

**TRIBES OF WAYANAD AND THEIR LIVELIHOOD
ACTIVITIES IN KARNATAKA: A STUDY ON HUMAN
RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE**

A Thesis

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DECLARATION

I, Sangeetha Jose, hereby declare that the thesis titled “Tribes of Wayanad and Their Livelihood Activities in Karnataka: A Study on Human Rights Perspective “has been prepared by me under the guidance of the Dr.Vinod CV, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Lovley Professional University, Phagwara, Punjab in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Doctor of philosophy. No part of this thesis has formed previously the basis for the award of any degree, Diploma and fellowship.

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Abstract

Background: The social problems of tribal migrant labours in Karnataka's rural plantations are less systematically examined and discoursed. The historical nature of their social disabilities and marginalities substantially disposed them to social exclusion at destinations. Labour rights violated to tribal migrant labourers are minimum decent pay, exposure to toxic pesticides with relatively less or no safety measures, excessive alcohol consumption and associated health hazards coupled with cultural insularity with host society as well as the level of exclusion raises important tenants of human rights in the areas of life, dignity, self-worth, health and social life. These deplorable situations faced by tribal migrant labours of Wayanad in Karnataka are against the spirit of Article 21 of the Indian Constitution that guarantees life and personal liberties to all persons, which also recognize life with human dignity. Situating within the human rights premises, this study examined the nature and pattern of social exclusion faced by the tribal migrant labours of Wayanad, working in plantations and agricultural fields of neighbouring Karnataka state.

Aim: Using a parallel mixed-method research design, this study explored and explained the socio-economic factors of inter-state tribal migration from Wayanad of Kerala to plantations of neighbouring Karnataka, understanding their living conditions, and the role of tribal identity and their social exclusion at the workplace. The cross-sectional survey design examined the socio-demographic characteristics,

socio-economic factors and living conditions at destination influence tribal migrants' social exclusion alongside their tribal identity.

Findings: In the qualitative findings, the study narrates tribal self in migration and attached concerns of dignity, self-understanding and tribal ethnic identity stigma. Tribal identity stigma has attributes such as affiliation shame, self-induced social distancing, social isolation, tribe induced discrimination and restricted social interactions which continue to shape workplace relationship at host locations. The study identifies social and economic reasons for tribal migration, sense of pride and competence in manual labours and agricultural works. It further narrates the workplace safety and health-related problems faced by tribal migrants namely chemical exposure like pesticide spraying and poor safety gadgets and so on. Additionally, the study explored sexual abuse of tribal women at work place and narrated it in the context of their vulnerability as easy targets for undue sexual advancement by employers and fellow male workers. Finally, the qualitative findings explored institutional access namely, access to public services, financial services, school services, livelihood opportunities and access to healthcare services.

In survey finding, out of 300 tribal migrants surveyed, the mean age was 36.1 year, 57% were females, 63.7% were Paniya, 64.7% married, 32.3% had no formal schooling, 65% were on contract work with daily wage and 52.7% were lowest wealth quintile. Tribal migrant workers' ethnic identity, identity affirmation mean score was 9.5 and identity exploration mean score was 3.2. In tribal identity resolution, the mean was 6 and the mean global ethnic (tribal) identity scale score was 17. In social participation, the mean score was 11.9 and the material deprivation mean score was 7.8. In access to basic rights, the mean score was 7.3 and the normative integration

mean score was 8.6. In global social exclusion scale's mean score was 35.6. The multiple regression analyses evidenced that tribal group affiliation, occupational status, formal schooling and standard of living varyingly influenced aspects of social exclusion namely social participation, material deprivation, access to basic rights, normative integration and social exclusion.

Conclusion: Therefore to conclude, the social inclusion of tribal migrant workers is a crucial issue to be addressed at multiple levels through multifaceted approaches. The cultural insularity, social disconnection, poor social participation, restricted access to basic rights, high level of material deprivation and low normative integration, poor standard of living are further aggravated by tribal ethnic identity, which is attached to stigma and discrimination present the complex state of social exclusion. These in turn lead to their poor access to public services in the areas of health, education, civil supplies, local self-governance, and institutions of justice and so on. The central and state governments and their respective tribal development/welfare department alongside the labour department have a significant stake in promoting social inclusion and fundamental rights of tribal migrant workers of Wayanad working in different parts of Karnataka.

Key words: tribal migrant labours, tribal identity, tribal stigma, discrimination, social exclusion

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. ILO – INTER NATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION
2. USA – UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
3. NSSO – NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEY ORGANISATIONS
4. DFID – DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
5. ANOVA – ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
6. SDGS – SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS
7. MNREGA – MAHATMA GANDHI NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE ACT.
8. BLRP – BIHAR LIVELIHOOD PROJECT
9. NSS – NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEY
10. SC – SCHEDULED CASTE
11. ST -- SCHEDULED TRIBES
12. UT – UNION TERRITORY
13. HPI – HUMAN POVERTY INDEX
14. PMKI – PRADAN MANTRI KAUSHAL YOJANA
15. DDUGKY – DEEN DAYAL UPADHAYA GRAMEEN KAUSHAL YOJANA
16. UN – UNITED NATIONS
17. PESA – PANCHAYATS EXTENSION SCHEDULED TRIBES
18. MMR – MIXED METHOD RESERCH
19. SLI – STANDARD LIVING INDEX
20. APL – ABOVE POVERTY LINE
21. BPL – BELOW POVERTY LINE

22. PTA – PARENT TEACHER ASSOCIATION
23. NCERT – NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH TRAINING
24. PHCS – PRIMARY HEALTH CENTRE
25. CHCS – COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTERS
26. SLI – STANDARD OF LIVING INDEX
27. VIF – VARIANCE INFLUNCE FACTOR
28. NGO – NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION
29. NTFP – NON TIMBER FOREST PRODUCTS
30. OLS – ORDINARY LEAST SQUARES.
31. SLI – STANDARD OF LIVING INDEX
32. NTFP – NON TIMBER FOREST PRODUCES.
33. HDI – HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS.
34. LFPR – FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION
35. GDP – GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT
36. UPSS – USUAL PRINCIPAL SUBSIDIARY STATUS

Chapter-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Definition of tribes in India: As ILO (1953) rightly observed that ‘no standard which applies to all indigenous or aboriginal groups throughout the world’, however, there are efforts made by sociologists and anthropologists made efforts to define the term ‘tribe’ in the Indian socio-cultural context. In its generic sense of the term, ‘tribe’ designates a unit that is socially cohesive which is associated to be part of a territory, the members consisting in the group consider themselves as politically autonomous (Mitchell, 1979; p.232).

A tribal group has an equal and customary interest, their territory, use of language, laws for social living and exclusive occupation for economic survival (Mukherjee, 2003). W. J. Perry (Cited in Pathi Jaganath,1984)defined tribe as a community speaking a common dialect and inhabiting a common territory. Bogardus defined the term tribe as a community based on the need for protection, on ties of the relationship of blood and based on a common religion. Further, Majumdar, D.N., defines the term tribe as a collection of families with a common name for its members and occupying the same territory by speaking a common language through the observation of certain taboos regarding marriage, profession, or occupation, and developed a well-assigned system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation. Kamaladevi Chhattopadhyay(1978) defines tribe as a community within the social structure that usually has a defined jurisdiction, having a specific form of language, equality in cultural practices, and unifying social organization, though it can also include several subgroups.’

Imperial Gazetteer of India (1911) defined tribe as a group of families having a collective name that speaks a common dialect to occupy a common territory which is not normally endogamous". There are certain common characteristics like a tribe as a social group connected to a common interest, common ancestry, occupied or professing to occupy a geographic area, common dialect, social taboos concerning birth, marriage and death, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organization. Article 366(25) express the idea of a Scheduled Tribe as they are considered to be called so as per the Constitutional Article 342. The article says that the special functioning of the status of Scheduled Tribes is exclusively for the communities recognised by the President through a public notification or as a part of the amendments in the respective Acts passed by the Parliament.

The tribes or different tribal groups within the common names of tribes or their communities that come under the list of Scheduled Tribes are specified through specific information in Article 342. Additionally, the list of tribals is state or Union Territory specific and is an ongoing process; therefore, a community listed in one state or UT may not be listed as a tribal community in another state. Lokur Committee laid down certain essential characteristics for a community to be identified as tribal. They are: (a) indicators of primitive traits, (b) distinctive culture, (c) shyness of contact with the community at large, (d) geographical isolation; and (e) backwardness.

Classifications of tribals in India based on their geographical locations are (i) the tribals in the north-eastern regions of India, (ii) the sub-Himalayan region, (iii) The Central and East India, (iv) South India and (v) Western India. Apart from geography, the tribes in India are further classified on the basis of language and the human race.

Tribal communities in India are living in different geo-climatic conditions ranging from plains to forests, hills and inaccessible areas. Some communities have adopted mainstream life but on the other extreme end there are nearly 75 primitive tribal groups that are characterized by their pre-agricultural level of technology, decreasing frequency of population, low literacy rates, and minimal economic level. At the national level, there are 705 notified tribal communities in India.

1.2. Tribal people and life:

As per Census 2011, there are around 10.43 crore tribal population which constitute about 8.6% of the national population. Among them, 89.97% were living in rural areas, and 10.3% were in the city premises. The growth of population in ten years, specifically during the period from 2001 to 2011 was 23.66% against 17.69 of the national general average. The sex ratio for tribals was 990 for 1000 males. Nearly half of the tribal population live in central India which consists of Madhya Pradesh (14.69%), Chhattisgarh (7.5), Jharkhand (8.29%), Andhra Pradesh (5.7), Maharashtra (10.08), Orissa (9.2), Gujarat (8.55), and Rajasthan (8.86%). Other distinct areas are Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, Assam, Tripura, Sikkim and Nagaland in the north-eastern region of India.

In Kerala, there are 4, 84,839 people constituting around 1.45% of the state population as per Census, 2011 with an increase of 0.63% over the decade with a sex ratio of 1035. Tribals in Kerala are predominantly rural and geographically concentrated. The district of Wayanad accounts for (31.24%), Idukki (11.51%), Palakkad (10.10%) and Kassaragod (10.08%) whereas these four districts together account for 62.93% of the tribes in the state.

It has been noted that the tribes of the state are marginalized, discriminated, excluded from the mainstream society, and the frontier having a strong influence in the increase of the residual disabilities in the areas of human development (Human Development Report, 2005). Inequalities are evident in terms of alienation on land holdings, scarcity of adequate resources for food, literacy rates, health facilities and the arising medical issues, participation in receiving school education, high dependence to primary employment sources, high rate of school drop-outs and abstinence (NCERT, 1998; Economic Review, 2011; Nithya, 2013; Joy & Srihari, 2014; Jose, 2016); mostly increasing division of gender for discrimination with high probability for an increasing detribalization (Jose et al, 2010; Jose, Varghese & Sabu, 2011), and less amount of job opportunities in the organized sector, especially in the public sector organizations and companies (Paul, 2013; Jose, 2016). Further, inequalities, discrimination and marginalization are increasing across different Tribes (Paul, 2013). Development of the private healthcare sector and deterioration of service quality in public healthcare of disposed tribes vulnerable to health deficits, reducing their access to adequate health care services (Levesque et al, 2006; Levesque et al., 2007; Jose et al., 2011). The excess of social deficits regarding tribal life in the state is in relation to the lack of proper health facilities for the community people, insufficiency in nutrition, lack of adequate literacy, unsatisfactory living conditions, very high usage of tobacco, alcohol dependency and poor access to the mainstream facilities (Subramanian et al, 2005; 2006; Planning Commission, 2002) coupled with increasing tendency to discrimination and displacement from their land and livelihoods (Malik, 2020) which socially excluded them (Jose, 2014). Gender relations within the tribal communities were following equality while compared to other non-tribal social groups. As they were invited to get integrated into the mainstream society, the issues

regarding gender biases stepped into their communities too (Maharatna, 2000; Jose et al, 2010; 2012).

Nevertheless, tribal communities in Kerala are heterogeneous groups while considering their demographic, social, linguistic, cultural and economic state of development (Xaxa, 2001; Kakkoth, 2005; Haddad et al, 2012). As a result, there is a sharp human development divide between tribal communities in the state which are evident in tribals' representation in public sector jobs. The tribes such as the Malayaran of Idukki and Kurichya of Wayandu are predominantly farming communities with representation in public sector employment. However, the tribes like Paniya, Adiyar, Kattunayka, Kuruma and Irulas have been continued to be poverty-ridden, educationally backward; and enjoy poor health and nutrition. The stark development divide was evident between backward and forward tribes in a series of empirical studies (Paul, 2013; Thomas, 1997). These tribes primarily rely on agriculture, agricultural labour, and non-agricultural labour and they experience inequalities and divide in the areas of health, social inclusion, financial inclusion, land alienation and a considerable amount of school dropouts (Jose, 2017; Paul, 2013; Aerthayil, 2008) as compared to the forward tribal communities.

1.3. Pattern of household income and expenditure:

A considerable rate of difference can be seen across various tribal groups in the state of Kerala. In correspondence analysis, Paul (2013) found that Malayarayan, Kuruma and Kuruchya tribes have scored highest on the standard of living index (SLI) whereas Adiyar, Irula, Paniyan, Muthuva, Kattunayaka, and Urali tribes live in poor conditions. Agricultural labour and employment guarantee schemes dominate the major source of employment. Paddy cultivation was the major source of income for

most tribal communities (Paul, 2013). The income from labour is spending locally on household articles and commodities. The mean number of working days range from 8 to 16 days in a month, whereas Paniya constitutes the largest working group during the last month. The estimated monthly incomes range from Rs.1350 to Rs. 1850 where the Paniya dominate in all income groups as they dominate in more number of working days. Except for Adiyam from the backward tribe and Kurichya from the forward tribe, more than one-fourth of the tribal households reported a monthly household income of more than Rs. 1850.

Nonetheless, the household income for tribal communities is much lower than the state average (Paul, 2013). Debt was high among tribal households whereas the purpose of debt for income-generating activities was high among the forward tribes whereas debt for day to day activities was high among backward tribes. The issues of land alienation and land encroachment are the major threat to tribal household income and livelihood of tribals in Kerala (Paul, 2013; Arthrayil, 2008; Human Development Report, 2005). Paul (2013) report that the mean monthly income of a tribal household was Rs. 1995.4 whereas the expenditure was Rs. 2479.2. Further, the mean income for most of the tribal communities was more than Rs. 1500 while all tribes except the Malayarayan tribe reported that they were not able to meet their monthly expenditure with their income (Paul, 2013).

1.4. Tribal life in Wayanad:

The name '*Wayanad*' was etymologically originated from two vernacular words viz., '*vayal*' and '*nadu*' which means that land of paddy fields. Wayanad is situated in the South Malabar Region of Kerala, bordering with Tamilnadu and Karnataka, is the

abode largest number of tribes in the state. The district was formed on 1st November 1980 with carved out portions from Kannur and Kozhikode districts. Geographically, the district lies between the north latitude of 11.27 and 15.58, east latitude of 75.47 and 70.27. It is situated at an elevated mountain plateau on the crest of Western Ghats at a height between 700 to 2000 meters above sea level. Wayanad district consists of three taluks viz., Manathawady, Sulthanbathery, and Vythiri and agriculture is the main livelihood option of the people. The principal crops in the district are tea, coffee, paddy and pepper. The district is less industrialized, except for the processing units related to plantation crops. In Kerala, Wayanad is the least populated district after Idukki. The average population density of the state is 819 per square kilometre but it is 369 for Wayanad. The district has a population of 786627 population which is 2.47% of the state population and out of these, 17.3% were scheduled tribes whereas the district accounts for 37.36% of the total scheduled tribe population.

Tribes in Wayanad are heterogeneous categories because their communal identities surpass a common tribal identity (Paul, 2013; Jose et al., 2011; Jose & Cherayi, 2018; Wayanad Initiative, 2006). The tribes are further characterized through their economic activities, level of income, educational attainment, access to power structures, and capacity for meaningful participation in development activities and degree of integration with non-tribal rural societies (Wayanad Initiative, 2006). Additionally, there is a considerable degree of inter-communal human development disparities (Wayanad Initiative, 2006; Paul, 2013) where tribes with traditional landholding were better off (viz., Kurichya and Kuruma tribes) than traditionally labourers (viz., Paniya and Adiya tribes) and forest dependents (viz., Kattunaika and Cholanaika tribes)

(Wayanad Initiative, 2006). Detribalization has considerably affected the tribal groups, though in varying degrees (Jose et al, 2011).

Tribals in Wayanad can be broadly categorized into three sections such as agricultural labourers, marginal farmers, and forest dependents (Wayanad Initiative, 2006). Problems in the livelihood of tribal households in Wayanad are characterized by low family income, small size landholding and landlessness, excessive dependence on agricultural labours, changing crop patterns, entry of a large number of non-tribals in labour markets, the decline in the price of cash-crops, decreasing the need for traditional skills, poorly viable non-farming activities and dwindling of non-timber forest produce, regulations as per NTFP collections, low representation in formal sectors, and failed welfare and rehabilitation projects (Wayanad Initiative, 2006).

Tribals lag behind all other social groups in the district in terms of social and economic development due to their remote forest-dwelling and poor access to land and associated resources (Sharma & Pankaj, 2008). The tribals of Wayanad have excessive reliance on the agrarian district economy during the post-independent periods; nonetheless, the poor performance of the agricultural economy of the district over the past few decades has further marginalized tribals in the district (Wayanad Initiative, 2006).

1.5. Tribals as outliers of Kerala development model:

Internationally, the Kerala Development Model has attracted the academic interest of development scholars and academicians with an excessive focus on development experience and its sustainability. However, some leading studies evidenced that such a

dominant body of empirical literature on Kerala's development experience have focused on means; whereas, outliers were less frequently observed or discoursed (Kurien, 1995; Human Development Report, 2005; Paul, 2013). Exceedingly well performance on human development indicators (HDIs) among other Indian states drawn generalizations from simple averages, while ignoring the variability of HDIs within and across communities that possess serious challenges demanding systemic responses (Paul, 2013) and systematic investigations (Jose & Cheryai, 2018).

Tribal communities, being systematically excluded from Kerala's development trajectories (Human Development Report, 2005) and perhaps, tribals are the most disadvantaged groups in Kerala's development experience (Paul, 2013). In fact, overseas migration has contributed to the growth and development of most of the communities in Kerala, where tribals were the least benefited. The proportion of emigrants, return emigrants and non-resident Keralites are the lowest among all communities in the state (Zachariah & Rajan, 2004). Additionally, Kerala's land reforms have also not benefited the tribals (Wayanad Initiative, 2006; Arthrayil, 2008).

Considering the employment conditions in the state, nearly 90% of the tribals rely on the works of agriculture and connected activities as their chief livelihood. Evidently, land alienations in tribes have been on increase, which is attributed to a variety of reasons e.g., extreme level of poverty, marginality, deprivations, developmental, social and economic exclusions, less ownership of lands, poor human development characterized by poor education and healthcare access and utilization, depletion of tribal knowledge systems and social capitals, alcoholism and tobacco dependence,

extreme reliance on manual labour all have contributed to their marginality (Nithya, 2013).

There is a substantial distance in the field of education between the tribal and non-tribal population in Kerala, which becomes more evident in districts with the highest tribal concentrations. This distance becomes higher when compared between females of tribal and non-tribal social groups. Nearly 35% of tribal students achieve 10th grade out of total enrolled students in the 1st grade. Also, the rate of passing all groups as an indicator of educational performance in higher secondary school, the proportion of students who pass in all groups were a few in tribals whereas the majority of the tribal students passing examinations with minimum marks (Shyjan & Sunitha, 2008).

In estimating deprivation of four basic necessities of wellbeing such as ownership of housing, availability of safe drinking water, good sanitation, and availability of electricity, 62% of tribal households were deprived of these basic amenities in 1991 but around 22% reduction was reported by 2001. However, the percentage of reduction within tribal communities is rather minimal. Additionally, there were evident regional differences in tribal concentrated districts such as Wayanad, Idukki and Palakkad, where the highest number of people experienced deprivation. Kunhaman (1989) argued that more than half a century of positive discrimination did not help tribals in Kerala to give away their historical vulnerabilities.

1.6. Employment situation in Kerala:

International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that India's unemployment rate in 2018 was 3.5%, however, 77% of its employment would remain vulnerable, which

includes self-employment or those employed in family-run establishments. Such situations can be identified as harsh working atmospheres, unsatisfactory earnings, very low productivity and undermined right for a decent and safe living. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate in Kerala as per the 5th Annual Employment Survey (2015-16) by the Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India, the state of Kerala has the highest rate of unemployment of 12.5% as against the national level of 5%. Female Labour Force Participation (LFPR) in Kerala is estimated as 30.8%, which is higher than all India rate of 23.7% and the unemployment rate was at an increased rate in Kerala's spaces that belong to rural areas than in areas that come under the urban jurisdiction (Economic Review, 2018).

The organized sector employment continued to remain stagnant from 2012 to 2018 owing to the fast-growing private sector employment opportunities in the state. The unorganized sector in India deals with an important and inevitable role in generating employment opportunities and its contribution to GDP. More than 90% of the workforce and nearly 50% of the GDP are attributable to unorganized sectors in India. Evidently, a major part of the socially vulnerable and economically marginalized sections of the society are employed in the sector which is unorganized both at national and state levels (Economic Review, 2018). NSSO (68th round) based on UPSS approach, the workers in Kerala who are having their own employment was 37.7% of the total number of workers, while the percentage share of the salaried/regular wage employees was 22.5%, and casual labourers were 39.8% (Economic Review, 2018). The work participation rates substantially increased during the period from 2001 to 2011 and the proportion of main workers was more

across all social groups in Kerala whereas female work participation increased considerably from 19.90% in 2001 to 22.71% in 2011.

1.7. Social exclusion and Tribals in Wayanad

There is a lack of conceptual consensus on what exactly social exclusion stands for. Popayan et al. (2008) identified some critical nuances like social exclusion discourse around the world. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, the dominant discourses continued to be on poverty, marginalization, social vulnerability and sustainable development. In Latin America, the social exclusion has embodied in ‘social management of risk’ discourse advocated by the World Bank, where such agencies presence has great concentration such as in Columbia. However, in countries like Brazil, the French Academy and branches of the progressive Catholic Church are more influential. However, in Latin America, the concept of social exclusion, health and social protection have greatly subscribed under social exclusion discourse. Social cohesion strategies for social inclusion and a collective sense of belonging in societies were influential due to the work of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. In Europe and Australia, social inclusion as an analytical framework dominates the discourse. In Southeast Asia, the concept ‘*social exclusion*’ was introduced by the international development agencies that emphasise poverty, the concept of capability and resource enhancement which was consistent with previous discourse and practices in that region.

The contemporary social exclusion discourse in India is centred on social science knowledge shaped by sociology, economics, social anthropology, women studies and many other disciplines (Varghese, 2011). Such disciplines have addressed categorical

issues such as dalits, tribes, sexual minorities, gender, power structure, women, elderly persons, ethnicity and many other critical social aspects (Jose and Sultana, 2012). While keeping these body of knowledge in high esteem, the psychological, especially social psychological knowledge on caste, tribe, ethnicity, gender, social relations, the power structure within groups, individual life in relations to groups, communities and the larger social integration issues have been received scant academic attention (Jose, 2012).

Psychosocial perspectives on social exclusion are comprehensive that looks beyond the conventional economic, political, social-psychological and sociological perspectives on social exclusion to a larger conceptualization, which integrates most of these aspects into a single theoretical framework (Vaghese, 2011; Jose, Varghese & Sabu, 2011). Stigma, identity, psychosocial disability, discrimination, and exclusion from social living platforms are the inter-connected variables that elucidate the track and consequences of social exclusion of individuals and groups in the Indian social structure. Negative and devaluing identities such a caste, occupation, marital status, and health status have significantly increased stigma and discrimination on its target groups. Evidently, self-concept, self-esteem, personal autonomy, and loneliness have a predictive relationship with social exclusion, psychosocial disability and negative (age) identity (Cherayi & Jose, 2015). Social exclusion has significant psychosocial consequences, reflected in some other studies. The lack of opportunities for development and wellbeing in slum areas of urban India, especially among dalit communities were evident, which result in criminalizing youths of some marginalized communities like dalits.

