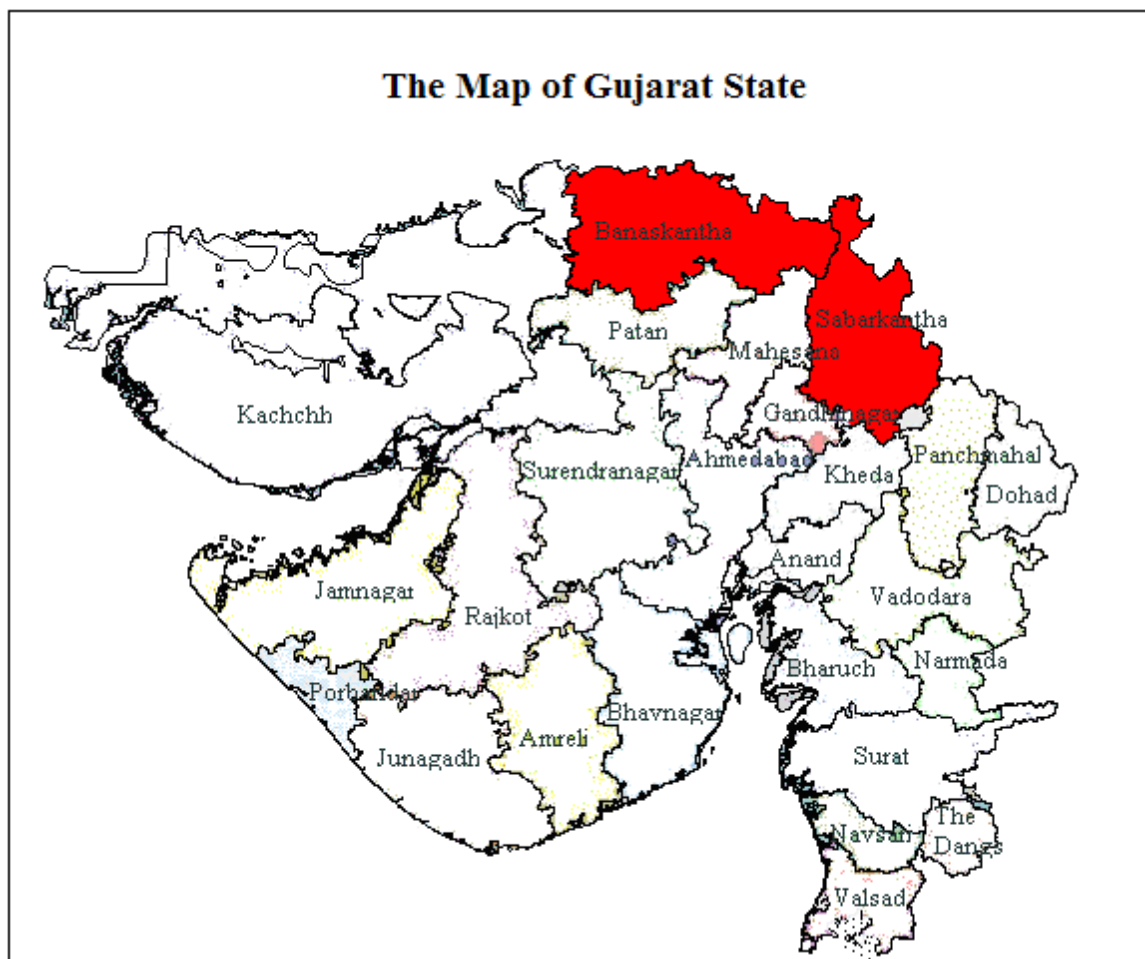
- ⇒ Documenting and analyzing present situation of Migrant pattern and status of tribal migrant labourers.
- ⇒ Documenting major difficulties faced during migration specifically about working and living conditions, problems of wages and support provided by Labour Offices in the region.
- ⇒ Identifying areas of development interventions, strategies for advocacy and legal action to improve conditions of tribal migrant labourers.

Universe of the Study

Three talukas, khedbrahma and Megharaj from Sabarkantha districts and Danta from Banaskantha districts of North Gujarat, have been chosen as the universe of the study, considering that there is a significant presence of tribal migrants in these talukas.

Sabarkantha District: The district has an area of 7,390 Sq. km. The total population of the district is 2,082,531, out of which the population of the Scheduled tribes is 7,481,160, i.e. 20.2%. There are thirteen talukas in the district and 1,389 villages. Khedbrahma is the largest

taluka of the district as far as geographic area is concerned. Two talukas, Khedbrahma and Meghraj have been taken as the universe of the study.



- ⇒ **Khedbrahma taluka** -The total area of the taluka is 835.39 Sq. Km. While there are 135 villages, out of which 133 are inhabited. The total population of the taluka is 223,502. The proportion of the ST population is 68.8%.
- ⇒ **Meghraj taluka** - The taluka is spread over a total area of 544.80 Sq. Km. The total population is 141,853 and the number of villages is 128. The proportion of the ST population is 36.4%.

Both the talukas are covered under schedule V of Indian Constitution, i.e. as Scheduled Area.

Banaskantha District: The district has an area of 10,757sq. Km. The total population of the District is 2,504,244, out of which the population of Scheduled tribes is 205,904, i.e. 8.2%. There are twelve talukas in the district with 1,249 villages. Danta taluka from the district has been taken as the universe of the study.

- ⇒ **Danta-** The taluka is spread over an area of 860.74 sq. Km. The total population of the taluka is 173,366. There are 184 villages in the taluka. The proportion of the ST population is 52.8%.

Table 1: Details of Talukas covered under Survey

No	Taluka	No. of village
1	Danta	50
2	Khedbrahma	47
3	Meghraj	50
	Total	147

Research Methodology

As the study is part of development intervention, the villages are selected based on purposive sampling; the major criteria were: village with higher number of migrant labourers; a village where the local people's organization (Adivasi Sarvangi Vikas Sangh - ASVS) is active and a village where tribal migrants are involved in a wide range of labour work.

As the prime focus of the study is to capture pattern of migration and related issues, the primary data has been collected through quantitative, qualitative and participatory research methods.

- ⇒ Village level survey - 147 villages of 3 taluka
- ⇒ Participatory research techniques like Resource mapping, Venn diagram, Seasonal analysis and Mobility mapping – 579 tribals (202 are women & 377 men) participated
- ⇒ Group discussions and interviews

The primary data was collected during July 2008 to March 2009.

Table 2: Details of PLA

District	Block	Village	Numbers of Participants		
			female	male	total
Sabarkantha	Meghraj	Nana Panduli	25	36	61
		Jamgadh	06	14	20
		Zarda	03	27	30
	Khedbrahma	Dharoi	28	49	77
		Khandhora	14	32	46
		Dantiya	08	12	20
	Meghraj	Navagam	10	17	27
		Nava Panibara	08	22	30
		Vaghmahudi(Vaiya)	07	19	26
	Khedbrahma	Vinchi	08	14	22
		Poalpan	05	22	27
		Bharmiya	15	12	27

District	Block	Village	Numbers of Participants		
			female	male	total
Banaskantha	Danta	Kansa (Rajivpura)	02	12	14
		Khandhor Umbari	09	18	27
		Kukadi	06	16	22

	Danta	Tarangada	15	19	34
		Pancha	20	15	35
		Bordiyala	13	21	34
	Total		202	377	579

Structure of the Report

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one, “Introduction” presents an overview of the problem and discusses the need for the study. The chapter incorporates the objectives and universe of the study, research methodology and sampling techniques. The chapter also shares the limitations faced by the study.

Chapter two, ‘Situation of tribal migrants and their issues’ is divided into two sections: Section one gives a brief idea about the socio-cultural background of the tribes of North Gujarat covered under the study. The need for their migration and the trend is also discussed in this section. The second section provides the general profile of the geographic area and status of basic amenities, like drinking water, educational institutes, roads, transportation etc.

Chapter three, ‘Situation of the Tribal Migrant labourers: Major Issues and Data Analysis’ assesses the situation of the tribal migrant labours as share croppers, B. T. Cotton workers, masons and agricultural labours. The chapter also explores the major problems faced by the migrant labourers of the study area and analyzes the data collected through survey. The trend observed based on primary data is substantiated and triangulated with secondary data wherever required.

Chapter four focuses on the ‘Findings of the study’ and summarizes the observation made by the study. While Chapter Five, ‘Conclusions and Recommendations’ highlights the conclusions about the situation of tribal migrant labours and make recommendations to bring a positive change in their position.

Limitations faced by the Study

In the initial phase of the study, the major tools decided for collection of data were: conducting group discussions and employing participatory research methods for the study. While collecting primary data through participatory techniques, we realized that the data throws light only on the trend of migration; we needed basic information about the tribes, overview of employment scenario, lack of employment at village or local level and so on. To meet the requirements, we decided to conduct village level survey and interview of different stakeholders; thus the survey provides data from 147 villages.

The time frame, season for agriculture, masonry work and casual labour varies and that has affected our process of data collection. With greater variation in work, season time, pull and push factors for migration, each village with several hamlets and adivasi families living in scattered houses, etc caused hurdles in collecting the desired information in varying ways. Moreover, during the season of agriculture, tribals migrate and therefore in many villages only the children and the elderly people reside and they have provided data. On farms, the data has been collected when the workers have lunch break (12 to 2 in the afternoon).

The varying reasons for migration, engagement in various occupations and at different places – such variety require different research techniques to document the processes and work and in absence of such data, the triangulation of primary and secondary data has not been done very efficiently.

Interviewing ‘mat’ (unlicensed labour contractor) was the most difficult part in collecting primary data’ as they were wary about our intention of collecting and using data and they are not used to such written culture.

Secondly, the participants were rigorously busy in cotton farming, hence had very little time to spare for the GD and PLA. Therefore, all the activities had to take place during their break from, yet the villagers zealously participated and responded various queries, which is highly appreciable. Therefore, most of the times, we have informally talked to them and later have used the data for writing the report. We are not able to talk to the employer, mainly the farm owners.

Chapter 2: Situation of tribal migrants and their issues

This chapter is divided into two sections:

- A. Profile of tribe in the region
- B. Profile of geographic area

The first section presents a brief introduction to the tribes existing in the study area, whereas the second section gives an overview about the living standards of these tribes.

Section A: Profile of tribe in the region

The Indian Constitution has recognized a total of 645 tribes, existing in various parts of the country. In Gujarat, 28 scheduled tribes are enlisted and of them 8 are primitive tribes; of them mainly 2 tribes reside in this region, namely, Dungari Bhil (Bhil) and Dungari Garasiya (Sokla Garasiya and Rajput Garasiya).

Table 3: Details of Tribal communities

District	Block	Population	Subgroups
Sabarkantha	Khedbrahma	62.73 %	Dugri Garasiya, Bhil Garasiya and Bhil
	Meghraj	37.74 %	Sokla Garasiya and Dugri Garasiya
Banaskantha	Danta	79.99 %	Bhil and Rajput garasiya

As per the table, it could be stated that -

⇒ In Danta block of Banaskatha district, the presence of Dugri Garasiya, Bhil, Bhil Garasiya, Sokla Garasiya, Dugri Garasiya, and Rajput Garasiya tribal communities is almost 80%, whereas at Khedbrahma it is 62.73%, and at Meghraj, it is the lowest, i.e. 37.74%.

In all the three talukas, there are few villages whose entire population is tribal. These villages are:

- Bharamiya, Dantiya, Khandhora, Veenchhi, Jamgadth, Nani Panduli, Kansa, Khandor Umbari and Kukdi villages.
- In Polapan village (Khedbrahma) and Zarda village (Meghraj) has only 5% tribal population
- In Navagam (Isari) viilage 84%, Nava Panibar 49% and Vaghmahudi (Vaiya) village 61% village population is rest of tribal.

The table below presents the details of various sub-tribes or surnames of tribal communities in Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj.

Table 4: Details of Surname, sub caste of Tribal community in the Talukas

No	Danta	Khedbrahma	Meghraj
1	Begadiya	Angari	Ambaliya
2	Bumbadiya	Bumbadiya	Asari
3	Dabhi	Chauhan	Bhagora
4	Degar	Dabhi	Bhanat
5	Gamar	Damor	Damor
6	Khant	Gamar	Fanat
7	Kodaravi	Khant	Gameti
8	Lour	Parmar	Garasiya
9	Makrani	Taral	Kalaswa
10	Morjiya	Terma	Katara
11	Pargi		Khant
12	Parmar		Kharadi
13	Puntha		Khokhariya
14	Rathod		Malvat
15	Solanki		Manat
16	Taral		Ninama
17	Vansiya		Pador
18			Pargi
19			Pujara
20			Rot
21			Taral
22			Vagat
Total	17	10	22

It is observed that,

- Khant and Taral (sub-tribes) subsist in all the three talukas.
- Bumbadiya, Dabhai, Gamar, Pargi and Parmar sub tribes exist only in Danta and Khedbrahma taluka.
- Damor sub tribe is found only in Khedbrahma and Meghraj taluka.
- Sub castes of Khant and Taral live in all three blocks.
- Bunbadiya, Dabhi, Gamar, Parghi and Parmar are found in Danta and Khedbrhma.
- Damor are found in Khedbrhama and Meghraj.

However, the major tribes in the area are Bhil (Dungari Garasiya), Rajput Garasiya and Pateliya. The details about their socio-cultural background are as follows:

Dungari Bhil and Dungari Garasiya

It is believed that three hundred years ago the ancestors of Bhil came to Gujarat from Rajasthan. The tribes are inhabited in Meghraj, Bhiloda, Vijaynagar and Khedbrahma blocks of Sabarkantha district. They are known as ‘Dugari Bhil Garasiya’ as they live amidst a range of mountains. Their dialect is ‘Bhili’, which is influenced by Gujarati and Mewadi languages. They have a variety of surnames.

They usually survive on agriculture; however, most of them have to work hard as labourers to meet their both ends meet. However, there are a few who have government jobs and very few who have become doctors or engineers.

There are at least 30 sub castes among them like Taivar, Kheradi, Saivon, Vahja etc.

Section B: Profile of geographic area

This section presents a picture of the life style of the tribal communities in the study area. The information covered in the section is related to basic amenities available to the inhabitants, information related to infrastructure and educational scenario.

Table 5: Details of Basic amenities in the Talukas

Amenities	Name of taluka		
	Danta	Khedbrahma	Meghraj
Roads			
a. Approach roads			
▪ Damar	4 villages	4 villages	6 villages
▪ Kaccha	2 villages	2 villages	-
b. Domestic roads			
▪ Damar	01	03	01
▪ Kaccha	19	21	26
▪ RCC	11	07	05
Drinking water			
a. Hand pump	128	95	87
b. Well	217	10	278
c. Bore	03	11	188
d. Over head tank	05	00	01
e. Sump (Under ground tank)	02	00	00
f. Lake	07	12	15
g. Chek-dam	29	02	15
h. Hawada	40	12	38
i. River	02	02	02
Educational institutes			
a. Anganwadis	09	09	07
b. Primary schools			
▪ Standard 1-4	03	01	-
▪ Standard 1-5	-	02	-
▪ Standard 1-6	01	-	-
▪ Standard 1-7	05	06	15
c. Secondary schools	-	-	-
d. Higher secondary schools	-	-	02

Electricity for domestic purpose	Out of 6 villages, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In One village, access is only in three houses ▪ 25% in other two villages, ▪ 75% in one village and, ▪ 100% in rest of two villages 	Out of 6 villages, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1/3 (75%) house in Polapan village, ▪ 80% house in Dharoi village ▪ 100% in rest of four vilalges 	All (6 Villages) has 100% electricity
Transportation			
a. State transport bus	06	06	06
b. Private jeep	06	06	06
Crematory	06	06	06
Panchayat office	03	02	03
Public distribution shop (PDS)	02	02	02
Milk dairy	03	03	05
Community hall	04	01	04
Temples	22	20	18
Mountains	06	06	05

Basic Amenities in villages

Roads

Approach roads and domestic roads

- The situation is better in Meghraj taluka in comparison to Danta and Khedbrahma talukas; there are more tar roads in Khedbrahma.

Drinking water

- a. **Hand pumps** - The situation is better in Meghraj taluka. Dharoi village of Khedbrahma taluka has total number of 32 hand pumps, out of which 11 are functional and 21 are dysfunctional.
- b. **Well** - The number is highest in Megharaj taluka
- c. **Bore** - The number is highest in Megharaj taluka
- d. **Over head tank** - Out of total 6, two are dis-functional.
- e. **Sump (under ground tank)** - Available only in Danta taluka.
- f. **Lake** - Highest in Megharaj taluka
- g. **Chek-dam** - Highest in Danta taluka
- h. **Cattle trough** - Less in Khedbrahma taluka in comparison to other talukas.
- i. **River** - The situation is same in all the three talukas.

Educational institutes

- a. **Anganwadi** - There are 25 *Anganwadis* under Integrated Children Development Scheme (ICDS) initiated by the government to promote pre primary education. At present, on an average there are three Anganvadi's in each village; however, the tribal's live in scattered colonies, so the Anganvadi's need to be set up at a reachable distance. There is also a need of
 Situation of Tribal Migrant Labourers of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha Districts of North Gujarat

constant check on its quality of education and 'mid-day meal' provided by the government. Better medication facilities should also be provided in the Anganwadi.

b. Primary Education - As the government insists on compulsory primary education, there are 33 primary schools in three blocks. There are 1st to 4th standards in 4 schools, 1st to 5th standards in 2 schools, 1st to 6th standards in one school and 1st to 7th standards in 26 schools. The maximum number of schools is in Mejhraj block. However, during August to October fewer students attend school, since they migrate with their parents to work in fields of BT cotton. As a result, they do not perform well in studies and eventually drop out from the school.

c. Secondary and Higher Secondary schools- There are two secondary and higher secondary schools in Meghraj taluka indicating availability of higher education in the area. It is observed that the efforts of Christian Missionaries in Meghraj block and efforts of Sanali Ashramshala in Danta and Khedbrahma blocks have encouraged young boys and girls to pursue higher education. However, it is also observed that the unemployment rate is also increasing among the educated ones.

Electricity for domestic purpose - The electricity has reached only in two villages of Danta, four villages of Khedbrahma and in all the villages of Meghraj. However, a large number of villages still do not have an access to electricity as the villagers are unable to bear the expense estimated by the board. For details refer Annexure 4.

Transportation - The State transport buses and private vehicles are available in all three talukas.

Cemetery - Every village of all the three blocks has its own cemetery/ burial ground. However, the practice of funeral is more popular among most of the tribes, for which they get plenty of wood from the forests.

Panchayat - Through PLA, it was observed that out of six villages of Danta, there were only three Panchayats and similarly in Meghraj too, the number was three, out of total six villages. However in Khedbrahma out of six villages as there were only two Panchayats. Although according to the Panchayati Raj Act, there should be a separate Panchayat for a village having population more than 1500 to 2000, however it is observed that usually, every village do not have an independent panchayat and for practical purposes smaller villages are merged into bigger villages as one Panchayat. As a consequence, these villages are neglected due to discrimination by the Sarpanch.

Public distribution shop (PDS) - In all the three Talukas, there are two ration shops among every six villages. However, the villagers have to cover long distances to approach these shops as the villages are very scattered. The probability of getting ration is also very low, as by the time they reach to the ration shops after covering long distances, the stock is finished and they have to return empty handed. Another attempt requires another entire day which subsequently cost them a loss of a day's earning.

Milk Dairy - There are five dairies in Meghraj and three dairies each in Danta and Khebrahama. Animal husbandry is very popular in Meghraj taluka, as there is plenty of water and grazing land available. The milk production is good in these villages as on daily basis 120 liters of milk from each village is send to Banaskantha and Sabarkantha dairies.

Community Hall - There are four community halls in each block of Danta and Meghraj whereas Khedbrahma has only one. However, the condition of these halls is not good due to poor quality of construction and lack of maintenance. These halls are not used quite often and have been totally neglected. The hall of kukdi village in Danta block is such one example where the building is totally in wretched condition.

Temples - There are 22 temples in Danta, 20 in Khedbrahma and 18 temples in Meghraj. Although, the tribal worship only the nature, but lately due to migration (as they have come in contact with other religions) and due to some other factors they have turned to be idol worshippers. It is observed that there are 3 to 4 temples in each village.

Mountains and forest products - Almost all the villages, except Zarda village of Meghraj, are inhabited on the environs of range of mountains. The forests are a prime source of survival for the villagers of Meghraj and Khedbrahama and they are dependent on selling various products of forest and mountains, for their living. However, in Danta, the inhabitants have less access to forests being treated as reserved areas.

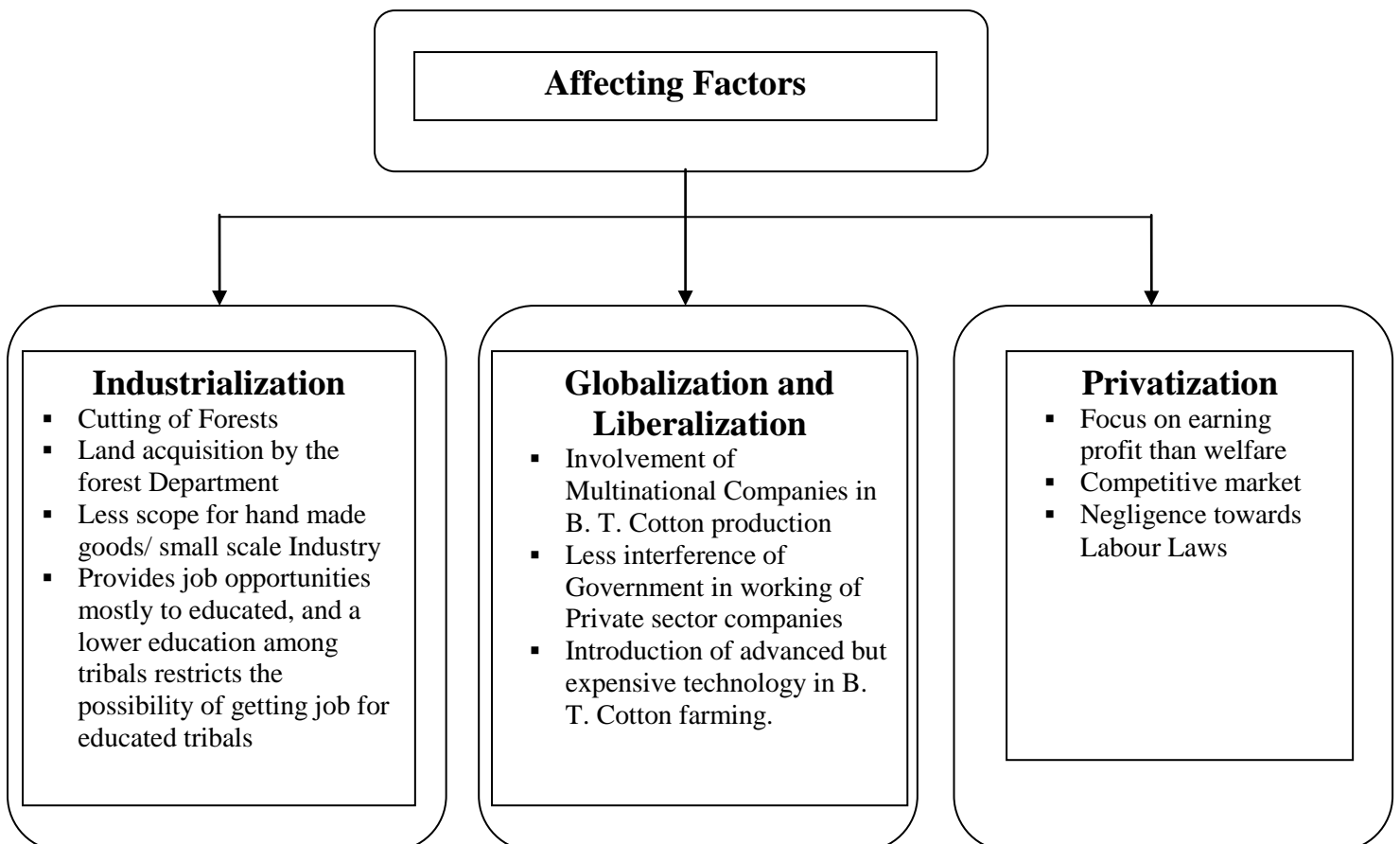
Thus, the general picture appears to be not so good, as far as living conditions are concerned.

Chapter 3: Situation of Tribal Migrant labourers: Major Issues

This chapter is based on primary information generated through participatory, quantitative and qualitative research methods and its analysis. It begins with macro scenario of employment in Gujarat and explains how various factors affect lives of tribals and they have to migrate in search of livelihood. It then presents details of migration and analytical points based on primary data to describe situation of tribal migrant labourers, situation of child labour and implementation of NREGA as employment tool.

Macro scenario

The tribals of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha are getting affected with a number of external factors which are working against them in a sequence, such as, lack of basic amenities in the village, ineffective implementation of NREGA, small landholding and low returns from farms and lack of opportunities for employment at doorstep. Due to a combined effect of such factors, they are forced to migrate in search of work and have to live in a contemptible condition.



The macro scenario indicates that increasing Industrialization, following the economic policies of Globalization, Liberalization and Privatization (LPG) has not contributed to development of tribals in the region rather they are forced to migrate in search of livelihood.

Even while working as migrant labours their problems do not end, rather are accumulated in such a manner, that they are leading a life full of poverty, illiteracy, humiliation, and exploitation. The chart below explains the impact of such factors on the tribals of North Gujarat, especially of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha.

The basic amenities available in the area are inadequate and the traditional sources of living are diminishing. A large portion of land has been acquired by the Forest Department and in absence of appropriate resources; the remaining land generates very little income which is insufficient for their survival. Therefore, the tribal's of Banaskantha and Sabarkantha are left with no option than to migrate to other places in search of work and wages.

Micro reality

The village survey of 147 villages, 18 villages covered through participatory techniques and interviews and group discussion at various places of Khedbrahma and Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha and Danta of Banaskantha districts has come up with some major findings about these tribal migrant labours:

Table 6: Basic details about population covered

No	Details	Taluka			
		Danta	Khedbrahma	Meghraj	Total
1.	Number of villages covered under the survey	50	47	50	147
2.	Number of villages covered through participatory & qualitative methods	06	06	06	18
3.	Population of covered villages	56050	101868	46920	204838
4.	Total female workers	27664	44506	22897	95067
5.	Total male workers	27956	49520	24033	101509
6.	Total households	9818	14164	8536	32518
7.	Total child labourers	2502	8660	2692	13854

This chapter is divided into three sub-sections:

1. Details of Migrant Labours
2. Presence of Child Labour
3. NREGA and the employment opportunities provided to the tribals of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha

Sub Section- I: Major Occupations of Migrant Labours

The tribals migrate primarily for four types of activities, which could be classified as:

- As Share Croppers
- As workers in B.T. Cotton farms
- As Masons
- As casual labourers

Table 7: Major livelihood sources of Adivasi

No.	Major livelihood sources of Adivasi	Taluka							
		Danta		Khedbrahma		Meghraj		Total	
		No. of labourers	%	No. of labourers	%	No. of labourers	%	No. of labourers	%
1.	Share cropping	4396	7.8	9411	9.2	18	0.0	13825	22.2
2.	B.T. Cotton	2441	4.4	11428	11.2	5219	11.1	19088	30.6
3.	Masonry work	656	1.2	1097	1.1	4811	10.3	6564	10.5
4.	Casual labourers	1665	3.0	15786	15.5	4919	10.5	22870	36.7
	Total labourers	9158	16.3	37722	37.0	14967	31.9	62347	100

To support this observation, a survey was also held in 147 villages covering various tribes and sub-groups of tribes.

Table 8: Different categories of the migrant laborers

No	Tribal migrants	Data collected through survey	
		Number	Percentage
1	Casual laborers	22870	36.7
2	On B. T. cotton farms	19088	30.6
3	Shared croppers	13825	22.2
4	Masonry work	6564	10.5
	Total	62347	100

A. Migrant labourers as Share Croppers:

Who is a Share Cropper?

In Sharing cropping, an agreement (usually verbal) is made between two parties, the owner of the land and the person who agrees to cultivate his land for a certain period / season in a year. In return, the share cropper gets a fixed share (one fourth/fifth/sixth/seventh), depending on various internal and external factors. Sometimes, the verbal agreement includes the conditions in case the crop fails. The share cropper is also paid an advance ranging from Rs.

5000 to 20,000 depending upon various factors like physical strength, number of family members etc.

Usually, the share cropper shifts to the farm with his entire family for a period of one year or so. It has been observed that a large number of tribals of North Gujarat migrate to distant places for working as share cropper, as farming is one of the income generation activities that they have know how of.

The survey revealed that of Out of total 62347, 13,825 (22.2%) tribals work as share croppers.

A tribal migrant labour chooses to become a share cropper due to various factors - (i) To meet expenses, mainly social obligations like wedding, death ceremony, birth ceremony or sickness etc.; and (ii) usually, having small landholding and consequently low returns cannot support family of 5 to 8 persons; more than 2-3 family members have to earn to make living, especially food grain for their survival as they do not get enough grain from their own fields.

Process of getting work

A migrant tribal gets the job of share cropping through various channels -

- On recommendation from the person who has earlier worked as a share cropper.
- In case, one has taken some loans from the farmer, so to repay the loans, agrees to become a share cropper.
- On demand by the farmer.

The farmer usually choose sharecropper with criteria like a married person with a large family, physically strong and healthy person and obedient and hardworking. This is mainly because the allied activities like cattle rearing and milking, household work, etc are taken care of with family members of the share cropper.

Period of Employment

It is observed the agreement usually takes place in the month of May, i.e. just before monsoon, which last till four months to eight months, or the agreement could be extended for the entire year.

Working and living conditions of share cropper

- The farmer keeps record of advance money given to the cropper on weekly or monthly basis.
- The working hours of the share cropper is not fixed, one has to work from dawn to dusk like a bonded labour.
- Though the agreement takes place between two persons; the farmer and the share cropper, yet the share cropper brings his entire family to work to get the job done. Mostly, he and his children take care of the farm; his wife looks after the cattle.
- A cropper is provided a small kaccha hut in the fields to live with his entire family.

- Usually there is no electricity in the hut.
- The share cropper can use the well at the farm for water - for drinking and domestic use.
- The share cropper has to make all the arrangements for his food. Usually, he buys daily goods from the nearby village and collects fire wood from the nearby woods to cook food.
- The farmer generally takes care of a cropper in time of sickness.
- A farmer and a share cropper rarely enjoy a good relationship; many of the share croppers have reported that they have faced frequent tortures and racial abuses by the farmer. Many of them have reported cheating, i.e. less payment or share cropping than decided at the beginning; the record of the advance amount paid weekly or monthly is tampered.
- The continuation of work for the next season or year depends solely on the relationship between the land owner and the share cropper.

Preferred places of Migration

The study examined the trend of Migration and find out that the tribals of Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj usually migrate within talukas of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha district and to adjoining districts like, Mehsana and Gandhinagar.

Table 9: Places for the going to Share cropping

No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to Share cropping		Type of share getting
						Based on survey Name of taluka (number of faliya, which reported)	Based on PLA Name of taluka	
1.	Danta	1339	963	2094	4396	Palanpur (74) Danta (60), Khedbrahma(dharoidam)=(28) Ider (17) Kheralu (Satlasana)=33 Visnagar (11) Deesa (9), Deodar (5), Dantiwada (1); Vadgam (Mumanvas)=42	Danta Palanpur, Vadgam Ider Khedbrahma Satlasana	Fourth, fifth or sixth

No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to Share cropping		Type of share getting
						Based on survey Name of taluka (number of faliya, which reported)	Based on PLA Name of taluka	
2.	Khedbrahma	3405	2583	3423	9411	Ider (102) Khedbrahma(Agiya, Matoda)= 132 total Palanpur (75) Himmatnagar (49) Danta (42), Vadali (7) Deesa-(1) Prantij (1) Talod (1) Vadnagar (1) vijapur (1)	Danta Deesa Palanpur, Vadgam, Himmatnagar, Ider, Khedbrahma, Modasa Prantij Vadali Kheralu Vijapur Dehgam	Fifth or sixth
3.	Meghraj	09	04	05	18	Himmatnagar (1) Ider (1) Malpur (1) Modasa (Factory Kampa, Khabipur)=(3) Mehsana(1) Danta (1)	Himmatnagar Ider Malpur Modasa Mehsana	Fifth or seventh
	Total	4753	3550	5522	13825	-	-	-

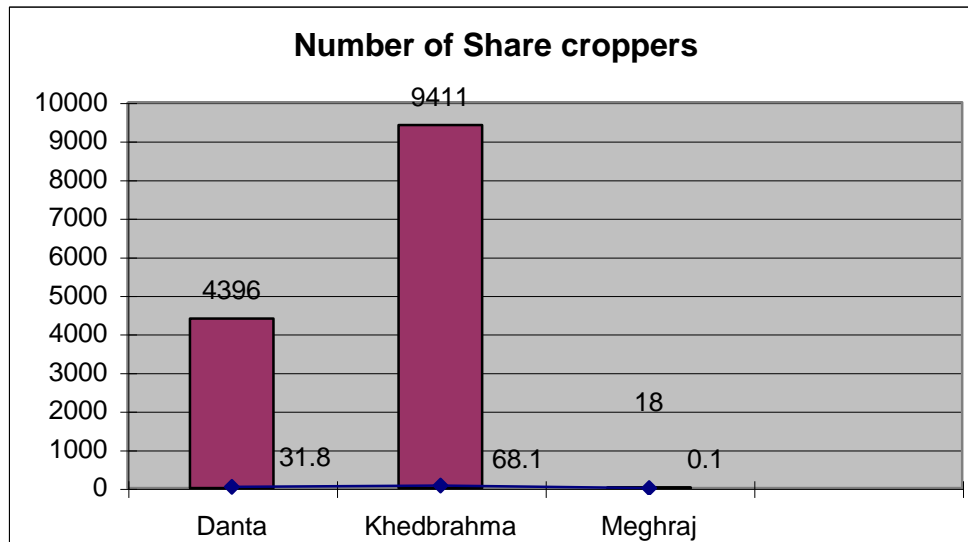
The above table reveals trend about share cropping:

- ☞ Khedbrahma taluka of Sabarkantha district - Of total 13,825 tribals, the highest number of tribal migrants (9,411), i.e. 68%; of them, 3,405 (36.3%) are males, 2583 (27%) are females and 3,423 (36.6%) are children, which again makes it with the largest number of child laborers. By and large they migrate within Khedbrahma taluka and Sabarkantha district. The share cropper gets fourth / fifth or sixth share of the crop as the remuneration.
- ☞ Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha district – Of total 13,825 tribals, 18 migrate as share cropper within Khedbrahma taluka and Sabarkantha district. They get fifth or seventh share of the crop as the remuneration.
- ☞ Danta taluka of Banaskantha district – Of total 13,825 tribals, 4,396 (32%) tribals migrate as share cropper; of them, 2094 (48%) are child laborers, 1339 (30%) males and 963 (22%) females. They migrate to adjoining taluka of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts. The share cropper gets fifth or sixth share of the crop as the remuneration.

Table 10: Classification of the Share croppers

No	Classification	Number	Percentage
1	Male	4753	34.4
2	Female	3550	25.7
3	Children	5522	39.9
	Total	13825	100

As the survey revealed, the data collected from 18 villages with participatory methods revealed that 77.8% people migrate to work as share croppers.

Graph 1: Number of Share croppers**Major Concerns for share croppers:**

The problems of all the share croppers could be classified as: problems of the male (main share cropper), of his wife and of his children.

A. Problems of a share cropper

- **Breach of agreement-** The agreement is verbal and the chances for breaching by the farmer are higher, which goes against the interest of the share cropper and therefore written agreement is encouraged.
- **Cheating-** Most of the farmers make unscrupulous changes in the accounts.
- **Social discrimination-** Many times, when the farmer belongs to upper castes and the share cropper is a tribal; he faces treatment and sometimes verbal abuses.
- **Economic Exploitation** – A share cropper landing up doing much more work than the verbal agreement, such as, working for more that 8 hours, handling other works than farming like cattle rearing and milking, etc. which are main characteristics of economic exploitation.
- **No legal protection** – As the agreement is verbal, in case of cheating or dispute, written evidences are missing and that weakens litigation process.

B. Problems of the wife of a share cropper

- **Vulnerability to sexual harassment** – wife of a share cropper is an easy target of the farmer for sexual harassment. The farmer threatens to seize his payment and exploits to an extent that a share cropper is not in a position to oppose the injustice made to him.
- No wages paid to her for extra work that she performs.

C. Problems of children of a share cropper

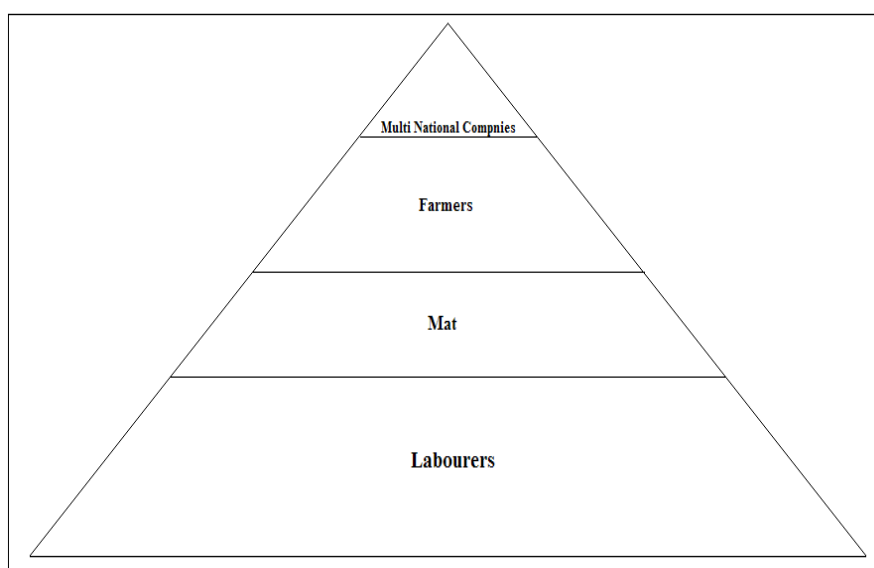
- Deprived of primary education, of their childhood and socialization.
- As child labour faces health hazards at early age.

B. Migrant labours as workers in B. T. Cotton farms:

Of total 62347 tribal migrants, 19,088 (9.3%) migrate to work in the fields of B. T. cotton. A high number derived only through the sample villages provokes a possibility that a large section of tribals are involved in this work.

This assumption is supported by various facts; firstly, Gujarat is the highest producer of B.T. Cotton in the country and produces 55% of the total production. There was 15.5 hector agricultural land in 1996-97 that was increased to 25.16 hector agricultural land in 2001-02 namely 62% increase in production¹. As a consequence, the number of labourers involved in the process is also very large; among all, the number of youth and children (who easily become victims of exploitation) has hit the highest point in last three years, that is, 2006 onwards.

Chain of exploitation



The chart indicates the chain of exploitation, and the scenario in B.T. Cotton Industry.

The entire system of B.T. Cotton Industry is working against the labourers. The nexus of Multinational companies, *mat* and the farmer are affecting the labourers adversely. It is observed that the tribals, who migrate to work as labourers in B.T. Cotton fields are victims of exploitation passed to them through various channels.

☞ Role of multinational companies - Since 1990, they have captured the market of B. T. Cotton production, they started interfering in every issue related to the production, such as, providing quality of seeds (expensive than the locally available seeds which require greater care and cautiousness during cross cultivation); consumption of pesticide; and deciding the cost of the crop. Due to privatization, the government has very little say in such matters.

¹ Ibid

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- ☞ Role of farmers – They are dependent on the multinational companies and competition driven market. They have to buy seeds at a high price and have to manage with *mats* to arrange labour. As their chief agenda is cost cutting and getting higher returns, they tend to cheat *mats*, seizes their commission and keeps on asking for cheapest labour.
- ☞ Role of *mat* - Most of the *mats* have experienced working in the cotton fields. *Mat* is under constant pressure from the farmer to arrange for cheaper labourers. In order to do so, he induces the parents to send their adolescent boys and girls with him to work at distant places, to whom, he can easily convince for lower wages. He gives some money in advance to book their children for the coming season, and no need to say that the amount is paid after charging his own commission.

The position of a *mat* is not much different from a labourer. They usually discontinue studying after primary and rarely go for higher education. They live in Kuccha houses without any basic facilities. To meet their both ends meet, apart from working as laborers, they also work as a *mat* to help their relatives and other villagers to get work and in return, they get some commission that adds to their income.

- ☞ Role of labourers – Most of the labourers are employed through *mat*, who is a mediator between the farmer and the labourers. There is a very little understanding and awareness about conditions for work, wages, facilities, rights as labourers, etc. among the labourers. They are dependent and trust *mat*, as the *mat* is from their community or the region; the labourers rarely have direct link to the farmer. They accept and follow whatever is told by the *mat* – about type of work, wages and place of work.

***Mat* as critical operator in the wage structure**

In this loop, *mat* is at the centre, who as mediator is expected to take up multiple responsibilities, such as, to convince the parents to send their children for work in order to meet the demand of the farmer; to pick the labourers from their respective villages and deliver them to work place and later at the end of the season, drop the labourers safe and sound from to the place of work; to disburse the advance among the laborers taken from the farmer; to ensure that the laborers are not victimized by a farmer; to take care of labourers in time of sickness; to keep accounts of wages of labourers and so on.

It is revealed in the study that a *mat* receives 7 to 10 rupees per person on daily basis. Thus, if a *mat* takes 50 laborers, he may get at least 400 – 500 rupees as commission per day that eventually amounts to Rs. 20,000 per season of 50-70 days.

However, it is observed that the *mats* are also exploited by the farmers and they are forced to leave the contract in middle of the season and return back home. However, this fact could not be established through the survey. As in the village survey, of total 486 *mats*, none of them reported a case of returning back without payment of wages.

Some *mat* shared the difficulties during interview that they face, such as, they are victims of verbal agreement – mainly less payment than promised by the farmer; since they are from the same community, they are accountable to ‘community council’ in case of any mishappening

with the labourer; in supervising and managing a large number of labourers; in maintaining accounts and facing legal complications and social consequences if any girl or boy elopes.

Victimization of labourers

Mostly children below 18 (both boys and girls) are engaged in a large number; labours above 30 years are preferred neither by the *mat* nor by the farmer. Usually only one or two persons from a family (children or youth) moves alone, leaving behind his/her family. A movement of the entire family is not found as the wages are very low; the adults prefer to work in a better profile. It is observed that teenager boys and girls, from a same village, though are not married but are attracted to each other like to go as a couple to the same place of work. Even the *mat* prefers to ask for their choice, so that they do not leave their work in middle of the season.

The farmers, usually tries to shirk his moral responsibilities and treats them unkindly. Thus, rude behavior, sexual harassment, mental and physical torture are part and parcel of life of laborers in most of the cases. The laborers retaliate with some kind of destruction to crop like not taking care during cross fertilization in such cases of humiliation and also prefer to leave work at a time.

There are some farmers who cajole children to work more by giving chocolates or biscuits etc and barely pay 50 to 60 rupees for 12 to 14 hours of work. The children are more prone to be victims of such kind of exploitation than adults.

- A laborer carries adequate amount of flour of cornflakes from home. A farmer provides vegetables and in some cases, also provides oil, spices and milk too. They have to collect fire wood from the forest for cooking. They have to buy other necessary things from village.
- The labours are supposed to work from 4.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. that includes two hours of break to cook food for them.
- There are usually common rooms for laborers made in field itself; however, they have to stay under open sky, when such a facility is not available. There are separate rooms for girls and boys.
- There might be electricity in some rooms but not in all.
- For drinking water they have to rely on the well at field itself.
- Working toilets or bathrooms are provided, made of jute and plastic.

The cotton field workers are the victim of channeled exploitation. A labour is at the bottom of this chain faces the cumulative brunt of exploitation initiated at the level of the International companies, and passed on to him through the farmer and the *mat*. The labour being an easy target, have to deploy the maximum efforts in cotton farming, which is highly complicated and very technical in nature. The cross pollination of cotton flowers has to be done at specific time of the day; it is a very tedious procedure and takes twelve to fifteen hours in a day.

Besides putting in hard labour, if committed a mistake one labour has to pay the price in the form of slash in payment and mental and physical abuse.

Preferred Places of Migration

It is observed that the tribals of Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj migrate to Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar districts, along with other talukas of Banaskatha and Sabarkantha district.

Table 11: Preferred Places of Migration for B.T. Cotton works

No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to B. T. Cotton		Per day wages
						Based on survey	Based on PLA	
1.	Danta	1663	377	401	2441	Deodar (50), Deesa (Bhildi, Lakhni)=42, Danta (Bamnoj, Hadad, Jeetpur, Ambaigadha)=26, Kheralu (Satlasana)=26, Vadgam (Mumanvas)=18 Visnagar (Vijlasan)=12, Khedbrahma (Dharoi dam)-11 Ider (9), Palanpur (9), Dhanera (5), Mehsana (4), Kankrej (4), Dantiwada (3), Vav (3), Patan (3), Tharad (1), Vadali (1), Vijapur (1)	Danta, Deesa, Deodar, Dhanera, Palanpur, Tharad, Vav, Radhanpur, Ider, Khedbrahma	Between Rs. 40/- to 60/-; Rs. 60/- (61). Rs. 55/- (2), Rs. 52/- (1), Rs. 50/- (77), Rs. 45/- (11), Rs. 40/- (4)
2.	Khedbrahma	5647	2906	2875	11428	Khedbrahma (Agiya, Matoda, Vartol, Metral)=94, Ider (71), Palanpur (69), Deesa (Thara)=56, Deodar (40), Himmatnagar (24), Danta (12), Vadali (1), Bhabhar (1), Kalol (1), Mehsana (1), Dhanera (1), Kankrej (1), Vijapur (1), Tharad (1), Visnagar (1), Patan (1)	Danta, Deesa, Deodar, Dhanera, Kankrej, Palanpur, Tharad, Himmatnagar, Ider, Khedbrahma, Vadali, Vijapur, Visnagar Patan	Rs. 50/- (199)

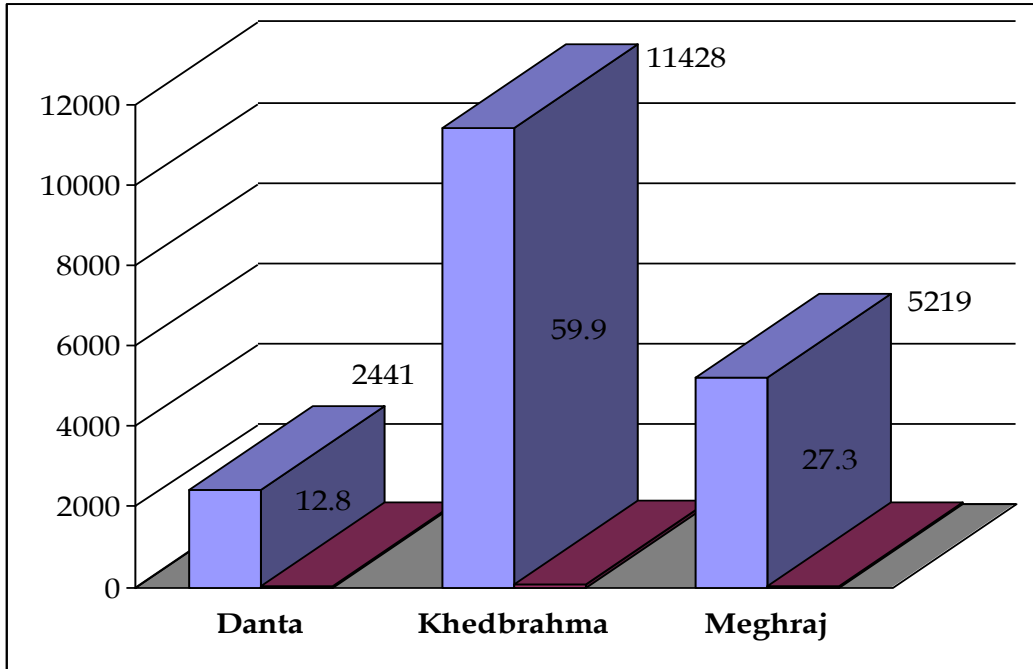
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No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to B. T. Cotton		Per day wages
						Based on survey	Based on PLA	
3.	Meghraj	2440	1937	842	5219	Inside the villages (24), Ider (Daramali, Revas, Tajpur, Valiyad, Badoli)=24, Vijapur (10), Meghraj (Rellawada, Factory Kampa, Isari, Malkampa, Navagam, Nehru Kampa, Paldi, Savni, Takarwada)=28, Mehsana (8), Himmatnagar (Itadra)= 12 Patan (6) , Modasa (Titoi,)=8, Mansa (5), Deodar (4), Prantij (4), Vadali (Itva)=5 Kadi (Khoda)=4 Talod, (2), Bayad (Demai)=9, Bhabhar (1), Danta (1), Kalol, (1) And neighboring own Taluka villages.	Deesa, Deodar, Palanpur, Bhiloda, Dhansura, Himmatnagar, Ider, Malpur, Modasa, Vadali, Mansa, Mehsana, Vijapur, Patan	Between Rs. 40/- to 70/-; Rs. 70/- (37). Rs. 65/- (17), Rs. 60/- (16), Rs. 55/- (6), Rs. 52/- (1), Rs. 50/- (45), Rs. 40/- (1)
	Total	9750	5220	4118	19088	-	-	-

The table explains that:

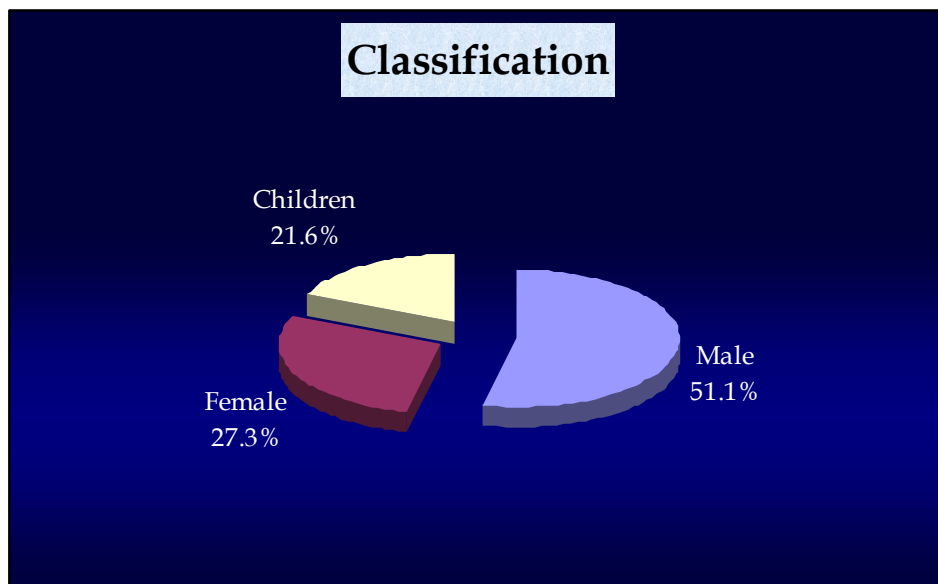
- Trend in Khedbrahma taluka of Sabarkantha district - The highest number of migrants to work in B.T. Cotton fields are from Khedbrahma. Apart from going to other villages of their own taluka, they migrate to other taluka of Banaskantha and Patan districts. Out of total 11,428 labourers, 5,647 (49.41%) are male, 2,098 (18.36%) are female while 2,875 (25.16%) are children. They are paid a daily wage of 50 rupees. All the responses (199 hamlets) unanimously accepted the same amount as the daily wage
- Trend in Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha district - The tribals of Meghraj migrate within Sabarkantha district and adjoining districts like Mehsana and Banaskantha. Out of total 5,219, 2440 (46.75%) are male, 1937 (37.11%) are female and 842 (16.13%) are children. The labourers are paid between 40-70 rupees as daily wages. However, the majority (45 faliya) accepted 50 rupees as the amount.
- Trend in Danta taluka of Banaskantha district- Apart from migrating to other villages of Danta taluka, the tribals prefer to migrate nearby talukas of Banaskantha, Mehsana and Patan districts. Out of total 2441, the number of is 1663 (68.13%) are males, 377 (15.44%) are females, and 401 (16.43%) are children. They are paid a daily wage between rupees 40 to 60; however, a majority of people informed 50 rupees as daily wages.

Graph 2: Number of B. T. Cotton workers



Out of total 19088 total B.T. Cotton workers, the maximum 11428 (59.9%) are from Khedbrahma followed by Meghraj stands on the second rank with 5219 (27.3%) BT cotton workers and 2441 (12.8%) of B T cotton workers are from Danta.

Graph 3: Classification of B. T. Cotton workers



Out of all B T cotton workers, 9694 (51.1%) are male, 5192 (27.3%) female workers and 3280 (21.6%) of children.

Problems of a Migrant labour working as B.T. Cotton field worker

- Most of them face problem of low and unfair wages due to cheating in record keeping - of advance amount given and overall accounts during the season.
- Use of harsh and derogatory words, physical torture and sexual harassment by the farmer.
- Long hours of working, limited accessibility to minimum basic amenities like lack of electricity, toilets and bathrooms, shanty shelter, etc.
- Health hazards due to heavy use of pesticides.
- No one takes responsibility of the labourers if a *mat* leaves them in middle of the season.

C. Migrant Labours as Masons

Of total 62,347 tribal migrants, 6,564 almost 11% migrate to other villages and talukas to work as masons; majority of them are adult male.

Masonry is a skilled and therefore well paying job. Many tribals, at least one from a family work as masonry worker; they are attracted to this field due to better wages and fascination for urban life with better infrastructure facilities.

They generally get work through a friend or a relative who has been in the field for sometime; the adivasis migrate to the city and meet a labour contractor introduced by their friend or relative and start working as semi-skilled worker and eventually as skilled mason. Largely, they work as masons during winters and summer as masonry work does not take place in monsoon. This suits the tribals too, as in monsoon; they prefer to take care of their farms. Finding work is not a problem for them as construction work is going on a large scale almost everywhere in Gujarat.

Conditions of Work

- There is usually a verbal agreement between a contractor and labourers about daily wage. The wage stands from 80 to 160 rupees per day. The wages are received daily basis.
- They have to work for 11 hours from 8.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. that includes one hour of a lunch break.
- Masons themselves are responsible for any accident or mishappening occurred with them.

Problems of Masons

- As masons are working as individual worker, the labour contractor does not provide any facilities for stay, food or infrastructure. They have to manage everything on their own and that depends on their earning / monthly income. Thus they face adverse living conditions, like shelter without electricity, toilets and bathrooms; deprived of nutritious and balanced diet; have to buy everything from the city markets; paying for health care; etc.
- No protection is available or compensation to be paid in case of an accident as construction industry inherits characteristics of unorganized sector.

- There is no mediating mechanism if dispute takes place among the labourers and / or between the labour contractor and the mason.

Preferred locations for Migration

They usually migrate to Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar districts.

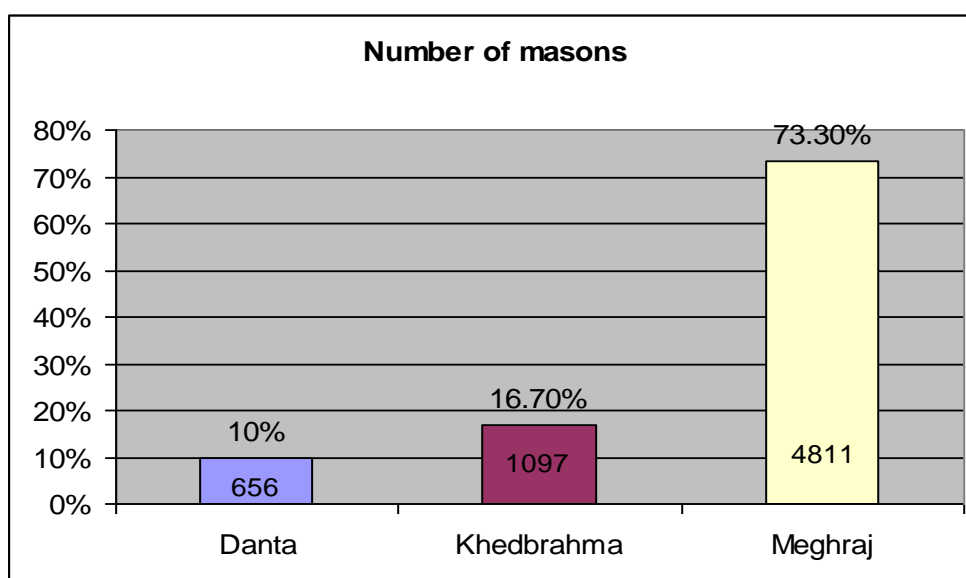
Table 12: Preferred Places of Migration for Masonry work

No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to Masonry work		Per day wages
						Based on survey (Reported by number of Faliya)	Based on PLA	
1.	Danta	558	98	0	656	Within the taluka (93), Danta (Ambaji, Hadad, Mankdi, Bamnoj, Ambaigadha, Garod, Mandali, Poshina, Barvasa, Koyalpur, Sandhosi)= 104 Palanpur (15), Vadali (1)	Danta Palanpur	Between Rs. 70/- to 200/-; Rs. 150/- (82), Rs. 100/- (68), Rs. 120/- (30), Rs. 200/- (1), Rs. 110/- (1), Rs. 70/- (1)
2.	Khedbrahma	885	175	37	1097	Within the taluka (83), Khedbrahma (Agiya, Matoda, Dharoi dam)=29, Palanpur (8), Danta (Sembliya)=3, Ahmedabad (1), Mehsana (1), Modasa (1), Vadthali (1)	Danta, Palanpur, Prantij, Ider, Khedbrahma Rajasthan	Between Rs. 50/- to 180/-; Rs. 150/- (69), Rs. 120/- (45), Rs. 100/- (15), Rs. 80/- (10), Rs. 110/- (9), Rs. 70/- (5), Rs. 160/- (3), Rs. 50/-, 102/-, 180/- (1)
3.	Meghraj	2295	1713	803	4811	Gandhinagar (Dehgam)=39, Ahmedabad (36), Modasa (Tintoi) = 33, Meghraj (Isari, Rellawada) =20, Dhansura (Malkampa)2, Mehsana (12), Himmatnagar (8), Kadi (4), neighboring villages (4), Mansa (3), Bhachau (1), Surat (1), Vadodara (1), Vijapur (1), Vadathali (1)	Dhansura, Himmatnagar, Meghraj, Modasa, Shamlaji, Mehsana, Gandhinagar, Ahmedabad, Kachchh	Between Rs. 65/- to 120/-; Rs. 100/- (101), Rs. 110/- (5), Rs. 80/- (4), Rs. 120/- (3), Rs. 65/- (2)
	Total	3738	1986	840	6564			

- Trend in Khedbrahma taluka of Sabarkantha district - Out of total 1,097 masons 885 (80.7%) are males, 175 (15.6%) are females and there are 37 (3.4%) are children. Apart from migrating within the taluka, they migrate to various places across Gujarat state. The labourers are paid a daily wage between 50 to 180 rupees, as per the level of the skill; however, tribals of 69 hamlets reported rupees 150/- as daily wage.

- Trend in Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha district - Out of total 4,811 masons, 2,295 (47.7%) are male, 1,713 (35.6%) are females and 803 (16.7%) are children. They migrate to various places across Gujarat state. They are paid a daily wage between 65 to 120 rupees. However, tribals from 101 hamlet reported rupees 100/- as daily wage, which is lower than residents (masons) of Khedbrahma.
- Trend in Danta taluka of Banaskantha district - Out of total 656, the number of males is 558 (85.1%), while there are 98 (14.9%) females. Apart from migrating within the taluka, they mainly migrate to talukas of Banaskantha district. They are paid a daily wage between 70 to 200 rupees; tribals of 82 hamlets reported rupees 150/- as daily wage.

Graph 4: Number of Masons from each taluka



Thus, it is clear from the table and graph that the highest number of masons is from Meghraj taluka. The male-female scenario and the involvement of children could be understood with the help of the table given below:

Table 13: Classification of Masons

No	Classification	Number	Percentage
1	Male	3738	56.9
2	Female	1986	30.3
3	Children	840	12.8
	Total	6564	100

More men prefer to work as masons than women and the children from all three talukas.

Facts about Migrant Labours as Masons

- ★ The tribals have to migrate to nearby states like Rajasthan, apart from various districts of Gujarat, like Gandhinagar and Kachchh, for working as Masons.
- ★ The Masons of Meghraj are paid a daily wage between 65-120 rupees. However, the maximum responses (101 Faliya) admitted the amount as rupees 100/- per day.

D. Migrant Labours as Casual labourers:

The tribal migrants are engaged in various kinds of work such as preparing bricks, digging wells, constructing check dams and pitches, working in mines and hotels etc. Of total 62,347 tribal migrants, 22870 (36.6%) migrate for working as field labourers or other works. Lack of opportunities for employment at local level, high illiteracy rate and ineffective implementation of NREGA turn them into casual labourers, working in unorganized sector.

Usually, these adivasi's migrate to nearby villages or towns to get work; they are employed whenever required at whatever place and therefore number of days for employment varies. At least one adult from each household goes for such works. This lot of tribals prefers to stay at home during monsoon for cultivation in their own fields.

As daily wager, their earning ranges from 40 to 50 rupees. Though they are expected to work for 8 hours, they actually work for 6 hours and 2 hours are spent for lunch and tea break twice a day. As they are employed on their own, the travelling expenses have to be born by themselves; they work on their own risk and the employer does not take any responsibility. Similarly, as their daily earning is very low or modest, their living conditions are pathetic – without any infrastructure facilities, proper shelter and no fuel supply.

The major difficulties they face are - uncertainty of employment and long hours of waiting in search of work, and travelling long distances in search of work.

Preferred Places of Migration

It is observed that these tribals migrate to other talukas of Banaskantha, Sabarkantha and to adjoining districts like Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar.

Table 14: Preferred places of Migration for Casual labour works

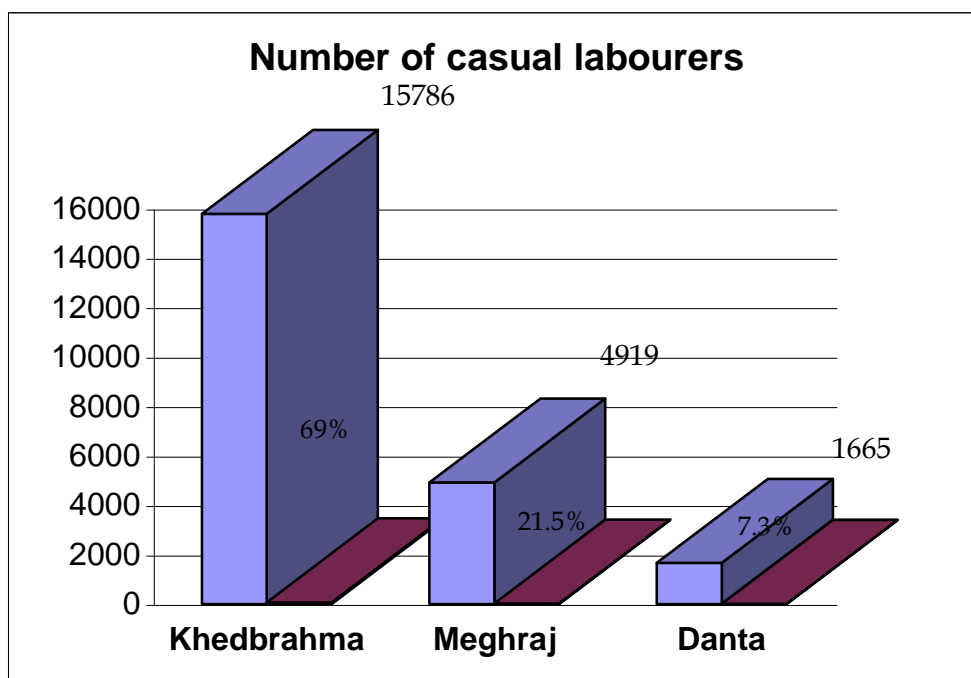
No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to other labour work (casual / Agriculture)		Per day wages
						Based on survey (Reported by number of faliya)	Based on PLA	

1.	Danta	1355	303	07	1665	With the taluka (48), Danta (Ambaji, Ambaigadha, Hadad, Mandali, Bamnoj, Mahobatgadh, Lotoul, Makanchampa)= 72, Palanpur (9), Khedbrahma (Kheroj) 2	Danta, Palanpur, Ider, Mehsana, Ahmedabad	Between Rs. 20/- to 250/-; Rs. 50/- (46), Rs. 60/- (24), Rs. 80/- (20), Rs. 70/- (11), Rs. 20/- (5), Rs. 100/- (3), Rs. 30/-,45/- ,150/-,250/- (1)
2.	Khedbrahma	8068	5893	2325	15786	Within the taluka (70), Khedbrahma (Agiya, Matoda, Metral, Radhivad, Rudramal, Vartol, Derol)=(88), Ider (11), Palanpur (8), Vadali (6), Ahmedabad (1), Danta (Ambaji)=2, Himmatnagar (1)	Danta, Palanpur, Himmatnagar, Ider, Khedbrahma, Vadali, Mehsana, Vijapur, Rajasthan	Between Rs. 50/- to 120/-; Rs. 50/- (112), Rs. 60/- (36), Rs. 120/- (2)
3.	Meghraj	2129	1748	1042	4919	Within the taluka (Rellawada, Isari, Takarwada) = 46, Modasa (Titoi)=23, Dhansura (Vagh kampa, Mal kampa, Rangal, Umedpur)=25, Himmatnagar (4), Shivrajpur (4), Gandhinagar (3), Ahmedabad (3), Kasana, Mansa, Mehsana (2), Bayad, Bhiloda, Kadi, Morbi, Sathamba, Vadodara, Vadthali (1)	Bhiloda, Dhansura, Malpur, Meghraj, Modasa, Vadali, Dehgam, Mehsana, Gandhinagar, Ahmedabad, Changodar, Bhuj and Surat	Between Rs. 40/- to 120/-; Rs. 65/- (51), Rs. 50/- (12), Rs. 60/- (10), Rs. 110/- (8), Rs. 80/- (5), Rs. 100/- (3), Rs. 40/- (2), Rs. 120/- (2)
	Total	11552	7944	3374	22870			

- Trend in Khedbrahma taluka of Sabarkantha district - Out of total 15,786 migrants, 8,068 (51.1%) are male followed by 5893 (37.3%) females and 2,325 (14.7%) children. They migrate within the taluka and of other talukas of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts. Their daily wages is between 50 to 120 Rupees; tribals from 112 hamlets reported 50 rupees as their daily wages.
- Trend in Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha district - Out of total 4919, 2,129 (43.3%) are male, 1,748 (35.5%) are females and 1,042 (21.2%) children, working as agricultural labour. They migrate within the taluka and assorted places all over Gujarat. The labourers reported getting daily wages between 40 and 120 rupees and tribals of 51 hamlets reported getting 65 rupees.
- Trend in Danta taluka of Banaskantha district - Out of total 1665, 1,355 (81.4%) are male, 303 (18.2%) are females and 7 (0.42%) children, working as agricultural labour. They migrate within the taluka and assorted place all over Gujarat. The daily wages is between rupees 20 to 250 rupees and tribals of 50 hamlets reported 50 rupees as their daily wages.