Empirical and conceptual notions about identity formation and crystallization in the areas of social identity, role identities, ethnic and racial identities are well established (Phinney et al, 1991). However, there is little knowledge about how and when age identity has formed. There is little knowledge about such personalization of ageing and related norms and values. Individuals hold multiple identities, such as social, ethnic, racial and occupational (Jose & Meena, 2015). When these identities are positively valued, such identities could act as a source of self-esteem, influence and dominant social statuses. If such identities are devalued, such identities could act as a source of stigma, discrimination, disempowerment, psychosocial disability and social exclusion. Further, there is little knowledge about how age identity interacts with other identities such as marital (e.g., widowed/single parent), occupational (e.g., sex work/menial jobs), social identities (e.g., dalit, tribal), gender (e.g., women), and sexual (e.g., homosexuals, transgender women, lesbians).

Evidently, a healthy self-concept is important for individuals to have healthy social interactions (Appu and Sia, 2015). In the absence of a healthy self-concept, such individuals are likely to develop anxiety when interacting with people in social spaces. Thomas and D'Souza (2015) examined the self-concept and self-image which determine the level of self-esteem an individual possesses in his day today life and tested the hypothesis that past experiences and community psyche may have an influence in the formation of such subaltern self-image. The authors argued that this poor self-image critically disables people of lower caste origin to be submissive and suffer in silence while labelling the dominance of others as an unalterable fate.

Pollack, S. (2000) examined women empowerment through collective self-esteem and found that increased self-esteem significantly improved empowerment in women. Sayeed and Cherayi (2015) concluded that tribal children's sense of belonging to a tribal group, alongside a positive perception of self significantly influences their perceived ability to achieve in school and life.

Suresh and Vivek (2015) studied self-esteem among tribal children and found that tribal children at school are facing stigma and discrimination from other students in the same school. They do not get adequate attention from teachers. The dropout-rate of tribal students are high compared to other students. The study found that peer pressure and wrong role modelling from parents with alcohol dependence is a problem. Hence, the study concluded that these findings are associated with the basic issue of poor self-esteem and highlighted the need for self-esteem promotion for tribal children. Caplan, L. (1995) examined the historical facts in order to answer to the victimization of the Anglo Indian community in Kerala with due focus on dominant social perceptions that dictate a unique type of cultural clash between both. The self-imposed cultural isolation of the Anglo-Indian community is attributed as a product of socio-cultural attitude during the neo-postcolonial period while the historical realities shield the past and present conditions. The myths and misconceptions among the dominant groups about Anglo- Indians have legitimized their isolation and exclusion from mainstream life.

There are complex interactions among poverty, hunger, malnutrition, morbidity and mortality as they reinforce each other and arrest human development. Tribes of Kerala are indeed in a vulnerability trap characterised by poverty with illiteracy, poor wealth

status, and malnutrition and morbidity status. Many households have restricted access to electricity, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, good floor and cooking facilities and asset ownership (Navaneetham & Sunny, 2008). A study in Wayanad using a participatory approach at Kottathara panchayat, Mohindra et al (2010) found that tribal groups tend to be caught under multiple vulnerability traps by which they view their situations as a vicious cycle from which it is difficult to come out (Mohindra et al, 2010).

In a cross-sectional study in two village panchayats viz., Thirunelli and Panamaram in Wayanad among 90 Adiya tribals, selected randomly from three villages. In the estimation of five dimensions of social exclusion, 66.4% of Adiya perceived social exclusion, 74.5% perceived economic exclusion, 68% perceived political-legal exclusion, nearly 70% perceived geographical exclusion, 68% reported service exclusion and 48.9% perceived socio-cultural exclusion (Chandrakumar, 2016). In a study among the Korga tribe of Kassargod, Kumari (2017) found this community experience to be severe deprivations of basic needs such as land, housing, water and sanitation.

1.8. Migration Scenario

India's increasing urbanization and subsequently, increased demand for labour in urban areas, pull factors such as job opportunities, good wages, more income, medical and educational facilities are the pull factors of rural people to urban areas (Kundu, 2012). Push factors in sources are low job opportunities, low income, droughts, less medical and educational facilities compel rural people towards urban areas (Bala, 2017). Employment is a major pull factor of rural people to urban areas since village

lives are characterised by poor job opportunities, less income, and nearly 10.22% of the rural people migrate to urban areas for employment in 2011 (Census, 2011). Education is yet another reason for rural to urban migration. Nearly 1.77% of the rural people migrate to urban areas for education and subsequent settlement over the urban centres. Additionally, political insecurity, inter-ethnic conflicts and resultant sense of insecurity mobilize a large number of rural people to urban areas. For an instance, a sizable proportion of the people of Kashmir and Assam have migrated to Indian cities (Bala, 2017). ‘Push and pull’ factors are responsible for migration. Push factors are poverty, poor work opportunities, unemployment, and exhaustion of natural resources, landlessness and inequitable land distribution. Whereas, pull factors that attract migrants to their destination are opportunities for employment, education, healthcare facilities, higher wages, better working conditions (Bala, 2017). Circular migration is the major form of economic mobility in India, especially among the poor, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Such a trend is also observed among women and children (Deshingkar & Akter, 2009).

Migrant workers are employed in the agriculture, industry and service sectors of India’s economy. In subsectors with a substantial proportion of migrant workers are distributed in construction, textiles, brick-kilns, mines, stone quarries and small scale industries viz., crop transplanting, leather accessories, diamond cutting, sugar cane cutting, harvesting, plantations, fish processing, rickshaw pulling, domestic work, small hotels, security services, prostitution work, roadside restaurants, tea-shops and street vending (Deshingkar & Akter, 2009).

1.9. Research problem statement:

Although tribal groups in Wayanad are heterogeneous demographically, culturally, socially, economically and linguistically on key health and development indicators (Xaxa, 2001; Human Development Report, 2005; Haddad et al, 2012; Paul, 2013), common themes observed across tribal communities in the district are poverty, poor educational, health and nutritional status (Jose & Cherayi, 2020; Gangadharan, 2011; Gangadharan & Kumar, 2014; Philip et al, 2015), social and economic backwardness (Kakkoth, 2005; Paul, 2013) with varying degrees, intensities and levels, which disposes them socially and economically vulnerable to exploitation, violation of rights, and insecure livelihood opportunities.

These commonalities of tribals in Wayanad such as poverty, poor health and education, traditionally skilled, near-complete dependence on locally available manual labour in agriculture and plantations, and consequent socio-economic backwardness in varying degrees and levels considerably disposed them to exploitation, rights violations and insecure livelihood opportunities pushing many of them to migrate seasonally and to daily commute to neighbouring Karnataka. Nonetheless, factors that push and pull tribal migrant workers of Wayanad in plantations of Karnataka has been less researched; although there are ample amount of systematic studies conducted among north Indian as well as the North East Indian tribals, who migrate to neighbouring as well as southern Indian states. Situating within this premises, the present study examined push factors of tribal migrants of Wayanad to neighbouring Karnataka. Hence, in the first and second research objectives, the researcher examined the push factors in terms of socio-economic reasons for migration alongside socio-demographic characteristics of tribal migrants as follows:

Research objective-1 and 2: Hence, it is important to understand and analyse *push factors* in the form of socio-economic reasons that tribals of Wayanad go to plantations of neighbouring Karnataka in large numbers for work, apart from a systematic collection of data on the socio-demographic profile of migrant tribal workers from Wayanad.

Tribals being largely agricultural labourers alongside marginal farming and forest dependents for livelihood and are characterized by poorly skilled labour, low poor family income, small size landholding and landlessness, excessive dependence on agricultural labour, alongside decreasing traditional skills (Wayanad Initiative, 2006) significantly pose structural push to labour migration to neighbouring states' planting areas.

Nevertheless, tribal labourers mobility outside the state, especially to plantation crops such as ginger, banana, coffee, tea and vegetable cultivation in the districts of Shimoga, Coorg and Mysore in Karnataka are academically less discoursed and systematically less investigated (Wayanad Initiative, 2006; Arthrayil, 2008; Paul, 2013). Living conditions of these migrant tribals labourers in a destination is less documented systematically, their access to essential services such as food, safe drinking water and hygienic living environment, are less researched. Tribal migrant workers in neighbouring states tend to enjoy poor living conditions with restricted facilities for meeting their basic needs and needless to say the condition of tribal women, who needs a special mention in the background of their critical need for safety, sanitation and health.

Research objective-3: And therefore, this study examined the living conditions of migrant tribals of Wayanad in selected districts of neighbouring Karnataka, using both qualitative and quantitative data.

The socio-economic and cultural marginality of the tribals in Wayanad has been continued at the workplace as their tribal ethnic identity tends to influence social and workplace relationships at their destination in the neighbouring state of Karnataka. Further, empirical insights can benefit the interplay between tribal social marginality and tribal ethnic identity at destination or workplace; therefore, this study examined how tribal ethnic identity continues to shape social marginality and living conditions at the workplace. The research additionally examined the level of social marginality of tribal migrants in terms of social participation, normative integration with destination, access to their social rights alongside the level of material deprivation that the migrant tribals experienced from a human rights perspective. Additionally, lesser is known based on how demographic variables such as age, gender, tribal group affiliation, education, and marital status that influence the social marginality is measured in terms of social exclusion.

Research objective-4: How does the ethnic identity of tribal migrants of Wayanad continue to influence social marginality and living conditions at the workplace in Shimoga, Mysore and Coorg districts of Karnataka?

And thus, locating within the research gaps identified, this study examined the role of socio-demographic characteristics, living conditions, sense of tribal ethnic identity and social exclusion by using concurrent/parallel mixed-method research design that complement the inherent weakness of any single methods.

Additionally, given the background of tribal marginality and social exclusion in the literature, this study has assessed the government policies and programmes specially designed for the migrant tribal workers of Wayanad.

Hence, the (5) study objective assessed the government policies and programmes for the empowerment of tribes in Wayanad. Furthering this, the study also made effort to (6) understand the measure the level of political status, social status economic problems of tribals in Wayanad who works in the plantation field of Karnataka.

1.10. Significance and scope:

The social problems of tribal migrant labours in Karnataka's rural plantations are less systematically examined and discoursed - which needs to be addressed through appropriate policy interventions by the host and destination states. The historical nature of their social disabilities (Jose, 2014) and marginalities substantially disposed them to social exclusion at destinations. Also, the various labour rights violations on tribal migrant labourers are minimum decent pay, exposure to toxic pesticides with relatively less or no safety measures, excessive alcohol consumption and associated health hazards coupled with cultural insularity with host society as well as the level of exclusion raises important tenants of human rights in the areas of life, dignity, self-worth, health and social life. These deplorable situations faced by tribal migrants' labours of Wayanad in Karnataka are against the spirit of the Constitutional Article 21 that ensures life and personal liberties to every citizen, which also recognize life with human dignity. Article 42 empower states to secure proper conditions of work taking care of humane situations and maternity relief. Rights and protections provided by Labour Laws including migrant specific legislations such as 'Regulation of

Employment and Conditions of Services Act, 1979, do not adequately protect the rights of this vulnerable population.

Transition paragraph: The first chapter introduces disciplinary as well as legal definitions of tribes, tribal people and life, the pattern of tribal household income and expenditure. A detailed introduction furthered tribal life in Kerala with special emphasis on the tribal life of Wayanad. This discussion progressed into an academic debate on tribal development within the broader development discourses in the state. A brief discussion of the issues of the employment situation in the state, which was linked to problems of unemployment among traditionally skilled tribal population in Wayanad was articulated. Apart from a succinct review of tribal marginality in Wayanad, this chapter also portrays the migration scenario. This chapter finally articulates the research problem where research gaps were identified with a subsequent discussion on the justification of this study. The following chapter on ‘Review of Literature’ provides a detailed review of pertinent literature on internal migration in India with special reference to tribal migration.

Chapter-2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Progressing from a succinct introduction, this review of literature on pertinent studies on internal migration with special emphasis on tribal migration are organized under three major thematic areas. Initially, this review critically examines the migration scenario in India, which progressed into different facets of migration and women and migration. Second, this review critically studies the structure and formation of tribals' migration within the internal jurisdictions. Third, this review made an effort to contextualize indigenous people rights as expressed in international human rights laws and constitutional and legislative measures that safeguards tribal rights. Finally, this review delineates the linkages between human rights and tribal migrants.

Back ground of the Study

Migrations have always been a significant discussion topic. When it comes to tribal migration, the intensity and curiosity increases as they are considered as vulnerable to the altering global and regional conditions influenced by the societal, political, cultural and economic aspects. The tribal communities in the Wayanad district of Kerala experience social, financial and educational backwardness. (Jose.JP, 2017) labor related to the agricultural sector has become substantially less mainly due to the overall reduction in agriculture and agricultural activities. While the agricultural requirements and options for wage-oriented activities have tremendously reduced in the tribal areas of Wayanad, the situation in Karnataka is different. Therefore the opportunity for agricultural activities is comparatively high. Hence they are moving to Karnataka for getting work but they are being exploited in multiple ways.

Migration as a social phenomenon

Migration is a social phenomenon in human society. People migrate from one place to another due to various reasons like livelihood, poverty, war, and food safety and natural phantasm. Historically, studies on migration during the 1950s and 1960s have primarily viewed migration as development-induced economic migration, which was an outcome of unequal development trajectories (Deshingkar, 2006). It resulted in one way population movement from less developed areas to more developed and prosperous areas (Kothari, 2002). Theories of urban expansions amply explained by using such idea of push induced by poverty and restricted livelihood opportunities and pull created by better wages at destinations (Nelson, 1976; cited in Deshingkar & Start, 2003).

In contemporary times, many other inter-disciplinary theories explain the motives that compel people to migrate. These range from voluntary to involuntary migrations. Involuntary migration is often characterized by poverty, economic and social hardships, and are mostly by landless, poor, illiterate and unskilled workers. Reliance on rain-fed agriculture, increasing rate of drying lands, crop failure and poor trade terms continue to induce migration in rural areas. Nevertheless, recently the migration is increasingly been discoursed as a coping mechanism for survival and livelihood strategies (Deshingkar & Start, 2003).

The term migration is a dynamic social phenomenon that plays an effective and impressive role in forming human histories where humane and orderly migration benefits the source and host society alike. Migration is a process that is continuous and endless that influences political discourses worldwide. It conducts an important part of every community's continuous process of alterations and developments (Chandra

& Paswan, 2020). Irrespective of the type of migration namely voluntary or forced, it induces upward social mobility in the lives of migrants (WEF, 2017). Rural poverty and food insecurity alongside constrained access to services and earning significantly contribute to rural to urban mobility of people. Additionally, poor social protection and limited access to employment opportunities have contributed to rural to urban migration (FAO, 2016).

Seasonal migration is associated with the effort to improve the economic positions of the households. In a study at the Anathapur district of Andhra Pradesh, Rao et al (2001) identified three forms of migration namely (i) migration for coping and survival, (ii) migration for additional income, and (iii) migration for better remuneration and or better work environment or opportunities to use or acquire skills. There is a continuous transition across forms of migration observed. The author argued that the people of Rayadurga migrated for survival during the 1970s. But by the 1990s, people began to migrate for additional income. By 2000 migrations moved on to third form i.e., migration for better salary and work conditions (Cited in Deshingkar & Start, 2003).

Workers movement in the Indian sub-continent is an age-old phenomenon. It is a complex social phenomenon partially connected to the changing patterns of economic development and partly related to the levels of poverty with little empirical evidence on the role of migration in reducing regional disparities (De Haan, 2011). Poorest states in India namely Bihar and UP contribute the largest pools of labour migrants who tend to migrate to economically stable regions namely Delhi, Maharashtra, and Gujarat.

Davis (1951) states that India is a relatively immobile society, although the conservative estimates evidence that three out of ten Indians are internal migrants. Structurally, over the past two decades have been witnessed the capital

to become more mobile alongside population and workers, which became more mobile nationally and internationally (Heller, 1996). India's changes in several areas have influenced its pattern and pace of migration which steadily widened the gaps between agriculture and non-agricultural sectors, between rural and urban areas with concentrations in certain stages and certain regions. Evidently, unequal growth and increasing gaps between agriculture and industry is a necessary condition in the pattern of development. This internal migration has historically played a role in reducing gaps in living standards between sectors and areas and accelerated growth in more dynamic areas.

Migrant workers contribute enormously to India's economy through the major sectors such as construction, brick-making, small industries, hospitality, quarries, mines, fish textiles, prawn processing, and services (Deshinger & Akter, 2009). However, Kabeer (2005) observe that these migrants are with a poor political voice, less citizen's rights, extremely marginalized and living in the societal margins. These migrants are from poor families, with poor physical, financial and human capital. Indeed, historically marginalized populations namely scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward castes are overrepresented in the migrant population in India. The poor internal migrants are absorbed in informal sector employments, which are characterized by poor payments, insecurity, poor workplace safety and fewer opportunities to acquire more employment-related skills (Deshinger & Akter, 2009).

Migration Scenario: An Overview

Around 3.5% of the world's total population (i.e., 272 million) are migrants globally where 52% of the international migrants are males and 48% are females. Interestingly, 72% were in the working-age group of 20 to 64 years. Among world nations, India has the highest number of migrants living abroad (17.5 million) while the top

destination country remains the USA with 50.7 million international migrants (McAuliffe, & Khadria, 2019).

Deshinger and Akter (2009) estimate the count to be 65.4 million female migrants and 32.8 million male migrants in India. Nearly 42.4 million female migrants were migrated not for work, but marriage which has been the central reason for the change in residence. Evidently, rural to rural migration accounted for 53.3 million; rural to urban migration was estimated as 20.5 million, and urban to rural migration was 6.2 million, and urban to urban migration was 14.3 million. Inter-state migration was increased by 53.6%. NSSO data in 1991 estimates the short migration (change of usual residence) as 1% of the Indian population, which equals 10 million people. In India, a study estimates that 25-30 persons migrate from rural to urban areas every minute (AFEIAS, 2018). It was estimated that 309 million migrants in India in 2001 of which 70.7% were females and 67.2% were rural migrants and 32.8% were urban migrants. Male migrants were more in numbers to urban areas (53.1%) and female migrants were 24.4%. National Sample Survey (NSSO) during the period of 2008-09 reports 326 million which is similar to the census data in 2001 (Internal Migration in India Initiative, 2011).

India has the ninety-fourth position among the hundred-and-seven countries in the 2020 Global Hunger Index. Having the score of 27.2, level of hunger in India is serious (Global Hunger Index report, 2020). Evidently 35% of households have a nearby safe drinking water source and 85% of India's villages do not have secondary schools. Tribals constitute the major share of the poorest populations in rural areas (Humanitarian Foresight Think Tank, 2016). In the Central Indian state of Madhya Pradesh, 53% of the tribal population were living below the poverty line (\$1.25)

a day) and in Rajasthan, 40% were below the poverty line, while nearly 50% were illiterates (Human Foresight Think Tank, 2016).

Facets of Migration

There are four facets of internal migration that distinguish it from other forms of migration as Deshingkar (2006). These are initially, internal migrations that take place at a broad base where a small amount of money is distributed evenly to specific areas and poor families through internal remittance, rather than international migration which covers fewer people. Further, internal migration continues to rise at a faster rate than international migration. Internal migration involves poorer people from poorer regions and significantly influences achieving sustainable development goals (SDGs). It is critical in agriculture, manufacturing, construction, coastal economies and service sectors. However, the authors argued that due to the poor understanding of the pattern of migration especially in terms of temporary or circular migration, migration policies continue to remain inadequate to effectively address issues and concerns associated with peoples' mobility.

There is an increasing trend of short-term people movements within India which range from daily commuting to seasonal migrations. Short-term internal migration is predominantly observed among poor and lower castes and tribes, who are less educated and unskilled and thus have implications on poverty reduction. People living in marginal and environmentally degrading drought-prone areas and forests evidence a growing rate of internal short term migration. The poor state of empirical evidence partly due to methodological issues in data collection, the existing policy regime does not adequately address the problems of people moving around for work. Partly, there is apathy among the urban middle class against poor, migrants, lower caste people and

illiterates, accusing them of overcrowding cities, spreading disease, crime and filth (Deshingkar & Start, 2003).

There is an absence of systematic data on short-term peoples' movements within India. Available estimates show that nearly 30 million people move around for work for the short-term which ranged from daily commuting, seasonal and circular migration. Micro-level studies conducted evidence that structural factors like poverty, environment depletion, rain-fed agricultural activities in nearly 66% of India's arable land, poor water retention capacity and soil erosion induce short-term people's movements for work within the country. The analysis of pertinent literature evidenced that there are diverse forms of internal migration namely rural to rural and rural and urban, urban to urban places in India. Initially in rural to rural migration refers to the people's movements from one rural area to another within the same country. In the case of tribal population, this includes two distinct types namely nomadic and settled. Such migration may be due to voluntary or forced which is largely shaped by the socio-economic situations at source areas. In fact, voluntary migrations are mostly observed as seasonal among tribals like seasonal mobility during harvesting seasons where tribals as communities migrate for jobs in agriculture, fisheries and forestry. On the other side, forced internal migration from rural to rural areas are in the background of natural disasters or calamity and or environmental degradation and human activities. Additionally, development projects alongside industrial environmental destructions have resulted in the forced displacement of tribals in many parts of India (IOM, 2008).

The process of rural-urban movements from economically weaker areas to rich areas has been a major type of migration alongside a sharp increase in rural-urban migration in recent years. More men are moving from rural to urban areas' construction

and urban services in expanding informal sectors. Additionally, population growth and environmental limitations namely drought have induced an exodus of people from environmentally weaker places that form nearly two-thirds of the country. Falling agriculture commodities' prices significantly trigger peoples' movements (Deshingkar& Grimm, 2004).

Secondly, the internal migration discourses predominate rural to urban migration and urbanization in developing countries, including in India. Rural to urban migration refers to people's movement from the place of their origins to the urban areas or cities within the country. International Organization for Migration (2008) argued that rural to urban migration is perhaps generate the most adverse effects on tribal peoples' lives as tribals found it extremely difficult to adapt to the city life, giving away their natural habitats, lifestyles, and cultural practices.

Finally, studies suggest that tribals who migrated to urban centres are extremely marginalized, and encounters discrimination, lack of marketable skills for city living, poor formal education and language differences. Tribals migrated to urban areas face poor access to education, health services and housing. Researchers around the world are looking into the impacts of urbanizations on indigenous populations (IOM, 2008).

Wandschneider and Mishra (2003) conducted a study in Orissa's Bolangir district that estimates nearly 60,000 people migrated during the time of a drought that affected the district in 2001. Bolangir is a developmentally backward district with a decreased rate of production in the agricultural sector and accordingly an increased rate of poverty. In a similar trend in West Bengal, nearly 500,000 people migrate for short-term from drought-prone areas to rice-growing areas of the state. The migrants were from religious minorities like Muslims, lower castes and tribals (Rogaly et al, 2002).

In Madhya Pradesh, Deshingkar and Start (2003) estimate more than 50% of the households in 4 out of 6 villages had a migrant family member. Evidently, this proportion is high up to 75% in geographically remote and hilly villages with infertile soils. As part of the 'Western India Rain Fed Farm Project' in three western states namely Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan funded by DFID, evidenced that 65% of the households had migrant family members. Vigro et al (2003) also found that up to 3 quarters of the people were absent at their homes during November and June. In a highly drought-prone area and economically poor Anathupur district of Andhra Pradesh, Rao et al (2001) found an increased rate of migration from 1980 to the 1990s. Migrants into the agriculture sector in Punjab and Haryana has been reduced over time and the study observed that the migrant's rate has almost doubled from 7.5% to 13.5%. Evidently, a longer duration of migration was found to associate with wealthier classes, while a shorter duration of migration was the predominant form of migration for rural poor. A study on labour migration in the northern parts of Bihar based on data collected from 1981 to 1983 and from 1999 to 2000 from six randomly selected villages, revealed the presence of an increased rate of rural to urban migration with a new trend of working in the non-farm sector. Migrants into the agriculture sector in Punjab and Haryana has been reduced over time and this study observed that the migrant's rate has almost doubled from 7.5% to 13.5%. Evidently, a longer duration of migration was found to associate with wealthier classes and a shorter duration of migration was the predominant form of migration for the rural poor (Deshingkar, & Farrington, 2006).

A micro-level study in 12 villages in Jharkhand using cross-sectional survey and participatory rural appraisal, Dayal and Karan (2003) estimated one-third of the

families had at least one migrant member outside the home village as part of their job. In a drought-prone area of Rajasthan, nearly 50% to 75% of people seasonally migrate to Gujarat for agricultural jobs. Nearly 25% of the members in Girva village of Rajasthan migrate to construction and quarrying works and another 25% works in long-distance as truck drivers while nearly 15% were in service sectors.

Malhotra and Devi (2016) found in a study analysing factors affecting internal migration in India, that both rural and urban migrations have been increased significantly, due to the increasing rate of female migration associated with marriage. Evidence suggests that per capita credit to the industry and rapid urbanization showed a significant positive influence while per capita income showed a significant inverse influence on migration. Bhati (2019) argue that India's rapid urbanization is characterized by increased internal migration from rural to urban areas which further intensified inequalities, insecurities, humiliation, agony, poverty and human unhappiness.

De Haan (2011) examined labour migration and poverty in India from an inclusive growth perspective. The authors conclude that micro-level studies largely emphasise the vulnerabilities faced by migrant labourers while macro-level studies struggled to examine the role of migration on economic development, and therefore the existing body of literature more or less remain inadequate to paint the complex picture of migration and thus demand interdisciplinary approach towards the study of migration.

Consequently, De Haan (2011) observed the need to consider the role of migration in the current pattern of inclusive growth. Theoretically, the authors further argued that migration patterns globally are critical in generating livelihood opportunities for many households; however, migration in itself does not produce structural changes. People

respond to opportunities, but these are structured by initial economic, socio-cultural conditions. It is because, in many instances of migration, it continues to reinforce inequalities within the areas of origin, and considerable benefits go to well to do and well of regions and extreme exploitation including bonded labourers may be intensified by labour contractors and money-lenders.

De Haan (2011) found that better off migrants' benefits more from migration while lower-income group migrants continue to suffer from severe discrimination against poor migrants. Mazumdar and Agnihotri (2014) argue that the migration pattern in India enhance the structural gender inequalities in the labour market whereas a degree of diversification has been a major contribution of the male migrant community for employment. The same structure is not visible in the case of the female workforce.

Deshingkar and Akter (2009) in their sector level case studies and review of literature reveal that migrant workers are extremely marginalized and situate at the social margin both socially and economically in the broader background of inadequate policy response and poor state of implementation of labour laws. Although migration considerably reduces poverty, the migrants' contribution to the economy is less recognized, alongside their contribution of 10% to national GDP. The existing system of contracts and middlemen aggravate the exploitation of migrant workers who are poor and illiterate. The evidence suggests where workers are empowered, their market intermediaries are weakened. Authors argued that the existing apathy of lawmakers and deficient policy regimen indicate the lack of strong political will and commitment. Evidently, this contributes to the violation of the rights of poor migrant workers including their human rights. The authors further reiterated the immediate needs of the migrant workers at destination are housing, education and health without which people will be systematically excluded.

Kandhare and Bharadi (2019) examined internal migration pattern in India, using NSSO and Census data. The results reveal an increasing magnitude of migration over the years characterized by male migration with an undue tilt toward backward regions of the country with rural to an urban stream of migration as predominant one. Census (2011) identifies marriage as the single most reason for female migration followed by moving households with others. Men usually migrate in search of jobs and better economic prospects while women due to marriage and family movements (Bhagat, 2014).

An analysis of Census data (2001), Thapa and Yadav (2015) found 38% of the males migrated for employment and 3% in the case of females. Among others, the establishment of better social networks, better communication and transport, and easily labour contract systems have considerably reduced the cost of migration providing more attractive opportunities and choices (Bagachi & Majumdar, 2011).

In the background of the socio-economic problems induced by the influx of labour migration from other states to Punjab, Kaur et al (2011) conducted a micro-level study among 105 migrant agricultural labourers from Bihar, UP, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Nepal. The study found that better employment opportunities and income are the main attraction at the destination. Yet another side of the migration was the increased rate of drug menace by 37% and social tension by 45% and crimes by 43% (Kaur et al, 2019).

Deshingkar and Grimm (2004) argued in a seminal study report on voluntary internal migration growing voluntary internal migration in India are essentially characterized by the increase in the migration of the female gender, a type of migration aiming at the reduction of poverty and the substantial increase regarding the temporary migration, especially commuting.

Initially in contemporary changes in the pattern of migration is observed by increasing rate of female migrations, which are due to complex causative factors which are partly economic and non-economic factors. Many women consider migration as a way to escape social control on the female gender and associated discrimination alongside avoiding prejudice if they engage in socially stigmatizing jobs namely certain manual labours to sexual services.

Using Census (2001) data, Mitra and Murayama (2009) examined the district level rural to urban migration rates among males and females separately. The results showed that migration rates of both male and females are closely associated irrespective of their state of origin from rural areas within or outside states. In this study, women were considered as accompanists to men in migration. Poor and backward states evidenced a large amount of people mobility primarily in search of livelihood. A rapid increase in the mobility of rural females is evident within the jurisdictions of the state and is evident across most of the areas. The social network acts as key factors in short-migration and tends to lose its significance as distances increases. It is found by the authors that the network helps the lower castes and minority communities to pull their migration.

A cross-sectional analysis of 30 states in India where MNREGA has been implemented, evidenced rural-urban migration for the last few years, and considered illiterate, populated and poor with significant rural-urban wage gaps. The results of multiple linear regression analysis reveal that 63% of the variance on rural to urban migration was explained by several rural literates, no of rural people under BPL category, rural population, household participation in MNREGA scheme, and rural and urban wage gaps; whereas, only two factors namely a number of rural literates

and rural population are the significant factors influencing rural to urban migration rate.

Desingkar et al (2006) in a World Bank-supported study of Bihar Livelihood Project (BLRP) observed that dalits and tribals are engaged in short and long-distance migration for work, but are involved in the lowest-paid jobs namely farm labour, casual labour in construction, brick making, rickshaw pulling. In such situations, they are categorized as the poorest, unskilled, landless, and lowest caste. It is difficult for them to break this pattern due to their limited skills, poor education, and poor social networks. Besides, discrimination at source place continues to act as a factor for some lower castes in certain jobs and perpetuate categorization in existing labour markets.

Diesinker et al (2006) further found an association between destination selection and social networking. Distance and transport facilities do not significantly influence the choice of destination. More importantly, migration and subsequent remittance significantly improved income and increase food security. Asset accumulation is minimal and costs in terms of children's education are high. Desingkar and Start (2006) also observed that outside the home state, migrants who spend a better part of the whole in migration do not enjoy livelihood supports and social security covers. They are exploited by the middlemen and contractors and are forced to live in poor and deprived slums.

Using a social exclusion and livelihood approach, Deshingkar and Start (2003) found that caste continues to remain as a critical factor that excludes the lowest castes from the positive stream of migration. It is evidence by a strong association between the scheduled castes, poor, Illiterates and asset-less and discriminated against employers and contractors. In contrary to conventional wisdom, the authors observed that poor

areas could be positive migration pathways and people from rich areas can be making coping migration pathways.

In an extensive review of migration literature on labour migration in India with emphasis on trends, causes and impacts, Sanyal and Maity (2018) identified two main databases available in India on migration as National Sample Survey (NSS) and Census which undermine some aspects of migration flows such as temporary, seasonal, and circulatory migrations owing to the conceptual limitations. This review argues that these databases provide information on population mobility while economic theories emphasise worker mobility as an integral component of migration. Conceptual limitation originates from the definition of migration in both NSS and Census data. These surveys define '*migrants*' in terms of place of native place and alteration in the latest place of usual residence.

Primary migration reason was elicited while secondary migration reasons are always masked. For an instance, in the case of migration of married women, they cite other reasons for migration and further migration data are focused on stocks of migrants but not on the flows of migrants. With respect to population mobility, India's population mobility was low in 1991 (Census, 1991) using the residence concept. It was 27.4% which was 30.6% in 1971 and 31.2% in 1981. The proportion of male and female migration in India increased over the last decade of the 20th century. Out of 27.4% who moved in 1991, 8.8% moved for employment reasons and 2.3% moved for business reasons while the proportion moved for economic reasons was higher in males (27.8% for economic reasons and 7.1% moved for business reasons) as compared with females as only 1.8% moved only for economic reasons. In the occupational division of migrants (other than cultivation) among males, nearly 43% engaged in production-related work (Sanyal & Maity, 2018).

Malhotra and Devi (2016) examined the factors affecting internal migration using NSS data from 49th, 55th and 64th rounds representing major seventeen states in India. The authors used multiple regression analysis to determine the factors influencing the volume of migration. The results showed that urbanization and per capita credit to industry evidenced a significant positive influence on the volume of migration while per capita income inversely associated with the volume of migration. Below poverty line status (poverty) in both urban and rural areas alongside the percentage of irrigated areas evidenced a significant positive influence on the volume of outmigration. Per capita income, literacy rate to per-capita credit to industries and per capita consumption of electricity are positively and significantly associated with the rate of inter-state migration.

In several economically weaker countries, rural to rural migration continues to predominate with labourers from such regions who move to agriculturally rich regions with intentions of more opportunities for work. In India, this form of rural to rural migration has accounted for 62% of all movements in 1999 estimated using National Family Sample Survey data (Srivastava & Bhattacharyya, 2003). Although in India, temporary migration is huge in number, the official statistics often do not include these forms of migration (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2004).

Srivastava and Sasikumar (2004) argued that there are approximately 10.87 people in 1999-2000 who could be classified as short-term migrants which were not captured by Census (2001). Deshingkar and Grimm (2004) observed that such migration from poor rural areas to relatively prosperous rural agricultural areas are often less captured

by state official surveys, and thus emphasise the needs to systematically examine the support needs and address such identified issues by the stage agencies.

Although, there are multifaceted reasons influencing people's migration, the conceptual framework of 'push-and-pull' help to explain some of the new pushes and pulls that shape people's decision to migrate from marginal areas to relatively prosperous areas of the country. Surplus labours in agriculture due to shrinking agricultural activities, scarcity of cultivable lands, unequal land distribution, high population density, and concentration of rural economy on agriculture have cumulatively lead to continuous outmigration. Drought significantly affects agricultural activities since nearly two-thirds of the arable lands in India are rain-fed. Both natural and manmade drought has severely affected; thus villages located in eastern Maharashtra, eastern Karnataka, western Andhra Pradesh, and southern Madhya Pradesh have a high rate of migration.

Rural labour markets in south Asia is predominately informal work contracts, casual workers, the multiplicity of income sources, and extra-market relations (Deshingkar & Farrington, 2008). Factors such as caste, ethnicity, gender and age significantly influence. People from historically neglected social groups such as tribes and dalits are more likely to be in unskilled labour forces with poorly paid works. Gender continued to limit women and girls nature of engagement in the labour force and get relatively less paid in comparison to men.

Zeitlyn and Deshingkar (2014) argue that while studying migration, research must seek to understand poverty, social mobility, and wellbeing in both objective and

subjective ways. Desingkar and Start (2003) migration is increasingly opening up for women, especially for lower castes. Although the work conditions are poor, the non-farm sector is always found to be better paying. They also argued that social and domestic trade-off can be severe due to industrial accidents and poor sleeping conditions, and if families accompany, wives and children tend to remain unsupervised.

Living conditions of migrants irrespective of agricultural and non-agricultural workers are terrible as it is characterized by poor hygiene, sanitation and unsafe drinking water. Most of them live in open spaces and makeshift shelters, besides legal provision for decent accommodation under the Contract Labour Act (NCRL, 1991; Rani & Shylendra, 2001). Migrant workers in cities are living in pavements and parks.

Women and Migration

Globalization in the Indian economy triggered the economic move of women from all socio-economic groups, which results in varied trends and pattern, and continue to evolve and change over time due to the changing opportunities. Female migration in Indian migration research has less been systematically examined, despite the growing proportion of female migration. Academic neglect is regarded to a variety of aspects such as in the case of providing emphasis to the theories concerned with migration where the process of migration is considered to be as influenced and controlled by economic opportunities namely male migration for solely the economic reasons, and female migration for social and familial reasons rather than economic considerations (Mahapatro, 2010). The author further argued that such gender bias in migration studies is due to India's institutional, historical and socio-cultural norms that consider women to be playing the important economic and social roles as secondary to those of

men. This male-centric preference undermines the dynamics behind female migration continues to remain unexplored.

Mahapatro (2010) examined the economic aspects of women's migration using Census data from 1971 to 2001. The author estimated the percentage of migration with their sex ratio, rural and urban distribution and various socio-economic characteristics. Within the theoretical framework of the pull-push factors approach, the author used OLS to predict the determining factors of female migration. The independent variable was female migration rate while dependent variables were the average size of landholding, % of net irrigated areas under cultivation, female unemployment rate, female work participation rate, male in migration rate, female literacy rate, the proportion of both SC and ST population to the total female population, child-women ratio, safe drinking water in villages of a district, availability of electricity in villages of a district, higher educational institutions, availability of healthcare facility and availability of transport and communication facilities in the villages of a district. The results showed that economic factors except for landholding significantly influenced women in the migration rate. Hence, the author concludes that work participation rate, irrigation and unemployment suggest that females migrate for economic reasons not for marriage alone. Additionally, as expected, socio-cultural factors including literacy and scheduled caste membership and child-women ratio evidenced positive influence while being in scheduled tribe significantly reduced inflow.

Tribal Peoples Migration

Urbanization and migration considerably influence the lives of tribals, which demand more focused and systematic research on indigenous people's movements from rural

to rural and rural to urban areas (Trujano, 2008). Additionally, it also should consider gender perspective analytical approaches to capture tribal women's experience in migration. The category termed as the indigenous migrants in the country, though does not provide a clear statement on their attribute, is considered to be the people belonging to the Scheduled Tribes (STs) who work beyond the jurisdiction of their regions. They assert themselves to be in the category of tribes or indigenous migrants.

A tribal economy consists of several types of income-generating activities on a seasonal basis where cash earning work enable them to meet their immediate needs and therefore employment opportunities have been increasingly associated with tribal migration. Additionally, structural factors like reduced forest coverage, legal restrictions on forest dependence for livelihoods together contributed to reducing their traditional livelihood opportunities such as baskets ropes, tools making, spinning, metal and ironwork (Human Foresight Think Tank, 2016). Hence, tribes in India predominantly depends on seasonal jobs in harvests of wheat, paddy, and pulse, sugarcane and cotton, brick kilns, construction sites, mines, and rail work.

Historical discrimination and tribal social disadvantage seem to remain difficult to eliminate from the Indian hierarchical social system. Consequently, historically neglected tribes have a higher worker-population ratio which reflects the greater needs for participation in remunerative activities by all possible household members also women and children. The process of enlarging workers within the household indicates the poor payment per worker and associated poverty (Human Foresight Think Tank, 2016).

The level of poverty among tribes is deeper despite the constitutionally sanctioned protective discriminations in form of special provisions for tribal areas. NSSO surveys

in 1993-94, 1999-2000, shows that there have been little changes in poverty among tribal populations. In fact, the poverty between scheduled castes and other social groups have been decreased while the poverty gap between tribals and other social groups have been widened over the decades. Although India is ranked middle in Human Poverty Index (HPI), India's tribal communities are comparable with sub-Saharan Africa which is ranked in the bottom 25. Tribals in India score lowest in education, health and other social and economic aspects as per the Human Development Report. Poor job diversification, lower levels of education with little access to capital, they fail to find work, resulting in casual employment or agriculture (UN Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, 2009).

Inclusive growth in India is envisioned through the generation of productive, gainful and decent working conditions on an adequate scale to accommodate the growing labour force in the country. Nevertheless, several social indicators evidenced that the scheduled tribes are the most marginalized social group in India. Unemployment leads to several social unrests among tribal communities including their participation in terrorist movements, rising memberships in Naxals and Maoists. Nearly 59.8% of the tribal workers belong to rural areas. Among total workers in urban areas, 42.6% were STs. The percentage of cultivators had been declined over from 2001 to 2011 (Census, 2011) in all populations, this decline was 10% for tribals and on the other hand, the percentage of agricultural labourers have been increased in 2011 across STs, SCs and all populations. Tribals work participation rate in 2001 was 53.2% which was increased to 55.6% in 2011.

Traditionally, tribals living in their natural habitats engage in occupations namely hunting, fishing, gathering of forest products, shifting cultivation to settled agriculture, rural crafts and artisans. A few tribal groups in the country engage in

mendicants, bards and semi-nomadic life. In addition to usual household chores, many tribal women engage in agriculture and forest for long hours during the day hours (Bhawan & Marg, 2010; Singh, 2015). The structural factors namely deforestation, hydro-electric power generations, dams, industrial growths and mining activities, alongside environmental degradation, have substantially contributed to the displacement and forced migration of tribals from rural to rural as well as rural to urban areas in the country (Singh, 2015).

There is a widespread perception that tribal populations are living in rural and remote areas. However, this perception has increasingly been challenged by the rising number of tribals migrating to urban areas. 'Expert Committee on Indigenous Peoples and Migration: Challenges and Opportunities' have initiated an important dialogue on the migration of indigenous communities both internal and international levels. The meeting emphasised the heterogeneity of indigenous migrant peoples, and acknowledge the difficulties in defining the migratory process using general conceptual frameworks for explaining the migratory process.

Tribes are displaced and alienated from lands which they live traditionally due to development displacement and environmental degradation. In Andhra Pradesh, tribals lost 2.79 Lack acres of land, and in Madhya Pradesh 1.58 lack acres, in Karnataka (1.3 lack acres) and Gujarat (1.16 lack acres) during the beginning of the 10th plan. Extreme poverty and social marginality characterized by poor education, skills, poor health and access to services, tribals are often forced to migrate from their natural habitats (Bhawan & Marg, 2010). These authors continued observing that migration from rural and tribal areas to cities and towns negatively influence tribal culture and identity (Jose, 2014; Bhawan & Marg, 2010).

Historically, tribals of Orissa, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh have been observed during colonial periods. During the 18th and 19th Centuries in British India, tribals were found to experience forced migration to tea plantations in Assam. But gradually these tribals moved out from these tea gardens of Assam for better livelihood opportunities. During the periods between the 1950s to the 1980s, tribal people migrated to the rural areas of Bihar and West Bengal in search of agricultural coolie labour (Mosse et al, 1997). Subsequently, by the 1980s, tribals from these states began to move into the towns and cities. Desingkar (2008) estimated 30,000 tribal labourers migrate from the Bolangir district in Western Orissa every year. Geographically remote and draught-prone areas of Madhya Pradesh evidenced a high level of migration from rural areas to urban areas. Yet another micro-level study showed that nearly 65% of the tribal household in western Madhya Pradesh had migrants. Chronic indebtedness attached to moneylending in tribal areas that prevails in tribal areas remains most exploitative in nature that causes massive alienation of tribal land resulting in chronic hunger and distress migration of tribal communities. Studies provide evidence that governments' development policies have either directly or indirectly influenced tribal alienation. In many places, co-operative societies have legally auctioned tribal lands for loan recovery. Development projects have displaced more than 50 million people since the 1950s for large hydroelectricity projects, dam constructions, open cast and underground coal mining. Tribals were directly affected by displacement from their natural habitats (Mander et al., 1999).

In Jharkhand also, it has been found a similar trend in the migration of tribes from rural areas to urban areas. Madhya Pradesh with the largest number of tribes in the country and ranked among the least developed states, the tribes have increasingly been

considered migration as a way out of extreme poverty and livelihood opportunities. Tribals migrate from Madhya Pradesh to Maharashtra and Gujarat to urban construction sites in the urban areas. Tribal migrants also conduct their job in agro-processing plants, working as porters, working as domestic servants, street hawkers, petty traders, construction workers. Middlemen or agents recruit a large number of tribals from rural areas to urban areas within states and neighbouring states. At the time of recruiting, an advance is paid which is used as a support to families in the absence of the breadwinner (Bhavan & Marg, 2010).

Out of 1600 tribal migrants households surveyed in four states namely Orissa, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, 1100 were males and 500 were females and more than 25% were aged below 25 years of age. The majority had poor housing at their home places, located at interior places, 46% were wage earners, 79% were farmers from Orissa. Tribal women who migrated are in the age group of 19 to 25 years from all states. Women who are at their age of marriage or within the age of getting married or recently married tend to be increasingly migrating to the urban areas including large cities. About 60% of the migrant women are working as housemaids followed by 34% of wage labour. Duration of stay at destination range from 10 months to 1 year while 33% of these women worked for more than one year.

Tribal women face exploitation by middlemen, who offer good emoluments, good placement and work condition and such offers often false. Nearly 88% of the households sending out their women to urban areas for work reported economic wellbeing through improved income. However, women's movements seemed to associate with stigma as 45% of the migrant families reported that they faced stigma or less prestige due to their daughters or wives are working in urban centres.

The authors further observed that extreme poverty and unemployment. Migrants in Kolkata urban areas reported nearly no change or worse effect of migration where their wellbeing has been decline substantially after migration to the city. This study concludes that tribal women migrants faced poor working conditions, economic and sexual exploitations and problems in interpersonal relationships (Bhavan & Marg,2010).

In a descriptive study of 100 tribal migrant women of Chhattisgarh, Bandela et al,(2013) observed that tribal women experience extreme poverty, live in geographically remote areas, with restricted access to education, poor infrastructure and healthcare access. Tribal migrants to the neighbouring state of Andhra Pradesh were in their productive age groups, but less educated and predominantly unmarried or separated. A majority of the reported migration helped to improve income, good education, access to good healthcare, while conflicts in their villages due to extreme left political elements remain as a push factor for migration from the source area.

Bandela et al, (2013) also reported about the work and living condition at the destination. Tribal migrant women are with less voice and agency for raising their concerns to the employers. Employers pay low wages and are disabled to question. No pay protected sick leaves or maternity leaves are allowed which makes women struggle during their maternity leaves and sick time.

In an ethnographic study, Bengt, Karlsson and Kikon (2017) explored many tribals who migrate from north-east India to southern states like Kerala do not have stated goal of going back and settling down in their villages or small towns from where they came from. Most cited that there is nothing for them. So the future life was envisioned as lying anywhere, with a few exceptions. Psychological dilemma tribal migrants:

“torn between the desire to move out into the world and responsibilities towards the family, community and ancestral lands” (Bengt, Karlsson and Kikon (2017; p.461).

Chandra and Paswan (2020) purposively selected 199 Oraon tribal households in Jharkhand in a micro-level study that examined communal perceptions about migration. Oraon tribes at large positively perceived migration and family members perceived any one member’s migration significantly improve family employment opportunities and upward social mobility of tribals. Authors further argued that middle and above level education, households owned by any member other than the respondent, and having received more remittance developed more positive perceptions of migration.

In a mixed-method study design and conducted at 12 states including Kerala, Borhade et al, (2019) found that migration is increasingly used by tribals in India as a coping mechanism to escape from lack of livelihood opportunities at their place of origin. Notably, inter-state migration is occurring from Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Telangana and Gujarat. Nearly 80% of the tribal migrants are rural and completely depends on agriculture for their livelihood migration. The traditional job of collecting forest produce also does not help them for stable livelihood option as most of the forest produce collected are sold in local markets where middlemen buy products for cheap price and pocket most of the profits. Additionally, poor access and utilization of skill development training are conducted under Pradan Matri Kaushal Youjana (PMKY) and Deen Dayal Upadhaya Grameen Kaushal Yojana (DDUGKY). The high rate of alcohol and other substance abuse alongside certain cultural practices of spending and poor saving behaviours together present their vulnerabilities for migration (Borhade et al, 2019).

Tribal migrants face problems in the areas of tribal identity induced discrimination, livelihood, living, health, education, finance at destination states. They are often exploited in wages, poor compensation, legal protection of work-related rights, and treatment as outsiders by local people. Additionally, some migrants are subjected to trafficking for sexual reasons, child labour, bonded labour, loss of limbs due to occupational hazards. Further, their living conditions, and availing basic services such as health and education. State governments do not provide social security covers, or government supports to the migrants from other states. Migrants do not have voting opportunities therefore they do form pressure groups in destination states (Borhade et al, 2019).

Behera, J. B. (2019) in a micro-level study on migration of tribals and their settlement- a study of Dindori district of Madhya Pradesh, argued that chronic poverty tends to induce migration of tribals where permanent migration was relatively less and seasonal or temporary migration was the most prominent form of tribal migration from this district. Migration has provided some benefits to migrants' households because one member in a household working outside the village significantly increased household income and consumption pattern. Additional income from migrants helped family members to eat regularly and to spend on healthcare. Interestingly, migration has increased the creditworthiness of the migrant households as it is relatively easy for borrowing money for immediate needs by households whose members are working outside the villages. Interestingly, for tribal people with skills, social networks, social connection and assets, migration provides an opportunity for upward social mobility. Evidently, the authors argue that migration has helped tribals to improve income and their source villages also benefited as their income also helped agricultural activities.