Graph 5: Number of casual laborers from each Taluka

Situation of Tribal Migrant Labourers of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha Districts of North Gujarat



The highest number of field laborers is from Khedbrahma. The male female scenario, among all the field labourers could be understood with the help of the table given below:

Table 15: Classification of casual Labourers

No	Classification	Number	Percentage
1	Male	11552	50.5
2	Female	7944	34.7
3	Children	3374	14.8
	Total	22870	100

Thus, it could be concluded that a tribal labour that migrates either to work as share cropper, B.T. Cotton field worker, mason or agricultural labour, is paid less, works more and treated inhumanly. A dearth of employment opportunities forces him to opt for such a life and to earn his livelihood a tribal migrates to distant places. However, the government endeavors to overcome such shortfall and creates job opportunities through schemes like NREGA, but nothing has helped to an extent that a tribal could avoid migrating, the findings of the study also reinforces this fact.

The wage Structures among all the four categories and the Minimum wages Act 1948

The migrant labours working under all the four categories; Share Cropper, B.T. Cotton workers, masons and casual labours are found to be getting lower wages and the remuneration is not according to the Minimum Wages Act 1948.

Though, prior to the year 2002, share croppers were not included under the Minimum wages act, but consequently they are also included and treated as a permanent labour², therefore are eligible to get minimum wages. But, as observed by the study that the share croppers too, not getting an adequate payment.

The table below explains the wage structure among all the four categories:

Table 16: Wage Structure of Migrant labours

Type of Migrant labour	Remuneration/ Daily wages		
	Danta	Khedbrahma	Meghraj
Share Cropper	Fourth/fifth or sixth share in total production	Fifth or sixth share	Fifth or seventh share
B.T. Cotton Field worker	40-60 Rs. per day	50 Rs. per day	40-70 Rs. per day
Mason	70-200 Rs. per day	50-180 Rs. per day	65-120 Rs. per day
Casual Labour	20-250 Rs. Per day	50-120 Rs. per day	40-120 Rs. Per day

It is apparent that usually the daily wage starts from Rs. 40 and in the case of casual labour it is reported as low as Rs. 20 per day. Though, at the same time the higher end of the wages touch Rs. 250/- per day for casual labours, yet is found in very few cases. The share cropper too, gets a smaller share in the total production of crops in comparison to the labour deployed. By and large, the daily wage is found to be lower than the minimum wages i.e. Rs. 100 per day, as prescribed by the Minimum Wages Act 1948.

Thus, the situation of migrant labour is remorseful as far as remuneration or daily wages is concerned.

Overview of tribal migrant labourers

- ★ Of total 13,825, 5,522 (39.9%) of child labourers are engaged in Share cropping, while 4118 (29.7%) are engaged in B.T. Cotton fields, 3,374 (24.4%) are working as casual labour and 840 (6.1%) in masonry work. Of total 5,522 (39.9%) is child labourers working as share cropper, 3,423 are from Khedbrahma and 2,094 from Danta taluka.

- ★ Total 22870 (36.7%) tribals migrate to work on B.T. Cotton farms; of them, Khedbrahma ranks highest with 11,428 (59.9%), followed by Meghraj with 4,297 (27.3%) and 2,441 (12.8%) from Danta. With regard to the male-female scenario, it is observed that out of all BT cotton workers, 9694 (51.1%) are male, 5192 (27.3%) females and 3280 (21.6%) are children. These labourers are paid a daily wage between rupees 40 to 60. The migrants of Danta taluka prefer to migrate to adjoining

² As per the amendment in 'The Minimum wages Act 1948', the permanent labour means any person included an employee known as "chakar", "Bhagiya", "Hathi" or "Saathi". Who is employed for hire or reward to do any work in connection with employment in agriculture labour and is paid wages with or without prerequisites on the basis of a specific period of work from one month to twelve months.

taluka in Banaskantha and Sabarkantha districts.

- ★ Total 6564 tribals migrate for masonry work, 4,811 (73.3%) masons are from Meghraj, 1,097 (16.7%) of masons are from Khedbrahma and 656 (10%) of masons are from Danta. Thus the highest number of masons is from Meghraj. The masons are paid a daily wage from 60 to 90 rupees.
- ★ Almost from every taluka, the tribals are observed to be migrating for working as field workers in B.T. Cotton, except from Panchha village, as the villagers get enough employment opportunities in the nearby area due to Ambaji's temple.
- ★ According to the PLA, the maximum number of casual labourers is from Meghraj, however they have to travel daily up to 15 Km. from their village in search of work.
- ★ An exchange of labour is also observed among casual labours.

Sub-Section – II: Presence of Child Labour

The Child Labour is found to be very high; out of total 32,518 households, 13,854 (43%) reported that children are working as labourers. The highest presence of Child labour is found to be in Khedbrahma taluka at 8,660 (62.5%), while in Danta, it is at 2502 (18.1%) and in Meghraj it is 2692 (19.4%).

Out of 13,825 total share cropper, the maximum number of share cropper, 5522 (39.9%) is of Child labourers. Majority of share cropper from all three blocks are children.

The table below presents an overview of child labour involved in various activities:

Table 17: Child labour in North Gujarat

Type of labours	Danta		Khedbrahma		Meghraj		Total	
	No of child labour	%	No of child labour	%	No of child labour	%	No of child labour	%
Share cropping	2094	83.7	3423	39.5	5	0.2	5522	39.9
B.T.Cotton	401	16.0	2875	33.2	842	31.3	4118	29.7
Masonry work	0	-	37	0.4	803	29.8	840	6.1
Other labour work (Casual / Agri)	7	0.3	2325	26.8	1042	38.7	3374	24.4
Total	2502	100	8660	100	2692	100	13854	100
R%	18.1	-	62.5	-	19.4	-	100	-
Total households	9818	-	14164	-	8536	-	32518	-
R%	30.2	-	43.6	-	26.3	-	100	-

According to the PLA held at 18 villages, approximately 200 to 300 children migrate to work as B.T. Cotton workers from Veenchi village of Khedbrahma taluka, while in Kansa village in Danta taluka, out of a total 197 households, two children from every household are reported to be migrating to work in B.T. Cotton fields, which suggests that 200-400 children work as labourers. There are a very high number of child labourers in Khedbrahma (3423) and Danta (2094) who are working as migrant share croppers. In Danta, the number of child labours as share cropper is significantly higher (5522) than the number of adult male (1339) or female (963) labourers.

Child labour at glance

- The highest number 5522 (39.9%) of child labourers are engaged in Share cropping, while 4118 (29.7%) are engaged in B.T. Cotton fields and 3374 (24.4%) are working as Agricultural labours. However, the percentage of child labour in Masonry works is insignificant with 6.1% at 840.
- The majority of the share cropper from all the three blocks; Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj, are children.

- Thus, a total number of 13854 (43%) out of total 32518 House holds are child labourers.

- The highest presence of Child labour is found in Khedbrahma taluka at 62.5%.
- In Megraj, 803 children are reported to be doing work as Masons.

Sub-section – III: Status of NREGA

National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and Employment opportunities provided to Tribals of Banaskatha and Sabarkantha

The main objective of **National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA)** is to ensure sustainable livelihood to people of rural area. It guarantees 100 days of work to a household in a financial year that is from 1st of April to 31st of March. The government provides wages according to the Minimum Wages Act 1948. Kind of works carried out under the Act are as follows;

- Drought proofing (forestation and tree plantation)
- Water harvesting and water conservation
- Making roads and canals
- Land development
- Recharging wells

Unlike other schemes such as Jawahar Rojgar Yojana, Swarn Gram Rojgar Yojna, it is not allocation based work but the people have to volunteer to work at any time they wish.

Conditions of getting work under NREGA

- A household should have a job card with a common photograph of all adult family members. However, only one able bodied person from each household is entitled to work.
- One has to demand work by submitting a written application to ‘talati’ (revenue secretary of the village).
- Wages are provided either after a week or a fourth week.

Issues related to NREGA

- It is not being implemented in a half of villages due to not issuance of job cards.
- In some cases, a payment less than the minimum wages prescribed by the Minimum Wages Act 1948 have been reported and in some cases, no payment was received at all.

Therefore the study tried to analyze the availability of employment in the study area. The table below reveals the outcome-

Table 18: NREGA Details

No.	NREGA details	Taluka	Total	%
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		Danta	%	Khedbrahma	%	Meghraj	%		
1.	Is job card made?								
	Yes	6423	65.42	13674	96.54	8456	99.06	28553	87.81
	No	2094	21.33	490	3.46	80	0.94	2664	8.19
	Not Known	1301	13.25	0	0	0	0	1301	4
	Total	9818	100	14164	100	8536	100	32518	100
2.	If yes, apply in Gram Panchayat for the work								
	Yes	2619	40.78	3488	25.51	8372	99.01	14479	50.71
	No	3804	59.22	10186	74.49	84	0.99	14074	49.29
	Total	6423	100	13674	100	8456	100	28553	100
3.	How many days getting work under NREGA								
	Work did not start	1148	11.69	1991	14.06	2720	31.87	5859	18.02
	1-30 days	1154	11.75	4047	28.57	4410	51.66	9611	29.56
	31-60 days	460	4.69	4214	29.75	1076	12.61	5750	17.68
	> 61 days	0	-	2680	18.92	0	-	2680	8.24
	Not Applicable	7037	71.67	1202	8.49	181	2.12	8420	25.89
	Not Known	19	0.19	30	0.21	149	1.75	198	0.61
	Total	9818	-	14164	-	8536	-	32518	-
4.	Getting remuneration								
	Yes	582	5.93	5098	35.99	4765	55.82	10445	32.12
	No	1440	14.67	5873	41.46	870	10.19	8183	25.16
	Not Applicable	7796	79.41	3193	22.54	2901	33.99	13890	42.71
	Total hh	9818	-	14164	-	8536	-	32518	-

Based on the table, it could be stated that;

- Out of all covered villages, 28,553 (87.8%) have get their job card made. If we look at the scenario in all the three talukas, in Danta, 6,423 (65.4%) have get their job card made, whereas in Khedbrahma 13,674 (96.5%) and in Meghraj 8,456 (99%) have get their job card made. Thus, the situation is better in Meghraj, as far as job card is concerned.
- Though a total of 14,479 (50.7%) have applied for work, only 29.6% got work for 1-30 days, 17.68% got work for 31-60 days, 8.24% got work for >61 days.
- Despite getting work 25.16% reported of not getting remuneration and only 32.12% reported getting payment.
- 18.02% reported that the work under NREGA has not started in their village yet.

Thus, it could be stated that NREGA has not been able to help in creating enough job opportunities so that a tribal need not to migrate.

Major findings

- Out of all migrant labours the majority of the migrant laborers that is 22870 (36.7%) are working as Agricultural labour, while 19088 (30.6%) work in fields of BT cotton, 13825

(22.2%) of migrant laborers work as share croppers and almost 6564 (11%) of migrant laborers work as masons.

- A specific Pattern of Migration is observed in every category.
- The Wages or returns are very low, not up to the mark of Minimum wages (rupees 100/- daily)
- Long Working Hours and less payment makes them not better than Bondage labour
- NREGA has not been able to generate sufficient employment opportunities
- The tribal migrants are working in pathetic conditions
- Human rights of the migrant labourers are violated, they have to face physical, mental and sometimes sexual harassments
- The labourers have to bear many health hazards due to unhygienic working conditions and hardships
- There is lack of stability in their life and social life is also disturbed
- Uncertainty of employment
- Children are deprived of their childhood and education
- The living standards of the tribals are dismal

Chapter 4: Conclusion

To create database on tribal migrants of north Gujarat, total 147 villages of 3 taluka – Megharaj and Khedbrahma of Sabarkantha and Danta of Banaskantha district have been covered through survey while in 18 villages, primary data collection has taken place through participatory and qualitative research techniques during May 2008 and January 2009.

Through survey, we have covered data about total 62,347 tribals who work as migrant labourers. Of the total 62,347 tribal migrant labourers, 13,825 (22.2%) migrate as share croppers, 19,088 (30.6%) migrate to work on B.T. Cotton farms, 6,564 (10.5%) migrate for masonry work and 22,870 (36.7%) work as casual labourers. This shows that **the majority of the migrant laborers are working as casual labourers.**

Situation and concerns of Share Croppers

- ⇒ Out of total 13,825 share croppers covered through survey, the highest is from Khedbrahma taluka at 9411 (68.1%), while 4396 (31.8%) are from Danta taluka and 18 (0.1%) from Meghraj taluka.
- ⇒ Working as share croppers, the tribal of Danta, Meghraj and Khedbrahma, migrate to Mehsana and Gandhinagar district, along with other talukas of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts.
- ⇒ The share cropper of Khedbrahma gets fourth/fifth or sixth share of the crop, while the share cropper of Danta gets fifth or sixth share and the share cropper of Meghraj gets fifth or seventh share of the crop as the remuneration.

Situation and concerns of B.T. Cotton Workers

- ⇒ Out of total Out of all 62347 tribal migrants covered through participatory methods, 19088 work as B.T. Cotton worker. Of them, the maximum 11428 (59.9%) are from Khedbrahma followed by Meghraj with 5219 (27.3%) BT cotton workers, while 2441 (12.8%) of B T cotton workers are from Danta.
- ⇒ The tribals of Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj migrate to Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar districts, along with other talukas of Banaskatha and Sabarkantha district.
- ⇒ Almost from every taluka, the tribals are observed to be migrating for working as filed workers in B.T. Cotton, except from Panchha village, as they get enough employment opportunities in the nearby area due to Ambaji's temple.
- ⇒ Among all the tribal migrant BT cotton workers, 9694 (51.1%) are male, 5192 (27.3%) are females and 3280 (21.6%) are children.
- ⇒ The B.T. Cotton migrant labours are usually paid a daily wage between rupees 40/- to 60/-.

Situation and concerns of labourers engaged in masonry work

- ⇒ Out of total 6,564 Migrant masons, 4,811 (73.3%) are from Meghraj, 1,097 (16.7%) of masons are from Khedbrahma and 656 (10%) of masons are from Danta. Thus, the highest number is from Meghraj.
- ⇒ The tribals migrate to other districts of Gujarat, like Gandhinagar, Kachchh and even to other States like Rajasthan (Mount Abu) for working as masons.
- ⇒ The masons of Meghraj are paid a daily wage between 65/- to 120/- rupees. However, the maximum responses (101 faliya) admitted the amount as rupees 100/-.

Situation and concerns of casual labourers

- ⇒ Out of total 22,870 Casual labourers 15,786 (69%) are from Khedbrahma, 4,919 (21.5%) are from Meghraj and 1,665 (7.3%) are from Danta.
- ⇒ The tribals of Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj migrate to other talukas of Banaskantha, Sabarkantha and to districts of Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar, for working as casual labours.
- ⇒ Out of total 15,786 casual labourers, very high number 2,325 (21%) children, are working as casual labours in Khedbrahma.
- ⇒ Apart from payment in cash, an exchange of labour is also observed.

A high presence of Child Labourers is observed:

- ⇒ A total of 13,854 child labourers are working as migrant labours engaged in various activities. The highest number 5,522 (39.9%) of child labourers are engaged in share cropping, while 4,118 (29.7%) are engaged in B.T. Cotton fields and 3,374 (24.4%) are working as casual labours. However, the percentage of child labour in masonry works is 840 (6.1%).
- ⇒ In a comparison of all the three talukas, the highest presence of Child labour is found in Khedbrahma taluka at 8,660 (62.5%), while it is at 2,692 (19.4%) in Meghraj and 2,502 (18.1) % in Danta.
- ⇒ It is observed that out of 13,825 total share croppers, the maximum number of share croppers, 5,522 (39.9%) is child labourers and the situation is almost same in all the three talukas.
- ⇒ According to the PLA held at 18 villages, approximately 200 to 300 children migrate to work as B.T. Cotton workers from Veenchi village of Khedbrahma taluka, while in Kansa village in Danta taluka, out of a total 197 households, two children from every household are reported to be migrating to work in B.T. Cotton fields, which suggests that 200-400 children work as labourers.

Trend of Migration:

In all the four categories, the pattern of migration is found to be very specific and different from the rest categories:

- ⇒ Nature of Movement - There is always an individual movement for migration to work as masonry worker and in that too, an adult male from each family tends to opt for this job. For working in B.T. Cotton fields children or adolescent tends to migrate. It is observed that from each family, one or two children migrate. While for share cropping the entire family migrates to distant places and a casual labour mostly migrates individually.
- ⇒ Associated Age Group - For working in B.T. Cotton fields, the respondents informed that the adolescents are given preference and a person above the age of 30-35 is not at all hired; however, the employers denies this opinion of the labourers. As share cropper, every age group gives contribution through labour while the adult males take care of farming, the females give a helping hand and also take care of cattle and the children contribute in supportive tasks.

In the category of masonry work, mostly skilled males are observed to be working. However, among casual labour a mixed trend is observed and a high number of child labourers are also observed to be working.

- ⇒ Extent of Migration - The share cropper migrates ranging from three months to entire year. However, the B.T. Cotton worker migrates for maximum three months. The duration of migration of Mason is not fixed, as he migrates for the period he is hired for, depending upon the work. The extent of migration of casual labour too, varies a lot, depending upon availability of work and season.

The Wages or returns are very low, not up to the mark of Minimum wages:

- ⇒ The migrant labourers are not being paid accordance to the labour deployed. They are not being paid as the norms of the Minimum Wages Act 1948³.
- ⇒ As B.T. Cotton woker, the migrants going from Khedbrahma taluka are paid a daily wage of Rs. 50/-, the migrants from Danta taluka are paid a daily wage between rupees 40 to 60/-, while the migrants from Meghraj taluka, are paid between 40-70/- rupees as daily wages.
- ⇒ For masonry works, the labours from Danta taluka are paid a daily wage between Rs. 70 to 200/-, from Khedbrahma, are paid a daily wage between Rs. 50 to 180/- while the masons from Meghraj, are paid a daily wage between Rs. 65 to 120/-.
- ⇒ The share cropper from Khedbrahma gets fourth / fifth or sixth share of the crop as the remuneration, the share cropper from Meghraj get fifth or seventh share and the share cropper from Danta gets fifth or sixth share of the crop as the remuneration. However, there is an uncertainty of payment as the owner of the land, usually denies or delays the payment, changes the accounts and deceives the share cropper.

NREGA has not been able to generate sufficient employment opportunities:

- ⇒ Out of six villages from each talukas; Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj, the NREGA work was initiated only in two villages of each taluka and of 18 villages, only 50% of the population has got their job card made*.

³ In 2008, through an amendment in the 'Minimum Wages Act 1948', the daily minimum wage has fixed as Rs. 100/-.
Situation of Tribal Migrant Labourers of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha Districts of North Gujarat

⇒ Out of 147 villages, 28,553 (87.8%) have get their job card made. In Danta, 6,423 (65.4%) have get their job card made, whereas in Khedbrahma 13,674 (96.5%) and in Meghraj 8,456 (99%) have get their job card made[^].

Difficulties faced by migrant labours:

- ⇒ Long working Hours and lower wages
- ⇒ Pathetic living and working conditions
- ⇒ Vulnerability of Sexual harassment in form of rape, and abduction or trafficking
- ⇒ Health Hazards, no life security
- ⇒ Violation of Human Rights- social discrimination, verbal abuse and maltreatment
- ⇒ Lack of Stability and Social security
- ⇒ Adverse impact on the education of the children

Hence, the study has confirmed that the Tribals of Banaskatha and Sabarkantha are facing numerous problems.

At Glance

- Out of all migrant labours the majority of the migrant laborers, i.e. 22,870 (36.7%) are working as agricultural labour, while 19,088 (30.6%) work in fields of BT cotton, 13,825 (22.2%) of migrant laborers work as share croppers and almost 11% of migrant laborers are engaged in masonry work.
- The wages or economic returns are very low, not up to the mark of Minimum wages; long working hours and less payment makes them vulnerable to economic exploitation and semi-bonded conditions.
- The living standards and working conditions of the tribal migrant labourers are dismal.
- The labourers have to bear many health hazards due to higher use of pesticides, unhygienic working conditions and hardships.
- There is lack of stability in their life and social life is also disturbed; uncertainty of employment contributes to their underdevelopment.
- Total number of 13,854 (43%) out of total 32,518 households is child labourers. Of total tribal migrant labourers, 21% are children.
- The highest number 5,522 (39.9%) of child labourers are engaged in share cropping followed by 4,118 (29.7%) in B.T. Cotton fields, 3,374 (24.4%) as agricultural labours and 840 (6.1%) engaged in masonry works.
- Children are deprived of their childhood and education.
- NREGA has not been able to generate sufficient employment opportunities.

^{*} This information is derived from participatory techniques.

[^] This information is derived from village survey

To combat the problems of the tribal migrant labours and to bring a positive change in the scenario few steps are recommended:

- Strict Implementation of Labour Laws for protecting the Interests of the migrant labours working is the need of the hour. This would include wages, fixed working hours, sufficient recess time or breaks are given and wages to be paid for extra work or for overtime.
- The Labour Commissioner should also ensure engagement of licensed labour contractors rather than unlicensed contractors who develop nexus with the farm labourers and exploit tribals.
- Strict Action against occurrences of child labour.
- Making provisions for legal contract between the land owner and share cropper.
- Insurance coverage of the B.T. Cotton labourers against health problems and accidents
- Issuing/ implementing Guide lines for protection of labours:
 - (i) Instructions to the land owner/ farmers and to *mats*:
 - Registration of the labours with the mamlatdar / tehsildar, especially below 18 year age group.
 - Maintaining record of all the hired labours.
 - Issuing salary slips to the labours.
 - Payment of travelling allowance for migrating labours.
 - Regular disbursement of wages.
 - Reporting of the number of labourers at the check posts transported through *mat*.
 - Providing the basic facilities - food, shelter, drinking water, etc.
 - Compensation for accidents, ill health or accidental death on the farm.
 - (ii) Guide lines for the Government Machinery:
 - Registration of the labours.
 - Supervision and regular inspection of the B.T. Cotton farms by the District labour Officer.

Apart from these, creating new job avenues in the area taking into consideration the capabilities and requirements of the tribals, protecting forests, averting land acquisitions and amending forest protection laws in favour of the tribals is also recommendable.

Annexure 1: Number of Talukas from each district

No.	Districts	
	Banaskantha	Sabarkantha
1.	Vav	Khedbrahma
2.	Tharad	Vijaynagar
3.	Dhanera	Vadali
4.	Dantiwada	Idar
5.	Amirgadh	Bhiloda
6.	Danta	Meghraj
7.	Vadgam	Himmatnagar
8.	Palanpur	Prantij
9.	Deesa	Talod
10.	Deodar	Modasa
11.	Bhabhar	Dhansura
12.	Kankrej	Malpur
13.	-	Bayad

Annexure 2: PLA Guidelines

1. **Resource Mapping** (water, road, anganvadi, primary and higher secondary schools, gram panchayat, electricity, primary health centre etc.)
 - Drawing a map to find out available resources in different streets.
 - Resources of drinking water
 - Roads and its situation
 - Information of anganvadi
 - Primary school
 - Number of students and teachers
 - Higher secondary school
 - Where do the children go if there is no school?

2. **Seasonal Analysis** (kind of labor, places and wages)
 - What kind of work is available in different seasons?
 - Different wages
 - In which season do the villagers migrate?
 - Reasons for migration for particular work

3. **Mobility Mapping** (places of migration and its distance)
 - Number of migrants from a village
 - Kind of work (BT cotton, mason etc.)
 - Name of places of migration
 - Distance from village
 - Negotiator
 - Facility of boarding

4. **Venn Diagram**
 - Total number of mats in each village, their age, education, skills and abilities
 - Number of mats from each street
 - Which mat takes the highest number of laborers?
 - Criteria for selection of laborers
 - Conversation between a mat and laborers
 - Style of functioning of a mat
 - Commission of a mat
 - Eligibilities of a mat
 - Do mats take only their relatives or not?
 - Which age and sex of villagers do mats prefer to take? Why?
 - Do mats take all laborers to one places or different places?
 - How do mats know about requirement of laborers at different places?
 - Do mats receive advance from owners?
 - Responsibilities of mats till they bring back laborers to their villages
 - Risk of mats

Annexure 3:
Situation of Tribal Migrant Labourers of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts of North Gujarat

District:..... Block:..... Village:..... Date:.....

Name of a Respondent:.....

Part 1: Information about Village

1. Population:..... Female:.....Male:.....Total population of tribal:.....
 2. Caste other than tribal (thakor, patel, vaniya etc.)
 3. Kind of panchayat (individual / group)
 4. Where is panchayat? (same village/other village)
 5. Number of villages in case of group panchayat:.....
- Name of villages:.....
6. Distance from blockk.m.
 7. Number of streets:.....
 8. Commission of a mat per laborer in Rs.....

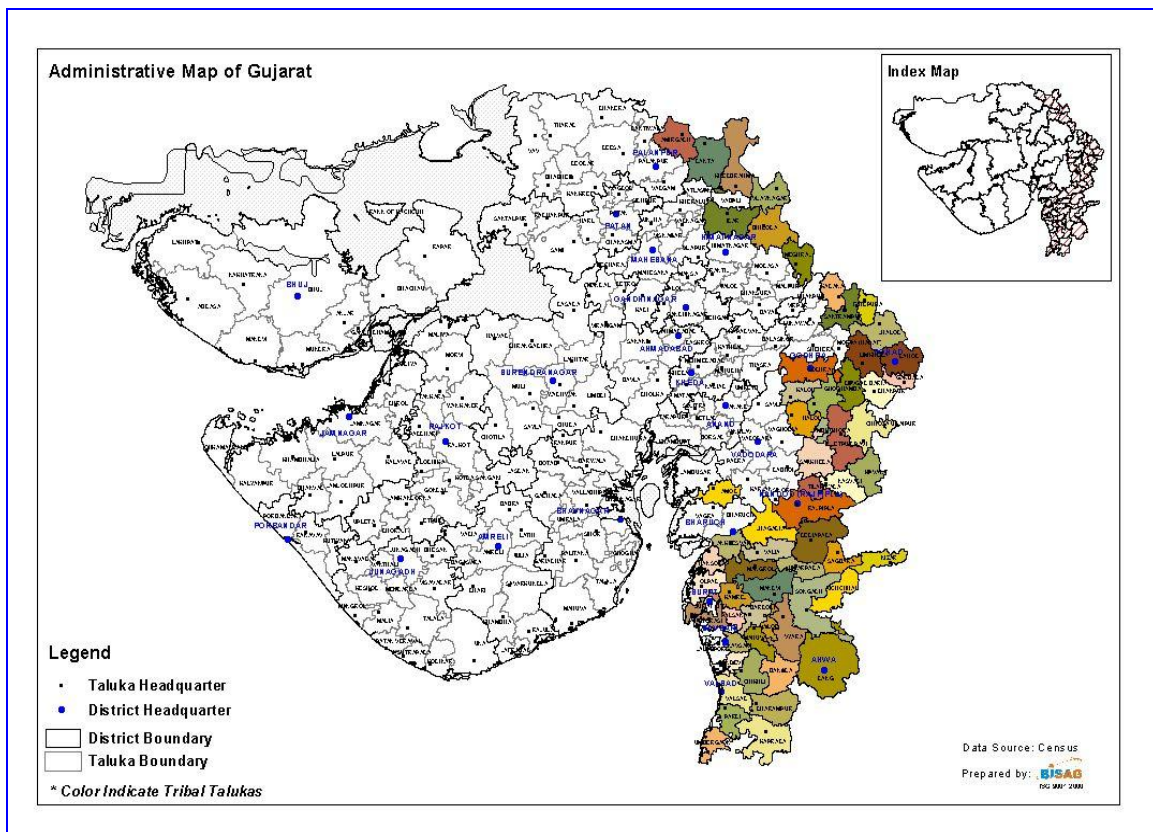
Part 2 : Information about Streets

No	Name of streets	Number of houses	Kind of Works																	Number of Mats per street	Number of mats who have left half a way						
			Number of shared croppers					Numbr of BT cotton labores					Mason			Other laborers			NREGA								
			male	female	children	areas	share	male	female	children	areas	wageso	male	female	children	areas	wages	male	female			children	areas	Wages	Are job cards ready? 1=yes, 2=no	Have you asked for work? 1=yes, 2=no	Days of work
1.																											
2.																											
3.																											
4.																											
5.																											
6.																											

Chapter 1: Introduction

Situation of tribals in Gujarat

Of total population, the population of scheduled tribes (ST - also called 'tribal' and 'adivasi') is 15%, i.e. about 75 lakhs in Gujarat. In Gujarat 28 scheduled tribes are enlisted and of them 8 are primitive tribes, mainly belong to Gir, Barda and Alech forests (mainly Junagadh and Jamnagar district in western Gujarat) and Ahmedabad district in central Gujarat. About 21 tribes are spread over 12 districts (north-eastern belt) in Gujarat. (see map – tribal population highlighted with colour)



The tribal of Gujarat may be divided into following three parts in accordance with their intense population;

- Bhils and their sub tribes such as Rajput Garasiyas, Dungri Garasiyas and Bhil Garasiyas live in the North Gujarat explicitly in Banaskantha and Sabarkantha districts.
- Scheduled tribes of Bhils that is Pateliya, Dhanka, Naikda and Rathva live in central Gujarat precisely in Panchmahal and Vadodara districts.
- Whereas Vasava, Tadvi, Dubala, Gamit, Kukna, Dhodiya, Varli, Bhil, Nayaka, Chaudhari and primordial groups as Kathodi, Kolgha and Kotvadiya live in the South Gujarat namely in the Dangs, Valsad, Surat and Bharuch districts.

The major problems of the tribes in north Gujarat (Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Panchmahal, Dahod and Vadodara) are – lower level of literacy, scanty forest cover and no or negligible access to forest or forest produce, high rate of unemployment and high incidences of sickle cell anemia and related health problems.

The Government of Gujarat has taken steps like launching JFM, Vanbandhu Yojana and such development programmes but its effect is limited in providing employment and better quality of life. Panchayati Raj Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, 1998 (PESA) was expected to provide opportunity to tribals for local self-governance but it has not been implemented by the government. In this situation, tribal development has remained centralized and largely government dependent. Unfortunately, the industrial houses have not thought of engaging tribal educated youth meaningfully in respective units.