Antony (2020) explores the challenges of the tribal community in India that is forced to have migrations due to social and economic adverse situations. The discrimination and exploitation have led them to experience such worse conditions.. The current situations in the country that affects the tribal society and their existence are dealt with in the study. Liberalisation, privatization and commercialization have adversely affected the economic survival of tribal groups in the country. The transition stage of tribal people and the recurring problems during the process is highlighted by Sastry and Sundararai (2020) where they highlight the resultant misery and exploitation caused on the tribal populations, necessitating the implementation of protective legislation. The study also focuses on the historical aspects presenting a comprehensive and contemporary picture of the tribal development scenario

Behera (2019) also observed the cost of migration such as diseases, injury, children's education since at destination places, fewer opportunities available for children's education and compromising households' health needs, which demand systematic policy responses. More importantly, the author's case studies evidenced less clear boundaries do exist between employment, bondage and trafficking for chronically poor and socially excluded tribal migrants

In a study of income, migration and social adjustment of tribal people at Tripura state, Das and Das (2014) found that tribal migrants to urban centres concentrated in suburbs achieved a better standard of living. Nevertheless, social adjustment with host society was found difficult for tribal migrants. Tribal migrants report workplace discrimination based on their tribal origin and enjoyed poor opportunities for continued education and skill developments. Social and cultural adjustment continued to remain hard which require systematic attention.

Deshingkar, Zeitlyn and Holtom (2014) in a systematic review of empirical literature has identified major thematic areas namely women's struggle to manage productive and reproductive roles as they move away from families. Further problems were exploitative recruitment and employment practices; inadequate policy framework to protect workers' rights, lack of collective actions and representations of workers' rights. Little is discussed on the impact of migration either on household poverty reduction or on women's empowerment within households. Little is discussed on labours agency in migration and its transformative potentials in the lives of migrants in general and migrant women in particular.

Tripathy (2018) in her anthropological study on tribal livelihoods examined the changing socio-cultural lifestyles in the background of migration and livelihood changes. The author argues that globalization and acculturation brought about immense changes in adornment pattern, use of modern amenities and material culture where migration tends to play a critical source of diversification of tribal livelihood, even among those who do not migrate. Evidently, labour migration brings tribal villages nearer to the cultural and social sense of urban life and opens up access to a new range of products, fashion and lifestyles.

Tribal Life and Livelihoods: A Human Rights Perspective

The UN official term "indigenous peoples" is internationally used to represent people living with inherited pre-colonial lifestyles and consider themselves as distinct from societies and currently governing those territories that they inherit, are called indigenous people. The United Nation's Special Rapporteur to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Indigenous Communities has defined indigenous population as:

“...those which having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems”. (Martinez-Cobo, 1984)

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Assembly, 1948) the first international instrument that ensures human rights to all without any distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions, national or social origin, property, birth or other states Subsequent ‘International Convents on Civil and Political Rights, 1966 and International Covenant on Social, Economic and Political Rights, 1966 ensure individual as well as collective rights respectively. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1966 and the Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, Linguistic Minorities, 1992 deals with the rights of indigenous peoples alongside other minorities. However, this declaration emphasised individual rights while received less emphasis on the collective rights of indigenous populations.

The UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007). It enshrines universal standards for the survival, dignity, well-being the rights of the indigenous people worldwide. It ensures both individual and collective rights apart from cultural rights and identity-related rights with emphasis on the right to education, health, employment, language alongside others. It ensures the right to develop social, economic and political institutions and procurement and enjoyment of their own means of subsistence (Assembly, U.G., 2007).

Nevertheless, India with 705 officially enlisted scheduled tribals which constitute 104 million otherwise 8.6% of its national population (Census, 2011) do not use the term “Indigenous Population” and spread across 30 states in India. India voted for the United Nation’s ‘Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People, 2007’. It recognizes the individual and collective rights of 370 million indigenous populations worldwide. It recommends cultural strengthening and maintenance regarding identity and gives prominence for the right to pursue development while keeping themselves with their own community needs and aspirations. Special provisions are provided by the Indian constitution to ensure tribal rights, which explicitly calls for protective discrimination and affirmative action. Article 15 of India’s constitution ensures equality before laws and non-discrimination based on religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth or any of them. There are basic safeguards provided by the Indian constitution provides educational and cultural safeguards, social safeguards, economic safeguards, political safeguards, service safeguards, safeguards of tribal interest, and cultural and education rights (Preethi, ----).

Nevertheless, being the most marginalized and less benefited from post-independent development programmes and welfare regimen, tribals in India continue to suffer age-old social disadvantages and disabilities (Jose, 2014). The discourse of tribals right to life and dignified livelihood opportunities have been in the central concern of policymakers and programme planners in tribal development and welfare in India (Tripathy, 2018).

Migrant Human Rights:

According to the studies related to the internal labour migrants in India, there are certain human right tenants that are significant in protecting the rights of migrant labours. These are namely the (i) the right to equality and non-discrimination,

(ii) the right to health, (iii) the right to an adequate standard of living, (iv) the right to education, (v) the right to work in just and favourable conditions (vi) the right to social security. These six groups of rights are important for migrants, especially for tribal migrants in India who are historically marginalized and are vulnerable to exploitation and violence at the workplace and destinations.

(i) The Right to Equality and non-discrimination:

The principles of equality and non-discrimination are the foundation of all international human rights laws. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) enshrines: ‘all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights’ and ‘everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms outlined in this Declaration without distinction of any kind’. The Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights (1966) prohibit discrimination under all circumstances. International migrants in many countries are economically, socially and politically discriminated. All people without any discrimination should have access to fundamental human rights and the state should ensure that their laws, regulations, and administrative practices do not discriminate towards migrants. In the migrant population, children, women and older persons are vulnerable and receive particular attention. Under international human rights laws, migrants are entitled to enjoy all social, economic and political rights, which mandate the state to remain non-discriminating against migrants, on the ground of their nationality or legal status. It also mandates the state to take up targeted steps to ensure migrants social, economic and cultural rights as vulnerable groups (Office of the High Commissioner, 2014).

(ii) The Right to Health: The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights stated its general comment that No.14 in the year 2000 that right to health includes:

‘the right to receive proper healthcare at the right time, also safe and continuous access to drinking water, sanitation facilities, food supply, adequate nutrition and living conditions including the housing facilities. It also extends to the healthy occupational and environmental conditions and access to health-related information, including sexual and reproductive health’ (Office of the High Commissioner, 2014). Additionally, the state has the responsibility to ensure facilities and services which are physically accessible with non-discrimination. India’s internal migrants enjoy relatively poor access to access and service utilization at destinations. Although migrants who often come with relatively better health deteriorate over time due to a variety of reasons. Indeed, migrants face many hardships at destination namely detention, unsatisfactory housing, poor access to water and sanitation, difficult working conditions, chronic stress and sense of insecurity and so on (Wyssmüller & Efiionayi-Mäder, 2011). Long duration of separation and consequent social isolation from families and relatives potentially jeopardize their mental health. So, migrants are faced with extreme health risk during transit owing to the hazardous condition such as being cramped or hidden in boats or trucks (Expert Consultation, A/HRC/17/43).

(iii) The Right to Adequate Standard of Living: The right to a better standard of living contained adequate housing, water and sanitation and food. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 mandate national governments to recognize the availability of adequate food, housing facilities and clothing as a basic right of every citizen who wishes to have standard living conditions (article 11.1.). Internal unskilled labour migrants in India are least likely to enjoy an adequate standard of living because; they have poor access to adequate sanitation facilities, food resources and water availability. In urban areas, migrant

labourers tend to live in segregated and run-down and poorly maintained residential areas.

(iv) The right to social security: The Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 recognizes the rights of all for social security which consists of social insurance. It recognizes six areas of social security namely healthcare:- sickness, old age, unemployment, employment injury, family and child support, maternity and disability survivors and orphans. Additionally, a system should be developed to cover social risks and contingencies. It should be accessible to people, especially to those who are socially marginalized and belong to disadvantaged communities. Social security has a critical role in poverty reduction and alleviation, preventing social exclusion and improving social inclusion. Hence, social security cover is part of the fundamental human right of migrants at the destination or host countries. The Special Rapporteur on human rights of migrants noted that many migrant workers who work as regular and irregular employees are exploited with working conditions that are precarious and discriminatory. This gives them no access to social security services.

(v) The right to just and favourable work condition: The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 recognizes the right to work for all under friendly and favourable conditions, which are freely chosen by individuals. It also includes equal remuneration for equal work. Migrants often get irregular work and are sometimes forced to work more than scheduled time with no additional incentives. Migrant labourers work conditions are often poor and at risk for occupational hazards. The informal sectors such as construction, agriculture, food processing, fisheries, and domestic work are less formalized and monitored in India; therefore posing risk for rights violation of internal migrant labour forces. Mostly, workers in these informal sectors are unable to complain if employers withhold

their pay or force them to work for long hours. Studies also suggest that occupational hazards are more frequent among migrants than in local workers (European Foundation, 2007).

The government of Kerala has a separate department headed by a Minister in the legislative assembly to take care of the functioning of activities related to Scheduled Tribes and Castes. The use of *gramasabhas* and *oorukoottams* in the tribal settlements of Kerala, initiated by the government helps in settling the issues and problems related to the living and welfare of the community. The several schemes brought by the Kerala government for the upliftment of the Scheduled Tribes include resettlement and rehabilitation of the landless, restoration of the alienated land act of 1999, medical and insurance programmes, financial assistance for the Marriage of girls belonging to the Scheduled Tribe and also education programmes for providing better facilities, sports assistance and infrastructure development, the extension of Kudumbasree units and food supplies to tribal settlements, training of *Oorukoottams*, information technology initiatives, mid-day meal for school going children etc. (Rodriguez, et. al., 2020)

To conclude the tribal communities in the Wayanad district of Kerala experience social, financial and educational backwardness due to overall substantially less agricultural activities in Wayanad. Therefore the tribal people from Wayanad are going to Karnataka for work in plantations. Hence this research tries to understand the livelihood activities of the tribes of Wayanad who are working in the plantations of Karnataka.

The next chapter discuss about the research methodology

Chapter-3:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Study aim and objectives: In this study entitled: ‘Tribes of Wayanad and their Livelihood Activities in Karnataka: A Study on Human Rights Perspective’ was conducted with an aim to examine select socio-economic and political factors influencing quality of life of inter-state tribal migrant labourers of Wayanad in Kerala at neighbouring districts of Shimoga, Coorg, and Mysore in Karnataka.

The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To understand socio-demographic profile of tribal workers of Wayanad from Kerala who works in the plantations of Karnataka
2. To understand and analysis social- economic reasons for going to work in plantations of Karnataka
3. To understand and assess the living condition of tribals who works in plantations of Karnataka.
4. To understand how tribal identity leads to social exclusion and Isolation.
5. To analyse and assess the government policies and programmes for the empowerment of tribes in Wayanad
6. To understand and measures the level of political status, social status economic problems of tribals in Wayanad who works in the plantation field of Karnataka.

Research Questions:

- 1) What are the socio-economic factors influencing migrant tribals of Wayanad to work in plantations of Karnataka?

- 2) What are the living condition of tribal migrant workers of Wayanad working in neighbouring state of Karnataka?
- 3) What are the social and political statuses and economic problems of tribals in Wayanad working as migrant labourers of Karnataka?

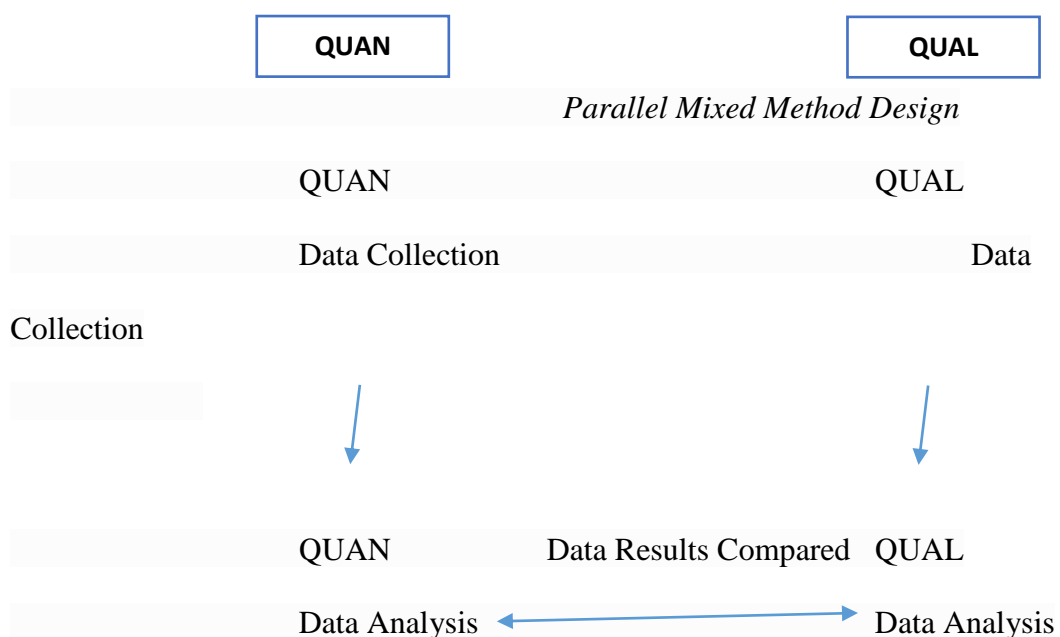
3.1. Research design: Mixed Method Research (MMR) has gained momentum over contemporary time in social scientific research as it offers a framework to combine both qualitative and quantitative research methods. It has increasingly been recognized as a framework and as an approach to answer research questions in social and behavioural sciences (Timans, Wouters, & Heilbron, 2019). As Mores (1991) postulates notation systems, which are used to indicate as ‘*qual* and *quan*’ or ‘*QUAL* or *QUAN*’ to emphasise primacy of the respective design. When plus (+) is used to indicate concurrent use of both designs, which is otherwise known as ‘*Parallel Mixed Method Design*.’ There are additional typologies have been proposed in Mixed Method Research literature (Creswell, 2009; Creswell et al., 2011). In order to study the socio-economic factors influencing inter-state migration of tribals from Wayanad district of Kerala to its neighbouring state of Karnataka; and to explore living conditions, issues of tribal identity and social exclusion faced by tribal migrant workers in neighbouring state of Karnataka, researcher adopted a concurrent or Parallel Mixed Method Design.

Having located within parallel mixed method design, the present study enabled the researcher to achieve multiple validity legitimization to the research questions raised; since this design helped to obtain quantitative, qualitative and mixed-method validities in each research study (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007; Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). Purpose of using MMR in this study was to ensure triangulation, complementarity, development and expansion (Greene, 2007),

alongside credibility, context, and utility (Bryman, 2006). As a result, the researcher raised a central research question and carefully considered the reasons for mixing methods in this study.

In parallel mixed method research, both qualitative and quantitative studies were conducted simultaneously, then compared both data to determine, if there is convergence, or some combinations (Creswell, 2009) otherwise known as confirmation, disconfirmation and cross validation (Morgan, 1998; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989). The purpose of using this parallel mixed method design was to offset the inherent weakness of relying on a single research design with the strength of other method (Creswell, 2009). Thus, field data collection were conducted concurrently whereas data mixing occurred at interpretation and discussion levels.

Figure-3.1: shows the notation system that represents the Parallel Mixed Method Design/Concurrent Triangulation approach to this mixed method research design (MMR). .



Notes: Capitalization of 'QUAN' and 'QUAL' indicates the weights or priority enjoyed in parallel mixed method research design, equal number of letters show equality between forms of data, and boxes indicates both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2009; p.210).

3.1.2. The purpose statement: By using *Parallel Mixed Method Design*, this study explored and explained the socio-economic factors of inter-state tribal migration from Wayanad of Kerala to plantations of neighbouring Karnataka, understand their living conditions, and the role of tribal identity in their social exclusion at the workplace.

3.2. COMPONENT-1: METHODOLOGY: PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH:

Phenomenological approach aimed to explore the lived experiences of tribal migrant labourers from Wayanad to neighbouring state of Karnataka with due focus on tribal identity and social exclusion faced by tribals labours at destination. Phenomenological approach is primarily occupied with exploring the social and psychological phenomena as participants experienced (Welman & Kruger, 1999). Unfailingly, phenomenological researchers are interested in learning about the lived experience of the people involved (Greene & Caracelli, 1997); whereas, this approach enable participants to convey their thoughts, worldviews, insights and perspectives in their own words. As a result, employing this approach gives the researcher a critical edge to explore and reconstruct meaning of their lived experience from multiple perspectives on phenomenon of migration of indigenous tribals into neighbouring states (Creswell, 2009).

3.2.1. Data source: In phenomenology, in-depth lived experience of individuals are explored and described to answer the central research question (Creswell, 2007). In the present study, the researcher recruited inter-state migrant tribal adult men and women, who were interviewed in-depth by using semi-structured topic guides at the workplace and place of residence as per mutual convenience. All potential participants were informed and educated about the study's purpose and intention and ensured confidentiality to each participant. Researcher has obtained informed consent orally from each study participant for his or her participation in in-depth interviews. Informed consent was also obtained for audio-recording of the interviews. All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed into Malayalam (the vernacular language of Kerala) and subsequently translated into English.

3.2.2. Population and Sample: In this phenomenological study, the study population constituted all tribal adults who are working in agriculture or plantations sector in Shimoga, Coorg, and Mysore districts in Karnataka. Further, the study participant for in-depth interview was defined as “a person of tribal origins of Wayanad, who are currently migrated to agriculture or plantations work in Karnataka, and who completed minimum of 6 months at destination. Such person may be an adult male or female member of enlisted tribal social group from Wayanad district of Kerala and are working at present”.

3.2.3. Participants' selection procedure: The researcher used criterion sampling to select study participants, where criteria were based on participants' eligibility to participate in the study as evidenced by definition of participants. Creswell (1998) defined criterion sampling a process of selecting samples, who were all experienced

the same phenomenon. Participants' eligibility for inclusion were (i) tribal adults (ii) residing in Wayanad, who were migrated to three selected districts viz., Shimoga, Coorg and Mysore for minimum period of 6 months. Subsequently, the researcher used the snowball sampling method, by which the researcher asked previous or current interviewees if they know others who have experienced same or similar phenomena (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). Additionally, the researcher also used purposive sampling. It is a sampling method in the qualitative method by which participants are selected based on the rationale to identify information rich participants, with breadth and depth of lived experiences, and whose share commonalities (Patton, 1990; Morgan, 1998).

3.2.4. Data collection method: Interviewing is fundamental to qualitative data collection; thus, the researcher adopted in-depth interview for qualitative data collection (Jamshed, 2014) for this phenomenological study. The study participants were encouraged to answer the pre-set open-ended questions on face to face at mutually agreed upon places, after obtaining informed consent. It was a face-to-face interview, which lasted from 30 minutes to 1 hour, by using a topic guide with a thematic presentation of questions/topics. For ensuring optimum use of interview time, topic guides served as a useful purpose of exploring many participants systematically and comprehensively and also it helped to stay focused on research objectives (Creswell, 2007; DiCicco-Bloom, & Crabtree, 2006). In topics, central questions are associated with or followed by many sub-questions/follow-up questions (DiCicco-Bloom, & Crabtree, 2006). All in-depth interviews were audio-recorded for subsequent verbatim recording for analysis. For the present study, the researcher

conducted in-depth interviews with 50 migrant tribal labourers in which 27 persons were tribal adult males and 23 tribal women.

Table-3.2: The in-depth interview's participants

In-depth interview participants	Number
Tribal adult men	27
Tribal adult women	23
Total participants	50

3.2.5. Ethical Considerations: All in-depth interview participants were informed about the purpose and nature of this study. The researcher obtained consent from adults and they were signed an informed consent form. All participants were assured that their rights to withdraw from the study at any point in time during the interview or after it. All personally identifying information were confided, and the same was communicated to each study participant.

3.2.6. Data analysis: As Giorgi (2009) suggest, the researcher made effort to achieve data immersion by listening to audio-recorded interviews and subsequently reading line-by-line and re-read the data transcripts several times to get a sense of the whole phenomenon. It is when the researcher engaged with verbal and non-verbal elements such as subtle pauses, intonation and emphasis, which enabled the researcher to immerse into the phenomenon under the study. It further helped the researcher to identity meaning units and then progressively elaborated these meaning units in order to develop more depth understanding of these meaning units. Whereas the focus remains on the nature of 'inter-state tribal migration' as a human experience but not as an individual per se. The questions raised were like 'what is the experiences like'

what does it mean to be a tribal migrant to neighbouring state? These meanings are then crystallized and condensed where the researcher tried to remain as close as possible to the participants' actual words and finally, the meanings were sifted and honed leading to fine-grained results (Wretz, 2010).

3.3. COMPONENT-1: METHODOLOGY: CROSS-SECTIONAL SURVEY

3.3.1. Purpose and rationale of the survey design: This mixed- method design concurrently conducted a cross-sectional survey design that examined the socio-demographic characteristics, socio-economic factors and living conditions at destination influence tribal migrants' social exclusion alongside their tribal identity. As Creswell (2009) suggests, the survey estimated the extensive nature of the problem under the study while survey findings were expected to complement and advance qualitative findings.

3.3.2. Population and sample: For this cross-sectional survey, the study population constituted all tribal adults who are working in the agriculture or plantations sector in Shimoga, Coorg, and Mysore districts in Karnataka. The sample was defined as “a person of tribal origins of Wayanad, who are currently migrated to agriculture or plantations work in Karnataka, and completed minimum of 6 months at the destination. Such persons may be an adult male or female member of an enlisted tribal social group from Wayanad district of Kerala and are working at present”.

3.3.3. Sample size estimation: Using OpenEpi an online-based sample size calculation for primary research, developed by Centre for Disease Control (<https://www.openepi.com/SampleSize/SSPropor.htm>). It is estimated that more than 5000 tribal people are working in coffee and ginger plantations in neighbouring states of Karnataka from Wayanad (Times of India, Nov.11, 2013). Using this 5000 as the

population size, (for finite population correction factor or fpc) with hypothesized % frequency of outcome factor in the population (p) as 50% +/- 5 with confidence limits of 5% and accounting 1 for design effect, we estimated as sample size of 300 with a confidence level of 90%. Hence, the final sample size was 300 for this study.

Table-1 shows selected districts, blocks, village panchayats, plantations and samples selected

Districts	Names of selected blocks/taluk	Names of selected village panchayats	Number of plantations covered	Samples selected
Mysore	Heggadadevankote (H.D Kote)	Beechanahalli, Antharasanthe Hegganur, Hommaragahalli, Matakere, G.B Sargur Hosahalli, Sagare	33	95
Coorg	Virajpet	Kutta, Aiyangeri, Kaikeri, Maggula, Kottageri, Nallor, Nittur, Maithadi, Shettigeri	33	110
Shimoga	Shikarpur	Shiralkoopa, Arsikere, Harakere, Thogarsi, Hosuru, Belagavi, Manchikoopa, Anavatti	34	95
Total	3	25	100	300

3.3.4. Sample selection procedures: As details in table 1, researcher selected three districts in Karnataka namely Mysore, Coorg and Shimoga where HD Kote, Shikarpur and Virajpet blocks/taluks were selected. At HD Kote, the selected 8 village panchayats namely (1) Beechanahalli, (2) Antharasanthe, (3) Hegganur, (4) Hommaragahalli, (5) Matakere, (6) G.B Sargur, (7) Hosahalli, and (8) Sagare. In Virajpet of Coorg district, we selected 9 village panchayats namely (1) Kutta, (2) Aiyangeri, (3) Kaikeri, (4) Maggula, (5) Kottageri, (6) Nallor, (7) Nittur, (8) Maithadi, (9) Shettigeri. At Shikarpur in Shimoga, researcher selected 8 village panchayats namely (1) Shiralkoopa, (2) Arsikere, (3) Harakere, (4) Thogarsi, (5) Hosuru, (6) Belagavi, (7) Manchikoopa, and (8) Anavatti. And thus, out of the 3 districts in Karnataka, we selected 25 village panchayats with significant tribal migrant workers reported.

Out of these 25 village panchayats, researcher has covered 100 small- to large farms/plantations where the final study units or samples were drawn. Once the plantations identified, list or sampling frame was developed which consisted of all tribal migrant labourers from the Wayanad district of Kerala were listed and out of which every third person was selected, using systematic random sampling procedure.

The researcher informed and educated about the purpose and objectives of the study, nature of their participation and possible risks or discomfort they would face due to their participation in the study. All tribal migrants who were from the Wayanad district were selected adhering to the prior set eligibility criteria for study participation.

3.3.5. Instruments for data collection: In this cross-sectional survey, the researcher used an interviewer administered questionnaire that contained several subsections

viz., (i) Socio-demographic profile, (ii) Work and living condition, (iii) Household standard of living, (iv) Ethnic Identity Scale and (v) Social Exclusion Scale.

(i) *Socio-demographic profile*: Interview began with eliciting socio-demographic profile characteristics. It included age, gender, education, marital status, number of children, ethnicity/tribe, and current work status and so on.