The agriculture has been a subsistence economy as due to small and medium landholding; that too is rain-fed agriculture and traditional ways of farming, which results in low returns. Land alienation among tribals is very rampant across north-eastern belt of Gujarat. It is reported that officially about 7-8% tribals are alienated from land; informal survey reveal this extent to 15%. Our earlier studies reveal that due to a combination of policies of liberalization, privatization, globalization and some political and religious factors; they are on the verge of losing their identity and self respect. Due to frequent cutting of forests in the process of Industrialization, their natural resources of livelihood are diminishing.

In light of problems of unemployment and high rate of migration in search of livelihood, a need was felt to identify reasons for migration, occupations in which tribal migrants are engaged and the problems they face for living and working conditions. This study is part of development intervention for tribal migrants in Sabarkantha (Khedbrahma and Megharaj taluka) and Banaskantha (Danta taluka) districts.

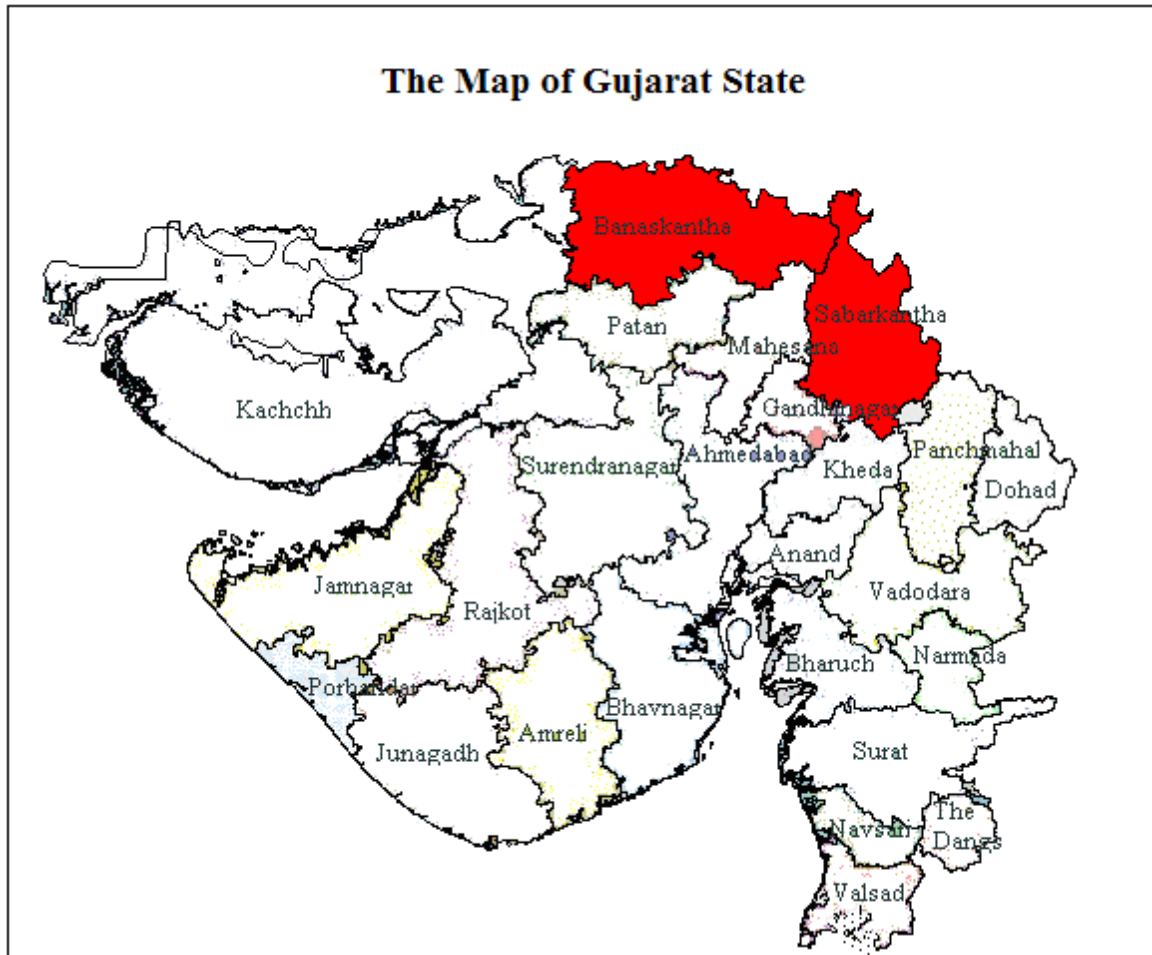
Objectives of the Study

- ⇒ Documenting and analyzing present situation of Migrant pattern and status of tribal migrant labourers.
- ⇒ Documenting major difficulties faced during migration specifically about working and living conditions, problems of wages and support provided by Labour Offices in the region.
- ⇒ Identifying areas of development interventions, strategies for advocacy and legal action to improve conditions of tribal migrant labourers.

Universe of the Study

Three talukas, khedbrahma and Meghraj from Sabarkantha districts and Danta from Banaskantha districts of North Gujarat, have been chosen as the universe of the study, considering that there is a significant presence of tribal migrants in these talukas.

Sabarkantha District: The district has an area of 7,390 Sq. km. The total population of the district is 2,082,531, out of which the population of the Scheduled tribes is 7,481,160, i.e. 20.2%. There are thirteen talukas in the district and 1,389 villages. Khedbrahma is the largest taluka of the district as far as geographic area is concerned. Two talukas, Khedbrahma and Meghraj have been taken as the universe of the study.



- ⇒ **Khedbrahma taluka** -The total area of the taluka is 835.39 Sq. Km. While there are 135 villages, out of which 133 are inhabited. The total population of the taluka is 223,502. The proportion of the ST population is 68.8%.
- ⇒ **Meghraj taluka** - The taluka is spread over a total area of 544.80 Sq. Km. The total population is 141,853 and the number of villages is 128. The proportion of the ST population is 36.4%.

Both the talukas are covered under schedule V of Indian Constitution, i.e. as Scheduled Area.

Banaskantha District: The district has an area of 10,757sq. Km. The total population of the District is 2,504,244, out of which the population of Scheduled tribes is 205,904, i.e. 8.2%. There are twelve talukas in the district with 1,249 villages. Danta taluka from the district has been taken as the universe of the study.

⇒ **Danta-** The taluka is spread over an area of 860.74 sq. Km. The total population of the taluka is 173,366. There are 184 villages in the taluka. The proportion of the ST population is 52.8%.

Table 1: Details of Talukas covered under Survey

No	Taluka	No. of village
1	Danta	50
2	Khedbrahma	47
3	Meghraj	50
	Total	147

Research Methodology

As the study is part of development intervention, the villages are selected based on purposive sampling; the major criteria were: village with higher number of migrant labourers; a village where the local people's organization (Adivasi Sarvangi Vikas Sangh - ASVS) is active and a village where tribal migrants are involved in a wide range of labour work.

As the prime focus of the study is to capture pattern of migration and related issues, the primary data has been collected through quantitative, qualitative and participatory research methods.

- ⇒ Village level survey - 147 villages of 3 taluka
- ⇒ Participatory research techniques like Resource mapping, Venn diagram, Seasonal analysis and Mobility mapping – 579 tribals (202 are women & 377 men) participated
- ⇒ Group discussions and interviews

The primary data was collected during July 2008 to March 2009.

Table 2: Details of PLA

District	Block	Village	Numbers of Participants		
			female	male	total
Sabarkantha	Meghraj	Nana Panduli	25	36	61
		Jamgadh	06	14	20
		Zarda	03	27	30
	Khedbrahma	Dharoi	28	49	77
		Khandhora	14	32	46
		Dantiya	08	12	20
	Meghraj	Navagam	10	17	27
		Nava Panibara	08	22	30
		Vaghmahudi(Vaiya)	07	19	26
	Khedbrahma	Vinchi	08	14	22
		Poalpan	05	22	27
		Bharmiya	15	12	27

District	Block	Village	Numbers of Participants		
			female	male	total
Banaskantha	Danta	Kansa (Rajivpura)	02	12	14
		Khandhor Umbari	09	18	27
		Kukadi	06	16	22
	Danta	Tarangada	15	19	34
		Pancha	20	15	35
		Bordiyala	13	21	34
	Total		202	377	579

Structure of the Report

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one, “Introduction” presents an overview of the problem and discusses the need for the study. The chapter incorporates the objectives and universe of the study, research methodology and sampling techniques. The chapter also shares the limitations faced by the study.

Chapter two, ‘Situation of tribal migrants and their issues’ is divided into two sections: Section one gives a brief idea about the socio-cultural background of the tribes of North Gujarat covered under the study. The need for their migration and the trend is also discussed in this section. The second section provides the general profile of the geographic area and status of basic amenities, like drinking water, educational institutes, roads, transportation etc.

Chapter three, ‘Situation of the Tribal Migrant labourers: Major Issues and Data Analysis’ assesses the situation of the tribal migrant labours as share croppers, B. T. Cotton workers, masons and agricultural labours. The chapter also explores the major problems faced by the migrant labourers of the study area and analyzes the data collected through survey. The trend observed based on primary data is substantiated and triangulated with secondary data wherever required.

Chapter four focuses on the ‘Findings of the study’ and summarizes the observation made by the study. While Chapter Five, ‘Conclusions and Recommendations’ highlights the conclusions about the situation of tribal migrant labours and make recommendations to bring a positive change in their position.

Limitations faced by the Study

In the initial phase of the study, the major tools decided for collection of data were: conducting group discussions and employing participatory research methods for the study. While collecting primary data through participatory techniques, we realized that the data throws light only on the trend of migration; we needed basic information about the tribes, overview of employment scenario, lack of employment at village or local level and so on. To meet the requirements, we decided to conduct village level survey and interview of different stakeholders; thus the survey provides data from 147 villages.

The time frame, season for agriculture, masonry work and casual labour varies and that has affected our process of data collection. With greater variation in work, season time, pull and

push factors for migration, each village with several hamlets and adivasi families living in scattered houses, etc caused hurdles in collecting the desired information in varying ways. Moreover, during the season of agriculture, tribals migrate and therefore in many villages only the children and the elderly people reside and they have provided data. On farms, the data has been collected when the workers have lunch break (12 to 2 in the afternoon).

The varying reasons for migration, engagement in various occupations and at different places – such variety require different research techniques to document the processes and work and in absence of such data, the triangulation of primary and secondary data has not been done very efficiently.

Interviewing ‘mat’ (unlicensed labour contractor) was the most difficult part in collecting primary data’ as they were wary about our intention of collecting and using data and they are not used to such written culture.

Secondly, the participants were rigorously busy in cotton farming, hence had very little time to spare for the GD and PLA. Therefore, all the activities had to take place during their break from, yet the villagers zealously participated and responded various queries, which is highly appreciable. Therefore, most of the times, we have informally talked to them and later have used the data for writing the report. We are not able to talk to the employer, mainly the farm owners.

Chapter 2: Situation of tribal migrants and their issues

This chapter is divided into two sections:

- A. Profile of tribe in the region
- B. Profile of geographic area

The first section presents a brief introduction to the tribes existing in the study area, whereas the second section gives an overview about the living standards of these tribes.

Section A: Profile of tribe in the region

The Indian Constitution has recognized a total of 645 tribes, existing in various parts of the country. In Gujarat, 28 scheduled tribes are enlisted and of them 8 are primitive tribes; of them mainly 2 tribes reside in this region, namely, Dungari Bhil (Bhil) and Dungari Garasiya (Sokla Garasiya and Rajput Garasiya).

Table 3: Details of Tribal communities

District	Block	Population	Subgroups
Sabarkantha	Khedbrahma	62.73 %	Dugri Garasiya, Bhil Garasiya and Bhil
	Meghraj	37.74 %	Sokla Garasiya and Dugri Garasiya
Banaskantha	Danta	79.99 %	Bhil and Rajput garasiya

As per the table, it could be stated that -

⇒ In Danta block of Banaskatha district, the presence of Dugri Garasiya, Bhil, Bhil Garasiya, Sokla Garasiya, Dugri Garasiya, and Rajput Garasiya tribal communities is almost 80%, whereas at Khedbrahma it is 62.73%, and at Meghraj, it is the lowest, i.e. 37.74%.

In all the three talukas, there are few villages whose entire population is tribal. These villages are:

- Bharamiya, Dantiya, Khandhora, Veenchhi, Jamgad, Nani Panduli, Kansa, Khandor Umbari and Kukdi villages.
- In Polapan village (Khedbrahma) and Zarda village (Meghraj) has only 5% tribal population
- In Navagam (Isari) viilage 84%, Nava Panibar 49% and Vaghmahudi (Vaiya) village 61% village population is rest of tribal.

The table below presents the details of various sub-tribes or surnames of tribal communities in Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj.

Table 4: Details of Surname, sub caste of Tribal community in the Talukas

No	Danta	Khedbrahma	Meghraj
1	Begadiya	Angari	Ambaliya
2	Bumbadiya	Bumbadiya	Asari
3	Dabhi	Chauhan	Bhagora
4	Degar	Dabhi	Bhanat
5	Gamar	Damor	Damor
6	Khant	Gamar	Fanat
7	Kodaravi	Khant	Gameti
8	Lour	Parmar	Garasiya
9	Makrani	Taral	Kalaswa
10	Morjiya	Terma	Katara
11	Pargi		Khant
12	Parmar		Kharadi
13	Puntha		Khokhariya
14	Rathod		Malvat
15	Solanki		Manat
16	Taral		Ninama
17	Vansiya		Pador
18			Pargi
19			Pujara
20			Rot
21			Taral
22			Vagat
Total	17	10	22

It is observed that,

- Khant and Taral (sub-tribes) subsist in all the three talukas.
- Bumbadiya, Dabhai, Gamar, Pargi and Parmar sub tribes exist only in Danta and Khedbrahma taluka.
- Damor sub tribe is found only in Khedbrahma and Meghraj taluka.
- Sub castes of Khant and Taral live in all three blocks.
- Bunbadiya, Dabhi, Gamar, Parghi and Parmar are found in Danta and Khedbrhma.
- Damor are found in Khedbrhama and Meghraj.

However, the major tribes in the area are Bhil (Dungari Garasiya), Rajput Garasiya and Pateliya. The details about their socio-cultural background are as follows:

Dungari Bhil and Dungari Garasiya

It is believed that three hundred years ago the ancestors of Bhil came to Gujarat from Rajasthan. The tribes are inhabited in Meghraj, Bhiloda, Vijaynagar and Khedbrahma blocks of Sabarkantha district. They are known as ‘Dugari Bhil Garasiya’ as they live amidst a range of mountains. Their dialect is ‘Bhili’, which is influenced by Gujarati and Mewadi languages. They have a variety of surnames.

They usually survive on agriculture; however, most of them have to work hard as labourers to meet their both ends meet. However, there are a few who have government jobs and very few who have become doctors or engineers.

There are at least 30 sub castes among them like Taivar, Kheradi, Saivon, Vahja etc.

Section B: Profile of geographic area

This section presents a picture of the life style of the tribal communities in the study area. The information covered in the section is related to basic amenities available to the inhabitants, information related to infrastructure and educational scenario.

Table 5: Details of Basic amenities in the Talukas

Amenities	Name of taluka		
	Danta	Khedbrahma	Meghraj
Roads			
a. Approach roads			
▪ Damar	4 villages	4 villages	6 villages
▪ Kaccha	2 villages	2 villages	-
b. Domestic roads			
▪ Damar	01	03	01
▪ Kaccha	19	21	26
▪ RCC	11	07	05
Drinking water			
a. Hand pump	128	95	87
b. Well	217	10	278
c. Bore	03	11	188
d. Over head tank	05	00	01
e. Sump (Under ground tank)	02	00	00
f. Lake	07	12	15
g. Chek-dam	29	02	15
h. Hawada	40	12	38
i. River	02	02	02
Educational institutes			
a. Anganwadis	09	09	07
b. Primary schools			
▪ Standard 1-4	03	01	-
▪ Standard 1-5	-	02	-
▪ Standard 1-6	01	-	-
▪ Standard 1-7	05	06	15
c. Secondary schools	-	-	-
d. Higher secondary schools	-	-	02

Electricity for domestic purpose	Out of 6 villages, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In One village, access is only in three houses ▪ 25% in other two villages, ▪ 75% in one village and, ▪ 100% in rest of two villages 	Out of 6 villages, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1/3 (75%) house in Polapan village, ▪ 80% house in Dharoi village ▪ 100% in rest of four vilalges 	All (6 Villages) has 100% electricity
Transportation			
a. State transport bus	06	06	06
b. Private jeep	06	06	06
Crematory	06	06	06
Panchayat office	03	02	03
Public distribution shop (PDS)	02	02	02
Milk dairy	03	03	05
Community hall	04	01	04
Temples	22	20	18
Mountains	06	06	05

Basic Amenities in villages

Roads

Approach roads and domestic roads

- The situation is better in Meghraj taluka in comparison to Danta and Khedbrahma talukas; there are more tar roads in Khedbrahma.

Drinking water

- a. **Hand pumps** - The situation is better in Meghraj taluka. Dharoi village of Khedbrahma taluka has total number of 32 hand pumps, out of which 11 are functional and 21 are dysfunctional.
- b. **Well** - The number is highest in Megharaj taluka
- c. **Bore** - The number is highest in Megharaj taluka
- d. **Over head tank** - Out of total 6, two are dis-functional.
- e. **Sump (under ground tank)** - Available only in Danta taluka.
- f. **Lake** - Highest in Megharaj taluka
- g. **Chek-dam** - Highest in Danta taluka
- h. **Cattle trough** - Less in Khedbrahma taluka in comparison to other talukas.
- i. **River** - The situation is same in all the three talukas.

Educational institutes

- a. **Anganwadi** - There are 25 *Anganwadis* under Integrated Children Development Scheme (ICDS) initiated by the government to promote pre primary education. At present, on an average there are three Anganwadi's in each village; however, the tribal's live in scattered

colonies, so the Anganvadi's need to be set up at a reachable distance. There is also a need of constant check on its quality of education and 'mid-day meal' provided by the government. Better medication facilities should also be provided in the Anganwadi.

b. Primary Education - As the government insists on compulsory primary education, there are 33 primary schools in three blocks. There are 1st to 4th standards in 4 schools, 1st to 5th standards in 2 schools, 1st to 6th standards in one school and 1st to 7th standards in 26 schools. The maximum number of schools is in Mejhraj block. However, during August to October fewer students attend school, since they migrate with their parents to work in fields of BT cotton. As a result, they do not perform well in studies and eventually drop out from the school.

c. Secondary and Higher Secondary schools- There are two secondary and higher secondary schools in Meghraj taluka indicating availability of higher education in the area. It is observed that the efforts of Christian Missionaries in Meghraj block and efforts of Sanali Ashramshala in Danta and Khedbrahma blocks have encouraged young boys and girls to pursue higher education. However, it is also observed that the unemployment rate is also increasing among the educated ones.

Electricity for domestic purpose - The electricity has reached only in two villages of Danta, four villages of Khedbrahma and in all the villages of Meghraj. However, a large number of villages still do not have an access to electricity as the villagers are unable to bear the expense estimated by the board. For details refer Annexure 4.

Transportation - The State transport buses and private vehicles are available in all three talukas.

Cemetery - Every village of all the three blocks has its own cemetery/ burial ground. However, the practice of funeral is more popular among most of the tribes, for which they get plenty of wood from the forests.

Panchayat - Through PLA, it was observed that out of six villages of Danta, there were only three Panchayats and similarly in Meghraj too, the number was three, out of total six villages. However in Khedbrahma out of six villages as there were only two Panchayats. Although according to the Panchayati Raj Act, there should be a separate Panchayat for a village having population more than 1500 to 2000, however it is observed that usually, every village do not have an independent panchayat and for practical purposes smaller villages are merged into bigger villages as one Panchayat. As a consequence, these villages are neglected due to discrimination by the Sarpanch.

Public distribution shop (PDS) - In all the three Talukas, there are two ration shops among every six villages. However, the villagers have to cover long distances to approach these shops as the villages are very scattered. The probability of getting ration is also very low, as by the time they reach to the ration shops after covering long distances, the stock is finished

and they have to return empty handed. Another attempt requires another entire day which subsequently cost them a loss of a day's earning.

Milk Dairy - There are five dairies in Meghraj and three dairies each in Danta and Khebrahama. Animal husbandry is very popular in Meghraj taluka, as there is plenty of water and grazing land available. The milk production is good in these villages as on daily basis 120 liters of milk from each village is send to Banaskantha and Sabarkantha dairies.

Community Hall - There are four community halls in each block of Danta and Meghraj whereas Khedbrahma has only one. However, the condition of these halls is not good due to poor quality of construction and lack of maintenance. These halls are not used quite often and have been totally neglected. The hall of kukdi village in Danta block is such one example where the building is totally in wretched condition.

Temples - There are 22 temples in Danta, 20 in Khedbrahma and 18 temples in Meghraj. Although, the tribal worship only the nature, but lately due to migration (as they have come in contact with other religions) and due to some other factors they have turned to be idol worshippers. It is observed that there are 3 to 4 temples in each village.

Mountains and forest products - Almost all the villages, except Zarda village of Meghraj, are inhabited on the environs of range of mountains. The forests are a prime source of survival for the villagers of Meghraj and Khedbrahama and they are dependent on selling various products of forest and mountains, for their living. However, in Danta, the inhabitants have less access to forests being treated as reserved areas.

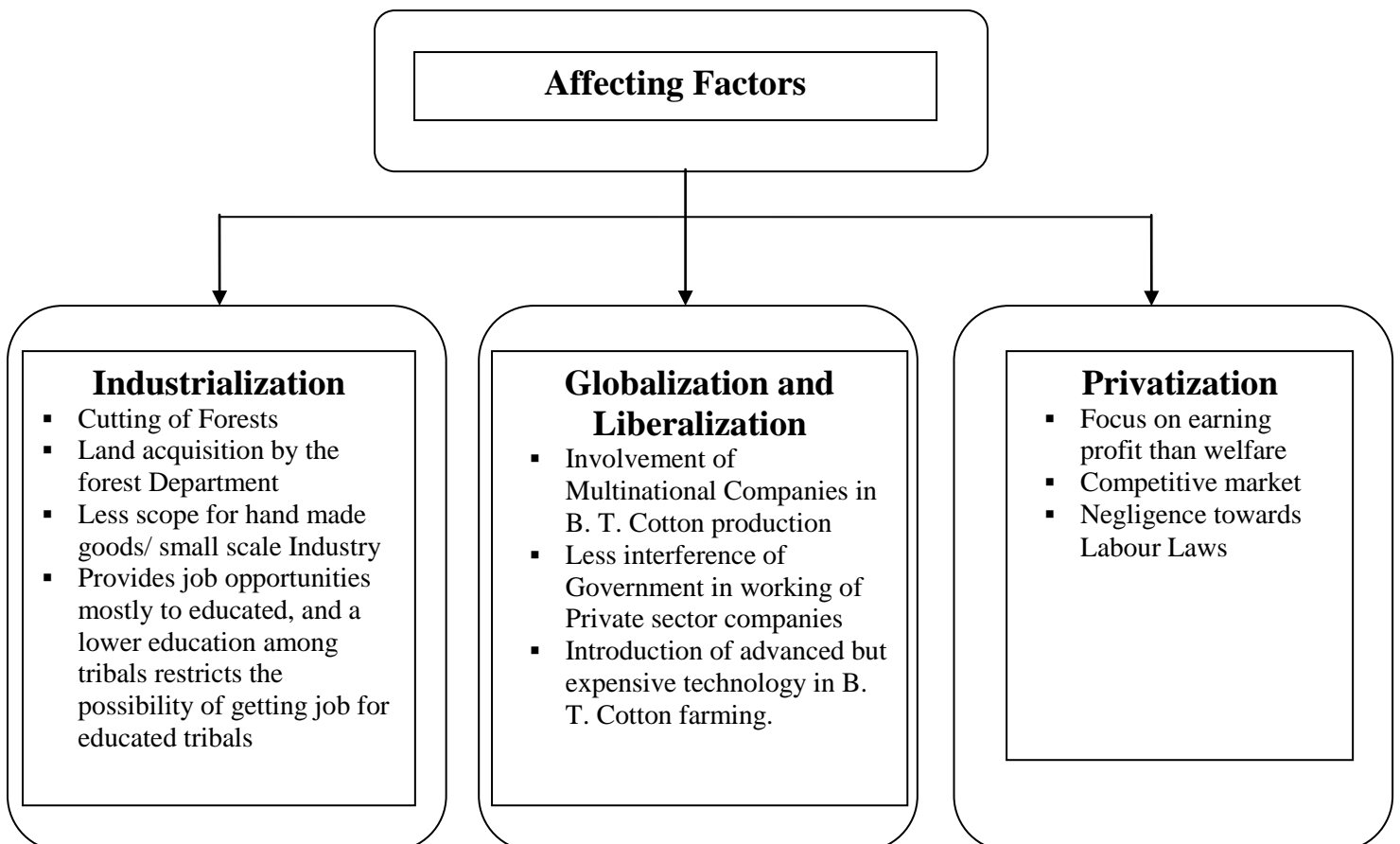
Thus, the general picture appears to be not so good, as far as living conditions are concerned.

Chapter 3: Situation of Tribal Migrant labourers: Major Issues

This chapter is based on primary information generated through participatory, quantitative and qualitative research methods and its analysis. It begins with macro scenario of employment in Gujarat and explains how various factors affect lives of tribals and they have to migrate in search of livelihood. It then presents details of migration and analytical points based on primary data to describe situation of tribal migrant labourers, situation of child labour and implementation of NREGA as employment tool.

Macro scenario

The tribals of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha are getting affected with a number of external factors which are working against them in a sequence, such as, lack of basic amenities in the village, ineffective implementation of NREGA, small landholding and low returns from farms and lack of opportunities for employment at doorstep. Due to a combined effect of such factors, they are forced to migrate in search of work and have to live in a contemptible condition.



The macro scenario indicates that increasing Industrialization, following the economic policies of Globalization, Liberalization and Privatization (LPG) has not contributed to

development of tribals in the region rather they are forced to migrate in search of livelihood. Even while working as migrant labours their problems do not end, rather are accumulated in such a manner, that they are leading a life full of poverty, illiteracy, humiliation, and exploitation. The chart below explains the impact of such factors on the tribals of North Gujarat, especially of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha.

The basic amenities available in the area are inadequate and the traditional sources of living are diminishing. A large portion of land has been acquired by the Forest Department and in absence of appropriate resources; the remaining land generates very little income which is insufficient for their survival. Therefore, the tribal's of Banaskantha and Sabarkantha are left with no option than to migrate to other places in search of work and wages.

Micro reality

The village survey of 147 villages, 18 villages covered through participatory techniques and interviews and group discussion at various places of Khedbrahma and Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha and Danta of Banaskantha districts has come up with some major findings about these tribal migrant labours:

Table 6: Basic details about population covered

No	Details	Taluka			
		Danta	Khedbrahma	Meghraj	Total
1.	Number of villages covered under the survey	50	47	50	147
2.	Number of villages covered through participatory & qualitative methods	06	06	06	18
3.	Population of covered villages	56050	101868	46920	204838
4.	Total female workers	27664	44506	22897	95067
5.	Total male workers	27956	49520	24033	101509
6.	Total households	9818	14164	8536	32518
7.	Total child labourers	2502	8660	2692	13854

This chapter is divided into three sub-sections:

1. Details of Migrant Labours
2. Presence of Child Labour
3. NREGA and the employment opportunities provided to the tribals of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha

Sub Section- I: Major Occupations of Migrant Labours

The tribals migrate primarily for four types of activities, which could be classified as:

- a. As Share Croppers
- b. As workers in B.T. Cotton farms
- c. As Masons
- d. As casual labourers

Table 7: Major livelihood sources of Adivasi

No.	Major livelihood sources of Adivasi	Taluka							
		Danta		Khedbrahma		Meghraj		Total	
		No. of labourers	%	No. of labourers	%	No. of labourers	%	No. of labourers	%
1.	Share cropping	4396	7.8	9411	9.2	18	0.0	13825	22.2
2.	B.T. Cotton	2441	4.4	11428	11.2	5219	11.1	19088	30.6
3.	Masonry work	656	1.2	1097	1.1	4811	10.3	6564	10.5
4.	Casual labourers	1665	3.0	15786	15.5	4919	10.5	22870	36.7
	Total labourers	9158	16.3	37722	37.0	14967	31.9	62347	100

To support this observation, a survey was also held in 147 villages covering various tribes and sub-groups of tribes.

Table 8: Different categories of the migrant laborers

No	Tribal migrants	Data collected through survey	
		Number	Percentage
1	Casual laborers	22870	36.7
2	On B. T. cotton farms	19088	30.6
3	Shared croppers	13825	22.2
4	Masonry work	6564	10.5
	Total	62347	100

A. Migrant labourers as Share Croppers:

Who is a Share Cropper?

In Sharing cropping, an agreement (usually verbal) is made between two parties, the owner of the land and the person who agrees to cultivate his land for a certain period / season in a year. In return, the share cropper gets a fixed share (one fourth/fifth/sixth/seventh), depending on various internal and external factors. Sometimes, the verbal agreement includes the conditions in case the crop fails. The share cropper is also paid an advance ranging from Rs.

5000 to 20,000 depending upon various factors like physical strength, number of family members etc.

Usually, the share cropper shifts to the farm with his entire family for a period of one year or so. It has been observed that a large number of tribals of North Gujarat migrate to distant places for working as share cropper, as farming is one of the income generation activities that they have know how of.

The survey revealed that of Out of total 62347, 13,825 (22.2%) tribals work as share croppers.

A tribal migrant labour chooses to become a share cropper due to various factors - (i) To meet expenses, mainly social obligations like wedding, death ceremony, birth ceremony or sickness etc.; and (ii) usually, having small landholding and consequently low returns cannot support family of 5 to 8 persons; more than 2-3 family members have to earn to make living, especially food grain for their survival as they do not get enough grain from their own fields.

Process of getting work

A migrant tribal gets the job of share cropping through various channels -

- On recommendation from the person who has earlier worked as a share cropper.
- In case, one has taken some loans from the farmer, so to repay the loans, agrees to become a share cropper.
- On demand by the farmer.

The farmer usually choose sharecropper with criteria like a married person with a large family, physically strong and healthy person and obedient and hardworking. This is mainly because the allied activities like cattle rearing and milking, household work, etc are taken care of with family members of the share cropper.

Period of Employment

It is observed the agreement usually takes place in the month of May, i.e. just before monsoon, which last till four months to eight months, or the agreement could be extended for the entire year.

Working and living conditions of share cropper

- The farmer keeps record of advance money given to the cropper on weekly or monthly basis.
- The working hours of the share cropper is not fixed, one has to work from dawn to dusk like a bonded labour.
- Though the agreement takes place between two persons; the farmer and the share cropper, yet the share cropper brings his entire family to work to get the job done. Mostly, he and his children take care of the farm; his wife looks after the cattle.
- A cropper is provided a small kaccha hut in the fields to live with his entire family.

- Usually there is no electricity in the hut.
- The share cropper can use the well at the farm for water - for drinking and domestic use.
- The share cropper has to make all the arrangements for his food. Usually, he buys daily goods from the nearby village and collects fire wood from the nearby woods to cook food.
- The farmer generally takes care of a cropper in time of sickness.
- A farmer and a share cropper rarely enjoy a good relationship; many of the share croppers have reported that they have faced frequent tortures and racial abuses by the farmer. Many of them have reported cheating, i.e. less payment or share cropping than decided at the beginning; the record of the advance amount paid weekly or monthly is tampered.
- The continuation of work for the next season or year depends solely on the relationship between the land owner and the share cropper.

Preferred places of Migration

The study examined the trend of Migration and find out that the tribals of Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj usually migrate within talukas of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha district and to adjoining districts like, Mehsana and Gandhinagar.