(ii) *Work and living conditions*: Present work status, nature of work, number of working days per week, daily working hours, frequency of wage receiving, duration of present work, how work accessed, duration of stay at the workplace, frequency of village visits, age at leaving for work, earning per day, relatives at workplace, visiting relatives and social activities. In living condition contained nominal level responses on number of persons accommodated in living rooms, facilities of living space such as electrified, piped water, sewage disposal, money spend for living room, daily saving, frequency of sending money home, and means, contact with family, health insurance, health problem and treatment access.

(iii) Standard of Living Index (SLI-IIPS, 2000). National Family Health Survey (NFHS) 1998-1999 (IIPS, 2000) was used to calculate standard of living index as a summary household measure. It composed of 27 items that weighed consumer durables, agricultural machinery, housing conditions, and access to basic services (water, light and fuel). This index was calculated by summing up weights, which were based on knowledge about the relative significance of ownership of these items, instead of a formal analysis. SLI was created for all India with possible scores ranging from 0 to 67. This index is based on quintiles for comparison purpose based on the

reference population. There are five quintiles in which '*first quintile*' represents the poorest and the '*fifth quintile*' represents the wealthiest. Researcher used this standard of living index with weights and the scores were summed up and then categorized for comparison whereas the arithmetic mean was calculated for inferential analysis.

(iv) The Multi group Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992) is a 12 item scale widely used to measure ethnicity. Subscales are ethnic identity search (a developmental and cognitive component) and affirmation, belonging and commitment (an affective component). Two items have been dropped and a few minor modifications have been made. In this study, the researcher used ethnic identity search which included items such as 1, 2, 4, 8, and 10. In similar population, ethnic identity search showed an alpha coefficient of 0.58 ($\alpha=0.584$).

(v) Social Exclusion Scale:5 Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman (2007) developed a 15-item instrument to measure social exclusion. It consists of four sub-domains viz., material deprivation, and inadequate access to social rights, insufficient normative integration, and inadequate social participation. The responses are rated on a five-point Likert type rating scale with never (1)...to always (5). High scores on the scale indicate high level of social exclusion. The material deprivation subscale showed a reliability coefficient of 0.79 while access to social rights reported a reliability coefficient of 0.82. Social participation had a reliability coefficient was 0.77 and reliability coefficient of normative integration was 0.67. The reliability coefficient of the overall scale was 0.85. In a study of social exclusion among Muslim women under poverty line in Kerala, Cherayi and Jose (2016) found that evidence for reasonable reliability coefficients of social exclusion scale in Indian samples. Material deprivation yielded an Cronbach's alpha of 0.77, social rights subscale yielded 0.69,

social participation subscale yielded a reliability alpha coefficient of 0.71 and the normative integration has yielded an alpha coefficient of 0.69 with an overall reliability coefficient of 0.76 (Cherayi & Jose, 2016).

3.3.5. Data analysis: Data analyses were performed at three progressive levels. Initial descriptive analyses were performed on socio-demographic characteristics, questionnaire items and scale scores using frequency, percentage, mean, and standard deviations. Secondly, Chi-square test was used for examining the association between categorical variables while Independent Sample t' test was used to test two group differences while one way ANOVA was used to test multi-group variance of scale scores (i.e., social exclusion and ethnic/tribal identity). At third level, researcher used multiple linear regression analysis to examine the determinants of social exclusion and ethnic/tribal identity; whereas, multiple logistic regression analysis was performed to examine the likelihood ratio of living situation where outcome variables were dichotomous.

Chapter-4

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

Chapter overview: The qualitative study findings begins with socio-demographic profile characteristics of the tribal migrant workers. Subsequently, there are sub-themes (i) human dignity and migrants reflections on tribal self, (iii) tribal identity stigma, (iv) mechanism of stigma, (v) factors responsible for migration, (vi) chemical exposures and (vii) access to public institutions.

Socio-demographic profile of tribal migrant workers: As table 1 shows, tribal migrant workers age range from 21 to 60 years with average age of 36.9 years where 23 females and 27 males together constituted 50 interviews. In the tribe, 15 participants were Kattunaika, 2 Vettakuruma and 33 Paniya tribes. About 33 persons were presently married, 15 were unmarried, 2 participants were either widowed or separated. About 19 participants had no formal schooling where the highest educational grade range from 4th grade to 7th grade. All study participants were engaged in agricultural work namely work in ginger, vegetables, tapioca, arecanut, banana cultivation, ginger cultivation and tapioca cultivation. Earning per day range from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 with an average daily earning of Rs. 340. Duration of work at host place range from 4 years to 11 years while the majority of the migrant workers had nominal landholding of 10 cents or less, although 5 participants had landholding more than 50 cents.

Dignity as tribals: Humans possess special values intrinsic to humanity therefore every individual is worthy of respect simply because he or she is a human being. At the workplace of tribal migrants, many people who constitute employers and fellow workers consider tribals do not deserve respect and human treatments. Consequently, the non-tribals neither value nor consider tribals equal partners at workplace interactions. Fellow workers and employers who represent dominant social groups consider and treat tribal workers differently and inequitably and explicitly cite that they deserve inequitable treatments. Some employers in Kodagu's plantation carry guns with them during supervisory visits in order to intimidate and coerce tribal migrant workers to continue work beyond the scheduled time.

Raghavan, a 42 year old Paniya tribal migrant worker with no schooling said:

“Don't we deserve human treatment? Nobody is considering our human values [and] everyone think we deserve discrimination because we are '*Paniya*'”.

Bindhu, a 29 year old Kattunaika woman said:

“Some people would consider us human beings [and] others don't consider us as humans. They have guns at their hands. I am afraid when I hear the gun shots so we are afraid to tell them reply”.

Raghavan, a 42 year old Paniya tribal migrant worker with no schooling said:

“We are poor as silenced everywhere so I feel sad... discrimination is everywhere in our society. I want to openly talk about these things to somebody but we don't have an opportunity or plat form to do it”.

Nanjee, a 55 year old migrant woman worker of Paniya tribe said:

“We are poor people and we will not react to anything, that’s why everybody calling for work. This thought brings us unhappiness. A great sorrow in our mind that people in the world are looking us as we are low caste”

Table-3.1. Socio-demographic profile of tribal migrant labourers

Participant	Age	Gender	Tribe	Marital status	Education	Job	Wage per day	Duration of work at destination	Land ownership	Ownership of house
Narayanan	45	Male	Paniya	Married	4 th class	Ginger, vegetable, tapioca, arecanut,	400	10 yrs.	5 Cent	Yes 3 rooms, 1 sit out, & a kitchen
Ammini	60	Female	Paniya	Widowed	No formal schooling	Ginger, pepper, cleaning bushes	270	10 yrs.	10 cent	Yes 500 ft.
Babu	35	Male	Paniya	Married	5 std.	Banana, tapioca, ginger, arecanut, paddy, vegetables	350	11 yrs.	10 cent	Yes 450 ft.
Villan	40	Male	Paniya	Married	No formal schooling	Banana, ginger, vegetable,	250	10 yrs.	Collective land	No house
Sunitha	29	Female	Paniya	Married	No formal schooling	Cleaning bushes in plantation	250	4 yrs.	4 cents	Yes 450 ft.
Sreeja	34	Female	Kattunaika	Married	5 th std.	Cleaning bushes, fertilizing plants etc.	250	5 yrs.	4 cents Forest land occupied	450 ft.
Bindhu	29	Female	Kattunaika	Married	4 th std.	Banana, tapioca, ginger, arecanut, paddy, vegetables	250	9 yrs.	Forest land	450 ft.
Sheeba	31	Female	Kattunaika	Married	No formal schooling	Coffee plantation, cleaning bushes, pepper harvesting	300	8 yrs.	4 cents	450 ft.

Shantha	34	Female	Paniya	Married	No formal schooling	Coffee plantation, cleaning bushes, pepper harvesting	250	10 yrs.	Collective land	500 ft.
Seetha	39	Female	Paniya	Married	No formal schooling	Ginger, banana, coffee, black pepper cultivation, fertilizers & planting crops	300	10 yrs.	5 Cent	450ft.
Ramu	48	Male	Vettakurumer	Married	6 th std.	Ginger, banana, coffee, black pepper cultivation, fertilizers & planting crops	200	13 yrs.	4 cent	450 ft.
Ragavan	42	Male	Paniya	Married	No formal schooling	Ginger, banana, coffee, black pepper cultivation, fertilizers & planting crops	400	9 yrs.	5 cent	450 ft.
Nanjee	55	Female	Paniya	Separated	No formal schooling	Ginger, banana, coffee, black pepper cultivation, fertilizers & planting crops	300	4yrs	5 cent	350 ft
Meenakshi	45	Female	Paniya	Unmarried	No formal schooling	Coffee plants, pepper planting,	250	10 yrs.	Landless	350 ft
Kurunthan	27	Male	Paniya	Married	No formal schooling	Banana cultivation, Ginger cultivation, Tapioca cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant.	500	9 yrs.	5 cent	450 ft.
Babu	24	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	400	8yrs	80 cent	450 ft.

Kartha	58	Female	Paniya	Married	4 th Std	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	350	4 yrs.	10 cent	450 ft.
Karuppan	45	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	No formal schooling	Banana cultivation, Ginger cultivation, Tapioca cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	400	10 yrs.	1 acre	450 ft.
Jannu	30	Female	Kattunaika	Married	4 th Std	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	250	10 yrs.	5 cent	500 ft.
Binu	21	Male	Kattunaika	Married	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	500	4yrs	20 cent	450 ft.
Marren	25	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca , spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	350	5yrs	80 cent	400 ft.
Haridas	52	Male	Vettukurumar	Married	4 th std	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	400	4 yrs.	Collective land	450 ft.
Kuttakan	40	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	No formal schooling	Banana cultivation, Ginger cultivation, Tapioca cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	400	10 yrs.	20 cent	350 ft.

Ravindran	40	Male	Kattunaika	Married	7 th class	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca,pepper	350	10 yrs.	10 cent	400 ft.
Balan	29	Male	Paniya	Married	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	400	5yrs	20 cent	350 ft.
Kumaran	24	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	6 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut,,spraying pesticides on the ginger plant, tapioca,pepper	400	6yrs	60 cent	450 ft.
Kuttan	57	Male	Paniya	Married	5 th class	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	350	4 yrs.	Collective land	400 ft.
Mani	46	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	No formal schooling	Banana cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	400	10 yrs.	25 cent	400 ft.
Appu	30	Male	Kattunaika	Married	5 th Std	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	250	8 yrs.	5 cent	500 ft.
Kariyan	24	Male	Kattunaika	Married	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	500	10 yrs	20 cent	450 ft.
Mahesh	28	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	7 th std.	Banana cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	400	10 yrs	50 cent	450 ft.

Chandran	57	Male	Paniya	Married	No formal schooling	Banana cultivation, Genger, Tapioca , spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	350	4 yrs.	Collective land	350 ft.
Keashoo	45	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	No formal schooling	Banana cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	400	10 yrs.	10 cent	450 ft.
Kathan	24	Male	Kattunaika	Married	5 th Std	Banana cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	250	5 yrs.	5 cent	400 ft.
Raju	29	Male	Paniya	Married	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	500	4 yrs	5 cent	450 ft.
Raman	29	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca,pepper	400	3yrs	10 cent	350 ft.
Chindu	46	Female	Paniya	Married	5 th std	Banana cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	350	3 yrs.	Collective land	400 ft.
Sindhu	47	Female	Paniya	Unmarried	No formal schooling	Banana cultivation, Ginger cultivation,	400	10 yrs.	5 cent	450 ft.
Pushpa	28	Female	Kattunaika	Married	6 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca,pepper	250	10 yrs.	5 cent	500 ft.
Gopi	25	Male	Kattunaika	Married	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	500	8 yrs	10 cent	450 ft.

Vineeth	26	Male	Paniya	Unmarried	6 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	400	6yrs	7 cent	450 ft.
Kavery	40	Female	Paniya	Married	6 th std	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	375	4 yrs.	6 cent	450 ft.
Vasantha	48	Female	Paniya	Unmarried	No formal schooling	Banana cultivation, Tapioca cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	400	10 yrs.	8 cent	450 ft.
Sumitra	31	Female	Kattunaika	Married	6 th Std	banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	250	11 yrs.	5 cent	500 ft.
Vellakan	27	Female	Kattunaika	Married	7 th std.	Ginger, Tapioca banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca. spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	500	5yrs	9 cent	450 ft.
Thanka	24	Female	Paniya	Unmarried	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	400	2yrs	10 cent	450 ft.
Shobha	54	Female	Paniya	Married	No formal schooling	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca	500	4 yrs.	5 cent	450 ft.

Susheela	46	Female	Paniya	Unmarried	No formal schooling	Ginger cultivation, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	400	11 yrs.	7cent	450 ft.
Valalchy	29	Female	Kattunaika	Married	5 th Std	Ginger, banana, areacanut, vegetables, tapioca, spraying pesticides on the ginger plant	250	11 yrs.	5 cent	500 ft.
Mnaji	24	Female	Kattunaika	Married	7 th std.	Ginger, banana, areacanut, Tapioca vegetables, tapioca	500	5yrs	10 cent	450 ft.

Understanding of tribal self: Interestingly in contrary to the etic view of tribes as evident in disciplinary definitions of ‘*what is a tribe?*’ the word ‘*tribe*’ has slightly overlapping perceptions and internalizations among migrant tribal workers. In the emic view, Paniya tribals’ perceptions surfaced in the analysis were collective and communal living in relatively remote locations adjacent to forestlands, hilltops and mountain slopes. All references to their own tribe overwhelmingly characterised by poverty, deprivation, and marginality in their expressions viz., ‘*all I know we are a poor tribe*’, ‘*we are a backward tribe*’ ‘*we live in hilltops, mountain slops*’ ‘*we are dull and dirty*’.

Tribal names such as Paniya and Kattunaika is personalized as lower in status, therefore excluded socially, politically, economically and culturally over historical periods. Such exclusions and marginality faced by Paniya and Kattunaika tribes of Wayanad amount to the poor understanding of their own tribal selves, their traditions, avenues of strength and opportunities. It might have been occurred and maintained over the historical nature of marginality and exclusion. Nevertheless, locating within the phenomenology, tribal life at present is overwhelmingly attached to coolie manual labour as sole livelihood opportunities and its limitations in enabling tribal households to meet family financial needs adequately.

Sunitha, a 29 year old Paniya woman, who never went to school, married and working for more than four years in Kodagu also officially known as Coorg district of Karnataka. In her perspective, the name ‘Paniya’ itself is stigmatized; therefore lower in status because, people around her ignore her just because she belongs to Paniya

tribe, who are living together in groups locally known as ‘tribal colony’ or ‘Adivasi colony’ in remote and difficult terrains. Hence Paniya living in colonies are ignored, neglect and denied human dignity as they are not considered as humans. Their dressing styles represents their social marginality; which are locally termed as ‘dull and dirty’ as they do not match mainstream dressing styles and consequently attached Paniya women dull and dirty.

Sunitha, 29 year old Paniya married woman with no formal schooling said:

“Hmm...Paniya is a low status tribe and are ignored because we are Paniya. In my life, nobody [non-tribes] has ever treated me well or at least consider me as human! See the cloths I wear, it looks dull and dirty therefore I am also... [dull and dirty]. People think about us hmm...”

Sunitha has continued saying when asked about tribe;

“All I know about my tribe is that we are poor people. We live together at hilltops, we go for work every day [and] since we are good at agricultural works, people [non-tribal] call us for work”.

Evidently, the sense of being poor is a predominant theme surfacing in everyday life of Paniya, which is further intimately attached with coolie and manual labour, probably easily available and with less skills that enable tribal women to earn a living. Additionally, Sunitha also assert her sense of competence in agricultural labour, which is unmatched and provides an edge to avail opportunities for an earning. In a similar way, migrant women are living more in the present with relatively less memory about the past, currently overwhelmed by hazards and hardship of life attached to scare manual labour, poor wage, distress attached to gender bias in wage. Tribal women’s

sense of communal collectiveness alongside pride attached to their skills in agricultural works indeed present the majority dimension of tribal migrant women's social life.

Sreeja, a 34 year old women migrant worker of the Kattunaika tribe said:

“I have no idea about our tribal origin, but we are living in Wayanad as groups in the colony [local term used] and which is adjacent to forest. We all are going for labour work”.

Sheeba, a 31 year old Kattunaika woman worker said:

“In Wayanad we are living in colonies. We are recognized as lower tribes in our place. We are called for different coolie work on daily basis. We are good at all types of agriculture work. So people will call for work”.

Tribal identity stigma:

Under tribal identity stigma, the findings are presented under mechanism of stigma namely (i) affiliation shame, (ii) self-induced social distancing, (iii) social isolation, (iv) tribe induced discrimination and (v) restricted social interactions.

Paniya tribe attaches manual labour in agriculture as a major dimension of their everyday life. But Paniya tribal identity is also traditionally attached to their livelihood of manual labour. Paniya self-assert that they are skilled labours in agricultural activities; which increased their demand for coolie labour in farm sector activities in neighbouring states. Despite these merits (of working in soils) and pride (that they are skilful and next to none in agricultural activities), Paniya increasingly dissociated with Paniya identity as they are increasingly now aware that *Paniya* is a name that discredits, devalue and dehumanize them. And thus, some Paniya men and women wished if they were born in a '*high status caste*' which are evident in the

voices such as ‘*I always wish as if I were born to a high caste*’ and ‘*I am not okay with that [i.e., calling by name *Paniya*]*’ and ‘*In fact, I am allergic to the name *Paniya**’.

Babu, a 35 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“My tribe is backward in the society so I always wish if I were born to a higher caste. Our tribe is a working groups so people call us Paniya. We love to work on soil and are skilful in all agricultural work”.

Narayanan, a 45 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“We are not well recognized in society as tribals. Wherever we go, we are called as Adivasi! I am not okay with that. I am allergic hear the name ‘*Paniya*’. At work place [destination], we face problems because we belong to the Adivasi tribe”

Babu, a 35 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“We are living as groups in Wayanad with our own tribal people. We are living near to the paddy field. All other people have come to our colony for the work. Paniya are called by all other people for the work. We belong to Paniya tribe. We are expert at all farming works”.

Mechanism of Tribal Stigma: The structural disability of tribals in the form of poverty, illiteracy, landlessness and excessive reliance on informal rural labour force characterises their social position in the society. Historically, structural forces shape the social distance of tribes due to poor perceptions of self and communal identities as

tribes, the self-perceived stigma attached to tribal life and ascribed by the broader society upon tribals. Evidently, tribals tend to collectively personalize tribal stigma, which consequently results in self-imposed isolation and maintaining social distance between tribals and non-tribals. It further leads to self-imposed restrictions on interactions and engagement with non-tribal people, which occur by subscriptions of communal narratives about ‘*who others are?*’ and ‘*how they negatively influence us?*’ The narratives intimates fear, shame, distrust and anger among new or less exposed tribal members.

Social distance is a manifestation of internalizing communal narratives and are often reinforced by tribal and non-tribal interactions. Whereas, there are mechanisms by which stigma attached to tribal identity are reinforced in everyday life. Stigma reinforcing mechanisms surfaced in the analysis are: (i) self-imposed social distancing, (ii) isolation, (iii) tribe based discrimination; and (iv) restricted social interactions.

(i) *Affiliation shame:* As an aspect of tribal stigma, tribals seemed to subscribe affiliation shame attached to tribal identity. Both men and women in everyday life interactional milieus namely public spaces, markets, workplaces, non-tribals and high status people tease, neglect and ignore them. Additionally, tribals also anticipate stigmatized treatment from socially dominant groups. Tribals experience tribal group affiliation shame, which they perceived as the reason for their low status and exclusion. Affiliation shame is induced when non-tribals address them ‘*Paniya*’ or ‘*Panichi*’ during interactions, teasing tribal characteristics, hurting and sorrows

Nanjee, a 55 year old migrant woman worker of Paniya tribe said:

“The dilemma is still in our mind. When we think of why were we born in Adivasi family? That makes more sorrowful”.

Narayanan, a 45 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“I never like being a Paniya! I felt angry about it. Why was I born in this community? I am also like other human beings”.

Nanjee, a 55 year old migrant woman worker of Paniya tribe said:

“We silently suffer every problem since our birth. We are poor and starving and this will continue in future also”.

Narayanan, a 45 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“If we go to Suran’s shop for buying things, he teases us making fun of us. He is teasing everybody. He is a drunkard. I don’t like his comedy because his comedy is hurting me”.

Nanjee, a 55 year old migrant woman worker of Paniya tribe said:

“Being Adivasi I have so many sorrowful experiences in my life but now I am not able to say anything to you. Nothing is coming in mind”.

(ii) Self-induced social distancing: Self-imposed social distancing is a mechanism by which tribals distance themselves from the rest of the society or non-tribal people in almost all social interactional milieus; instrumental interactions occur at workplaces may be an exception. Influenced by parental as well as collectively internalized

communal narratives of ‘*we vs. others*’ children developed a sense of otherness in the relational context of the broader society. It rightly begins at schools. The separated and remote dwelling alongside minimal interaction with non-tribals strengthens the beliefs and fears. Self induces social distances to avoid internalized narratives that induce fear and distress about non-tribes and shame of being tribes (devalued tribal identity). The migrant workers maintained social distance by minimising interactional opportunities with non-tribal employers.

A 55 year old Nanjee, a Paniya tribal migrant woman said:

“We belong to Adivasi tribes so we keep distance from other people and live in separate places. Actually, we are hiding from others and we are scare about others and that is a truth! We are not talking to higher caste people. We neither speak nor mingling with them [non-tribals]. We are ashamed of talking to others”.

Babu, a 35 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“We live far away from the upper castes. We don’t talk to anyone much. We are Adivasi Paniya belong to low status tribe. So we face discrimination and financial difficulties. As Adivasi Paniya living in Wayanad, we are keeping distance from higher caste communities. We love our own people. We are not interested to mingle with higher caste communities”.

(iii) Social isolation: The communal ties are intimate and strong where Paniya tribes tend to restrict themselves to their own community, they preferred to live together as ‘*colony*’ a term locally used to designate tribal hamlets. Such hamlets are located at

difficult terrain such as forests, hilltops, mountain slopes and near riversides, which are often clearly separated from rural non-tribal people. Tribals in deed, isolate themselves from non-tribal people with reduced social interactions, avoidance of non-tribes in homes and hamlets as they do not feel equitable partners in social interactions.

Shantha, a 34 year old Paniya woman worker said:

“Yes, we are living in groups [and] are not interested to mingle with other people. We living with our own tribe”.

Ramu, a 48 year old Vettakurumar tribal migrant worker said:

“In Wayanad Adivasi people are living together in a single colony [and] all belong to the Adivasi tribe”.

A 55 year old Nanjee, a Paniya tribal migrant woman said:

“We [Paniya] love to live with our own people. We always keep distance from other caste peoples [as] we are not interested to mingle with other people. We live near paddy fields and forests. We live in a *colony*”

Bindhu, a 29 year old Kattunaika woman said:

“If someone comes to talk to us, we are not interested to talk with them and we won’t go to talk with them. We people not interested to start a friendship with high caste people”.

Babu, a 35 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“We talks to people who are familiar and show affection to us. Usually, we interact and gather with our own tribes who are in the colony”.

(iv) *Tribe induced discrimination:* Tribal stigma continued to predominate the everyday life of tribal migrants at workplace. They are excessively concerned their tribe induced low social status and associated social problems at the workplace. Tribal identity tends to remove human dignity of the targets i.e., tribals as they are sub-humanized, ignored and neglected in social interactions. Many tribal migrant workers were excessively concerned about the fault of being born in tribal community, which ascribe discriminations and social disabilities. The tribal woman asserts that they are faced with identity induced discrimination right from the schools, all public spaces, religious centres and public offices and workplaces, which demand social interactions with non-tribals. Besides, tribal identity continued to influence their life at the workplace.

Meenakshi, a 45 year old Paniya unmarried tribal migrant women said:

“Yes, we are discriminated in all phases of life. We faced difficulties because we are coming from tribal family. Nobody consider us. I am facing difficulties because I was born in a tribal family. We face discrimination outside and at work place. When we go outside in to the public, who will consider us as human? No one! Everywhere we face difficulties”.

Ramu, a 48 year old Paniya tribal migrant worker said:

“I feel discriminated as I am a Paniya but being born in this tribe is not my fault. This is the reason why I stopped my education at small class [lower

grade]. If I were not born in this tribe, I would have completed my studies. I regret for it a lot now! I wish to give good education to my children at good schools but nothing is possible! It's because we are Paniya and people discriminate us because we are Paniya. They do not include us among them [and] they keep us apart. It keeps hurting me!"

Ramu continued saying:

"We experience tribe based discrimination at schools, at workplace and public spaces. I have a lot of worries in my life. All these experience make me feel regret. I felt wrong that I was born as a tribe. But what to say! I just suppress my worries. I don't reveal it anyone".

(v) ***Restricted Social Interactions***: Tribal migrants at the workplace anticipate differential treatment and discrimination from others, who constitute employers, fellow non-tribal workers, and other people around. And thus, they tend to minimize social interaction and exchanges to a minimum, which are instrumental for their work related responsibilities. On the other hand, they continue to self-distance and isolate as seen earlier through reduced social interactions and exchanges anticipating discriminatory treatments from others. Tribes are subjected to derogatory address in public by others by their tribe names such as '*Paniyan*' (referring male gender) and '*Panachi*' (referring female gender)

Narayanan, a 45 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

"Others consider us as lower to them. It is a little bit hurting to us. So we are not talking to other people. Really we are afraid of all. Wherever we go, no matter; we have to work hard, if we take rest, land load's behaviour changes!"

Ramu, a 48 year old Paniya tribal migrant worker said:

“People call us ‘*Paniya*’ [and] it is really sad thing for us. They make fun of us. We are not mingling with others and we live in a remote area. We are not interested to live in a common place but we are addressed as ‘*Paniyan*’ and ‘*Panichi*’ by others. It is really painful for us”.

Ramu continued saying:

We have a lot of bitter experience and are still in the old situation. We don’t have any change. If we progress or not, we shall continue to suffer these problems”.

Raghavan, a 42 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“We are facing discrimination and sorrow. Wherever we go we are facing discrimination”.

Ramu, a 48 year old Paniya tribal migrant worker said:

“We always keep distance from high status people. We are living in remote areas and we are not interested to mingle with others”.

Babu, a 35 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“We are a down trodden tribe so I am sad. I think sometimes it would have been better if we were financially a bit sound. These two problems concerns us, I meant to say low status of our tribe and financial difficulties”.

Reasons for migration: Tribals of Wayanad can be broadly categorized into three sections viz., agricultural labourers, marginal farmers, and forest dependents (Wayanad Initiative, 2006). Problems in livelihood of tribal households in Wayanad are characterized by low family income, small size landholding and landlessness, excessive dependence on agricultural labours, changing crop patterns, entry of large number of non-tribals in labour markets, decline in the price of cash-crops, decreasing need of traditional skills, poorly viable non-farming activities and dwindling of non-timber forest produce, regulations as per NTFP collections, low representation in formal sectors, and failed welfare and rehabilitation projects (Wayanad Initiative, 2006).

Situating within this empirical premises, the present analysis reveals multi-facet factors pushing tribal men and women from Wayanad to Karnataka. In Wayanad, over the last two decades, agricultural work availability is on decrease resulting in less or poor availability of manual labour at neighbourhood, decrease in farming work, poorly addressed rehabilitation and welfare and social security nets for tribals.

A theme consistent across tribal men and women migrants were the ‘less availability of manual labour at source i.e., Wayanad. Many tribals prefer to stay back at the source and work as they get more humane treatment and better wages in Wayanad. However, decreasing availability of manual labour opportunities compels many tribal households to choose migrating into the neighbouring Karnataka. In Karnataka, large scale plantation and agricultural activities are intense which generate more opportunities for labours with traditional job skills in manual labour. Migrant tribals report that even if they get less wages in comparison to what they earn at source, they

prefer to work in Karnataka; because, plantations in Karnataka provides ample opportunities for manual labour in a regular manner, which enable them to get a regular income.

Geographic proximity is yet another aspect that pushes tribals to commute to work in neighbouring districts such as Kodagu and HD Kote on daily basis. Although, wages they receive at destination is far less (usually Rs. 200 to 350 for women and 350 to 500 for men), tribal workers in neighbouring villages such a Thirunelli to neighbouring Kodagu district on daily basis. Additionally, at the source tribal mothers' report that receives free ration of rice and other eatables from Civil Supplies Stores. However, rehabilitative and welfare schemes for tribals at Wayanad have grossly ineffective in ensuring sustainable livelihood opportunities at the sources.

Bindhu, a 29 year old Kattunaika female migrant worker said:

“Yes, my reason for going to kodagu is to make a living. Who gave money for survive? When I stay home without work, who will give the money? The government doesn't give us anything. We only get some rice as monthly ration. For living we don't have any other go. There is no work at all in Wayanad so how can we survive without work?”.

Meenakshi, a 45 year old Paniya migrant worker said:

“I work at Wayanad if it is available. Otherwise I go to Karnataka. I work there as I need to live! To make a living, I need to work. I am getting lot of work in Karnataka”.

Raghavan, a 42 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“We don’t have work in Wayanad so we come here [in Karnataka]. In Wayanad there is no agricultural work now a days. We don’t get work. If it is here we will get some kind of work at least in the planting fields. We came here to support our family. Karnataka is located very close to Wayanad. This is where everyone farms. If I come here, I can drink enough (liquor)”.

Ramu, a 48 year old Paniya tribal migrant worker said:

“I have been coming here since my childhood, my mother and father worked here. It is easy to come and go, so I chose Kodagu. There is no work at our village, so I come to Kodagu, where there are a lot of opportunities for works. So we are permanent workers in Karnataka”.

Sense of competence and pride: Evidently, there are certain amount of pride attached to tribal workers with respect to their skills in agricultural works and claimed traditionally they are experts in agriculture and farming works to which no one could ever compete for. In fact, this expertise and skills they believed to create a good demand for tribal workers in neighbouring states also. Tribals, in fact, believed that they do not only have expertise in agricultural and farming activities, but also they are hardworking. Some Paniya workers identify self with their tribe’s name i.e., ‘Paniya’ which means ‘*worker*’, which suggest tribals in general and Paniya tribe, in particular both self-and communally’ identify themselves as historically as working groups. In addition, for some Paniya migrant workers familiar and love to do farming work which gives them work satisfaction, which is probably they enjoy by working. They also tend to personalize that farming activities are their traditional work for which they are meant for!

Sunitha, a 29 year old female migrant worker of Paniya tribe said:

“Yes, I love farming work. I don’t know any other work than agricultural work. This is our traditional work. Farming work is a part of our life. It’s because we are tribal people from Wayanad. We are good farmers. We know all kind of farming works. It’s because if we are excellent at farming that we are hide here”.

Seetha, a 39 year old woman worker of Paniya tribe said:

“We are doing work, that’s why people are calling us as Paniya. Paniya means someone who is doing good and efficient in work”.

Ramu, a 48 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“We are Paniya so people call us for work. We are good at all type of farming works and everybody knows that we do such works in a better way”.

Ammini, a 60 year old Paniya widow migrant worker said:

“We are living together in colony. We have common courtyard for all the family. We all workers come from the same colony. If we do more work they will be very happy”.

Narayanan, 45 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“In agricultural work, no one can challenge us because we are experts in this work but we suffer in all phases of our life”.

Ammini, a 60 year old Paniya widow migrant worker said:

“We are living in a colony as group in Wayanad. All know we are Adivasi. We will go for work, that’s why they are calling for work and we are good at farming work”.

Chemical exposure

Tribal migrants at plantations of neighbouring Karnataka are exposed to a significant level of chemical exposure due to excessive pesticide use with relatively little or fewer safety measures and gadgets provided by employers. Evidently, tribal workers are directly engaged with pesticide during whole day, which caused health consequences such as headaches, throat pain, breathing difficulties, vomiting and so on.

Pesticide use: Tribal migrants are directly exposed to pesticides at plantation crops namely coconuts and arecanut groves and coffee and ginger plantations in Karnataka. Mostly, tribals are employed in pesticide spraying to plants with little occupational safety enabled. For an instance, employers do not provide safety masks, hand gloves, shoes or body cover that protect when spraying pesticide to plants. Tribal women are engaged in filling water and then to mix with pesticide in huge drum which they had to carry on head to transport to different locations within plantations. Tribal people in general are with little knowledge of the health related consequences of direct exposure to pesticide with little safety precautions. Consequently, many tribal migrant workers complaint mild to severe health problems due to close interaction with toxic substances. Many tribals complaint about dried skins, cracked hands, severe headache and throat aches, physical tiredness followed by pesticide spraying work at plantation. Daylong pesticide spraying leads to severe

headache, physical tiredness and vomiting. Evidently, their report suggests that workers experienced mild to severe health consequences which are lasted for days to months.

Ramu, 48 year old Paniya migrant worker said:

“From morning till evening I am spraying pesticides to this plantation Hoo! After spraying pesticides in the plantation I came back by 7 to 7.30. I am really tired. I need to take bath and I didn't take food because of the smell of pesticides. Now I am feeling omitting tendency and headache. When spraying the pesticides heavy wind blowing from the opposite sides and the pesticides enter in to my mouth and nose and now I am feeling heavy headache. It is terribly difficult to work in the sunny day”.

Ramu continued saying:

“We are good at agricultural field work so we have to spray pesticides to plants. That's why I am suffering from throat pain. It is getting terrible headaches, and then also I am spraying. Now I am suffering from throat pain and headache”.

Janu, 30 year old female Kattunaika woman said:

“I am spraying pesticides without covering my face or nose using any towel and all. When I am spraying pesticides, if there is a heavy wind blowing and in Karnataka you know heavy wind blows all time, the pesticides will enter in to my nose and mouth and my eyes. Now I am not feeling good. That man is always come behind us and he always forced us to work hard. They always

say that do work faster. Today the body is full of pain. They don't allow taking rest".

Villan, a 40 year old male Paniya migrant worker said:

"Pesticides using time, one lady fills water in drum [and] another lady mix pesticides with water and make it ready for use. They fill and fix the pump to spray the pesticides at ginger plantations. My role is to ensure that pipe does not harm plants, when we take the pipes from one place to another".

Migrant Tribal Women Workers and Sexual Abuses

Tribal migrant women are vulnerable to sexual abuses at the workplace in plantation crops in neighbour state of Karnataka. These migrant women workers are faced with sexual abuses in the form of staring, eve teasing and sexual advancement by employers and fellow-workers at workplace. Evidently, many tribal women migrant workers were raped, and much more of them faced with rape attempts at workplaces. However, these women do not have access to justice institutions neither at host place nor at home-state. The majority of such abuses are suffered in silences while these women have less or no voice at all to respond to such sexual violence and atrocities. Additionally, tribal migrant working women tend to rationalize these as part of life and are forced to live with emotional and emotional trauma triggered by such abusive incidents in the hands of employers as well as fellow-male workers. Many hide such experience from their life partners, and other family members as it would also affect their marital life if spouses come to know about it. Tribal migrant women workers are always fearful at the workplace about forced sexual advancement by employers and

fellow-male workers. They always feel insecure, fearful, and helpless at workplace. It is therefore evident that tribal women at workplace of neighbouring state are not safe in the absence of formal mechanisms that enable them to access redressal of grievances and access to justice institutions.

There is no accessible workplace monitoring mechanism of workplace abuses and exploitation both labour as well as sexual exploitation of women in plantation crops. And as a result, women workers were forced to work more hours, less wage in comparison to men workers and so on. Poorly developed access to justice institutions coupled with ignorance of these workers considerably restricts their agency to avail help and support when they are in most need of them.

Bindhu, a 29 year old Kattunaika migrant woman worker said:

“The only way available is to obey them while there is no other go. No matter what experiences and sorrows a woman faces, she has to suffer and she cannot tell anyone. Woman cannot share her grief with anyone and what to do? Then what can I do. Women are like slaves”.

Sreeja, a 34 year old Kattunaika female migrant worker narrated her experience of sexual abuse in the following words:

How can I say about all these! At work place, we face a lot of difficulties? One day we were collecting pepper from pepper plants with my aunty. A *Kodakan* (landlord) came near to us and said: “come let us go to the other side” which was away from my aunty. He took me away from aunty and refused aunty to come with me. I could only obey him. He ordered me to collect pepper from there and I was really worried because I was alone. I went to the place where

he said. I was the only one there. No one else was there [and] that place was a corner of the estate. I can't tell you what he did! After that *Kodakan* started disturbing me, He started touching many parts of my body. Firstly, he put his hand on my shoulder. I started to cry. He put his hands on my shoulder and started abusing and attacking me, I can't say anymore, I have no way to escape. No, I couldn't... I laid down and cried a lot [as] anyhow I had to escape from these. I cried aloud and called my aunty but she could not hear my voice. At last I slapped the man. I tried to beat him with my sandal [but] I could not beat. That day I thought about the end of my life. Then I took all my strength and beat him, slapped and slapped with hands. But the man hold me tightly [and] at that time, I didn't remember he was my employer. Yet he didn't take his hand from my body. I was hitting him. I had no desire to die that day. At last my aunty heard me crying aloud, she rushed to me and freed me from that devilish man. My fellow workers also came with her at the moment. I stopped my work there and I went to my home, we can't say anything about them, they are very bad, because of God's mercy I got my life back, that day I thought he would kill me at that time. I didn't want to die. If they see women they will attack them. I thought about the last end of my life in that day. They didn't kill me because of my children's luck. I just escaped; if any female go there, they won't let them freely, still now I am worried about them. After that I was really afraid and worried to work there. They touch badly and abuse all girls and women [and] won't let any woman go freely. They attack women, if they get the chance, I was terrified as this incident".

Bindhu, a 29 year old Kattunaika migrant woman worker said:

“For lady worker they have facing so many difficulties everywhere. I am remembering one of my bitter experiences at work place when I was not able to accept it even now. I suffer such [sexual violence] experience for the sake of my children”.

She continued saying:

“Every day I am trying to live by forgetting such bad experience and when compared to men no ladies are safe. Where ever she goes she will be attacked by someone, to whom I can say this problem. No one will come to do anything. We have to undergo such difficulties. That’s all (my husband is next to me I can’t say anything) ladies are undergoing many difficulties they have to go through such difficulties. They can’t able to react such seen as they can’t say there problem to anyone. Then what we can do?”

Meenakshi, a 45 year old Paniya unmarried woman said:

Oh! I see no hope for women and no consideration for women. To get Rs. 250 Rupees daily, we work very hard in the field and with that money, I earn my daily bread”.

Access to Institutions for Public Services

Locating within the backdrop of tribal marginality and exclusion, this study assessed the government policies and programmes specially designed for the migrant tribal workers of Wayanad with respect to tribal migrant families’ access to public services, financial services, school services and healthcare services. It is because, the access to institutions for public services are fundamental to a fair and civilized society. It

provides opportunities, protects the weaker and marginalized, and improve the general quality of life of the public.

In this study, researcher examined tribal migrant workers' perceived access to institutions for availing public services in respect of access to public services in government offices, financial services, education, livelihood opportunities, and healthcare access. Hence under this sub-theme of access to public services, findings are organized as (i) access to public services, (ii) access to financial services, (iii) access to school services, (iv) access to livelihood opportunities and (v) access to healthcare.

(i) Access to public services: Tribal migrant workers in general, have a sense of helplessness when approaching public services from village offices, panchayats, taluk office. Being a marginalized social group, people in the office do not show special interest in tribals. So when they approach public offices for services, they do not get the correct information for needed services in terms of eligibility, supportive documents, approximate time required for availing services and so on. Procedural delay seemed to remain considerable in public offices. Even at people-government interfacing institution like village panchayats, tribals perceived discrimination in terms of providing them delayed services.

Tribal migrant works tend to associate such an apathetic approach of public servants as part of their tribal origin. They believed that they are discriminated as they are tribes like '*Paniya*' and '*Kattunaika*'. Evidently, the apathetic approach by public servants tend to promote self-directed detachment from public utility services by tribal migrant workers as they could not afford to lose many working days for this purpose.

Hence, there is a visible distress among tribal migrant workers in accessing public offices for services.

Ramu, 48 year old Paniya migrant worker said:

“I don’t get any benefits from the government. The government will not do anything for me. The government is neglecting us in various roots. Government is showing lot of discrimination to us. I never get any concession from the government, government never given anything for me”.

Sheeba, a 31 year old Kattunaika woman worker said:

“Yes, I faced difficulties in Panchayat office, Village and Taluk office. If we go to panchayat office for any application, they make us to walk at least two months behind them”.

Sreeja, a 34 year old Kattunaika woman workers said:

“In panchayat office, it will take more time to clear simple application or form. If we go with a simple form the panchayat authorities ask us to come next week, after two or three weeks, the offices will clear our applications later”.

She continued:

In village office and panchayat office, both are same, in taluk office, it will get a week to clear a form. *Akshya* e-centre also I have bad experience to get my ADHAR Card as I went after them for 2 months. Then they are saying that first given address is wrong, I am not able to work”.

Ammini, a 60 year old Paniya widow said:

“We get rice as government ration. We are not getting proper consideration in our government services. That is why many of our people don’t get benefits from government services”.

Babu, a 24 year old unmarried Paniya male worker said:

At Panchayat office, it is very difficult to get certificate or birth certificate. They delay with some other reasons. We face difficulties at Panchayat office. When we go for panchayat office for a paper we don’t get it when it is needed”.

He continued saying:

“Now I have to go to the government office at Vythiri. I don’t know how many months I have to walk behind them to get it done! I don’t know when they change it [family ration card] from APL [above poverty line] to BPL [below poverty line]”.

(ii) Access to financial services: Access to credit and financial services are fundamental to people advancement. Although there were widespread micro-credit programmes for poor rural women and households, tribals in general are excluded from the fruits of such projects. Tribals in the state continued to remain excluded from basic financial inclusion projects, with few exceptions. Tribal migrant workers with bank accounts are rare and they perceived no use of opening bank accounts in banks as in their perspective, it is useful only for those who have money or those who are rich! Evidently, tribal migrant workers do not have saving habits unlike other communities while they were also excluded from micro-credit programmes.

Sunitha, a 29 year old Paniya woman worker said:

“No. The bank is the place to go for people who have money. I have not gone yet”.

(iii) Access to school services: Similarly, tribal migrant workers also face problems at schools when they approached for their children admission by showing indifference to tribal parents. As seen in other public offices, many tribal migrant workers reported having troubles at schools during admission of their children, parent teacher association meeting (PTA) and so on.

Ramu, a 48 year old male migrant worker from Paniya tribe said:

“Yes, in the school our children are little bit different from others. Now a day that attitude is changed little bit, we have starving and poverty is the main crisis in our life. When I went to school for the admission of my child, they have not clear anything for studies. They have given lot of difficulty for the admission. They are asking so many things. So I am really faced bitter experience from school authority”.

(iv) Access to livelihood opportunities: Tribal identity attached stigma is a social reality that continue to marginalize the targets in many areas of their daily life. It has a direct linkage with their livelihood options. Whereas, tribals in Wayanad are predominantly landless agricultural labourers with traditional skills in agriculture. Mobility in livelihood is relatively restricted where entrepreneurial efforts are less feasible for tribals in the state due to identity induced stigma. When researcher intended to explore the livelihood alternatives of tribals, a Paniya tribal youth, who was a migrant worker gave evidence for the continued influence of tribal ‘Paniya’ identity that systematically disables tribal people in their everyday life that incapacitate them from even thinking of alternate livelihood options. In addition,

tribals intimately associate themselves with agricultural labour, which may plausibly culturally comfortable livelihood avenue, whereas business or jobs at formal sectors, their poor state of education and traditional skills don't allow them to feel empowered to initiate alternate livelihood options.

Ramu, a 48 year old male migrant worker from Paniya tribe said:

“If I start a shop; nobody would come to my shop because everyone says that is shop of an Adivasi. I feel really sad to be treated as a tribal [and] that worry never go away from my mind. All look at us we are Adivasi Paniya [and] I hate it. Everyone addresses us as Paniya and everybody looks at us Adivasi Paniya”.

Raghavan, a 42 year old Paniya migrant worker said:

“Yes, I will start business, it won't be succeeded because I am tribe, and nobody will come to purchase things from me. So that business won't be succeeded”.

Karuppan, a 45 year old Paniya migrant worker said:

“Yes, we don't like doing business is the first thing. We are not qualified and educated enough to do business. That is the main hurdle. Even in private sector to melt in we have several issues. So imagine doing a business by ourselves. I know we are not educated enough to do business but that's not just a problem we are not made for that our culture just not allowed to do that. We don't have any efficiency to do business”.

(v) **Access to healthcare services:** Tribal migrant workers predominantly avail public healthcare services from Primary Health Centres (PHCs), Community Health Centres (CHCs) and District General Hospitals for their health needs. However, the health system responsiveness is relatively poor in addressing tribal health needs. Many workers tend to believe that since they belong to particular tribal group, their health needs are not seriously addressed at public healthcare systems. Public healthcare system is relatively less responsive in terms of welcoming, and compressively addressing the problems of tribal workers at host places. Additionally, the ethnic tribal origin as a social identity has continued to influence and shape their treatment access and the level of satisfaction associated with it.

Shantha, a 34 year old Paniya female worker said:

“Yes, we will get medicine first, but we have to struggle a little for it”.

Babu, a 35 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“In government hospitals, doctors tell us to ‘do this and that’ just like orders but we can’t do all those things. Then they will shout and angry with us”.

Narayanan, a 45 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“No one is there to give us good treatment. We get only tablets and medicines where ever we go, they think that we are ‘Paniya’. That very thought haunting us very badly. That hurt us very much”.

Babu, a 35 year old Paniya male migrant worker said:

“In my life no one has appreciated or says any good word to me and in all place with their activities they always say bad words to us”.

Transition paragraph: The fourth chapter provides the findings of the qualitative phenomenological investigation under the broader mixed-method study. The chapter begins with a detailed description of the socio-demographic profile of tribal migrant workers who participated in this study. It narrates the tribal self in migration with dignity, self-understanding that progress to tribal identity stigma. Tribal identity stigma has attributes such as affiliation shame, self-induced social distancing, social isolation, tribe induced discrimination and restricted social interactions. This study further identifies the social and economic reasons for tribal migration from Wayanad to neighbouring Karnataka. Tribal migrant workers sense of pride and competence in manual labours and agricultural works has been narrated. The qualitative findings also narrate the workplace safety and health-related problems faced by tribal migrants’ namely chemical exposure like pesticide spraying, no safety gadgets and so on. More importantly, sexual abuse of tribal women at the work place has identified and narrated in the context of their vulnerability as easy targets for undue sexual advancement by employers and fellow male workers. In addition, this chapter also explored the migrant workers’ institutional access namely access to public services, access to financial services, access to school services, access to livelihood opportunities and access to healthcare. The subsequent chapter provides the results of the survey of tribal migrant workers with special reference to tribal identity and dimensions of social exclusion faced by them.

Chapter 5

Survey Results

The results are presented under three sub-headings namely the descriptive results, the bivariate results and multivariate results because the survey data analysis was progressed from univariate to bivariate and multivariate analyses.

(I) DESCRIPTIVE SURVEY RESULTS

Table-1: Socio-demographic profile of tribal migrant labourers

Variable label	Frequency	%	Variable label	Frequency	%
Age (in years)			Gender		
Min-Max	18-60	---	Male	171	43
Mean	36.1	---	Female	129	57
SD	9.4	---			
Age (in groups)			Education		
18 – 28 years	78	26	No formal schooling	97	32.3
29 – 38 years	94	31.3	LP school	107	35.7
39 – 48 years	87	29	UP school	48	16
49 – 60 years	41	13.7	High school	33	11
			HSS	15	5
Marital status			Tribal groups		
Married	194	64.7	Paniya	191	63.7
Remarried	15	5	Adiya	44	14.7
Cohabit	08	2.7	Kattunaika	32	10.7
Divorced	17	5.7	Kuruma	21	7
Widowed	66	22	Others	12	4
Present work status			Nature work		
Wage earner	293	97.7	Contract basis	196	65.3
Farmer	07	2.3	Daily basis	83	27.7
			Task-based	21	7
Wage frequency			Visiting villages/home		
Daily basis	09	3	Once in a year	04	1.3
Weekly basis	168	56	Once in 6 months	21	7
Monthly basis	115	38.3	Once in 3 months	89	29.7
Occasionally	08	2.7	Once in a month	24	8
			Once in 2 weeks	15	5
			Once in a week	30	10
			Daily commuters	117	39

Table 1 shows the socio-demographic profile of tribal migrant labourers in three districts namely Shimoga, Coorg and Mysore of Karnataka. Out of 300 tribal migrant workers interviewed, their age range from 18 to 60 years with an average age of 36.1 years and a SD of 9.4 years. When age was categorized into four groups, we found 26% (n=78) were in younger age group of 18 to 28 years, 31.3% (n=94) were in the middle age of 29 to 38 years, 29% (n=87) aged between 39 to 48 years while 13.7% (n=41) aged between 49 to 60 years.