Table 9: Places for the going to Share cropping

No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to Share cropping		Type of share getting
						Based on survey Name of taluka (number of faliya, which reported)	Based on PLA Name of taluka	
1.	Danta	1339	963	2094	4396	Palanpur (74) Danta (60), Khedbrahma(dharoidam)=(28) Ider (17) Kheralu (Satlasana)=33 Visnagar (11) Deesa (9), Deodar (5), Dantiwada (1); Vadgam (Mumanvas)=42	Danta Palanpur, Vadgam Ider Khedbrahma Satlasana	Fourth, fifth or sixth

No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to Share cropping		Type of share getting
						Based on survey Name of taluka (number of faliya, which reported)	Based on PLA Name of taluka	
2.	Khedbrahma	3405	2583	3423	9411	Ider (102) Khedbrahma(Agiya, Matoda)= 132 total Palanpur (75) Himmatnagar (49) Danta (42), Vadali (7) Deesa-(1) Prantij (1) Talod (1) Vadnagar (1) vijapur (1)	Danta Deesa Palanpur, Vadgam, Himmatnagar, Ider, Khedbrahma, Modasa Prantij Vadali Kheralu Vijapur Dehgam	Fifth or sixth
3.	Meghraj	09	04	05	18	Himmatnagar (1) Ider (1) Malpur (1) Modasa (Factory Kampa, Khabipur)=(3) Mehsana(1) Danta (1)	Himmatnagar Ider Malpur Modasa Mehsana	Fifth or seventh
	Total	4753	3550	5522	13825	-	-	-

The above table reveals trend about share cropping:

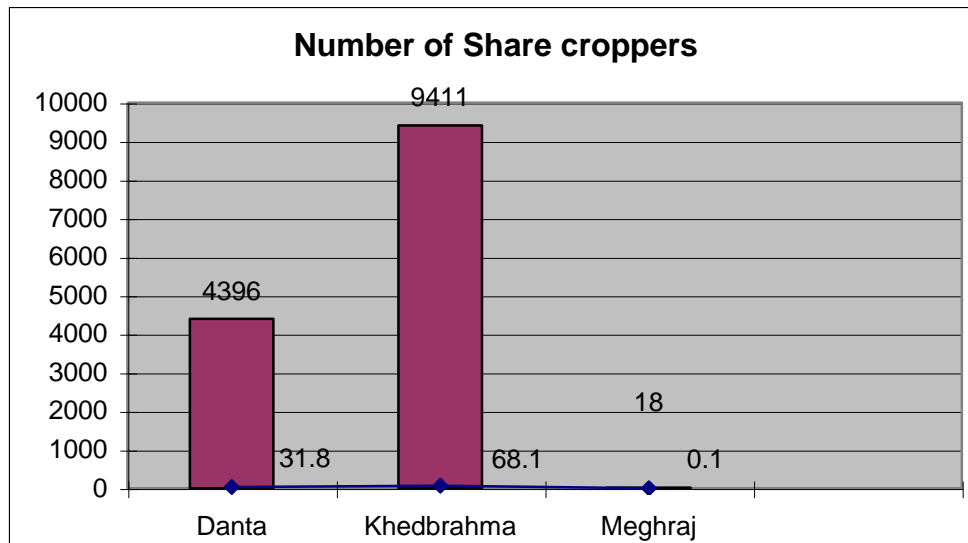
- ☞ Khedbrahma taluka of Sabarkantha district - Of total 13,825 tribals, the highest number of tribal migrants (9,411), i.e. 68%; of them, 3,405 (36.3%) are males, 2583 (27%) are females and 3,423 (36.6%) are children, which again makes it with the largest number of child laborers. By and large they migrate within Khedbrahma taluka and Sabarkantha district. The share cropper gets fourth / fifth or sixth share of the crop as the remuneration.
- ☞ Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha district – Of total 13,825 tribals, 18 migrate as share cropper within Khedbrahma taluka and Sabarkantha district. They get fifth or seventh share of the crop as the remuneration.
- ☞ Danta taluka of Banaskantha district – Of total 13,825 tribals, 4,396 (32%) tribals migrate as share cropper; of them, 2094 (48%) are child laborers, 1339 (30%) males and 963 (22%) females. They migrate to adjoining taluka of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts. The share cropper gets fifth or sixth share of the crop as the remuneration.

Table 10: Classification of the Share croppers

No	Classification	Number	Percentage
1	Male	4753	34.4
2	Female	3550	25.7
3	Children	5522	39.9
	Total	13825	100

As the survey revealed, the data collected from 18 villages with participatory methods revealed that 77.8% people migrate to work as share croppers.

Graph 1: Number of Share croppers



Major Concerns for share croppers:

The problems of all the share croppers could be classified as: problems of the male (main share cropper), of his wife and of his children.

A. Problems of a share cropper

- **Breach of agreement**- The agreement is verbal and the chances for breaching by the farmer are higher, which goes against the interest of the share cropper and therefore written agreement is encouraged.
- **Cheating**- Most of the farmers make unscrupulous changes in the accounts.
- **Social discrimination**- Many times, when the farmer belongs to upper castes and the share cropper is a tribal; he faces treatment and sometimes verbal abuses.
- **Economic Exploitation** – A share cropper landing up doing much more work than the verbal agreement, such as, working for more than 8 hours, handling other works than farming like cattle rearing and milking, etc. which are main characteristics of economic exploitation.
- **No legal protection** – As the agreement is verbal, in case of cheating or dispute, written evidences are missing and that weakens litigation process.

B. Problems of the wife of a share cropper

- **Vulnerability to sexual harassment** – wife of a share cropper is an easy target of the farmer for sexual harassment. The farmer threatens to seize his payment and exploits to an extent that a share cropper is not in a position to oppose the injustice made to him.
- No wages paid to her for extra work that she performs.

C. Problems of children of a share cropper

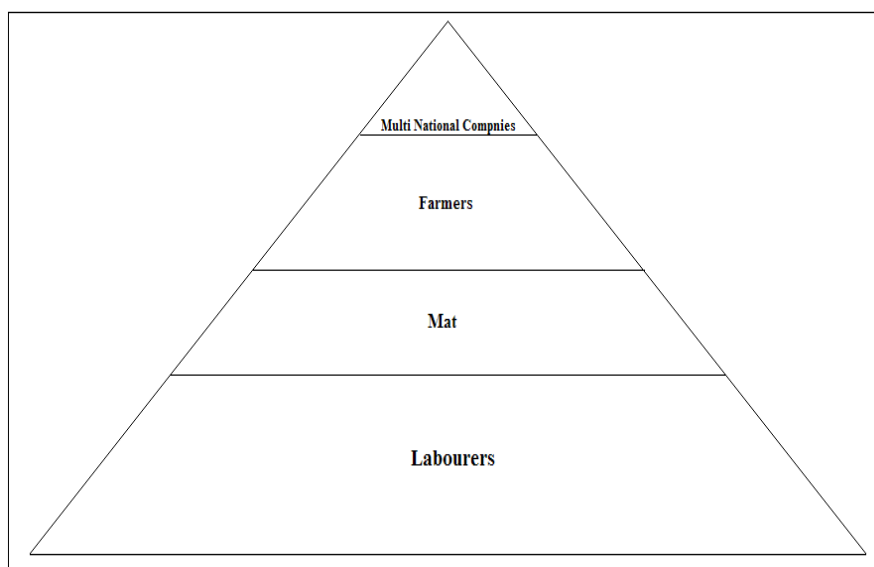
- Deprived of primary education, of their childhood and socialization.
- As child labour faces health hazards at early age.

B. Migrant labours as workers in B. T. Cotton farms:

Of total 62347 tribal migrants, 19,088 (9.3%) migrate to work in the fields of B. T. cotton. A high number derived only through the sample villages provokes a possibility that a large section of tribals are involved in this work.

This assumption is supported by various facts; firstly, Gujarat is the highest producer of B.T. Cotton in the country and produces 55% of the total production. There was 15.5 hector agricultural land in 1996-97 that was increased to 25.16 hector agricultural land in 2001-02 namely 62% increase in production¹. As a consequence, the number of labourers involved in the process is also very large; among all, the number of youth and children (who easily become victims of exploitation) has hit the highest point in last three years, that is, 2006 onwards.

Chain of exploitation



The chart indicates the chain of exploitation, and the scenario in B.T. Cotton Industry.

The entire system of B.T. Cotton Industry is working against the labourers. The nexus of Multinational companies, *mat* and the farmer are affecting the labourers adversely. It is observed that the tribals, who migrate to work as labourers in B.T. Cotton fields are victims of exploitation passed to them through various channels.

☞ Role of multinational companies - Since 1990, they have captured the market of B. T. Cotton production, they started interfering in every issue related to the production, such as, providing quality of seeds (expensive than the locally available seeds which require greater care and cautiousness during cross cultivation); consumption of pesticide; and

¹ Ibid

deciding the cost of the crop. Due to privatization, the government has very little say in such matters.

☞ Role of farmers – They are dependent on the multinational companies and competition driven market. They have to buy seeds at a high price and have to manage with *mats* to arrange labour. As their chief agenda is cost cutting and getting higher returns, they tend to cheat *mats*, seizes their commission and keeps on asking for cheapest labour.

☞ Role of mat - Most of the *mats* have experienced working in the cotton fields. *Mat* is under constant pressure from the farmer to arrange for cheaper labourers. In order to do so, he induces the parents to send their adolescent boys and girls with him to work at distant places, to whom, he can easily convince for lower wages. He gives some money in advance to book their children for the coming season, and no need to say that the amount is paid after charging his own commission.

The position of a *mat* is not much different from a labourer. They usually discontinue studying after primary and rarely go for higher education. They live in Kuccha houses without any basic facilities. To meet their both ends meet, apart from working as laborers, they also work as a *mat* to help their relatives and other villagers to get work and in return, they get some commission that adds to their income.

☞ Role of labourers – Most of the labourers are employed through *mat*, who is a mediator between the farmer and the labourers. There is a very little understanding and awareness about conditions for work, wages, facilities, rights as labourers, etc. among the labourers. They are dependent and trust *mat*, as the *mat* is from their community or the region; the labourers rarely have direct link to the farmer. They accept and follow whatever is told by the *mat* – about type of work, wages and place of work.

***Mat* as critical operator in the wage structure**

In this loop, *mat* is at the centre, who as mediator is expected to take up multiple responsibilities, such as, to convince the parents to send their children for work in order to meet the demand of the farmer; to pick the labourers from their respective villages and deliver them to work place and later at the end of the season, drop the labourers safe and sound from to the place of work; to disburse the advance among the laborers taken from the farmer; to ensure that the laborers are not victimized by a farmer; to take care of labourers in time of sickness; to keep accounts of wages of labourers and so on.

It is revealed in the study that a *mat* receives 7 to 10 rupees per person on daily basis. Thus, if a *mat* takes 50 laborers, he may get at least 400 – 500 rupees as commission per day that eventually amounts to Rs. 20,000 per season of 50-70 days.

However, it is observed that the *mats* are also exploited by the farmers and they are forced to leave the contract in middle of the season and return back home. However, this fact could not be established through the survey. As in the village survey, of total 486 *mats*, none of them reported a case of returning back without payment of wages.

Some *mat* shared the difficulties during interview that they face, such as, they are victims of verbal agreement – mainly less payment than promised by the farmer; since they are from the same community, they are accountable to ‘community council’ in case of any mishappening with the labourer; in supervising and managing a large number of labourers; in maintaining accounts and facing legal complications and social consequences if any girl or boy elopes.

Victimization of labourers

Mostly children below 18 (both boys and girls) are engaged in a large number; labours above 30 years are preferred neither by the *mat* nor by the farmer. Usually only one or two persons from a family (children or youth) moves alone, leaving behind his/her family. A movement of the entire family is not found as the wages are very low; the adults prefer to work in a better profile. It is observed that teenager boys and girls, from a same village, though are not married but are attracted to each other like to go as a couple to the same place of work. Even the *mat* prefers to ask for their choice, so that they do not leave their work in middle of the season.

The farmers, usually tries to shirk his moral responsibilities and treats them unkindly. Thus, rude behavior, sexual harassment, mental and physical torture are part and parcel of life of laborers in most of the cases. The laborers retaliate with some kind of destruction to crop like not taking care during cross fertilization in such cases of humiliation and also prefer to leave work at a time.

There are some farmers who cajole children to work more by giving chocolates or biscuits etc and barely pay 50 to 60 rupees for 12 to 14 hours of work. The children are more prone to be victims of such kind of exploitation than adults.

- A laborer carries adequate amount of flour of cornflakes from home. A farmer provides vegetables and in some cases, also provides oil, spices and milk too. They have to collect fire wood from the forest for cooking. They have to buy other necessary things from village.
- The labours are supposed to work from 4.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. that includes two hours of break to cook food for them.
- There are usually common rooms for laborers made in field itself; however, they have to stay under open sky, when such a facility is not available. There are separate rooms for girls and boys.
- There might be electricity in some rooms but not in all.
- For drinking water they have to rely on the well at field itself.
- Working toilets or bathrooms are provided, made of jute and plastic.

The cotton field workers are the victim of channeled exploitation. A labour is at the bottom of this chain faces the cumulative brunt of exploitation initiated at the level of the International companies, and passed on to him through the farmer and the *mat*. The labour being an easy target, have to deploy the maximum efforts in cotton farming, which is highly complicated

and very technical in nature. The cross pollination of cotton flowers has to be done at specific time of the day; it is a very tedious procedure and takes twelve to fifteen hours in a day. Besides putting in hard labour, if committed a mistake one labour has to pay the price in the form of slash in payment and mental and physical abuse.

Preferred Places of Migration

It is observed that the tribals of Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj migrate to Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar districts, along with other talukas of Banaskatha and Sabarkantha district.

Table 11: Preferred Places of Migration for B.T. Cotton works

No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to B. T. Cotton		Per day wages
						Based on survey	Based on PLA	
1.	Danta	1663	377	401	2441	Deodar (50), Deesa (Bhildi, Lakhni)=42, Danta (Bamnoj, Hadad, Jeetpur, Ambaigadha)=26, Kheralu (Satlasana)=26, Vadgam (Mumanvas)=18 Visnagar (Vijlasan)=12, Khedbrahma (Dharoi dam)-11 Ider (9), Palanpur (9), Dhanera (5), Mehsana (4), Kankrej (4), Dantiwada (3), Vav (3), Patan (3), Tharad (1), Vadali (1), Vijapur (1)	Danta, Deesa, Deodar, Dhanera, Palanpur, Tharad, Vav, Radhanpur, Ider, Khedbrahma	Between Rs. 40/- to 60/-; Rs. 60/- (61). Rs. 55/- (2), Rs. 52/- (1), Rs. 50/- (77), Rs. 45/- (11), Rs. 40/- (4)
2.	Khedbrahma	5647	2906	2875	11428	Khedbrahma (Agiya, Matoda, Vartol, Metral)=94, Ider (71), Palanpur (69), Deesa (Thara)=56, Deodar (40), Himmatnagar (24), Danta (12), Vadali (1), Bhabhar (1), Kalol (1), Mehsana (1), Dhanera (1), Kankrej (1), Vijapur (1), Tharad (1), Visnagar (1), Patan (1)	Danta, Deesa, Deodar, Dhanera, Kankrej, Palanpur, Tharad, Hiimmatnagar, Ider, Khedbrahma, Vadali, Vijapur, Visnagar Patan	Rs. 50/- (199)

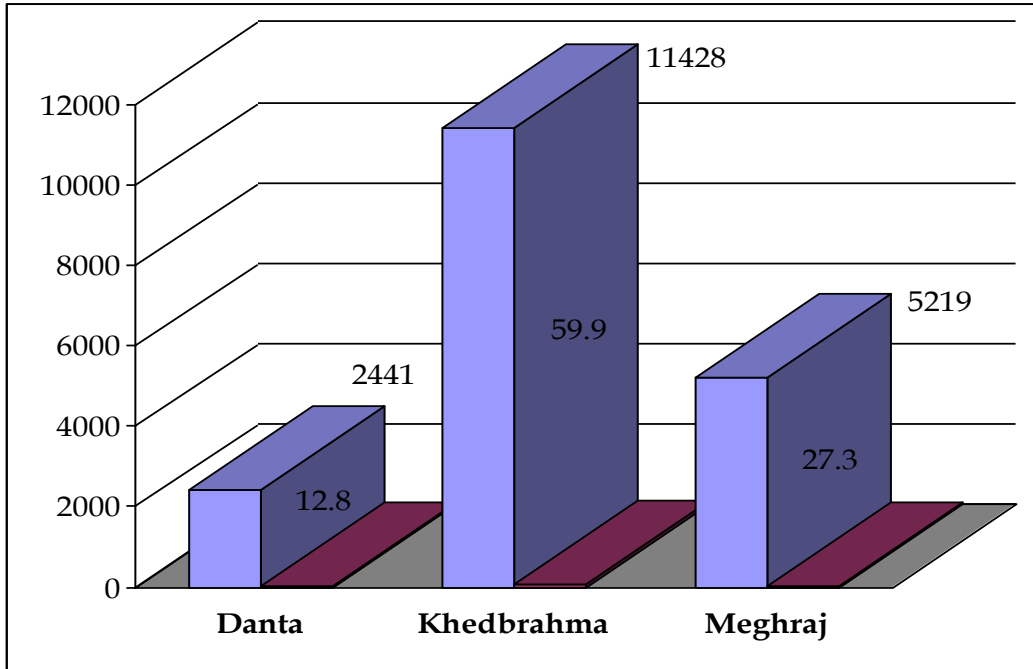
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No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to B. T. Cotton		Per day wages
						Based on survey	Based on PLA	
3.	Meghraj	2440	1937	842	5219	Inside the villages (24), Ider (Daramali, Revas, Tajpur, Valiyad, Badoli)=24, Vijapur (10), Meghraj (Rellawada, Factory Kampa, Isari, Malkampa, Navagam, Nehru Kampa, Paldi, Savni, Takarwada)=28, Mehsana (8), Himmatnagar (Itadra)= 12 Patan (6) , Modasa (Titoi,)=8, Mansa (5), Deodar (4), Prantij (4), Vadali (Itva)=5 Kadi (Khoda)=4 Talod, (2), Bayad (Demai)=9, Bhabhar (1), Danta (1), Kalol, (1) And neighboring own Taluka villages.	Deesa, Deodar, Palanpur, Bhiloda, Dhansura, Himmatnagar, Ider, Malpur, Modasa, Vadali, Mansa, Mehsana, Vijapur, Patan	Between Rs. 40/- to 70/-; Rs. 70/- (37). Rs. 65/- (17), Rs. 60/- (16), Rs. 55/- (6), Rs. 52/- (1), Rs. 50/- (45), Rs. 40/- (1)
	Total	9750	5220	4118	19088	-	-	-

The table explains that:

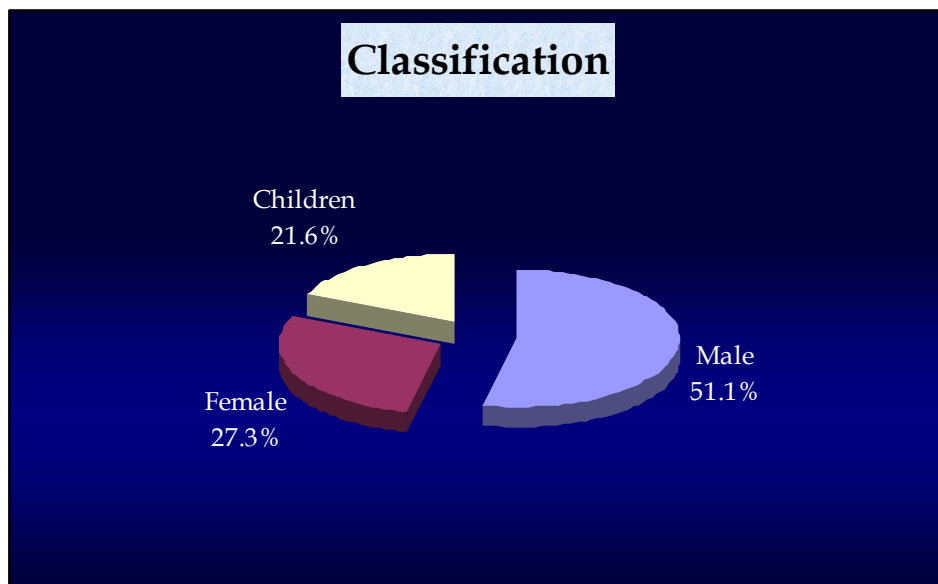
- Trend in Khedbrahma taluka of Sabarkantha district - The highest number of migrants to work in B.T. Cotton fields are from Khedbrahma. Apart from going to other villages of their own taluka, they migrate to other taluka of Banaskantha and Patan districts. Out of total 11,428 labourers, 5,647 (49.41%) are male, 2,098 (18.36%) are female while 2,875 (25.16%) are children. They are paid a daily wage of 50 rupees. All the responses (199 hamlets) unanimously accepted the same amount as the daily wage
- Trend in Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha district - The tribals of Meghraj migrate within Sabarkantha district and adjoining districts like Mehsana and Banaskantha. Out of total 5,219, 2440 (46.75%) are male, 1937 (37.11%) are female and 842 (16.13%) are children. The labourers are paid between 40-70 rupees as daily wages. However, the majority (45 faliya) accepted 50 rupees as the amount.
- Trend in Danta taluka of Banaskantha district- Apart from migrating to other villages of Danta taluka, the tribals prefer to migrate nearby talukas of Banaskantha, Mehsana and Patan districts. Out of total 2441, the number of is 1663 (68.13%) are males, 377 (15.44%) are females, and 401 (16.43%) are children. They are paid a daily wage between rupees 40 to 60; however, a majority of people informed 50 rupees as daily wages.

Graph 2: Number of B. T. Cotton workers



Out of total 19088 total B.T. Cotton workers, the maximum 11428 (59.9%) are from Khedbrahma followed by Meghraj stands on the second rank with 5219 (27.3%) BT cotton workers and 2441 (12.8%) of B T cotton workers are from Danta.

Graph 3: Classification of B. T. Cotton workers



Out of all B T cotton workers, 9694 (51.1%) are male, 5192 (27.3%) female workers and 3280 (21.6%) of children.

Problems of a Migrant labour working as B.T. Cotton field worker

- Most of them face problem of low and unfair wages due to cheating in record keeping - of advance amount given and overall accounts during the season.
- Use of harsh and derogatory words, physical torture and sexual harassment by the farmer.
- Long hours of working, limited accessibility to minimum basic amenities like lack of electricity, toilets and bathrooms, shanty shelter, etc.
- Health hazards due to heavy use of pesticides.
- No one takes responsibility of the labourers if a *mat* leaves them in middle of the season.

C. Migrant Labours as Masons

Of total 62,347 tribal migrants, 6,564 almost 11% migrate to other villages and talukas to work as masons; majority of them are adult male.

Masonry is a skilled and therefore well paying job. Many tribals, at least one from a family work as masonry worker; they are attracted to this field due to better wages and fascination for urban life with better infrastructure facilities.

They generally get work through a friend or a relative who has been in the field for sometime; the adivasis migrate to the city and meet a labour contractor introduced by their friend or relative and start working as semi-skilled worker and eventually as skilled mason. Largely, they work as masons during winters and summer as masonry work does not take place in monsoon. This suits the tribals too, as in monsoon; they prefer to take care of their farms. Finding work is not a problem for them as construction work is going on a large scale almost everywhere in Gujarat.

Conditions of Work

- There is usually a verbal agreement between a contractor and labourers about daily wage. The wage stands from 80 to 160 rupees per day. The wages are received daily basis.
- They have to work for 11 hours from 8.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. that includes one hour of a lunch break.
- Masons themselves are responsible for any accident or mishappening occurred with them.

Problems of Masons

- As masons are working as individual worker, the labour contractor does not provide any facilities for stay, food or infrastructure. They have to manage everything on their own and that depends on their earning / monthly income. Thus they face adverse living conditions, like shelter without electricity, toilets and bathrooms; deprived of nutritious and balanced diet; have to buy everything from the city markets; paying for health care; etc.
- No protection is available or compensation to be paid in case of an accident as construction industry inherits characteristics of unorganized sector.

- There is no mediating mechanism if dispute takes place among the labourers and / or between the labour contractor and the mason.

Preferred locations for Migration

They usually migrate to Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar districts.

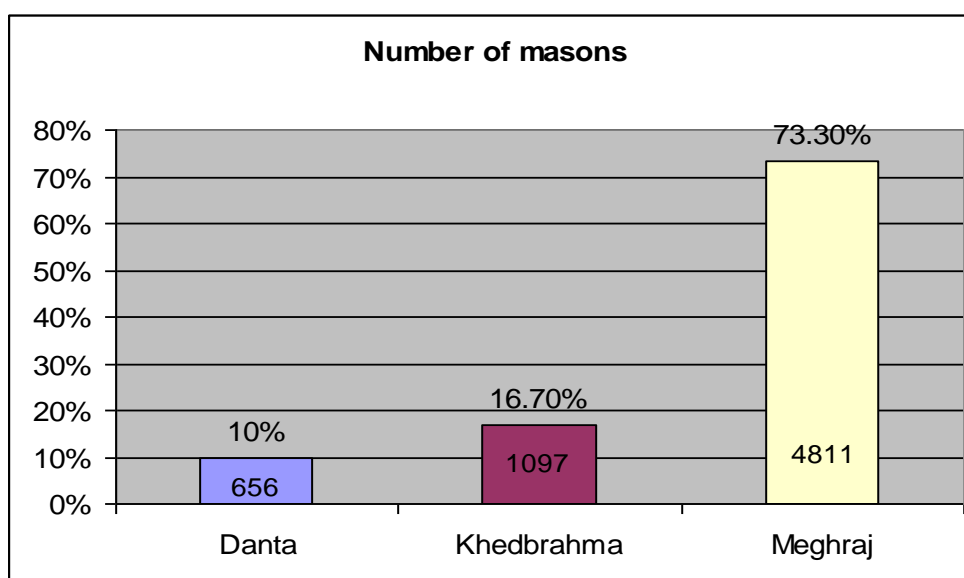
Table 12: Preferred Places of Migration for Masonry work

No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to Masonry work		Per day wages
						Based on survey (Reported by number of Faliya)	Based on PLA	
1.	Danta	558	98	0	656	Within the taluka (93), Danta (Ambaji, Hadad, Mankdi, Bamnoj, Ambaigadha, Garod, Mandali, Poshina, Barvasa, Koyalpur, Sandhosi)= 104 Palanpur (15), Vadali (1)	Danta Palanpur	Between Rs. 70/- to 200/-; Rs. 150/- (82), Rs. 100/- (68), Rs. 120/- (30), Rs. 200/- (1), Rs. 110/- (1), Rs. 70/- (1)
2.	Khedbrahma	885	175	37	1097	Within the taluka (83), Khedbrahma (Agiya, Matoda, Dharoi dam)=29, Palanpur (8), Danta (Sembliya)=3, Ahmedabad (1), Mehsana (1), Modasa (1), Vadthali (1)	Danta, Palanpur, Prantij, Ider, Khedbrahma Rajasthan	Between Rs. 50/- to 180/-; Rs. 150/- (69), Rs. 120/- (45), Rs. 100/- (15), Rs. 80/- (10), Rs. 110/- (9), Rs. 70/- (5), Rs. 160/- (3), Rs. 50/-, 102/-, 180/- (1)
3.	Meghraj	2295	1713	803	4811	Gandhinagar (Dehgam)=39, Ahmedabad (36), Modasa (Tintoi) = 33, Meghraj (Isari, Rellawada) =20, Dhansura (Malkampa)2, Mehsana (12), Himmatnagar (8), Kadi (4), neighboring villages (4), Mansa (3), Bhachau (1), Surat (1), Vadodara (1), Vijapur (1), Vadathali (1)	Dhansura, Himmatnagar, Meghraj, Modasa, Shamlaji, Mehsana, Gandhinagar, Ahmedabad, Kachchh	Between Rs. 65/- to 120/-; Rs. 100/- (101), Rs. 110/- (5), Rs. 80/- (4), Rs. 120/- (3), Rs. 65/- (2)
	Total	3738	1986	840	6564			

- Trend in Khedbrahma taluka of Sabarkantha district - Out of total 1,097 masons 885 (80.7%) are males, 175 (15.6%) are females and there are 37 (3.4%) are children. Apart from migrating within the taluka, they migrate to various places across Gujarat state. The labourers are paid a daily wage between 50 to 180 rupees, as per the level of the skill; however, tribals of 69 hamlets reported rupees 150/- as daily wage.

- Trend in Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha district - Out of total 4,811 masons, 2,295 (47.7%) are male, 1,713 (35.6%) are females and 803 (16.7%) are children. They migrate to various places across Gujarat state. They are paid a daily wage between 65 to 120 rupees. However, tribals from 101 hamlet reported rupees 100/- as daily wage, which is lower than residents (masons) of Khedbrahma.
- Trend in Danta taluka of Banaskantha district - Out of total 656, the number of males is 558 (85.1%), while there are 98 (14.9%) females. Apart from migrating within the taluka, they mainly migrate to talukas of Banaskantha district. They are paid a daily wage between 70 to 200 rupees; tribals of 82 hamlets reported rupees 150/- as daily wage.

Graph 4: Number of Masons from each taluka



Thus, it is clear from the table and graph that the highest number of masons is from Meghraj taluka. The male-female scenario and the involvement of children could be understood with the help of the table given below:

Table 13: Classification of Masons

No	Classification	Number	Percentage
1	Male	3738	56.9
2	Female	1986	30.3
3	Children	840	12.8
	Total	6564	100

More men prefer to work as masons than women and the children from all three talukas.

Facts about Migrant Labours as Masons

- ★ The tribals have to migrate to nearby states like Rajasthan, apart from various districts of Gujarat, like Gandhinagar and Kachchh, for working as Masons.
- ★ The Masons of Meghraj are paid a daily wage between 65-120 rupees. However, the maximum responses (101 Faliya) admitted the amount as rupees 100/- per day.

D. Migrant Labours as Casual labourers:

The tribal migrants are engaged in various kinds of work such as preparing bricks, digging wells, constructing check dams and pitches, working in mines and hotels etc. Of total 62,347 tribal migrants, 22870 (36.6%) migrate for working as field labourers or other works. Lack of opportunities for employment at local level, high illiteracy rate and ineffective implementation of NREGA turn them into casual labourers, working in unorganized sector.

Usually, these adivasi's migrate to nearby villages or towns to get work; they are employed whenever required at whatever place and therefore number of days for employment varies. At least one adult from each household goes for such works. This lot of tribals prefers to stay at home during monsoon for cultivation in their own fields.

As daily wager, their earning ranges from 40 to 50 rupees. Though they are expected to work for 8 hours, they actually work for 6 hours and 2 hours are spent for lunch and tea break twice a day. As they are employed on their own, the travelling expenses have to be born by themselves; they work on their own risk and the employer does not take any responsibility. Similarly, as their daily earning is very low or modest, their living conditions are pathetic – without any infrastructure facilities, proper shelter and no fuel supply.

The major difficulties they face are - uncertainty of employment and long hours of waiting in search of work, and travelling long distances in search of work.

Preferred Places of Migration

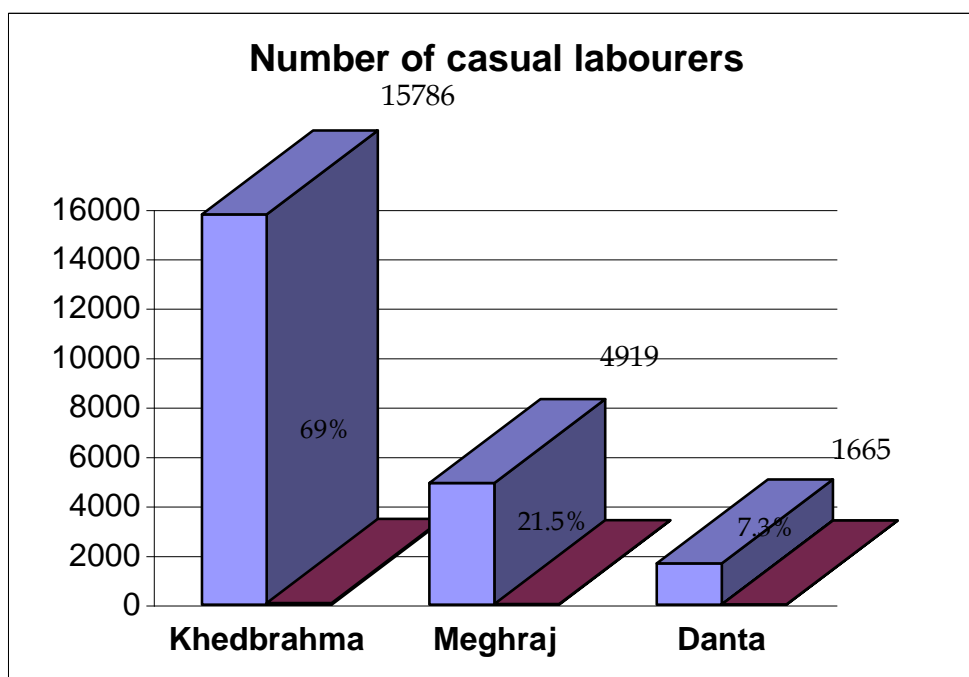
It is observed that these tribals migrate to other talukas of Banaskantha, Sabarkantha and to adjoining districts like Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar.

Table 14: Preferred places of Migration for Casual labour works

No	Name of Taluka	Male	Female	Children	Total	Places for the going to other labour work (casual / Agriculture)		Per day wages
						Based on survey (Reported by number of faliya)	Based on PLA	

1.	Danta	1355	303	07	1665	With the taluka (48), Danta (Ambaji, Ambaigadha, Hadad, Mandali, Bamnoj, Mahobatgadh, Lotoul, Makanchampa)= 72, Palanpur (9), Khedbrahma (Kheroj) 2	Danta, Palanpur, Ider, Mehsana, Ahmedabad	Between Rs. 20/- to 250/-; Rs. 50/- (46), Rs. 60/- (24), Rs. 80/- (20), Rs. 70/- (11), Rs. 20/- (5), Rs. 100/- (3), Rs. 30/-,45/- ,150/-,250/- (1)
2.	Khedbrahma	8068	5893	2325	15786	Within the taluka (70), Khedbrahma (Agiya, Matoda, Metral, Radhivad, Rudramal, Vartol, Derol)=(88), Ider (11), Palanpur (8), Vadali (6), Ahmedabad (1), Danta (Ambaji)=2, Himmatnagar (1)	Danta, Palanpur, Himmatnagar, Ider, Khedbrahma, Vadali, Mehsana, Vijapur, Rajasthan	Between Rs. 50/- to 120/-; Rs. 50/- (112), Rs. 60/- (36), Rs. 120/- (2)
3.	Meghraj	2129	1748	1042	4919	Within the taluka (Rellawada, Isari, Takarwada) = 46, Modasa (Titoi)=23, Dhansura (Vagh kampa, Mal kampa, Rangal, Umedpur)=25, Himmatnagar (4), Shivrajpur (4), Gandhinagar (3), Ahmedabad (3), Kasana, Mansa, Mehsana (2), Bayad, Bhiloda, Kadi, Morbi, Sathamba, Vadodara, Vadthali (1)	Bhiloda, Dhansura, Malpur, Meghraj, Modasa, Vadali, Dehgam, Mehsana, Gandhinagar, Ahmedabad, Changodar, Bhuj and Surat	Between Rs. 40/- to 120/-; Rs. 65/- (51), Rs. 50/- (12), Rs. 60/- (10), Rs. 110/- (8), Rs. 80/- (5), Rs. 100/- (3), Rs. 40/- (2), Rs. 120/- (2)
	Total	11552	7944	3374	22870			

- Trend in Khedbrahma taluka of Sabarkantha district - Out of total 15,786 migrants, 8,068 (51.1%) are male followed by 5893 (37.3%) females and 2,325 (14.7%) children. They migrate within the taluka and of other talukas of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts. Their daily wages is between 50 to 120 Rupees; tribals from 112 hamlets reported 50 rupees as their daily wages.
- Trend in Meghraj taluka of Sabarkantha district - Out of total 4919, 2,129 (43.3%) are male, 1,748 (35.5%) are females and 1,042 (21.2%) children, working as agricultural labour. They migrate within the taluka and assorted places all over Gujarat. The labourers reported getting daily wages between 40 and 120 rupees and tribals of 51 hamlets reported getting 65 rupees.
- Trend in Danta taluka of Banaskantha district - Out of total 1665, 1,355 (81.4%) are male, 303 (18.2%) are females and 7 (0.42%) children, working as agricultural labour. They migrate within the taluka and assorted place all over Gujarat. The daily wages is between rupees 20 to 250 rupees and tribals of 50 hamlets reported 50 rupees as their daily wages.

Graph 5: Number of casual laborers from each Taluka

The highest number of field laborers is from Khedbrahma. The male female scenario, among all the field labourers could be understood with the help of the table given below:

Table 15: Classification of casual Labourers

No	Classification	Number	Percentage
1	Male	11552	50.5
2	Female	7944	34.7
3	Children	3374	14.8
	Total	22870	100

Thus, it could be concluded that a tribal labour that migrates either to work as share cropper, B.T. Cotton field worker, mason or agricultural labour, is paid less, works more and treated inhumanly. A dearth of employment opportunities forces him to opt for such a life and to earn his livelihood a tribal migrates to distant places. However, the government endeavors to overcome such shortfall and creates job opportunities through schemes like NREGA, but nothing has helped to an extent that a tribal could avoid migrating, the findings of the study also reinforces this fact.

The wage Structures among all the four categories and the Minimum wages Act 1948

The migrant labours working under all the four categories; Share Cropper, B.T. Cotton workers, masons and casual labours are found to be getting lower wages and the remuneration is not according to the Minimum Wages Act 1948.

Though, prior to the year 2002, share croppers were not included under the Minimum wages act, but consequently they are also included and treated as a permanent labour², therefore are eligible to get minimum wages. But, as observed by the study that the share croppers too, not getting an adequate payment.

The table below explains the wage structure among all the four categories:

Table 16: Wage Structure of Migrant labours

Type of Migrant labour	Remuneration/ Daily wages		
	Danta	Khedbrahma	Meghraj
Share Cropper	Fourth/fifth or sixth share in total production	Fifth or sixth share	Fifth or seventh share
B.T. Cotton Field worker	40-60 Rs. per day	50 Rs. per day	40-70 Rs. per day
Mason	70-200 Rs. per day	50-180 Rs. per day	65-120 Rs. per day
Casual Labour	20-250 Rs. Per day	50-120 Rs. per day	40-120 Rs. Per day

It is apparent that usually the daily wage starts from Rs. 40 and in the case of casual labour it is reported as low as Rs. 20 per day. Though, at the same time the higher end of the wages touch Rs. 250/- per day for casual labours, yet is found in very few cases. The share cropper too, gets a smaller share in the total production of crops in comparison to the labour deployed. By and large, the daily wage is found to be lower than the minimum wages i.e. Rs. 100 per day, as prescribed by the Minimum Wages Act 1948.

Thus, the situation of migrant labour is remorseful as far as remuneration or daily wages is concerned.

Overview of tribal migrant labourers

★ Of total 13,825, 5,522 (39.9%) of child labourers are engaged in Share cropping, while 4118 (29.7%) are engaged in B.T. Cotton fields, 3,374 (24.4%) are working as casual labour and 840 (6.1%) in masonry work. Of total 5,522 (39.9%) is child labourers working as share cropper, 3,423 are from Khedbrahma and 2,094 from Danta taluka.

★ Total 22870 (36.7%) tribals migrate to work on B.T. Cotton farms; of them, Khedbrahma ranks highest with 11,428 (59.9%), followed by Meghraj with 4,297 (27.3%) and 2,441 (12.8%) from Danta. With regard to the male-female scenario, it is observed that out of all BT cotton workers, 9694 (51.1%) are male, 5192 (27.3%) females and 3280 (21.6%) are children. These labourers are paid a daily wage

² As per the amendment in 'The Minimum wages Act 1948', the permanent labour means any person included an employee known as "chakar", "Bhagiya", "Hathi" or "Saathi". Who is employed for hire or reward to do any work in connection with employment in agriculture labour and is paid wages with or without prerequisites on the basis of a specific period of work from one month to twelve months.

between rupees 40 to 60. The migrants of Danta taluka prefer to migrate to adjoining taluka in Banaskantha and Sabarkantha districts.

- ★ Total 6564 tribals migrate for masonry work, 4,811 (73.3%) masons are from Meghraj, 1,097 (16.7%) of masons are from Khedbrahma and 656 (10%) of masons are from Danta. Thus the highest number of masons is from Meghraj. The masons are paid a daily wage from 60 to 90 rupees.
- ★ Almost from every taluka, the tribals are observed to be migrating for working as field workers in B.T. Cotton, except from Panchha village, as the villagers get enough employment opportunities in the nearby area due to Ambaji's temple.
- ★ According to the PLA, the maximum number of casual labourers is from Meghraj, however they have to travel daily up to 15 Km. from their village in search of work.
- ★ An exchange of labour is also observed among casual labours.

Sub-Section – II: Presence of Child Labour

The Child Labour is found to be very high; out of total 32,518 households, 13,854 (43%) reported that children are working as labourers. The highest presence of Child labour is found to be in Khedbrahma taluka at 8,660 (62.5%), while in Danta, it is at 2502 (18.1%) and in Meghraj it is 2692 (19.4%).

Out of 13,825 total share cropper, the maximum number of share cropper, 5522 (39.9%) is of Child labourers. Majority of share cropper from all three blocks are children.

The table below presents an overview of child labour involved in various activities:

Table 17: Child labour in North Gujarat

Type of labours	Danta		Khedbrahma		Meghraj		Total	
	No of child labour	%	No of child labour	%	No of child labour	%	No of child labour	%
Share cropping	2094	83.7	3423	39.5	5	0.2	5522	39.9
B.T.Cotton	401	16.0	2875	33.2	842	31.3	4118	29.7
Masonry work	0	-	37	0.4	803	29.8	840	6.1
Other labour work (Casual / Agri)	7	0.3	2325	26.8	1042	38.7	3374	24.4
Total	2502	100	8660	100	2692	100	13854	100
R%	18.1	-	62.5	-	19.4	-	100	-
Total households	9818	-	14164	-	8536	-	32518	-
R%	30.2	-	43.6	-	26.3	-	100	-

According to the PLA held at 18 villages, approximately 200 to 300 children migrate to work as B.T. Cotton workers from Veenchi village of Khedbrahma taluka, while in Kansa village in Danta taluka, out of a total 197 households, two children from every household are reported to be migrating to work in B.T. Cotton fields, which suggests that 200-400 children work as labourers. There are a very high number of child labourers in Khedbrahma (3423) and Danta (2094) who are working as migrant share croppers. In Danta, the number of child labours as share cropper is significantly higher (5522) than the number of adult male (1339) or female (963) labourers.

Child labour at glance

- The highest number 5522 (39.9%) of child labourers are engaged in Share cropping, while 4118 (29.7%) are engaged in B.T. Cotton fields and 3374 (24.4%) are working as Agricultural labours. However, the percentage of child labour in Masonry works is insignificant with 6.1% at 840.
- The majority of the share cropper from all the three blocks; Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj, are children.

- Thus, a total number of 13854 (43%) out of total 32518 House holds are child labourers.
- The highest presence of Child labour is found in Khedbrahma taluka at 62.5%.
- In Megraj, 803 children are reported to be doing work as Masons.

Sub-section – III: Status of NREGA

National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and Employment opportunities provided to Tribals of Banaskatha and Sabarkantha

The main objective of **National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA)** is to ensure sustainable livelihood to people of rural area. It guarantees 100 days of work to a household in a financial year that is from 1st of April to 31st of March. The government provides wages according to the Minimum Wages Act 1948. Kind of works carried out under the Act are as follows;

- Drought proofing (forestation and tree plantation)
- Water harvesting and water conservation
- Making roads and canals
- Land development
- Recharging wells

Unlike other schemes such as Jawahar Rojgar Yojana, Swarn Gram Rojgar Yojna, it is not allocation based work but the people have to volunteer to work at any time they wish.

Conditions of getting work under NREGA

- A household should have a job card with a common photograph of all adult family members. However, only one able bodied person from each household is entitled to work.
- One has to demand work by submitting a written application to ‘talati’ (revenue secretary of the village).
- Wages are provided either after a week or a fourth week.

Issues related to NREGA

- It is not being implemented in a half of villages due to not issuance of job cards.
- In some cases, a payment less than the minimum wages prescribed by the Minimum Wages Act 1948 have been reported and in some cases, no payment was received at all.

Therefore the study tried to analyze the availability of employment in the study area. The table below reveals the outcome-

Table 18: NREGA Details

No.	NREGA details	Taluka						Total	%
		Danta	%	Khedbrahma	%	Meghraj	%		
1.	Is job card made?								
	Yes	6423	65.42	13674	96.54	8456	99.06	28553	87.81
	No	2094	21.33	490	3.46	80	0.94	2664	8.19
	Not Known	1301	13.25	0	0	0	0	1301	4
	Total	9818	100	14164	100	8536	100	32518	100
2.	If yes, apply in Gram Panchayat for the work								
	Yes	2619	40.78	3488	25.51	8372	99.01	14479	50.71
	No	3804	59.22	10186	74.49	84	0.99	14074	49.29
	Total	6423	100	13674	100	8456	100	28553	100
3.	How many days getting work under NREGA								
	Work did not start	1148	11.69	1991	14.06	2720	31.87	5859	18.02
	1-30 days	1154	11.75	4047	28.57	4410	51.66	9611	29.56
	31-60 days	460	4.69	4214	29.75	1076	12.61	5750	17.68
	> 61 days	0	-	2680	18.92	0	-	2680	8.24
	Not Applicable	7037	71.67	1202	8.49	181	2.12	8420	25.89
	Not Known	19	0.19	30	0.21	149	1.75	198	0.61
	Total	9818	-	14164	-	8536	-	32518	-
4.	Getting remuneration								
	Yes	582	5.93	5098	35.99	4765	55.82	10445	32.12
	No	1440	14.67	5873	41.46	870	10.19	8183	25.16
	Not Applicable	7796	79.41	3193	22.54	2901	33.99	13890	42.71
	Total hh	9818	-	14164	-	8536	-	32518	-

Based on the table, it could be stated that;

- Out of all covered villages, 28,553 (87.8%) have get their job card made. If we look at the scenario in all the three talukas, in Danta, 6,423 (65.4%) have get their job card made, whereas in Khedbrahma 13,674 (96.5%) and in Meghraj 8,456 (99%) have get their job card made. Thus, the situation is better in Meghraj, as far as job card is concerned.
- Though a total of 14,479 (50.7%) have applied for work, only 29.6% got work for 1-30 days, 17.68% got work for 31-60 days, 8.24% got work for >61 days.
- Despite getting work 25.16% reported of not getting remuneration and only 32.12% reported getting payment.
- 18.02% reported that the work under NREGA has not started in their village yet.

Thus, it could be stated that NREGA has not been able to help in creating enough job opportunities so that a tribal need not to migrate.

Major findings

- Out of all migrant labours the majority of the migrant laborers that is 22870 (36.7%) are working as Agricultural labour, while 19088 (30.6%) work in fields of BT cotton, 13825 (22.2%) of migrant laborers work as share croppers and almost 6564 (11%) of migrant laborers work as masons.
- A specific Pattern of Migration is observed in every category.
- The Wages or returns are very low, not up to the mark of Minimum wages (rupees 100/- daily)
- Long Working Hours and less payment makes them not better than Bondage labour
- NREGA has not been able to generate sufficient employment opportunities
- The tribal migrants are working in pathetic conditions
- Human rights of the migrant labourers are violated, they have to face physical, mental and sometimes sexual harassments
- The labourers have to bear many health hazards due to unhygienic working conditions and hardships
- There is lack of stability in their life and social life is also disturbed
- Uncertainty of employment
- Children are deprived of their childhood and education
- The living standards of the tribals are dismal

Chapter 4: Conclusion

To create database on tribal migrants of north Gujarat, total 147 villages of 3 taluka – Megharaj and Khedbrahma of Sabarkantha and Danta of Banaskantha district have been covered through survey while in 18 villages, primary data collection has taken place through participatory and qualitative research techniques during May 2008 and January 2009.

Through survey, we have covered data about total 62,347 tribals who work as migrant labourers. Of the total 62,347 tribal migrant labourers, 13,825 (22.2%) migrate as share croppers, 19,088 (30.6%) migrate to work on B.T. Cotton farms, 6,564 (10.5%) migrate for masonry work and 22,870 (36.7%) work as casual labourers. This shows that **the majority of the migrant laborers are working as casual labourers.**

Situation and concerns of Share Croppers

- ⇒ Out of total 13,825 share croppers covered through survey, the highest is from Khedbrahma taluka at 9411 (68.1%), while 4396 (31.8%) are from Danta taluka and 18 (0.1%) from Meghraj taluka.
- ⇒ Working as share croppers, the tribal of Danta, Meghraj and Khedbrahma, migrate to Mehsana and Gandhinagar district, along with other talukas of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts.
- ⇒ The share cropper of Khedbrahma gets fourth/fifth or sixth share of the crop, while the share cropper of Danta gets fifth or sixth share and the share cropper of Meghraj gets fifth or seventh share of the crop as the remuneration.

Situation and concerns of B.T. Cotton Workers

- ⇒ Out of total Out of all 62347 tribal migrants covered through participatory methods, 19088 work as B.T. Cotton worker. Of them, the maximum 11428 (59.9%) are from Khedbrahma followed by Meghraj with 5219 (27.3%) BT cotton workers, while 2441 (12.8%) of B T cotton workers are from Danta.
- ⇒ The tribals of Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj migrate to Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar districts, along with other talukas of Banaskatha and Sabarkantha district.
- ⇒ Almost from every taluka, the tribals are observed to be migrating for working as filed workers in B.T. Cotton, except from Panchha village, as they get enough employment opportunities in the nearby area due to Ambaji's temple.
- ⇒ Among all the tribal migrant BT cotton workers, 9694 (51.1%) are male, 5192 (27.3%) are females and 3280 (21.6%) are children.
- ⇒ The B.T. Cotton migrant labours are usually paid a daily wage between rupees 40/- to 60/-.

Situation and concerns of labourers engaged in masonry work

- ⇒ Out of total 6,564 Migrant masons, 4,811 (73.3%) are from Meghraj, 1,097 (16.7%) of masons are from Khedbrahma and 656 (10%) of masons are from Danta. Thus, the highest number is from Meghraj.
- ⇒ The tribals migrate to other districts of Gujarat, like Gandhinagar, Kachchh and even to other States like Rajasthan (Mount Abu) for working as masons.
- ⇒ The masons of Meghraj are paid a daily wage between 65/- to 120/- rupees. However, the maximum responses (101 faliya) admitted the amount as rupees 100/-.

Situation and concerns of casual labourers

- ⇒ Out of total 22,870 Casual labourers 15,786 (69%) are from Khedbrahma, 4,919 (21.5%) are from Meghraj and 1,665 (7.3%) are from Danta.
- ⇒ The tribals of Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj migrate to other talukas of Banaskantha, Sabarkantha and to districts of Mehsana, Patan and Gandhinagar, for working as casual labours.
- ⇒ Out of total 15,786 casual labourers, very high number 2,325 (21%) children, are working as casual labours in Khedbrahma.
- ⇒ Apart from payment in cash, an exchange of labour is also observed.

A high presence of Child Labourers is observed:

- ⇒ A total of 13,854 child labourers are working as migrant labours engaged in various activities. The highest number 5,522 (39.9%) of child labourers are engaged in share cropping, while 4,118 (29.7%) are engaged in B.T. Cotton fields and 3,374 (24.4%) are working as casual labours. However, the percentage of child labour in masonry works is 840 (6.1%).
- ⇒ In a comparison of all the three talukas, the highest presence of Child labour is found in Khedbrahma taluka at 8,660 (62.5%), while it is at 2,692 (19.4%) in Meghraj and 2,502 (18.1) % in Danta.
- ⇒ It is observed that out of 13,825 total share croppers, the maximum number of share croppers, 5,522 (39.9%) is child labourers and the situation is almost same in all the three talukas.
- ⇒ According to the PLA held at 18 villages, approximately 200 to 300 children migrate to work as B.T. Cotton workers from Veenchi village of Khedbrahma taluka, while in Kansa village in Danta taluka, out of a total 197 households, two children from every household are reported to be migrating to work in B.T. Cotton fields, which suggests that 200-400 children work as labourers.

Trend of Migration:

In all the four categories, the pattern of migration is found to be very specific and different from the rest categories:

- ⇒ Nature of Movement - There is always an individual movement for migration to work as masonry worker and in that too, an adult male from each family tends to opt for this job. For working in B.T. Cotton fields children or adolescent tends to migrate. It is observed that from each family, one or two children migrate. While for share cropping the entire family migrates to distant places and a casual labour mostly migrates individually.
- ⇒ Associated Age Group - For working in B.T. Cotton fields, the respondents informed that the adolescents are given preference and a person above the age of 30-35 is not at all hired; however, the employers denies this opinion of the labourers. As share cropper, every age group gives contribution through labour while the adult males take care of farming, the females give a helping hand and also take care of cattle and the children contribute in supportive tasks.

In the category of masonry work, mostly skilled males are observed to be working. However, among casual labour a mixed trend is observed and a high number of child labourers are also observed to be working.

- ⇒ Extent of Migration - The share cropper migrates ranging from three months to entire year. However, the B.T. Cotton worker migrates for maximum three months. The duration of migration of Mason is not fixed, as he migrates for the period he is hired for, depending upon the work. The extent of migration of casual labour too, varies a lot, depending upon availability of work and season.

The Wages or returns are very low, not up to the mark of Minimum wages:

- ⇒ The migrant labourers are not being paid accordance to the labour deployed. They are not being paid as the norms of the Minimum Wages Act 1948³.
- ⇒ As B.T. Cotton worker, the migrants going from Khedbrahma taluka are paid a daily wage of Rs. 50/-, the migrants from Danta taluka are paid a daily wage between rupees 40 to 60/-, while the migrants from Meghraj taluka, are paid between 40-70/- rupees as daily wages.
- ⇒ For masonry works, the labours from Danta taluka are paid a daily wage between Rs. 70 to 200/-, from Khedbrahma, are paid a daily wage between Rs. 50 to 180/- while the masons from Meghraj, are paid a daily wage between Rs. 65 to 120/-.
- ⇒ The share cropper from Khedbrahma gets fourth / fifth or sixth share of the crop as the remuneration, the share cropper from Meghraj get fifth or seventh share and the share cropper from Danta gets fifth or sixth share of the crop as the remuneration. However, there is an uncertainty of payment as the owner of the land, usually denies or delays the payment, changes the accounts and deceives the share cropper.

NREGA has not been able to generate sufficient employment opportunities:

³ In 2008, through an amendment in the 'Minimum Wages Act 1948', the daily minimum wage has fixed as Rs. 100/-.

- ⇒ Out of six villages from each talukas; Danta, Khedbrahma and Meghraj, the NREGA work was initiated only in two villages of each taluka and of 18 villages, only 50% of the population has got their job card made^{*}.
- ⇒ Out of 147 villages, 28,553 (87.8%) have get their job card made. In Danta, 6,423 (65.4%) have get their job card made, whereas in Khedbrahma 13,674 (96.5%) and in Meghraj 8,456 (99%) have get their job card made[^].

Difficulties faced by migrant labours:

- ⇒ Long working Hours and lower wages
- ⇒ Pathetic living and working conditions
- ⇒ Vulnerability of Sexual harassment in form of rape, and abduction or trafficking
- ⇒ Health Hazards, no life security
- ⇒ Violation of Human Rights- social discrimination, verbal abuse and maltreatment
- ⇒ Lack of Stability and Social security
- ⇒ Adverse impact on the education of the children

Hence, the study has confirmed that the Tribals of Banaskatha and Sabarkantha are facing numerous problems.

At Glance

- Out of all migrant labours the majority of the migrant laborers, i.e. 22,870 (36.7%) are working as agricultural labour, while 19,088 (30.6%) work in fields of BT cotton, 13,825 (22.2%) of migrant laborers work as share croppers and almost 11% of migrant laborers are engaged in masonry work.
- The wages or economic returns are very low, not up to the mark of Minimum wages; long working hours and less payment makes them vulnerable to economic exploitation and semi-bonded conditions.
- The living standards and working conditions of the tribal migrant labourers are dismal.
- The labourers have to bear many health hazards due to higher use of pesticides, unhygienic working conditions and hardships.
- There is lack of stability in their life and social life is also disturbed; uncertainty of employment contributes to their underdevelopment.
- Total number of 13,854 (43%) out of total 32,518 households is child labourers. Of total tribal migrant labourers, 21% are children.
- The highest number 5,522 (39.9%) of child labourers are engaged in share cropping followed by 4,118 (29.7%) in B.T. Cotton fields, 3,374 (24.4%) as agricultural labours and 840 (6.1%) engaged in masonry works.

^{*} This information is derived from participatory techniques.

[^] This information is derived from village survey

- Children are deprived of their childhood and education.
- NREGA has not been able to generate sufficient employment opportunities.

To combat the problems of the tribal migrant labours and to bring a positive change in the scenario few steps are recommended:

- Strict Implementation of Labour Laws for protecting the Interests of the migrant labours working is the need of the hour. This would include wages, fixed working hours, sufficient recess time or breaks are given and wages to be paid for extra work or for overtime.
- The Labour Commissioner should also ensure engagement of licensed labour contractors rather than unlicensed contractors who develop nexus with the farm labourers and exploit tribals.
- Strict Action against occurrences of child labour.
- Making provisions for legal contract between the land owner and share cropper.
- Insurance coverage of the B.T. Cotton labourers against health problems and accidents
- Issuing/ implementing Guide lines for protection of labours:
 - (i) Instructions to the land owner/ farmers and to *mats*:
 - Registration of the labours with the mamlatdar / tehsildar, especially below 18 year age group.
 - Maintaining record of all the hired labours.
 - Issuing salary slips to the labours.
 - Payment of travelling allowance for migrating labours.
 - Regular disbursement of wages.
 - Reporting of the number of labourers at the check posts transported through *mat*.
 - Providing the basic facilities - food, shelter, drinking water, etc.
 - Compensation for accidents, ill health or accidental death on the farm.
 - (ii) Guide lines for the Government Machinery:
 - Registration of the labours.
 - Supervision and regular inspection of the B.T. Cotton farms by the District labour Officer.

Apart from these, creating new job avenues in the area taking into consideration the capabilities and requirements of the tribals, protecting forests, averting land acquisitions and amending forest protection laws in favour of the tribals is also recommendable.

Annexure 1: Number of Talukas from each district

No.	Districts	
	Banaskantha	Sabarkantha
1.	Vav	Khedbrahma
2.	Tharad	Vijaynagar
3.	Dhanera	Vadali
4.	Dantiwada	Idar
5.	Amirgadh	Bhiloda
6.	Danta	Meghraj
7.	Vadgam	Himmatnagar
8.	Palanpur	Prantij
9.	Deesa	Talod
10.	Deodar	Modasa
11.	Bhabhar	Dhansura
12.	Kankrej	Malpur
13.	-	Bayad

Annexure 2: PLA Guidelines

1. **Resource Mapping** (water, road, anganvadi, primary and higher secondary schools, gram panchayat, electricity, primary health centre etc.)
 - Drawing a map to find out available resources in different streets.
 - Resources of drinking water
 - Roads and its situation
 - Information of anganvadi
 - Primary school
 - Number of students and teachers
 - Higher secondary school
 - Where do the children go if there is no school?

2. **Seasonal Analysis** (kind of labor, places and wages)
 - What kind of work is available in different seasons?
 - Different wages
 - In which season do the villagers migrate?
 - Reasons for migration for particular work

3. **Mobility Mapping** (places of migration and its distance)
 - Number of migrants from a village
 - Kind of work (BT cotton, mason etc.)
 - Name of places of migration
 - Distance from village
 - Negotiator
 - Facility of boarding

4. **Venn Diagram**
 - Total number of mats in each village, their age, education, skills and abilities
 - Number of mats from each street
 - Which mat takes the highest number of laborers?
 - Criteria for selection of laborers
 - Conversation between a mat and laborers
 - Style of functioning of a mat
 - Commission of a mat
 - Eligibilities of a mat
 - Do mats take only their relatives or not?
 - Which age and sex of villagers do mats prefer to take? Why?
 - Do mats take all laborers to one places or different places?
 - How do mats know about requirement of laborers at different places?
 - Do mats receive advance from owners?
 - Responsibilities of mats till they bring back laborers to their villages
 - Risk of mats

Annexure 3:
Situation of Tribal Migrant Labourers of Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts of North Gujarat

District:..... Block:..... Village:..... Date:.....

Name of a Respondent:.....

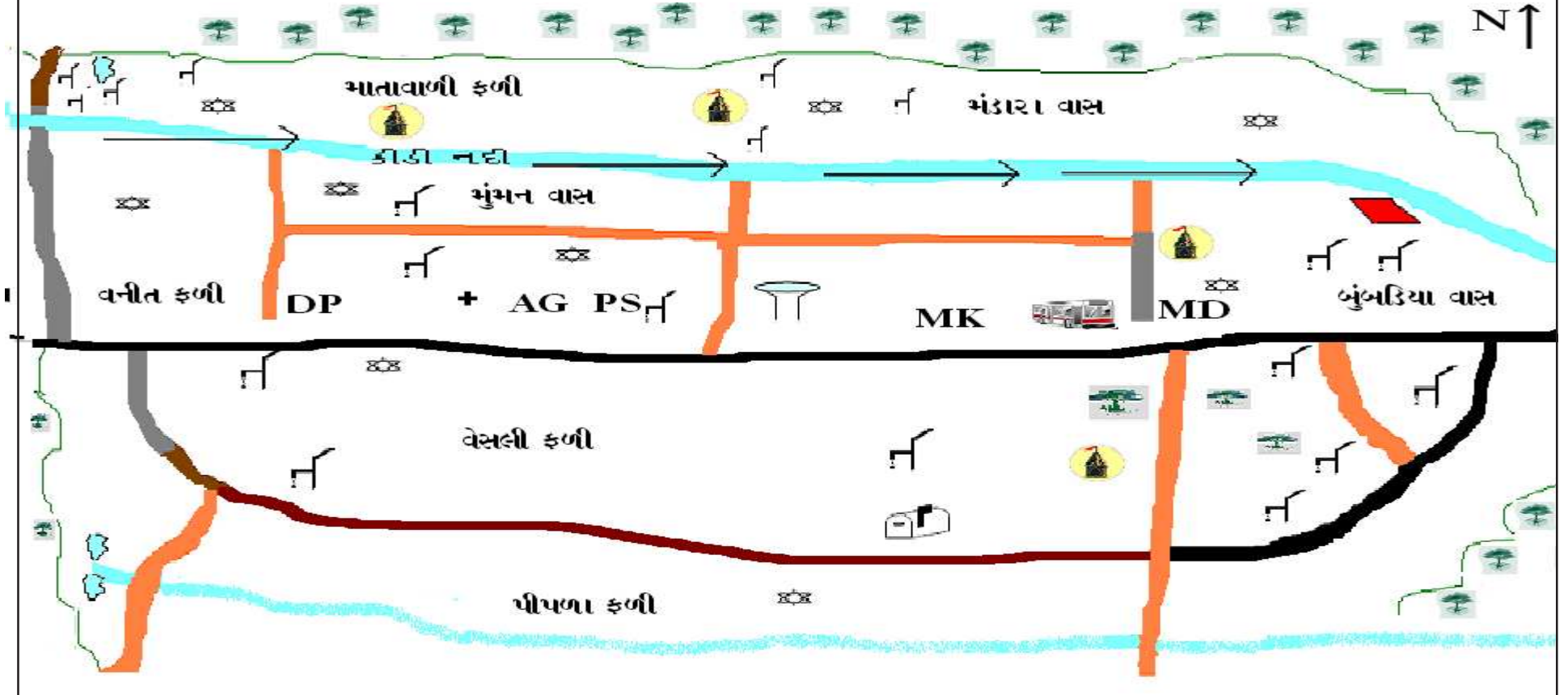
Part 1: Information about Village

1. Population:..... Female:.....Male:.....Total population of tribal:.....
 2. Caste other than tribal (thakor, patel, vaniya etc.)
 3. Kind of panchayat (individual / group)
 4. Where is panchayat? (same village/other village)
 5. Number of villages in case of group panchayat:.....
- Name of villages:.....
6. Distance from blockk.m.
 7. Number of streets:.....
 8. Commission of a mat per laborer in Rs.....