Nearly 43% (n=171) were male tribal migrant workers and 57% (n=129) were female migrant tribal workers. A sizable number of tribal migrant workers (i.e., 32.3%; n=97) was reported no formal education and a similar proportion (i.e., 35.7%; n=107) were educated at lower primary level or between 1st to 4th grades. Nearly 16% (n=48) were educated up to upper primary level (i.e., 5th to 7th grade) and high school educated migrant workers were 11% (n=33) and 5% (n=15) were had completed higher secondary level education.

In marital status of tribal migrant workers in Karnataka, 64.7% (n=194) were married at the time of the interview, 5% (n=15) were remarried, 6 participants were in living together without marriage, 5.7% were and 22% were divorced or separated. In tribal group affiliation of the migrant workers, 63.7% (n=191) were from the Paniya tribe, 14.7% were from the Adiya tribe, 10.7% were from Kattunaika tribe, 7% were from Kuruma tribe and 4% were from other tribes.

In the frequency of receiving wages, the analysis revealed that nearly 56% (n=168) received their wage on weekly basis, 38.3% received on monthly basis and 3% received on daily basis. Nearly one third (i.e., 29.7%) visited their homes once in three months, 7% visited once in 6 months, and 8% visited once in a month while 39% were daily commuters.

Table-2 shows work profile and living condition of migrant tribal workers

Variable label	N	%	Variable label	N	%
How did you find this job			Do you have relatives at workplace		
Friends	16	5.3	Yes	178	59.3
Relatives	10	3.3	No	122	40.7
Hired by agents/employers	256	85.3			
Others	18	6			
Do you visit them?			Social activities		
Living with relatives	163	54.3	No social activities	282	94
Frequently	17	5.7	Festivals	18	6
Rarely	16	5.3			
Never	104	34.7			
Housing condition			Have piped water for drinking and cooking		
Electricity in living room			Yes	114	38
Yes	156	52	No	192	62
No	142	48			
Sewage disposal facility					
Yes	44	14.7	---	---	---
No	256	85.3			

As table 2 shows, type of social network used by tribal migrant labours from Wayanad of Kerala to find out jobs in neighbouring Karnataka was examined. The frequency analysis reveals that majority (i.e., 85.3%) of the tribal migrant workers found their jobs through local agents or employers themselves. About 5.3% got their jobs at their current location through their friends and 3.3% received their jobs with help of their relatives and another 6% reported other ways. Nearly 60% (n=178) had relatives at their workplace or nearby and 40.7% reported no relatives nearby workplace in Karnataka. Whereas 54.3% (n=163) migrants workers reported that they were living with their relatives at the workplace, 5.7% reported that they visit their relatives frequently, and 5.3% reported that they rarely visit relatives while 34.7% never visit their relatives. Additionally, the study also examined the nature of migrant workers social participation. The analysis reveals that 94% (n=282) migrant workers had no opportunity for participation in social activities while only 6% reported that they had participated in some form of festivals over the preceding year.

In living condition of tribal migrant workers at the destination, only 52% of the living rooms/sheds were electrified and 48% had no electrified living rooms at the workplace. Similarly, nearly 38% (n=114) participants enjoyed piped drinking water while 62% (n=192) reported having no access to safe pipe water for drinking and cooking. Further, this study examined the availability of sewage disposal facility adjacent to the living space. The analysis reveals that 14.7% had enjoyed sewage facility at the living facility in the workplace. The overall living condition was poor and suboptimal to tribal migrant workers at selected places of Karnataka state characterized by poorly electrified, with restricted access to safe pipe water for drinking and cooking foods and limited sewage facilities adjacent to living spaces.

Table 3 shows the descriptive statistics of household standard of living

Variable label		Variable label	N	%
Household standard of living		Standard of Living (wealth quintiles)		
Range	2-26	Lowest wealth quintile	158	52.7
Mean	12.7	Low wealth quintile	142	47.3
SD	5.3	Middle wealth quintile	---	---
---	---	High wealth quintile	---	---
		Highest wealth quintile	---	---

Table 3 shows the descriptive scores of the Standard of Living Index (SLI) that tapped the household wealth status of tribal migrant workers. The scores obtained on the index range from 2 to 26 with an arithmetical mean of 12.7 and SD of 5.3. The theoretical range was fixed as 0-67 in which higher scores indicate wealthier households. But the restricted range of 2 to 26 with the mean scores indicates poor wealth status of tribal migrant households. Additionally, total scores obtained on SLI (IIPS, 2000) theoretically from 0-67 were divided into five equal quintiles as lowest, low, middle, high and highest quintiles for percentage analysis. The analysis reveals that all 300 tribal migrants belong to the lowest wealth quintile (i.e., 52.7%; n=158) followed by low wealth quintile (47.3%; n= 142). By confirming the previous inference, this analysis suggests that tribal migrants household wealth status belong to low and lowest wealth quintiles. Therefore, it is evident that tribal migrants were most marginalized and poor who opt for migration into neighbouring districts of Karnataka.

Table-4 shows subscale wise descriptive scores of ethnic identity scale

Ethnic identity	N	Min-Max	Mean	SD
Affirmation	300	6-12	9.5	1.2
Exploration	300	3-6	3.2	0.6
Resolution	300	3-9	6.0	0.8
Ethnic Identity Scale	300	13-23	17.0	1.6

As table 4 shows, the descriptive scores shows that tribal identity affirmation scores at migrants' destination range from 6 to 12 with a mean of 9.5 and a SD of 1.2. In tribal identity exploration, the scores obtained were ranged from 3 to 6 with a mean of 3.2 and a SD of 0.6. In tribal identity resolution, the scores obtained range from 3 to 9 with a mean of 6 and SD of 0.8. In global ethnic (tribal) identity scale, the scores obtained ranged from 13 to 23 with a mean of 17 and a SD of 1.6.

Table – 5 shows the subscale wise descriptive scores of social exclusion

Social exclusion	N	Min-Max	Mean	SD
Social participation	300	7-16	11.9	1.9
Material deprivation	300	4-12	7.8	1.2
Access to basic rights	300	5-11	7.3	1.3
Normative integration	300	6-12	8.6	1.3
Social exclusion	300	26-43	35.6	3.2

Table 5 shows the subscale wise descriptive statistics scores on social exclusion of tribal migrant workers in Karnataka. The scale has four subscales namely social

participation, material deprivation, access to basic rights and normative integration. In social participation, the scores obtained ranged from 7 to 16 with a mean of 11.9 and an SD of 1.9. In the material deprivation subscale, the scores obtained ranged from 4 to 12 with a mean of 7.8 and an SD of 1.2. In access to basic rights, the scores obtained range from 5 to 11 with a mean of 7.3 and a SD of 1.3. Similarly, way on normative integration subscale, the scores ranged from 6 to 12 with a mean of 8.6 and a SD of 1.3. In overall scores on the social exclusion scale, which tapped the social exclusion of tribal migrants at destination, have ranged from 26 to 43 with a mean of 35.6 and a SD of 3. High mean value with restricted dispersion as evidenced by standard deviation suggests that tribal migrant workers of Wayanad in Karnataka experience high level of social exclusion.

(II) BIVARIATE SURVEY RESULTS

Table-6 the social correlates of ethnic (tribal) identity

Social correlates of ethnic identity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Age							
2. No. of children	.311**						
3. Hours of work per day	-.059	.126					
4. Duration of work at destination	.022	-.059	-.006				
5. Subscale-1: Affirmation	.044	-.003	-.120	-.019			
6. Subscale-2: Resolution	-.001	-.084	.018	-.018	-.042		
7. Subscale-3: Exploration	-.113	-.154*	-.007	.018	-.124	.456**	
8. Ethnic identity scale	-.001	-.094	-.082	-.019	.686**	.648**	.455**

As table 6 shows, age is significantly correlated with the number of children ($r = .311$; $p < .01$), which implies that as tribal migrant workers' age increases, the number of children also increases. Number of children and ethnic affirmation were inversely

correlated ($r = -.154$; $p < .01$); which indicates increasing number children were correlated with less ethnic identity exploration. Overall ethnic identity scale scores were correlated with affirmation subscale ($r = .686$; $p < .01$), and exploration ($r = .648$; $p < .01$); and subscale on resolution was correlated with total score of ethnic identity scale. Finally, the total ethnicity scale score was significantly correlated with exploration ($r = .455$; $p < .01$).

Table - 7 shows the social correlates of social exclusion and its subscales

Social correlates of social exclusion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age								
2. no. of children	.311**							
3. hours of work per day	-.059	.126						
4. duration of stay at destination	.022	-.059	-.006					
5. Social participation	.092	.071	.161*	-.027				
6. Material deprivation	.132	.036	.147*	.041	.166*			
7. Access to basic rights	-.073	.038	.121	-.133	.078	.102		
8. Normative integration	.022	-.049	-.005	.135	.029	.224**	.016	
9. Social exclusion	.083	.047	.188**	.009	.671**	.599**	.458**	.533**

As table 7 shows, hours of work during the day significantly correlates with social participation ($r = .161$; $p < .05$), material deprivation ($r = .147$; $p < .05$), but access to basic rights did not show a significant correlation ($r = .121$; $p > .05$). Overall social exclusion score also significantly correlates with tribal migrant workers hours daily spend on work ($r = .188$; $p < .01$). Social participation significantly correlates with material deprivation ($r = .166$; $p < .05$) and overall social exclusion ($r = .671$; $p < .01$). Material deprivation significantly correlates with normative integration ($r = .224$;

p<.01) and overall social exclusion (r =.599; p<.01). Further, access to basic rights significantly correlates with social exclusion (r =.458; p<.01) and normative integration also significantly correlates with the overall social exclusion (r =.533; p<.01).

Table-8 shows the gender difference of tribal migrant workers on the standard of living

Standard of Living						
Gender	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Sig.
Male	171	13.4444	4.92785	2.689	298	.008
Female	129	11.7907	5.70180			

As showed in table 8, this study examined the gender difference of tribal migrants workers' standard of living, using independent sample t' test. The analysis reveals that there was a significant gender difference on standard of living ($t(298) = 2.689$; $p = .008$). The mean values showed that male tribal migrant workers ($M=13.4$) were likely to have high level of standard of living than female tribal migrant workers ($M=11.8$). Hence, this result suggests that gender continued to influence as a significant variable influencing standard of living of migrant workers.

Table-9 shows gender differences on social exclusion

Social exclusion	Gender	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Sig.
Social participation	Male	171	12.2865	1.90195	4.300	298	.001
	Female	129	11.3488	1.82710			
Material deprivation	Male	171	7.8772	1.21854	.957	298	NS
	Female	129	7.7442	1.15433			
Access to social rights	Male	171	7.4269	1.21712	2.370	298	.018
	Female	129	7.0620	1.44564			
Normative integration	Male	171	8.2749	1.23689	-4.767	298	.001
	Female	129	8.9767	1.29582			
Social exclusion of tribal migrants	Male	171	35.8655	3.23756	1.948	298	.052
	Female	129	35.1318	3.21952			

Table 9 shows the gender difference on social exclusion of tribal migrants working in selected districts of Karnataka. In subscale wise analysis of the social exclusion scale, there was a significant gender difference on social participation ($t(298) = 4.300$; $p < .001$). The mean difference shows that male tribal migrant workers were likely to enjoy high level of social participation ($M=12.3$) than female tribal migrant workers ($M=11.3$). Nevertheless, there was no significant gender wise difference on material deprivation ($t(298) = .957$; $p > .05$). In tribal migrants' access to social rights at workplace, there was a significant statistical difference ($t(298) = 2.370$; $p < .01$). The mean difference shows that female migrant workers less likely to enjoy social rights ($M= 7.4$) than male tribal migrant workers ($M=7.1$). In normative integration otherwise social integration with host society, there was a significant gender wise difference ($t(298) = -4.767$; $p < .001$). The mean difference shows that male tribal migrant workers were likely to experience less level of normative integration ($M = 8.3$) than female tribal migrants ($M = 9.0$). However, the analysis revealed a non-significant gender difference on social exclusion ($t(298) = 1.948$; $p > .05$).

Table-10 shows education differences on social exclusion

	Education	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Sig.
Social participation	No formal schooling	97	11.0825	1.68121	-5.196	298	.001
	Formally schooled	203	12.2660	1.91869			
Material deprivation	No formal schooling	97	7.7216	1.09680	-.998	298	NS
	Formally schooled	203	7.8670	1.23362			
Access to social rights	No formal schooling	97	7.3608	1.38583	.817	298	NS
	Formally schooled	203	7.2266	1.30418			
Normative integration	No formal schooling	97	8.8144	1.29365	2.191	298	.05
	Formally schooled	203	8.4631	1.30208			
Social exclusion	No formal schooling	97	34.9794	3.43080	-2.118	298	.05
	Formally schooled	203	35.8227	3.12418			

Table-10 shows the influence of tribal migrant workers' schooling status on social exclusion and its subscales. There was a significant difference of social participation on educational groups ($t(298) = -5.196$; $p < .001$). The mean difference shows that tribal migrants with no formal schooling were likely to report poor social participation at destination ($M = 11.1$) than tribal migrants with formal schooling ($M = 12.3$). Nevertheless, there was no significant difference observed on material deprivation across different educational groups ($t(298) = -.998$; $p > .05$). In line with this, access to social rights also showed no significant statistical difference ($t(298) = .817$; $p > .05$). Furthermore, normative integration significantly differed on educational groups ($t(298) = 2.191$; $p < .05$). The mean difference shows that tribal migrants with no formal schooling showed more normative integration at host society ($M = 8.8$) than tribal migrants with formal schooling ($M = 8.5$). In general, global social exclusion scores also showed a significant statistical difference on different educational groups ($t(298) = -2.118$; $p < .05$). The mean difference shows that tribal migrant workers with

formal schooling tend to report more level of social exclusion ($M = 35.8$) than tribal migrant workers with no formal schooling ($M = 35.0$).

Table-11 shows tribe wise differences on social exclusion

	Tribes	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Sig.
Social participation	Paniya	191	11.9634	1.85635	.953	298	NS
	Others	109	11.7431	2.03853			
Material deprivation	Paniya	191	7.9738	1.18958	3.000	298	.003
	Others	109	7.5505	1.15057			
Access to basic rights	Paniya	191	7.2304	1.38766	-.682	298	NS
	Others	109	7.3394	1.22641			
Normative integration	Paniya	191	8.3927	1.24721	-3.278	298	.001
	Others	109	8.8991	1.35363			
Social exclusion	Paniya	191	35.5602	3.25177	.072	298	NS
	Others	109	35.5321	3.24770			

Table-11 shows tribe wise differences on social exclusion and its subscales. In social participation of tribal migrant workers, there was no significant differences ($t(298) = .953$; $p > .05$) on tribes but, the material deprivation significantly differed between Paniya and other tribes ($t(298) = 3.000$; $p = .003$). The mean difference shows that Paniya were likely to report high level of material deprivation ($M = 8.0$) than other tribals ($M = 7.6$). Normative integration also significantly differed between Paniya and other tribes ($t(298) = -3.278$; $p = .001$); whereas, the mean difference shows that Paniya were more likely to experience normative integration at destination ($M = 8.4$) than other tribes ($M = 8.9$). Finally, there was no significant tribe wise difference on global social exclusion scores ($t(298) = .072$; $p > .05$).

Table-12 shows the wealth quintile wise difference of social exclusion and its subscales

	Wealth quintiles	N	Mean	SD	t	Df	Sig.
Social participation	Lowest quintile	158	11.4367	1.85607	-4.367	298	.001
	Low quintile	142	12.3803	1.88210			
Material deprivation	Lowest quintile	158	7.6519	1.17255	-2.603	298	.010
	Low quintile	142	8.0070	1.18798			
Access to rights	Lowest quintile	158	7.0380	1.15039	-3.237	298	.002
	Low quintile	142	7.5282	1.46686			
Normative integration	Lowest quintile	158	8.5823	1.38792	.078	298	NS
	Low quintile	142	8.5704	1.21689			
Social exclusion	Lowest quintile	158	34.7089	3.09983	-4.916	298	.001
	Low quintile	142	36.4859	3.15495			

As table 12 shows, the researcher examined the social exclusion and its subscale scores on low and lowest wealth quintiles on the standard of living index and (other

three wealth status groups namely middle, high and highest were excluded from the analysis since none of the tribal migrant workers obtained score in these groups). Tribal migrant workers social participation significantly differed between low and lowest wealth quintiles ($t(298) = -4.367$; $p < .001$). The mean difference shows that the low wealth quintile reported high level of social participation ($M = 12.4$) in comparison to lowest wealth quintile ($M = 11.4$). In material deprivation, there was a significant difference of material deprivation between low and lowest wealth groups ($t(298) = -2.603$; $p = .010$). The mean difference shows that low wealth group reported high level of material deprivation ($M = 8$) than the lowest wealth group ($M = 7.7$). In access to rights subscale, there was a significant difference of access to rights on lowest and low wealth groups ($t(298) = -3.237$; $p = .002$). The mean difference shows that lowest wealth group had high scores on access to rights than ($M = 8.6$) than low wealth groups ($M = 7.5$). Global scores on social exclusion scale also showed a significant difference ($t(298) = -4.916$; $p = .001$). The mean difference shows that low wealth quintile had high scores on social exclusion ($M = 36.5$) than lowest wealth groups ($M = 34.7$).

Tribal migrant workers' socio-demographic factors influencing social exclusion

For performing multiple linear regression analysis, the researcher has considered both categorical and continuous variables are predictors. All categorical variables were dichotomized into ordinal level. They were gender as male =0 and female = 0; education as no formal schooling = 1 and formal schooling = 0; marital status as married = 1 and never married or separated = 0; tribal group affiliation as Paniya =1 and other tribes =0; and occupation as wage earner =1 and farming =0. The continuous or scale variables were age measured in terms of completed years and global scores of 27-item standard of living index (IIPS, 2000).

All dependent variables were social participation, material deprivation, access to basic rights, normative integration and social exclusion, which were measured by 15-item Social Exclusion Scale on a five point rating scale. The researcher ruled out the plausible role of multicollinearity of predictor variables using the measure of tolerance and VIF (variance influence factor). Multicollinearity exists when tolerance is below 0.1 and VIF is greater than 10. In this model, the tolerance level was within the acceptable limits (i.e., less than 0.1) and VIF less than 10. We then tested the overall significance of the model using F statistics. Independent predictor variables entered into the models were age, gender, education, marital status, tribal group, occupation and standard of living.

Table-13 shows the socio-demographic determinants of social participation

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t
	β	Std. Error	β	
(Constant)	9.786	.879		11.132***
Age	-.006	.012	-.032	-.527
Gender (male =1; female = 0)	.580	.213	.149	2.728***
Education (no formal schooling = 1; schooled = 0)	-.852	.248	-.208	-3.436***
Marital status (never married/separated = 0)	.015	.233	.004	.065
Tribal group affiliation (Paniya = 1; Other tribes = 0)	.082	.217	.020	.376
Occupation (wage earner = 1; farming = 0)	.999	.695	.078	1.437
Standard of living	.097	.020	.269	4.944***
Dependent variable: Social participation				
Model fit: $R^2 = 0.190$				
F statistic: $F(7, 292) = 9.814; p = .001$				
* Significant at 0.05 level; ** significant at 0.01 level; ***significant at 0.001 level.				

Initially, the researcher examined the effect of socio-demographic variables on first subscale of the social exclusion scale i.e., tribal migrants' social participation. Out of seven independent socio-demographic predictors entered into the model as shown in table 13, gender (being male) significantly influenced social participation ($\beta=2.728$; $p<.001$) which implies that the male gender was associated with a high level of social participation than the female gender. Further, education significantly influenced social participation ($\beta = -3.436$; $p<.001$), which implies that being illiterate or no formal schooling was associated with reduced social participation. And finally standard of living also significantly predicted better social participation ($\beta= 4.944$; $p<.001$). The over model variance was estimated as (R^2) 19% while the overall predictor model was significant at the 001 level ($F(7, 292) = 9.814$; $p=.001$). Hence, the overall results of this multiple linear regression analysis suggest that being male, and formally schooled with high standard of living migrants are likely to have more social participation than those tribal migrant workers who are females, with no formal education and poor standard of living.

Table-14 shows the socio-demographic determinants of material deprivation

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t
	β	Std. Error	β	
(Constant)	7.291	.578		12.611***
Age	-.016	.008	-.124	-1.951
Gender (male =1; female = 0)	.041	.140	.017	.292
Education (no formal schooling = 1; schooled = 0)	.131	.163	.051	.801
Marital status (never married/separated = 0)	.271	.153	.102	1.766
Tribal group affiliation (Paniya = 1; Other tribes = 0)	.356	.143	.144**	2.495
Occupation (wage earner = 1; farming = 0)	.050	.457	.006	.110
Standard of living	.044	.013	.198	3.423***
Dependent variable: Material deprivation				
Model fit: $R^2 = .082$				
F statistic: $F(7, 292) = 3.962$; $p = .001$				
* Significant at 0.05 level; ** significant at 0.01 level; ***significant at 0.001 level.				

As table14 shows, the researcher examined the socio-demographic determinants of material deprivation in tribal migrant workers. Out of independent predictor variables namely age, gender, education, marital status, tribe, occupation and standard of living, the variables with statistically significant determining effect was only standard of living ($\beta = 3.423$; $p < .001$). It implies that as standard of living has an independent effect on material deprivation of tribal migrant workers. The R square value was .082 with overall model significance evidenced by F statistic was $F(7, 292) = 3.962$; $p < .001$). In sum, the results suggest that improving standard of living of tribal migrant workers has a significant role in reducing material deprivation.

Table-15 shows the socio-demographic determinants of access to rights

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t
	β	Std. Error	β	
(Constant)	5.169	.648		7.982***
Age	-.003	.009	-.021	-.322
Gender (male =1; female = 0)	.260	.157	.097	1.662
Education (no formal schooling = 1; schooled = 0)	.264	.183	.093	1.447
Marital status (never married/separated = 0)	-.020	.172	-.007	-.114
Tribal group affiliation (Paniya = 1; Other tribes = 0)	-.070	.160	-.025	-.439
Occupation (wage earner = 1; farming = 0)	1.400	.512	.159	2.735***
Standard of living	.052	.014	.209	3.601***
Dependent variable: Access to rights				
Model fit: $R^2 = .081$				
F statistic: $F(7, 292) = 3.688; p = .001$				
* Significant at 0.05 level; ** significant at 0.01 level; ***significant at 0.001 level				

As table 15 shows, the researcher examined the tribal migrant workers' socio-demographic determinants of access to rights. Test variables in the model were age, gender, education, marital status, tribe, occupation and standard of living. Evidently, tribal migrant workers' occupational status (of being daily wage earner) significantly improved their access to basic rights ($\beta = 2.735; p < .001$). Similarly, migrant workers' standard of living also significantly improved their access to basic rights ($\beta = 3.601; p < .001$). Nevertheless, overall model variance was 0.081 with a model significance of $F(7, 292) = 3.688; p < .001$. Hence, it is to suggest that occupational status of earning wages alongside having a better standard of living significantly improved tribal migrant workers access to basic rights.

Table-16 shows the socio-demographic determinants of normative integration

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t
	β	Std. Error	β	
(Constant)	10.004	Std. Error	.001	16.040***
Age	.000	.624	-.237	.014
Gender (male =1; female = 0)	-.626	.009	.053	-4.152
Education (no formal schooling = 1; schooled = 0)	.147	.151	-.049	.836
Marital status (never married/separated = 0)	-.142	.176	-.174	-.859
Tribal group affiliation (Paniya = 1; Other tribes = 0)	-.472	.165	-.061	-3.069***
Occupation (wage earner = 1; farming = 0)	-.531	.154	-.064	-1.077
Standard of living	-.016	.493		-1.129
Dependent variable: normative integration				
R ² = .118				
F statistic: F(7, 292) = 5.569; p=.000)				
* Significant at 0.05 level; ** significant at 0.01 level; ***significant at 0.001 level				

As table 16 shows, the researcher examined the tribal migrant workers' socio-demographic determinants of normative integration. Test variables in the model were age, gender, education, marital status, tribe, occupation and standard of living. Evidently, none of the socio-demographic variables except tribal group affiliation was significant. Tribal migrants workers' tribal group affiliation (of being Paniya) significantly and inversely influenced their access to basic rights ($\beta = -3.069$; $p < .001$). Evidently, the result suggests that being a member in Paniya tribal group significantly reduced their normative integration. Overall model explains 11.8% variance ($R^2 = .118$) on social integration, while model was significant at .001 level ($F(7, 292) = 5.569$; $p < .001$).