Part 2 : Information about Streets

No	Name of streets	Number of houses	Kind of Works																	Number of Mats per street	Number of mats who have left half a way							
			Number of shared croppers					Numbr of BT cotton labores				Mason			Other laborers				NREGA									
			male	female	children	areas	share	male	female	children	areas	wageso	male	female	children	areas	wages	male	female			children	areas	Wages	Are job cards ready? 1=yes, 2=no	Have you asked for work? 1=yes, 2=no	Days of work	received wages? 1=yes, 2=no
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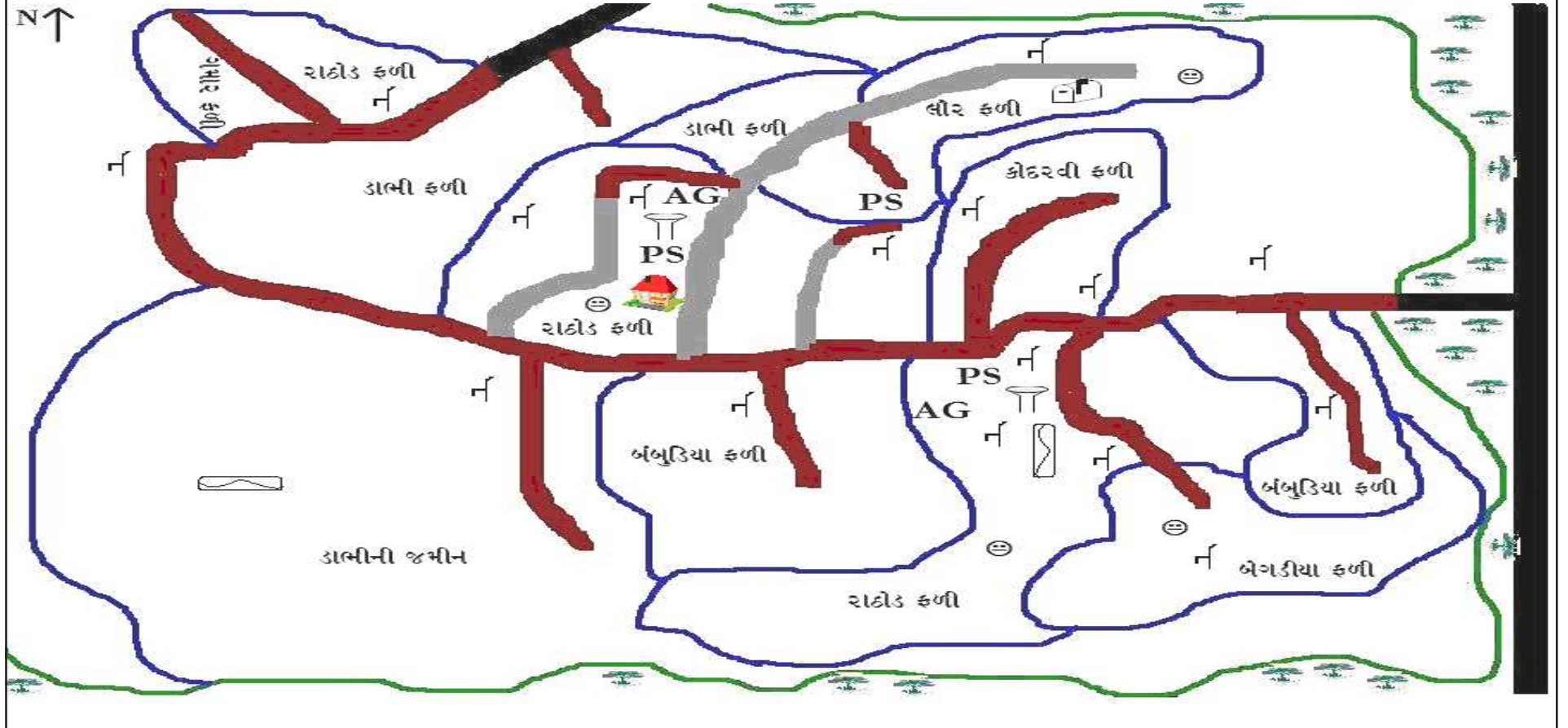
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| ડામર રોડ | AG અંગણવાડી | પાણીની ટાંકી | MK મજૂર કેન્દ્ર | MD દૂધ ડેરી |
| આર.સી.સી. રોડ | PS પ્રાથમિક શાળા | કોમ્યુનિટી હોલ | પીકઅપ સ્ટેન્ડ | |
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| કાથો રસ્તો | DP લાઈટ ડી.પી | ફળિયા | જંગલ વિસ્તાર | |
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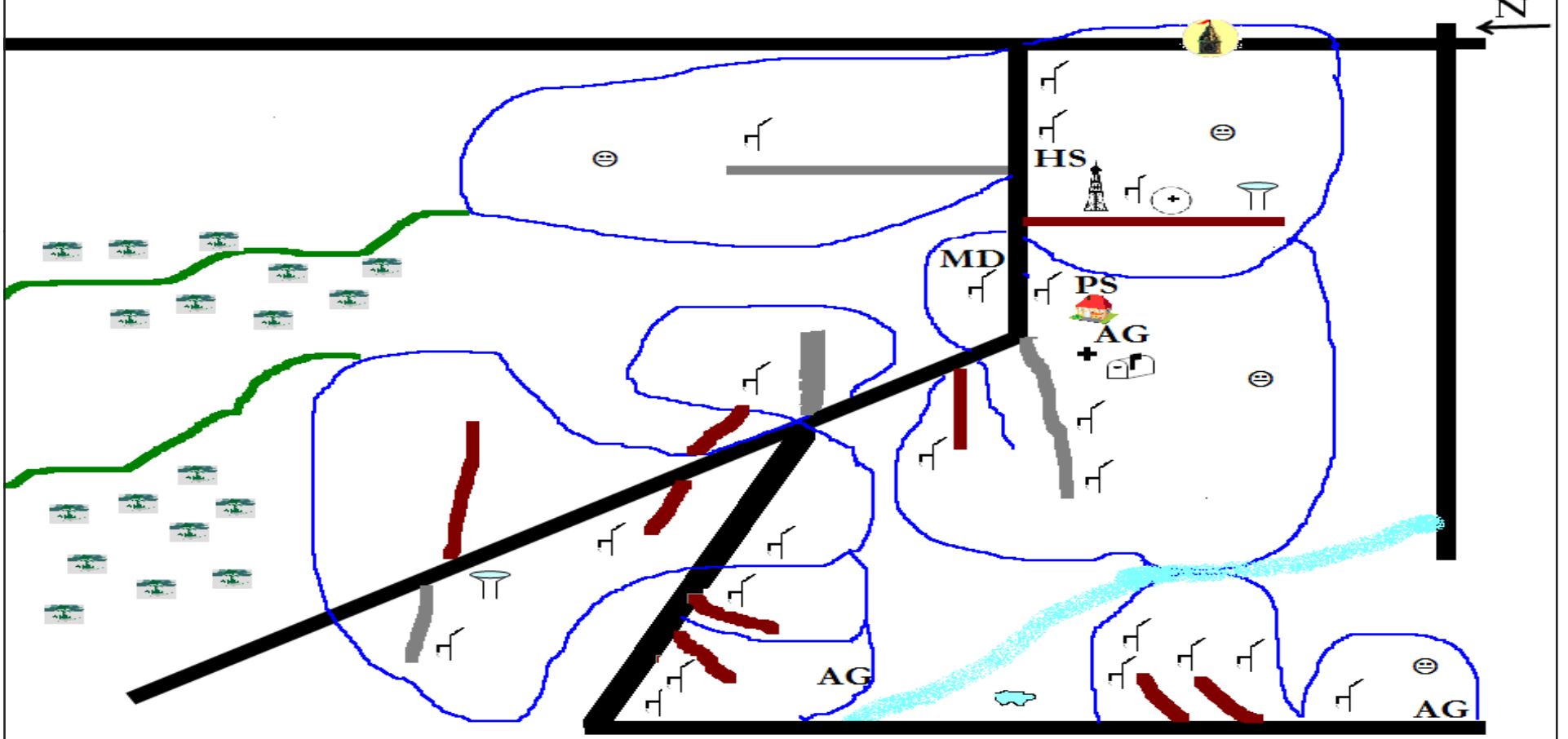
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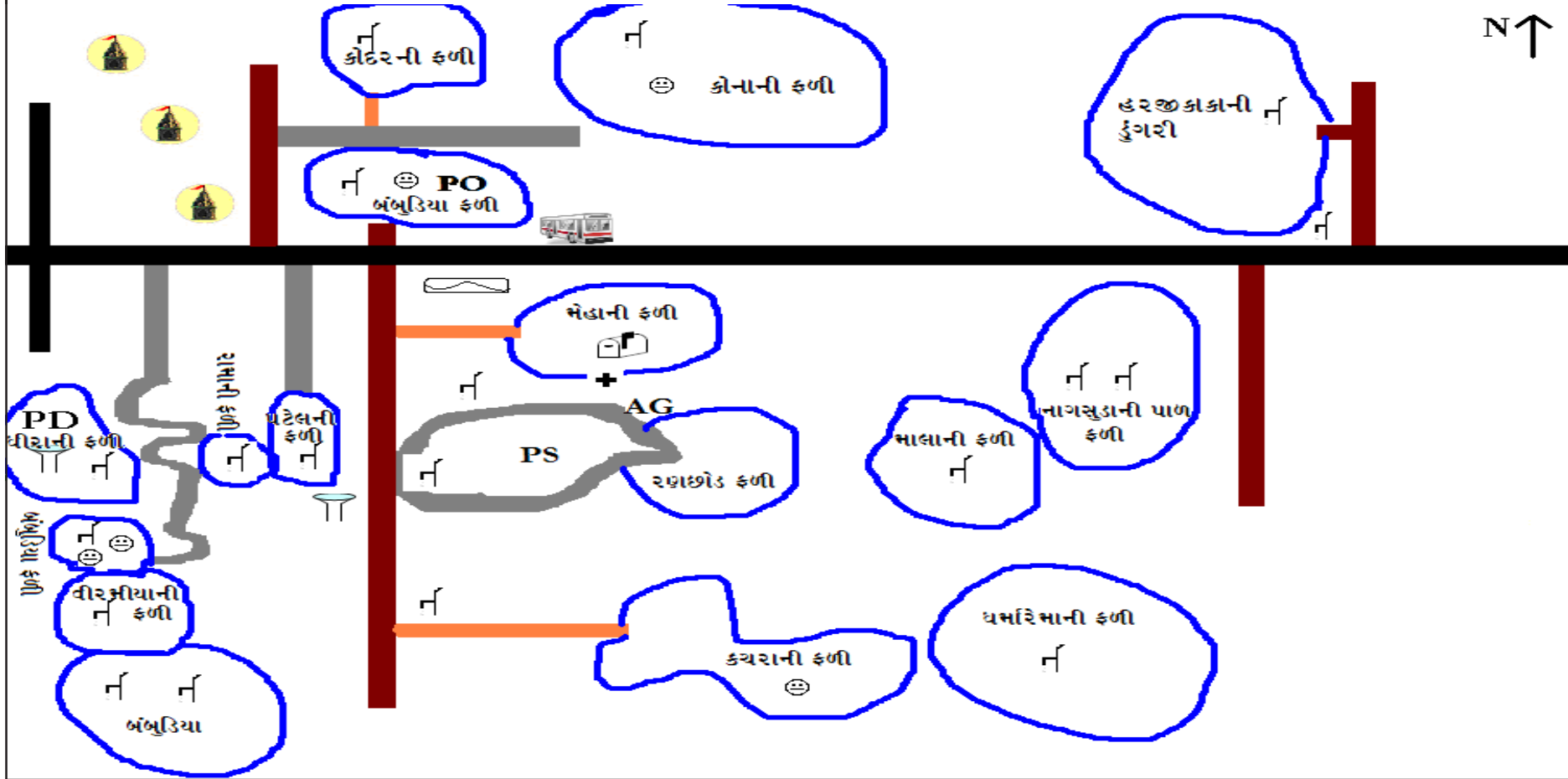
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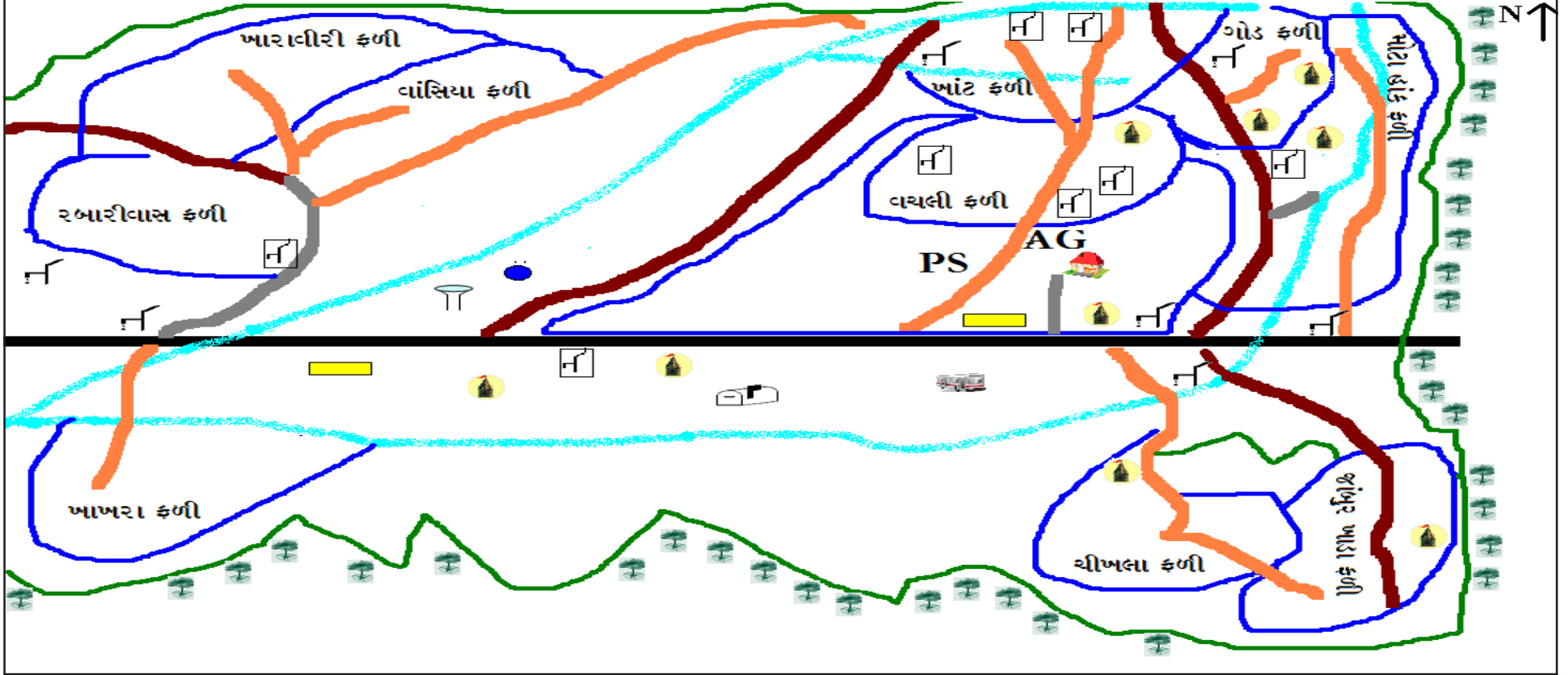
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








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| | આર.સી.સી. રોડ | | હેન્ડ પંપ | | મંદિર | PD | સસ્તા અનાજની દુકાન |
| | કાચો રસ્તો | | વડાડો | | ઠવાખાનું | | |
| | ફળિયાની હદ | AG | આંગણવાડી | | કોમ્યુનિટી હોલ | | |
| | પગદંડી | PS | પ્રાથમિક શાળા | PO | પોસ્ટ ઓફિસ | | |

ગામનું નામ: પાંછા, તાલુકો: ઘંતા



સૂચિ

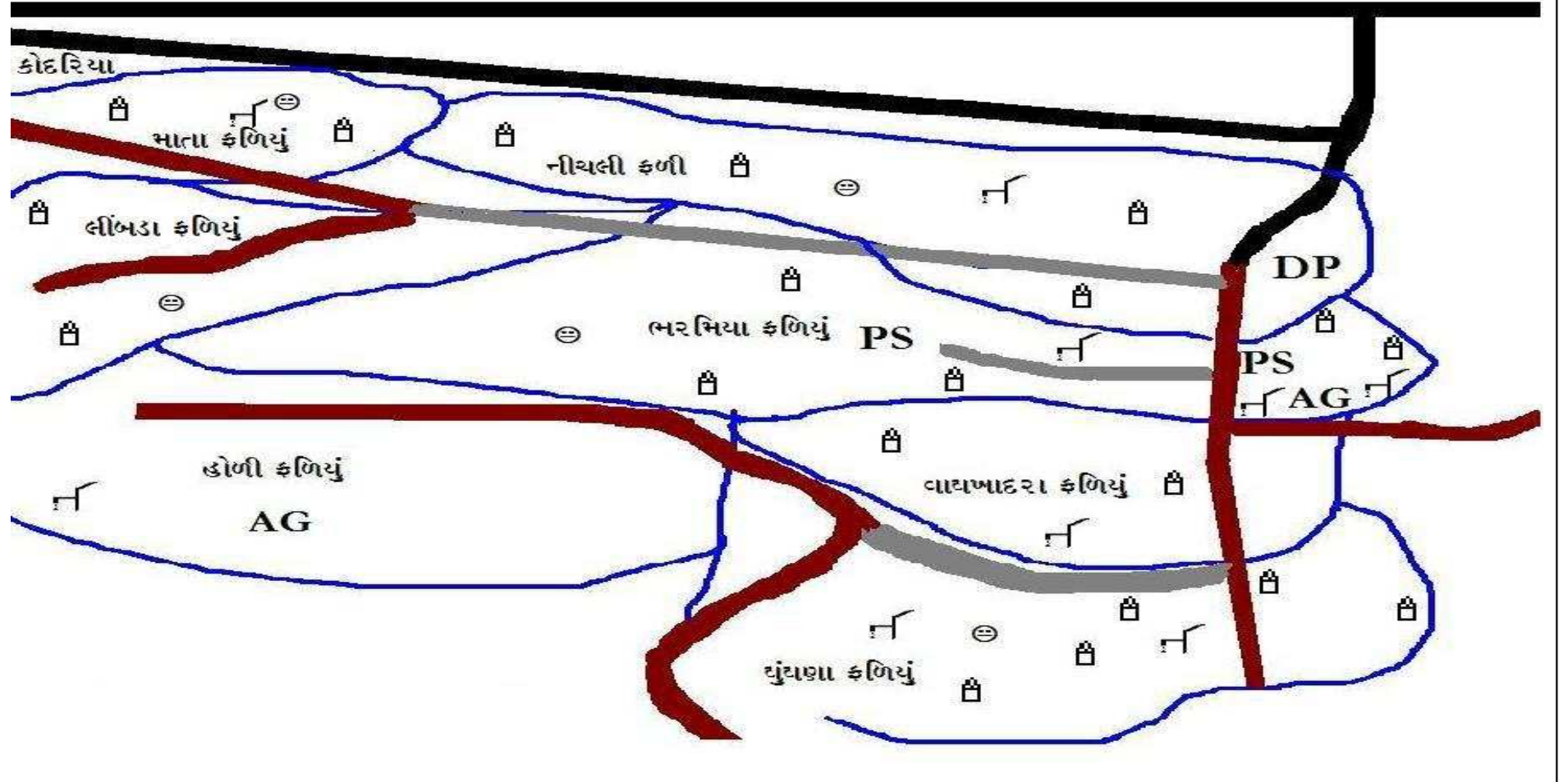
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|---|---|--|---|
|  ડામર રોડ | AG આંગણવાડી |  પંચાયત ઘર |  પીકઅપ સ્ટેન્ડ |
|  આર.સી.સી. રોડ | PS પ્રાથમિક શાળા |  કોમ્યુનિટી હોલ |  જંગલ વિસ્તાર |
|  પગદંડી |  હેન્ડ પંપ બંધ |  પાણીનો બોર |  વહેળો |
|  કાચો રસ્તો |  હેન્ડ પંપ |  મંદિર | |
|  કળિયાની હદ |  પાણીની ટાંકી |  મારબલ મૂર્તિ | |

ગામનું નામ: તારંગડા, તાલુકો: ખેડબ્રહ્મા



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|--|---------------|-----------|--------------|--|--------------|
| | ડામરની રોડ | | સુધિ | | મંદિર |
| | આર.સી.સી. રોડ | | હે-ડપંપ ચાલુ | | મેટ |
| | કાચો રસ્તો | | હે-ડપંપ ચાલુ | | જંગલ વિસ્તાર |
| | પગદંડી | AG | આંગણવાડી | | વહેણા |
| | | | કળિયાની હદ | | |

ગામનું નામ: ભરમીયા. તાલકો: ખેડબ્રહ્મા



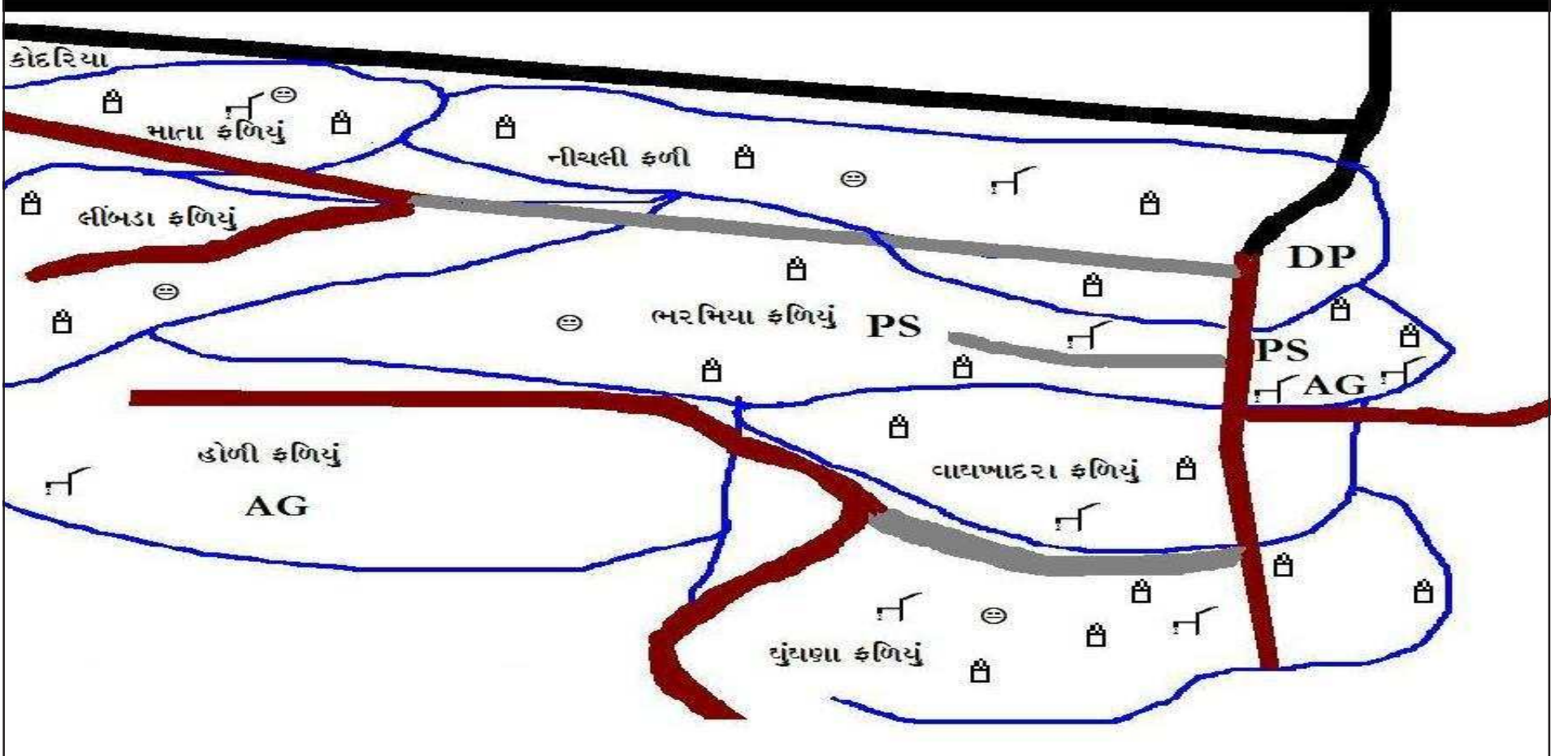
સૂચિ

- ડામર રોડ
- આર.સી.સી. રોડ
- કાચો રસ્તો








- AG આંગણવાડી
- PS પ્રાથમિક શાળા
- DP લાઈટ ડી.પી.

- 🏠 લાઈટના ચાંબલા
- ⊙ મેટ
- 🔲 કાંબલાની હદ
- ⊕ હેન્ડ પંપ

ગામનું નામ: ઘંતિયા, તાલુકો:

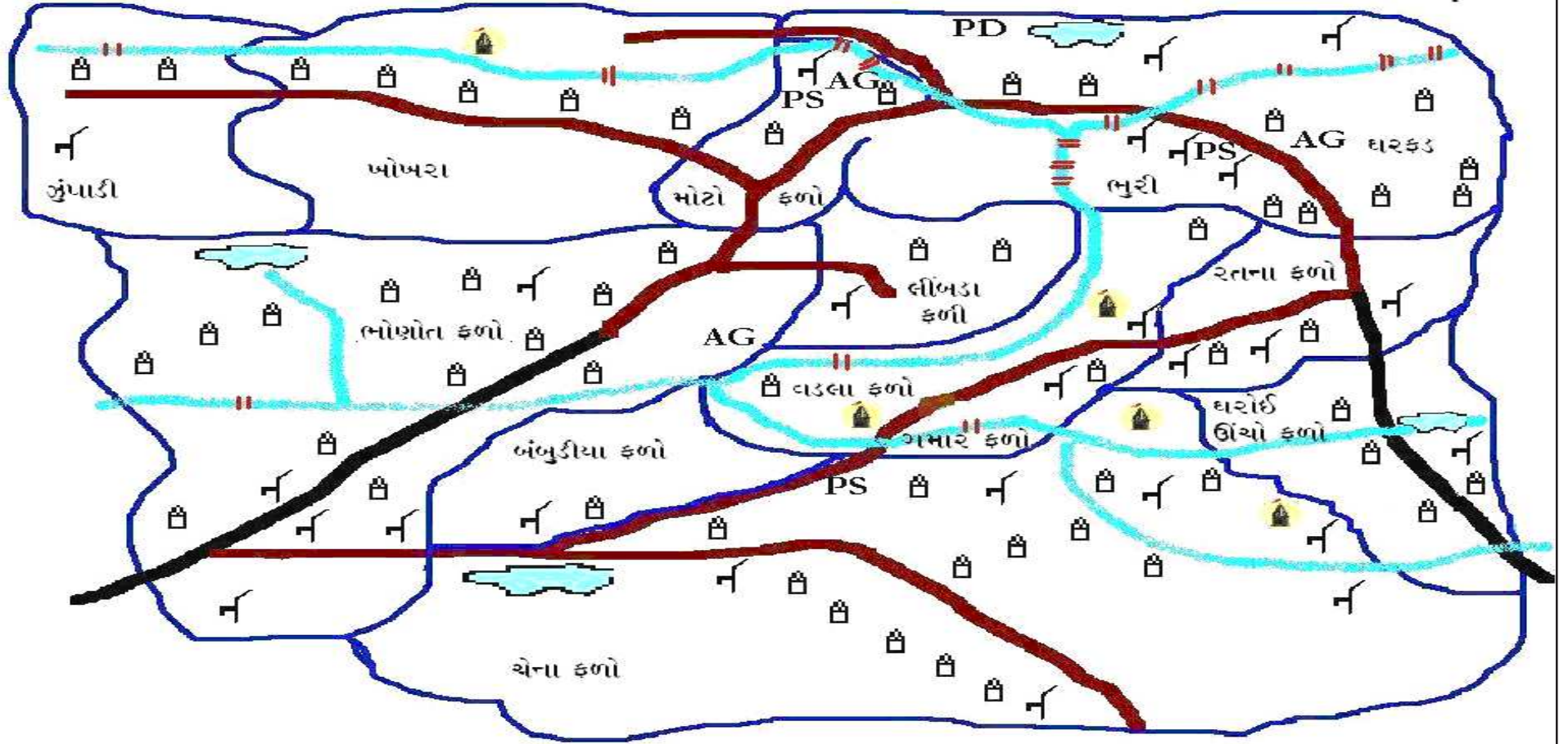


સૂચિ





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|  | ડામર રોડ | AG | અંગણવાડી |  | લાઈટના થાંભલા |  | મેટ |
|  | આર.સી.સી. રોડ | PS | પ્રાથમિક શાળા |  | ફળિયાની હટ | | |
|  | કાચો રસ્તો | DP | લાઈટ ડી.પી. |  | | | |



ગામનું નામ: ઘરોઈ, તાલુકો: ખેડબ્રહ્મા




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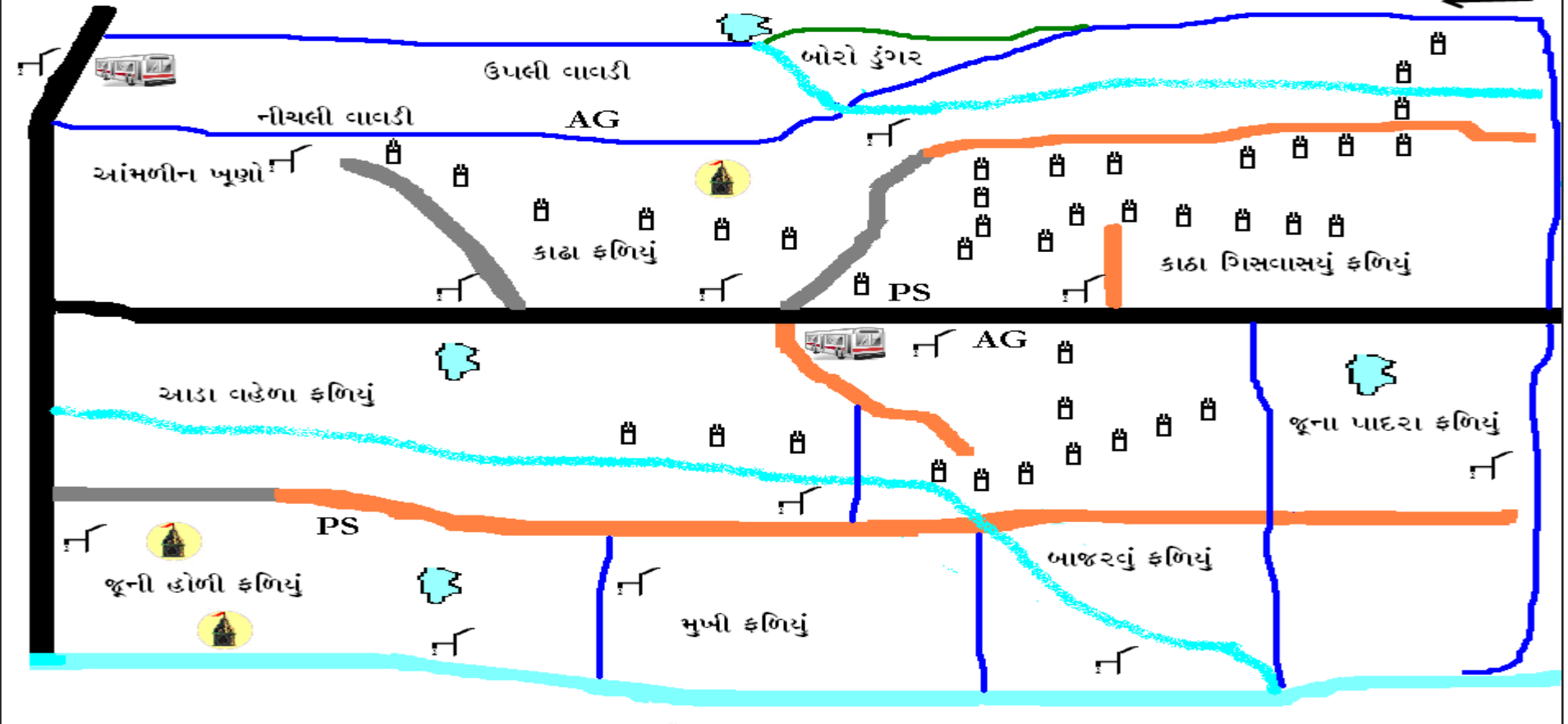
સૂચિ

-  ડામર રોડ
-  કાચો રસ્તો
-  ચેકડેમ
-  ફળિયાની હદ

- AG અંગણવાડી
- PS પ્રાથમિક શાળા
-  લાઈટના થાંભલા
-  હેન્ડપમ્પ

-  તળાવ
-  વેડનું
-  મંદિર
- PD સસ્ત્રા અનાજની દુકાન

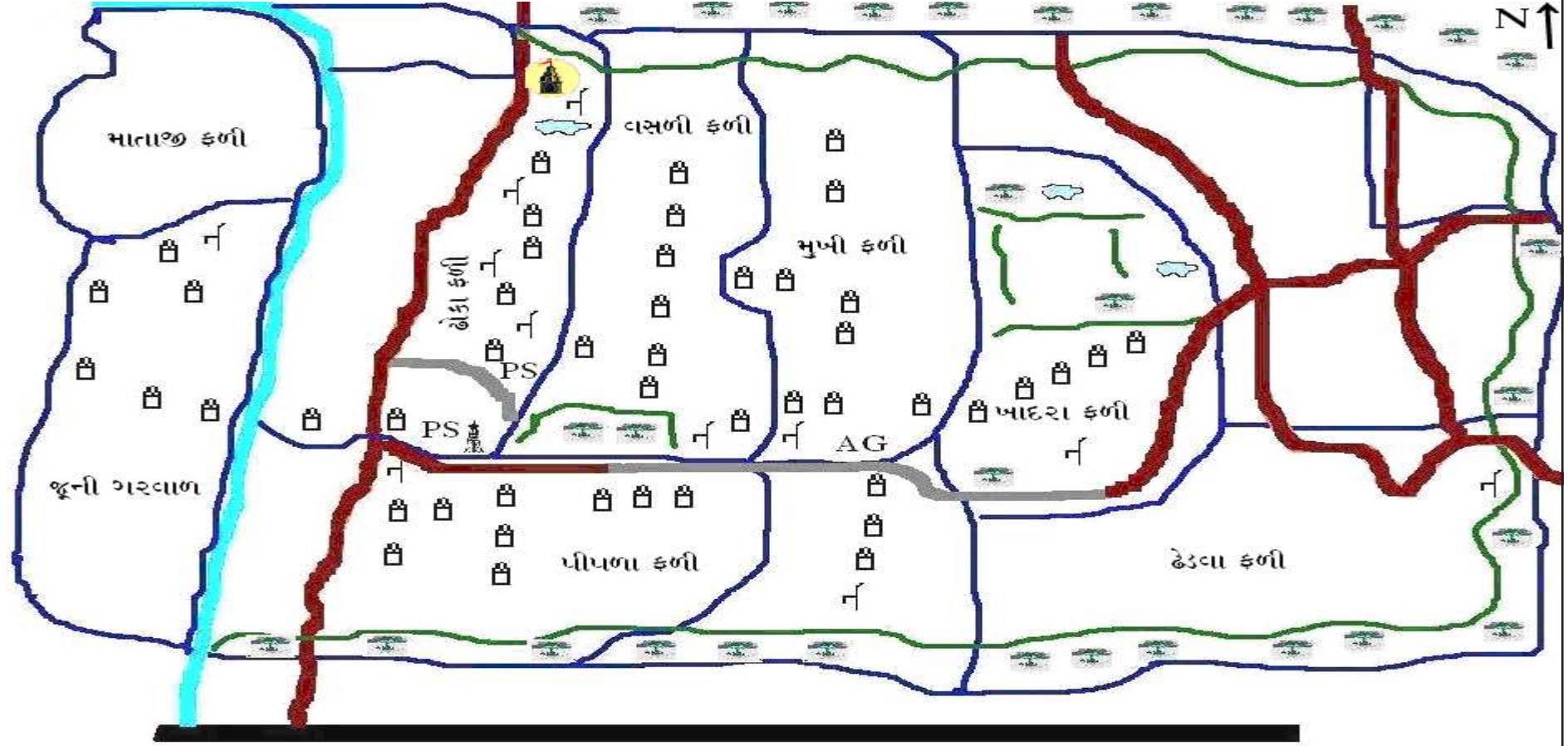
ગામનું નામ: ખંભેરા, તાલુકો:







સૂચિ


- | | | | |
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| ડામર રોડ | ફળિયાની હદ | પીકઅપ સ્ટેન્ડ | વહેળો |
| આર.સી.સી. રોડ | AG આંગણવાડી | લાઈટના થાંભલા | જંગલ વિસ્તાર |
| પગદંડી | PS પ્રાથમિક શાળા | તળાવ | |
| કાચો રસ્તો | હેન્ડ પંપ | મંદિર | |





ગામનું નામ: પોલાપાણ, તાલુકો: ખેડબ્રહ્મા



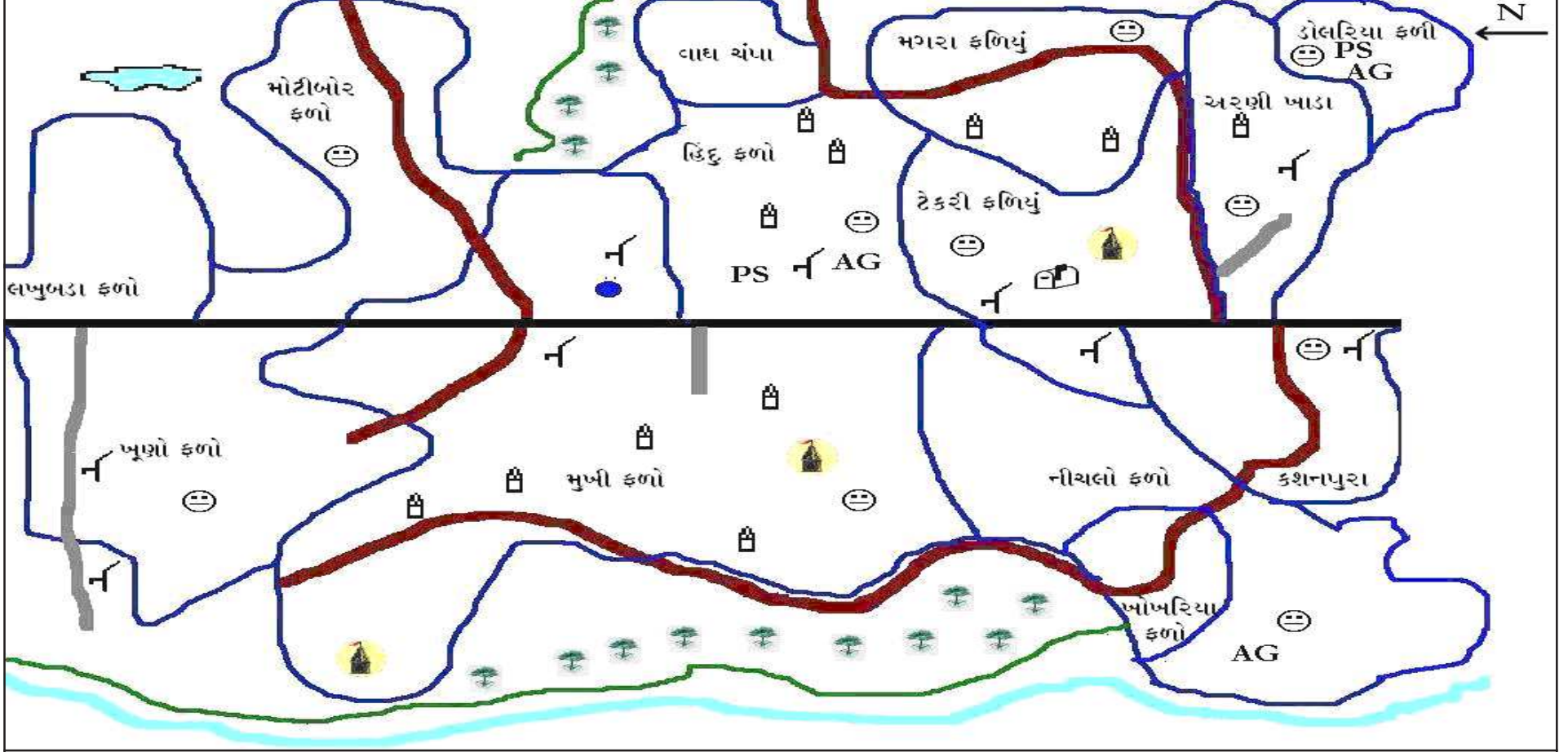
સુચિ

-  ડામર રોડ
-  આર.સી.સી. રોડ
-  કાચો રસ્તો
-  કળિયાની હદ

- AG આંગણવાડી
- PS પ્રાથમિક શાળા
- ન હેન્ડ પંપ
-  તળાવ

-  ટેલિફોન ટાવર
-  લાઈટના થાંભલા
-  મંદિર
-  જંગલ વિસ્તાર

ગામનું નામ: વીંછી, તાલુકો: ખેડબ્રહ્મા

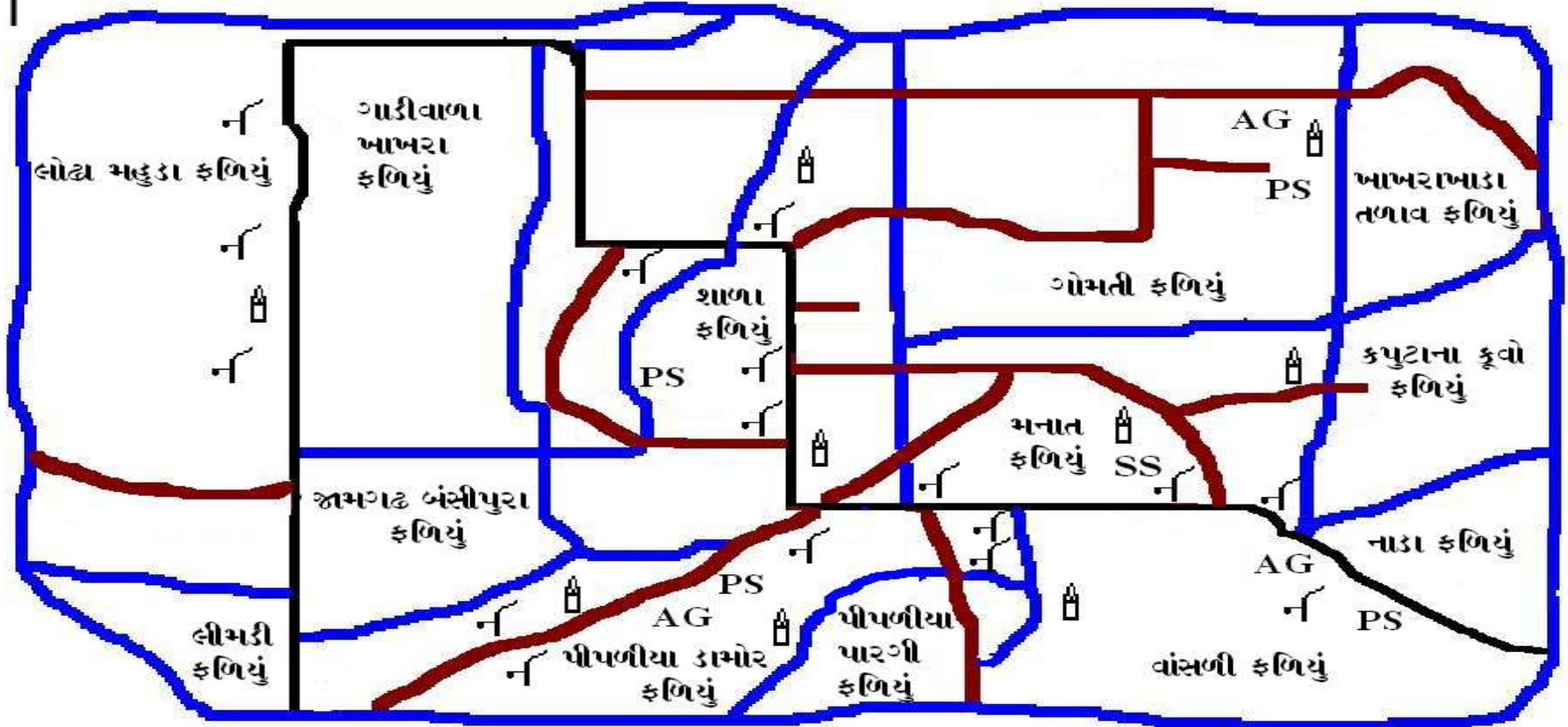


સૂચિ




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| ડામરનો રસ્તો | PS પ્રાથમિક શાળા | હેન્ડપંપ | મેટ |
| કાચો રસ્તો | AG આંગણવાડી | તળાવ | મંદિર |
| આર.સી.સી રસ્તો | કમ્યુનિટી હોલ | પાણીનો બોર | જંગલ વિસ્તાર |
| કળિયાની હદ | લાઈટના થાંભલા | નદી | |

ગામનું નામ: જામગઢ, તાલુકો:

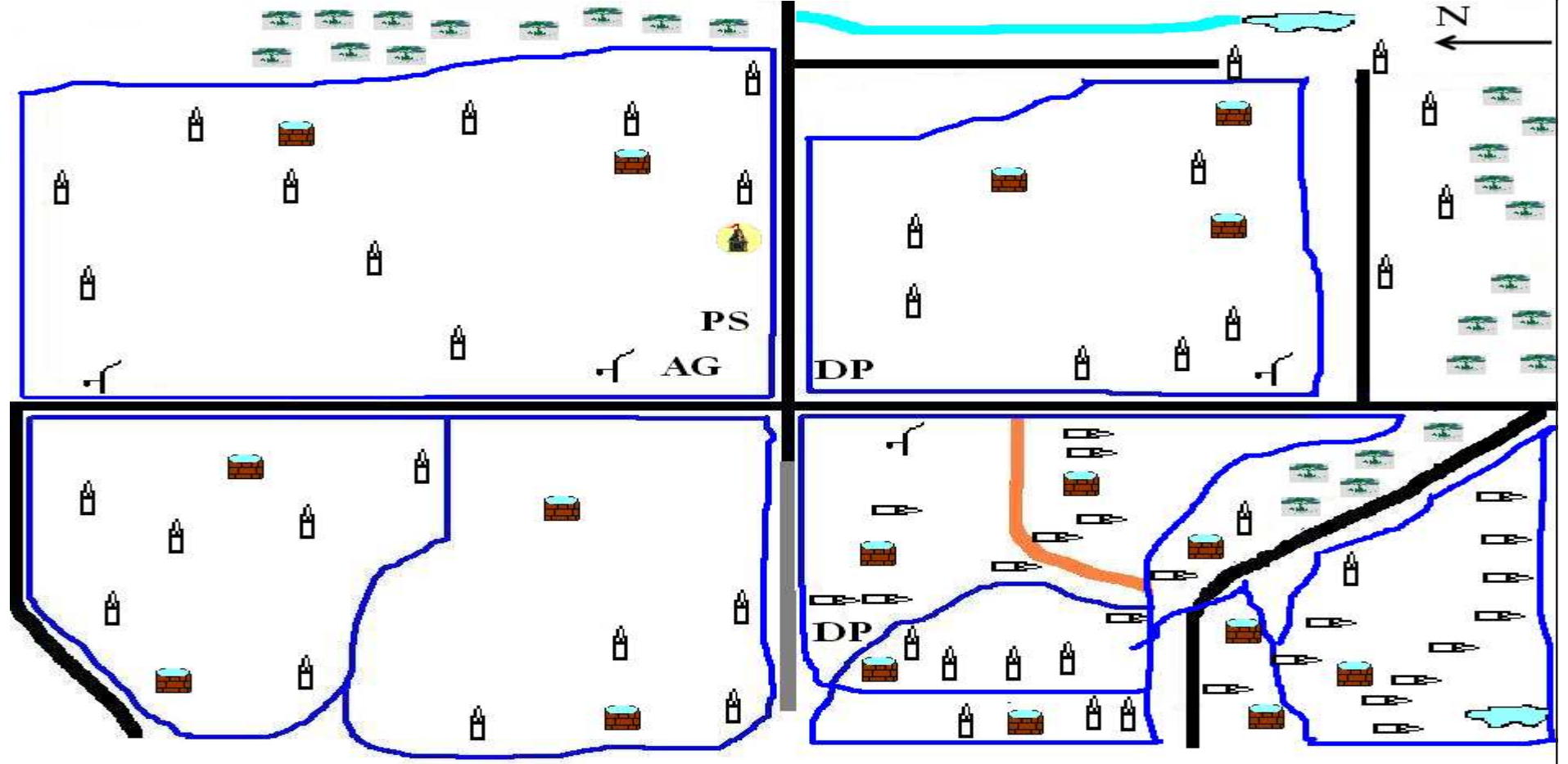
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સૂચિ


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|  ડામર રોડ | AG આંગણવાડી | N ડેન્ડપંપ |
|  કાચો રસ્તો | PS પ્રાયમરી સ્કૂલ | L લાઈટના થાંભલા |
|  ફળિયાની હદ | SS ડાઈસ્કૂલ | |

ગામનું નામ: નાની પંડુલી, તાલુકો: મેઘરજ



સૂચિ

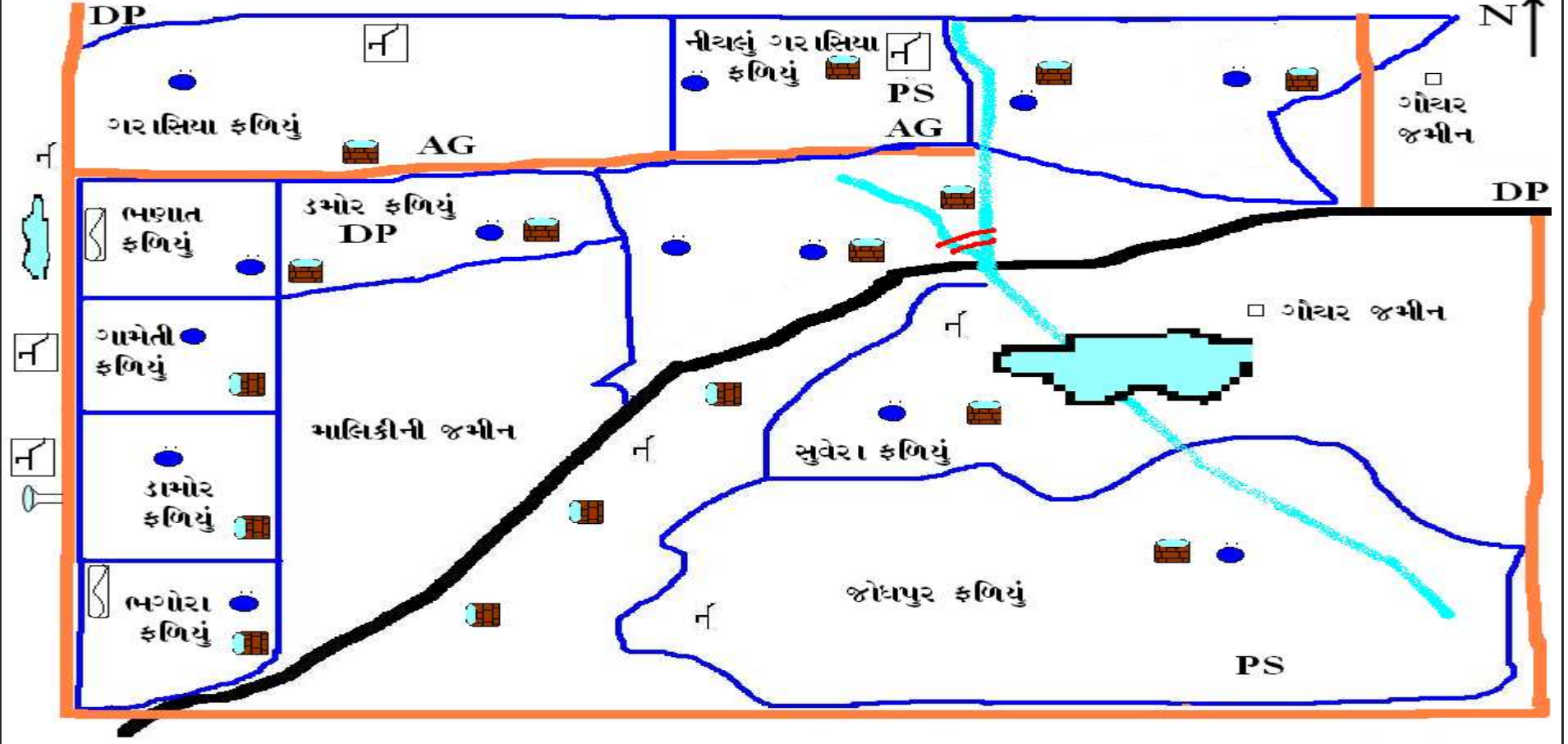
-  ડામર રોડ
-  આર.સી.સી. રોડ
-  પગઢંડી
-  ફળિયાની હદ

- AG અંગણવાડી
- PS પ્રાથમરી સ્કૂલ
-  લાઈટના થાંભલા
- DP ડી.પી.

-  કૂવો
-  હેન્ડપંપ
-  નદી
-  તળાવ

 જંગલ વિસ્તાર

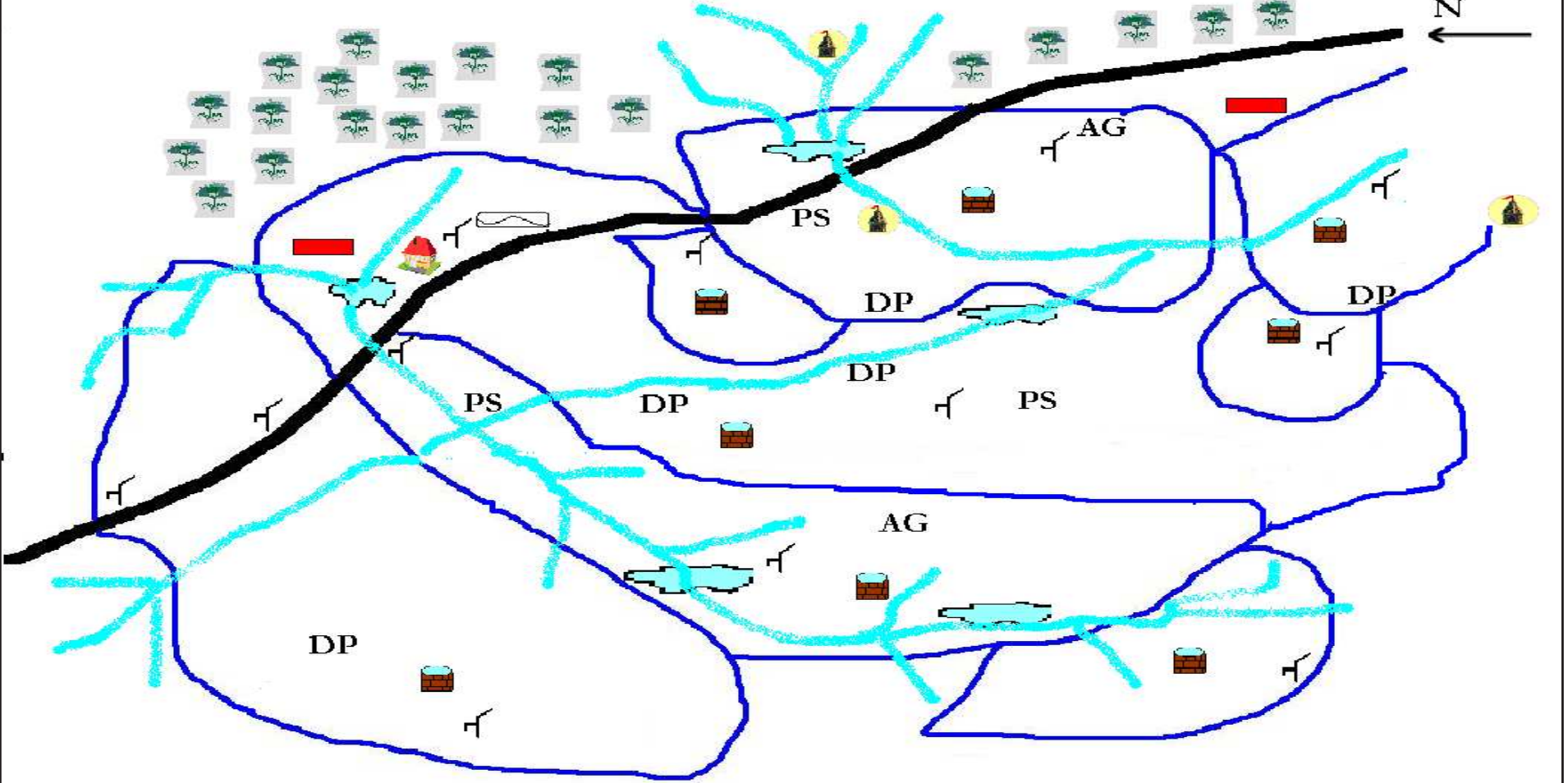
ગામનું નામ: નવા પાણબારા, તાલુકો:



સુધિ

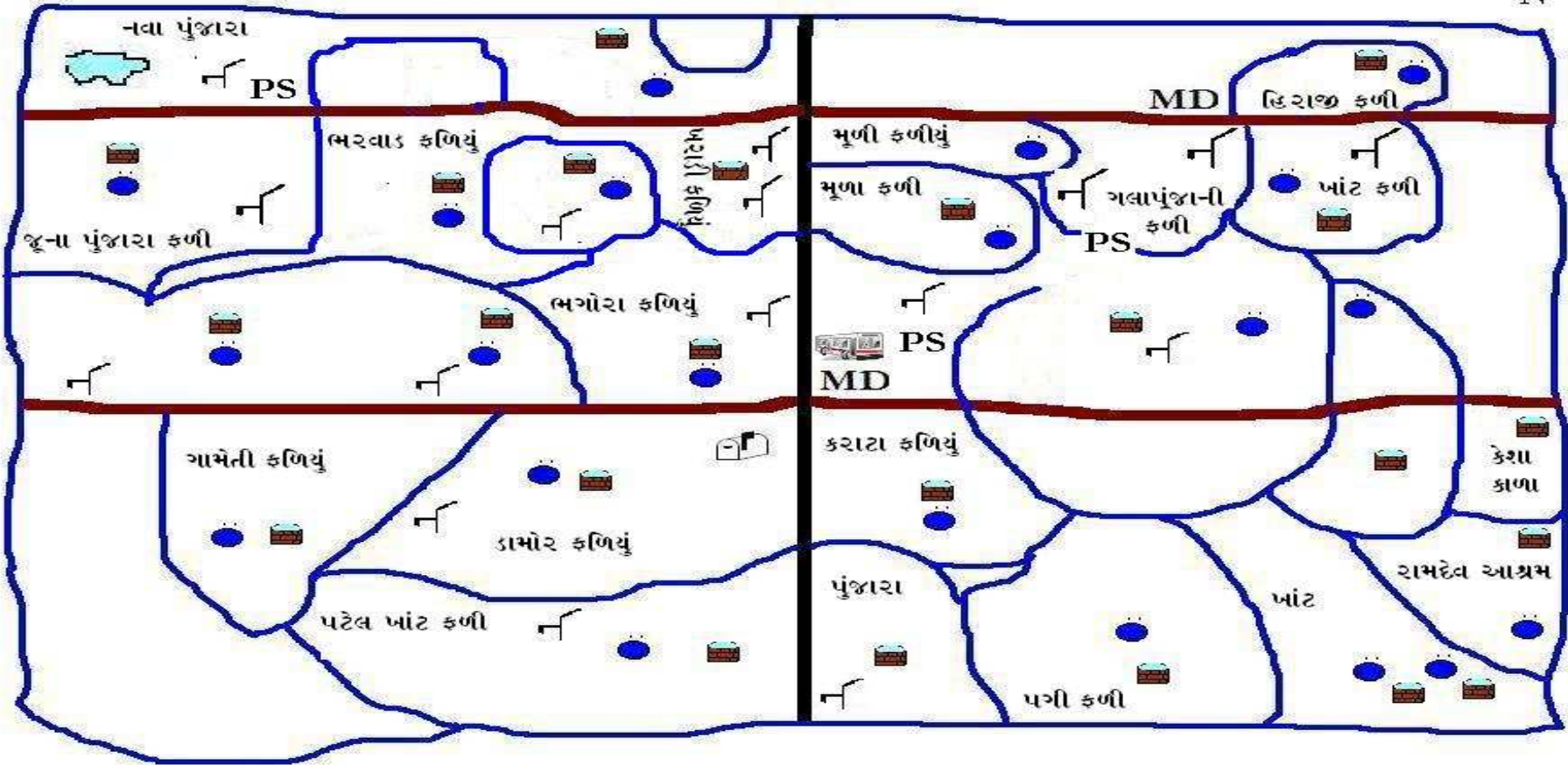
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|--|---------------|----|---------------|----|-----------|--|--------------|
| | ડામર રોડ | | ચાલુ હેન્ડપંપ | | બેક ડેમ | | બોર | | કાંચીયાની હટ |
| | પગલું | | બંધ હેન્ડપંપ | PS | પ્રાથમી સ્કૂલ | DP | ડી.પી. | | |
| | કૂવો | | હવાડો | AG | અંગણવાડી | | ગોચર જમીન | | |

ગામનું નામ: નવાગામ, તાલુકો: મેઘરજ











	ડામર રોડ		હવાડો		તળાવ		જંગલ વિસ્તાર
	સ્મશાન		કૂવો		મંદિર		
	કળિયાની હદ		AG આંગણવાડી		PS પ્રાથમિક શાળા		DP ડી.પી.
			હેન્ડપમ્પ				

ગામનું નામ: વાઘમહુડી, તાલુકો: ખેડબહા

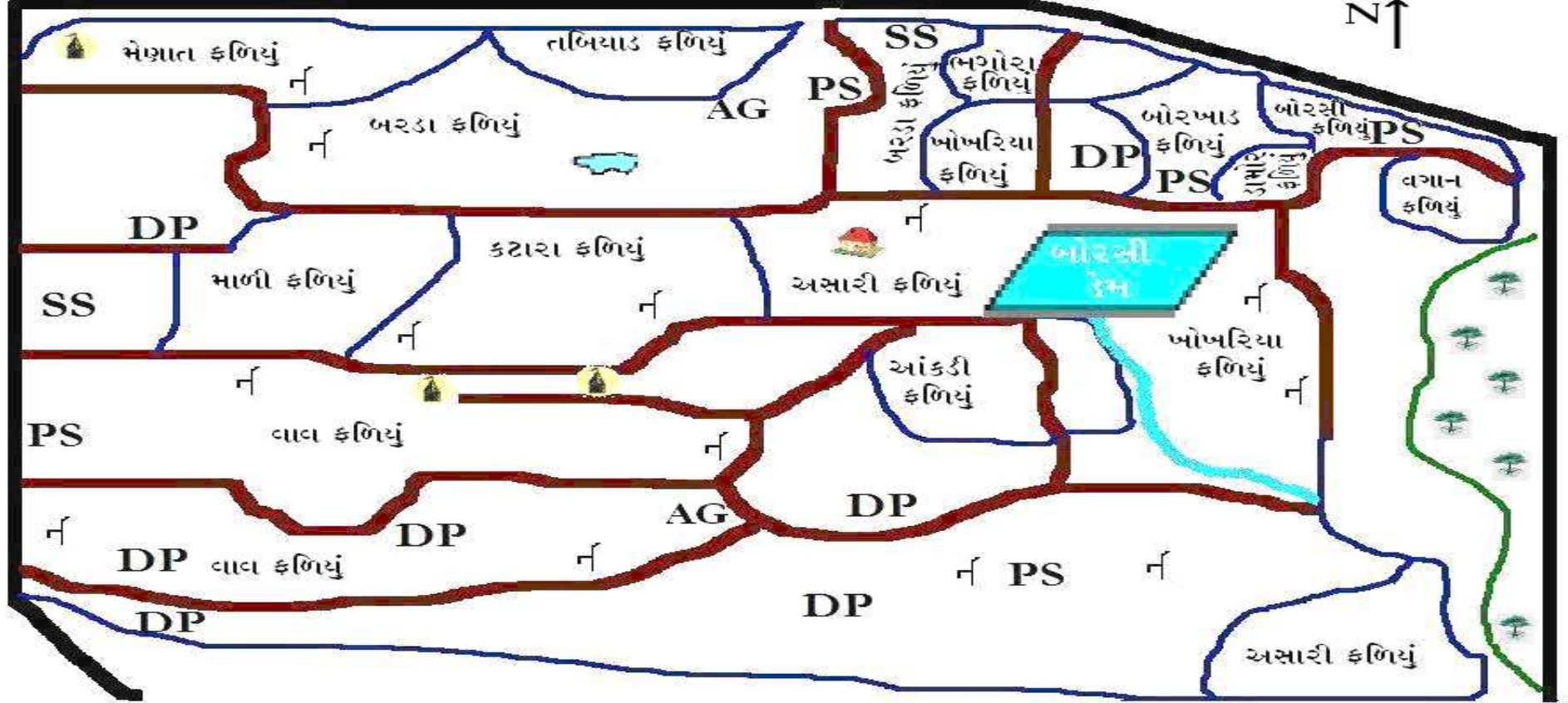


સૂચિ





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|  | ડામરનો રસ્તો | PS | પ્રાથમિક શાળા |  | હેન્ડ પંપ |  | પાણીનો બોર |
|  | કાચો રસ્તો | MD | દૂધ ડેરી |  | તળાવ | | |
|  | ફળિયાની હદ |  | કોમ્યુનિટી હોલ |  | ફવો | | |

ગામનું નામ: ઝરડા, તાલુકો:

N ↑






સૂચિ

-  ડામર રોડ
-  કાચો રસ્તો
-  ફળિયાની હદ
-  ડેમ

- AG** આંગણવાડી
- PS** પ્રાથમિક શાળા
- SS** માધ્યમિક શાળા
- DP** લાઈટ ડી.પી

-  પંચાયત ઘર
-  તળાવ
-  વહેણો
-  હેન્ડ પંપ

-  પીકઅપ સ્ટેન્ડ
-  મંદિર
-  જંગલ વિસ્તાર