Table-17 shows the socio-demographic determinants of social exclusion

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t
	β	Std. Error	β	
(Constant)	32.250	1.556		20.726***
Age	-.025	.022	-.073	-1.151
Gender (male =1; female = 0)	.255	.376	.039	.677
Education (no formal schooling = 1; schooled = 0)	-.310	.439	-.045	-.707
Marital status (never married/separated = 0)	.124	.412	.017	.301
Tribal group affiliation (Paniya = 1; Other tribes = 0)	-.105	.384	-.016	-.273
Occupation (wage earner = 1; farming = 0)	1.918	1.230	.089	1.559
Standard of living	.178	.035	.292	5.111***
Dependent variable: social exclusion				
Model fit: $R^2 = .108$				
F statistic: $F(7, 292) = 5.068; p = .000$				
* Significant at 0.05 level; ** significant at 0.01 level; ***significant at 0.001 level.				

As table 17 shows, the researcher examined the role of socio-demographic variables on tribal migrant workers' social exclusion. Test variables entered into the model were age, gender, education, marital status, tribe, occupation and standard of living. The multiple linear regression analysis reveals that all socio-demographic variables, except standard of living, were not significant. Tribal migrant workers' standard of living significantly influence on social exclusion of tribal migrant workers ($\beta = .292; p < .001$). Overall model predicted nearly 11% variance ($R^2 = .108$) with a model significance at .001 level ($F(7, 292) = 5.068; p < .001$). In short, standard of living of tribal migrant households significantly determined their social exclusion.

Transition paragraph: In the quantitative survey, the data analysis was progressed at three levels namely descriptive, bivariate and multivariate analyses. At the descriptive analysis level, the socio-demographic characteristics of tribal migrant workers, their living conditions, standard of living, subscale wise ethnic identity measure scores and social exclusion scores were analysed. In bivariate analysis, this chapter provides results of social correlates of social exclusion and its subscales. These include social correlates of ethnic identity, gender and education grade differences on social exclusion. At the multivariate analyses level, this chapter analysed the socio-demographic determinants of social exclusion and its subscales namely material deprivation, access to rights, normative integration and social participation.

Subsequently, the following ‘Discussion and Conclusion’ chapter summarized and integrated both qualitative as well as quantitative data, which was compared and contrasted with previous micro and macro level studies to identify conformities, contradictions and novelty of the present study findings with their implications for addressing the issues of tribal migrant workers.

CHAPTER-6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter Organization Note: In this discussion chapter, the researcher attempted to integrate and mix the results from phenomenological investigation and survey findings by locally organizing thematic areas to provide a cohesive picture of tribal migrant life in migrant destination as well as at source. Prior to conclude, this discussion mix both qualitative and quantitative findings, relate and compared the present findings with previous research studies upon the thematic as well as related areas. Hence, this discussion was organized under eleven subheadings as follows:

Subheadings of discussion chapter:

- i. Socio-demographic profile of tribal migrant workers
- ii. Work and Life of Tribal Migrant Workers
- iii. Living Conditions at Workplace
- iv. Standard of Living
- v. Tribal Identity and Social Marginality at Workplace
- vi. Tribal Stigma and its Mechanism at Workplace
- vii. Occupational Hazard and Health
- viii. Migrant Tribal Women and Sexual Harassment
- ix. Social Exclusion
- x. Access to Public Services at Home District
- xi. Implications for Practice and Future Research
- xii. Conclusion

(ii) Socio-demographic profile of tribal migrant workers:

In qualitative study participants' age ranged from 21 to 60 years with a mean age of 36.9 years. In the survey participants, the researcher found a similar age pattern of age, which ranged from 18 to 60 years and a mean age of 36.1 (SD=9.4) years. Out of 300 participants in the survey, 26% were in the age group of 18 to 28 years, 31.3% were in middle age of 29 to 38 years and 29% aged between 39 to 48 years; while 13.7% aged between 49 to 60 years. Alongside caste, ethnicity and gender, the age also play a critical role in internal migration (McAuliffe & Khadria, 2019; Deshingkar & Farrington, 2008).

As Deshingkar and Farrington (2006) found, caste alongside other socio-demographic factors significantly determines internal migration. In qualitative findings, out of 50 in-depth interview participants, 33 persons were from the Paniya tribe whereas the survey findings also showed 63.7% were from Paniya tribe out of 300 samples studied. Other 14.7% from Adiya, 10.7% from Kattunaika, 7% from Kuruma and 4% from other tribes. Plausibly, this over representation of Paniya tribals in migrant population was partially due to their numerical majority status in the district as well as their development backwardness as a most poor and marginalized tribal group in Kerala (Paul, 2013).

In qualitative findings, 33 tribal migrant workers were married, fifteen unmarried and two of them were either widowed or separated. Invariably, the survey findings revealed that 64.7% tribal migrant workers were married, 5% were remarried, 6 participants were in living-together marriage, and 5.7% and 22% were divorced or separated respectively. Evidently, the majority of tribal men and women in migrant

workers groups tend to leave their spouses and children behind for long duration of stay at destination.

Tribals in India scores lowest in education, health and other social and economic aspects as per Human Development Report. Poor job diversification, lower levels of education with little access to capital, they fail to find work, resulting in casual employment or agriculture (UN Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, 2009). Studies suggest that tribals who migrated to urban centres are extremely marginalized, and are faced with discrimination, lack of marketable skills for city living, poor formal education and language differences. Tribals migrated to urban areas face with poor access to education, health services and housing (IOM, 2008). Bandela et al (2013) observed that tribal women experienced extreme poverty, live in geographically remote areas, with restricted access to education, poor infrastructure and healthcare access. Invariably, out of 50 in-depth interviews in qualitative investigation, more than half of them had no formal schooling while highest educational grade was 7th standard. In a similar way, a sizable number of tribal migrant workers (i.e., 32.3%) had no formal education. Merely 11% had high school education and 5% completed higher secondary level education.

Evidently, rural to rural migration accounted for 53.3 million (AFEIAS, 2018; Deshingkar & Grimm, 2004). The voluntary rural to rural migration are mostly observed as seasonal among tribals like seasonal mobility during harvesting seasons where tribals as communities migrate for jobs in agriculture, fisheries and forestry (IOM, 2008). Given the present study context, all participants were rural to rural migrants who migrated from rural district of Wayanad to the rural areas of Karnataka. Mostly, tribal migrant workers had engaged in agricultural work namely work in ginger plantations, vegetables and tapioca cultivations, arecanut plantations, banana

and ginger cultivation. Nearly all (97.7%) tribal migrant workers were wage earners. Qualitative findings revealed that earning per day ranged from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 with an average daily earning of Rs. 340. In the frequency of receiving their wages, 56% received wage on weekly basis, 38.3% received monthly and 3% received daily.

(iii) Work and Life of Tribal Migrant Workers: Tribals of Wayanad can be broadly categorized into three sections viz., agricultural labourers, marginal farmers, and forest dependents (Wayanad Initiative, 2006). Problems in livelihood of tribal households in Wayanad are characterized by low family income, small size landholding and landlessness, excessive dependence on agricultural labours, changing crop patterns, entry of large number of non-tribals in labour markets, decline in the price of cash-crops, decreased need for traditional skills, poorly viable non-farming activities and dwindling of non-timber forest produce, regulations as per NTFP collections, low representation in the formal sectors, and failed welfare and rehabilitation projects (Wayanad Initiative, 2006).

Situating within this empirical premises, the present analysis reveals the multi-facet factors pushing tribal men and women from Wayanad to Karnataka. In Wayanad, over the last two decades, agricultural work availability is on decrease resulting in less or poor availability of manual labour in the neighbourhood, decrease in farming work, poorly addressed rehabilitation and welfare and social security nets for tribals.

Qualitative analysis revealed many tribal migrant workers prefer to stay back at source and work as they get more human treatment and better wages in Wayanad. However, decreasing availability of manual labour opportunities compel to choose migrating into the neighbouring Karnataka. There are large scale plantation and

agricultural activities which generate more opportunities for labours with traditional job skills in manual labour. In addition, the geographic proximity was yet another aspect that pushed tribals for commute to work in neighbouring districts such as Kodagu and HD Kote on daily basis. At Wayanad, tribal migrant workers reported receiving free ration of rice and other eatables from Civil Supplies Stores. However, rehabilitative and welfare schemes for tribals at Wayanad have grossly ineffective in ensuring sustainable livelihood opportunities at the sources.

Micro-level studies suggest that tribal migrant workers are recruited by middlemen or agents who recruit large number of tribals from rural to urban areas within states and to neighbouring states. At the time of recruiting, an advance is paid which is used as a support to families in the absence of the breadwinner (Bhavan & Marg, 2010). Similarly, this study informed that the duration of stay for work at destination ranged from 4 to 11 years. Tribal migrant workers from Wayanad in Kerala were predominantly landless and owned nominal landholding of 10 cents or less, although 5 participants had landholding more than 50 cents. Nearly one third (i.e., 29.7%) visited their homes once in three months, 7% visited once in 6 months, and 8% visited once in a month while 39% were daily commuters.

Nearly 60% had relatives at their workplace or nearby and 40.7% reported no relatives nearby workplace in Karnataka. Studies suggest that the long duration of separation and consequent social isolation from families and relatives potentially jeopardized their mental health. And hence, the migrants are faced with extreme health risk during transit owing to hazardous condition such as being cramped or hidden in boats or trucks (Expert Consultation, A/HRC/17/43). Additionally, this study found that 94% of the migrant tribal workers had no opportunity for

participation in social activities and 6% had participated in some form of festivals over the preceding year.

(iv) Living conditions at workplace: The right to an adequate standard of living contained adequate housing, water and sanitation and food is a fundamental human rights enshrined in international human rights treaties (e.g., International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966). Internal unskilled labour migrants in India are least likely to enjoy adequate standard of living because; they have poor access to adequate housing, food, water, and sanitation. In urban areas, migrant labourers tend to live in segregated and run-down and poorly maintained residential areas. Migrant workers living conditions, and availing basic services such as health and education are often suboptimal and poor (NCRL, 1991; Rani & Shylendra, 2001).

In living condition of tribal migrant workers at the destination, only 52% of the living rooms/sheds were electrified and 48% had no electrified living rooms at the workplace. Similarly, nearly 38% participants enjoyed piped drinking water while 62% reported having no access to safe water for drinking and cooking. Further, only 14.7% had enjoyed sewage facility at living facility at workplace. Evidently, the survey concluded that overall living condition was poor and suboptimal to tribal migrant workers at selected places of Karnataka state characterized by poorly electrified, with restricted access to safe piped water for drinking and cooking foods and limited sewage facilities adjacent to living spaces.

(v) Standard of Living of Tribal Migrant Workers: Das (2014) examined income, migration and social adjustment of tribal people at Tripura. The tribal migrants to urban centres have are concentrated in suburbs, achieved better standard of living. Nevertheless, social adjustment with host society was found difficult for tribal

migrants. They also faced workplace discrimination due to tribal origin and enjoyed poor opportunities for continued education and skill developments. Social and cultural adjustment continued to remain hard which require systematic attention. The researcher examined the scores in the Standard of Living Index (IIPS, 2000). The scores obtained on the index ranged from 2 to 26 with a mean of 12.7 (SD = 5.3). Out of 300 tribal migrants who participated in this survey, the researcher found that 52.7% belonged to the lowest wealth quintile and 47.3% belonged to the low wealth quintile. Evidently, tribal migrants were most marginalized and poor who opted for migration.

(vi) Tribal Identity and Social Marginality: Individuals who are oriented towards their castes or tribe are likely to acquire better knowledge about their ethnic or tribal groups, perceive and give importance to their group and consider their group is critical for their wellbeing and good future (Phinney, 1991). Positive ethnic or caste identity development tend to active protective against the caste prejudice and cultural stereotypes (Crocker & Major, 1989) which help them to effectively identify and confidently address instances of stigma and discrimination attached to their social groups (Jose & Cherayi, 2014).

Nevertheless, the in present study, the researcher found that Paniya's perceptions of self and identity were intimately attached to their communal and collective living in relatively remote and difficult locations adjacent to forestlands, hilltops and mountain slopes. All references to their own tribe overwhelmingly characterised by poverty, deprivation and marginality in their expressions viz., '*all I know we are a poor tribe*', '*we are a backward tribe*' '*we live in hilltops, mountain slops*' '*we are dull and dirty*'. It was therefore evident that tribals' communal selves are

increasingly perceived and realities and meanings are constructed around the themes of poverty, marginality and deprivations. Furthering this, the migrant Paniya and Kattunaika tribal workers personalized their tribes as lower in status and marginalized. Therefore, they were excluded socially, politically, economically and culturally over historical time periods. Hence, the principles of “The Right to Equality and Non-discrimination” expressed in international human rights laws as well as constitutionally guaranteed fundamental rights are yet to get recognized for tribals both at their home district and in their destinations in neighbouring Karnataka.

It is furthered by poor understanding of their-own tribal selves, their traditions and the avenues of strength and opportunities. It might have been occurred and maintained over the historical nature of marginality and exclusion. Nevertheless, tribal life at present is overwhelmingly attached to coolie manual labour as sole livelihood opportunities. Evidently, internal unskilled labour migrants in India are least likely to enjoy an adequate standard of living because; they have poor access to adequate housing, food, water and sanitation. In urban areas, migrant labourers tend to live in segregated and run-down and poorly maintained residential areas (Tripathy, 2018).

In a similar way, migrant women are living more in the present with relatively less memory about the past, currently overwhelmed by hazards and hardship of life attached to scarce manual labour, poor wage, distress attached to gender bias in wage. Tribal women’s sense of communal collectiveness alongside pride attached to their skills in agricultural works indeed present the majority dimension of tribal migrant women’s social life.

(vii) Tribal Stigma and its Mechanism at Workplace:

Tribal migrant workers continued to experience stigma attached to their tribal origin. Historically, structural forces shape the social distance of tribes due to poor perceptions of self and communal identities as tribes, the self-perceived stigma attached to tribal life and ascribed by the broader society. Tribals collectively personalize tribal stigma and consequently result in self-imposed isolation and maintaining social distance. It leads to self-imposed restrictions on interactions and engagement with non-tribal people (Jose, Cherayi, & Sudhkar, 2019; Jose & Cherayi, 2014). Consistent with Major and O' Brien (2005), qualitative analysis revealed mechanism of stigma in the form of affiliation shame, self-induced social distancing, social isolation, tribe induced discrimination and restricted social interaction.

As Jose, Cherayi and Sadath (2016) argued, qualitative findings of this study revealed tribals tend to subscribe affiliation shame attached to tribal identity. Both men and women in everyday life interactional milieus namely public spaces, markets and workplaces experience shame and neglect; and therefore anticipated stigmatized treatment from dominant groups. Evidently, this study further argued that the tribals experienced tribal group affiliation shame, when they perceived their tribe as a reason for their low status and marginality. Affiliation shame is induced when non-tribals address them '*Paniya*' or '*Panichi*' during interactions.

Self-imposed social distancing due to anticipated stigmatized responses or situation from potentially dominant or high status groups (Jose, Cherayi & Sadath, 2016) has increasingly been recognized as a mechanism by which stigmatized treatment is executed (Major & O' Brien, 2005). Invariably, tribal migrant workers actively self-

distance themselves from the rest of the society or non-tribal people at workplace and in their home villages. The collectively internalized communal narratives of ‘*we vs. others*’ influence children to develop a sense of otherness in the relational context of the broader society (Cherayi, Jose & Sudhakar, 2019). Qualitative findings revealed that the separated and remote dwelling alongside minimal interaction with outsiders strengthens such beliefs and fears. And as a result, it was found that the migrant workers maintained social distance by minimising interactional opportunities with non-tribal employers other outsiders at workplaces.

Social isolation or exclusion is a dynamic process resulting in negative outcomes in social, political, economic and cultural realm of life (Algan et al., 2012). Tribal social context, the communal ties are intimate and strong where the Paniya tribes tend to restrict themselves to their own community, they preferred to live together as ‘*colony*’ a term locally used to designate tribal hamlets, resulting isolation. Similarly, Jose and Cherayi (2018) and Jose (2017) argued self-imposed social isolation of tribal students in school interactional milieus. Besides, tribal hamlets were located at difficult terrains such as forests, hilltops, mountain slopes and near riversides, which were often clearly separated from rural non-tribal people. Tribals in deed, isolate themselves from non-tribal people with reduced social interactions, avoidance of non-tribes in homes and hamlets as they do not feel equitable partners in social interactions. These findings are consistent with previous studies on social isolation of tribals in Wayanad and in Kerala (Jose & Cherayi, 2018; Jose, 2017; Varghese, 2011).

Consistent with generic social psychological studies on tribal identity and stigma (e.g., Jose, 2014; Varghese, 2011; Jose, Cherayi & Sadath, 2016; Jose & Cherayi,

2017), tribal migrant workers excessively concerned about the fault of being born in tribal community, which ascribe to them discrimination and social disabilities. In the present study, the researcher found that tribal woman asserted that they were faced with tribal identity induced discrimination right from the schools, all public spaces, religious centres and public offices and work places, which demanded restricting social interactions with non-tribals. Hence, the researcher argues that the tribal identity continues to define the majority dimension of stigmatization and discrimination of tribals even at their workplaces during migration, with due implications to the violation of human rights ensured in international human rights laws as well as the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Indian constitution.

Tribal migrants at workplace anticipate differential treatment and discrimination from others, who constitute employers, fellow non-tribal workers, and other people around. Consequently, they minimize interactions.

(viii) Occupational Hazard and Health of Tribal Migrant Workers: Agriculture, being the primary sector that generate more than half of the labour opportunity in India, also for migrant workers, occupational safety and health is a critical concern (Scherrer & Radon, 2019) often monitored by state authorities. In India's Constitution, the Directive Principles of the State Policy empower the state to develop policies and laws to enable both men and women to have the right to livelihood, ensure the health and strength of workers (Article 39). Article 42, direct the state to secure the just and humane condition of work and earn a living and extend conditions of work enabling a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities (Article 43). Internationally, there are many international

standards, codes of practices and conventions by International Labour Organizations on occupational safety and health of employees. In response to the recommendation of the second National Commission on Labour in 2002 consolidated into four codes. Among them, the Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions Code, 2019 (Sundar, 2020). Despite these legal provisions, the qualitative findings of tribal migrant workers in Karnataka's plantations and farms evidenced considerable level of chemical exposure due to excessive pesticide use with relatively little or fewer safety measures and gadgets provided by employers. Evidently, tribal workers who are directly engaged in pesticide spraying caused health consequences namely headaches, throat pain, breathing difficulties and vomiting.

Invariably, the plantation crops where tribal migrant workers from Wayanad are employed in Karnataka are coconuts and arecanut groves, and coffee and ginger plantations. Tribals were employed in pesticide spraying to plants with little occupational safety enabled environment. Mostly, the rights to occupational safety are ignored and neglected at the workplace for tribal migrant labourers, who represent socially marginalized groups. Additionally, this study evidenced that migrant tribal workers are employed in handling and spraying pesticide without safety masks, hand gloves, shoes or body cover that protect when spraying pesticide to plants. Internal migrant workers in India are not organized under trade unions or their labour standards are not protected by state governments. Unorganized nature contributes to poor bargaining power for decent pay and safety enabled work environment (Salve, 2013; Thorat, 2008).

Gender continues to determine access to resources and the nature of agricultural tasks an individual perform. Many researchers argued that women's occupational safety and health receive little attention in dominant literature with considerable gender bias in

dominant literature on women in farm-work (Habib et al, 2014; Messing et al., 2003; Coen and Banister, 2012). Consistent with the literature (Calvert et al, 2008; Gunier et al, 2011), women's direct exposure to pesticides was relatively less in comparison to men. Studies suggest that men had increased number of days with pesticide spraying and associated tasks, not removing work-boots when entering a house, and not wearing personal protective wears that increased exposure events and are associated with related health symptoms. Nevertheless, tribal women were engaged in associated tasks such as filling water and then to mix with pesticide in huge drum which they had to carry on head to transport to different locations within plantations. Invariably, exposure pattern to pesticide on gender differ on crops with biologically different responses to chemical exposures (Kasner et al, 2012; Zhang et al, 2011).

Besides, tribal migrant workers, in general, are with little knowledge on the health related consequences of direct exposure to pesticide with little safety precautions provided to them by employers. Consequently, many tribal migrant workers complain mild to severe health problems due to close interaction with toxic substances. Many complaints of dried skins, cracked hands, severe head ache and throat aches, physical tiredness followed by pesticide spraying work at plantation. Daylong pesticide spraying leads to severe headache, physical tiredness and vomiting. It suggests that migrant tribal workers experienced mild to severe health consequences which are lasted for days to months.

(ix) Migrant Tribal Women and Sexual Harassment at the Workplace:

International Labour Organization (1997) introduced a convention on sexual harassment of women workers at the workplace. Studies also suggest that women migrant workers are vulnerable and soft targets for sexual abuse and violence

(Heggade, 1998; Sardamoni, 1995, Teerink, 1995). Mishra (2001) also observed migrant women who are predominantly from backward social background and located at social margins are often with less skilled and less educated; and consequently, they continue to remain as a soft target for undue sexual advancement, sexual abuse and violence. Qualitative findings revealed that tribal migrant women workers face sexual abuses in the form of staring, eve-teasing and sexual advancement. Many tribal women migrant workers reported experience of rape and much more of them faced rape attempts at workplaces. Adding fuel into it, there was no redressal system for migrant women at workplace or at local level accessible to them; whereas, formal justice institutions elude from them.

Majority of such abuses are suffered in silences while these women have less or no voice at all to respond to such sexual violence and atrocities. Additionally, tribal migrant working women tend to rationalize these as part of life and are forced to live with emotional and emotional trauma triggered by such abusive incidents in the hands of employers as well as fellow-male workers. Many hide such experience from their life partners, and other family members as it would also affect their marital life if spouses come to know about it. Tribal migrant women workers are always fearful at the workplace about forced sexual advancement by employers and fellow-male workers. They always feel insecure, fearful, and helpless at workplace. It is therefore evident that tribal women at the workplace of neighbouring state are not safe in the absence of formal mechanisms that enable them to access redressal of grievances and access to justice institutions.

There is no accessible workplace monitoring mechanism of workplace abuses and exploitation both labour as well as sexual exploitation of women in plantation crops.

And as a result, women workers were forced to work more hours, less wage in comparison to men workers and so on. Poorly developed access to justice institutions coupled with ignorance of these workers considerably restricts their agency to avail help and support when they are in most need of them.

(x) Social Exclusion of Tribal Migrant Workers: Social exclusion refers to the multi-dimensional disadvantage experienced by people at the social margins (Levitas et al, 2007), which generate negative outcomes in socio-economic and political and cultural aspects of certain aggregate of people (Popay et al., 2010; cited in Jose & Cherayi, 2016). In the present survey, the researcher measured social exclusion of tribal migrants in four sub-dimensions namely degree of social participation, material deprivation, access to basic rights and normative or social integration (Johoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2007).

Using multiple linear regression analysis, the researcher examined the effect of socio-demographic characteristics upon social participation of tribal migrant workers at host society. The result suggested that being male and formally schooled with high standard of living migrants were likely to have more social participation than those tribal migrant workers who are females, with no formal education and poor standard of living. Invariably, a study of ethnic identity mediated social exclusion of tribal women at Wayanad, Jose (2014) found socio-demographic characteristics such as education and living standards significantly reduced social exclusion. Cherayi and Jose (2016) also provided similar results among minority Muslim women's social exclusion. Indeed, better social participation significantly improve social inclusion (Jose, Cherayi and Sadath, 2016).

Access to basic rights are fundamental to human wellbeing and social inclusion that potentially reduce social exclusion (Johoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2007; Cherayi &

Jose, 2016). In the survey findings suggest that occupational status of earning wages alongside having a better standard of living significantly improved tribal migrant workers access to basic rights. Evidently, having regular and better income through daily wage-earning at destination substantially improved migrants' agency and their ability to access basic rights. Additionally, this study found the critical role of standard of the living alongside daily wage in improving access to basic rights of tribal migrants.

Social disconnections, and social dissociations indicates psychosocial disability leading to social exclusion (Jose, Cherayi & Sadath, 2016) alongside low level social participation outside of one's ethnic groups significantly reduce normative as well as social integration (Vaghese, 2011). Equitable access to jobs, wealth, housing and privileges have structurally been limit tribal migrant workers. Presently, the researcher examined the factors predicting normative integration of tribal migrant workers. Consistent with previous studies (Varghese, 2011; Kumar & Varghese, 2012; Jose, 2014), ethnic group membership or in other terms of 'being a paniya' significantly reduced normative integration. Evidently, tribal identity as seen in qualitative analysis, continue to intersect with social and normative integration; thereby worsening overall social exclusion of tribal migrants at destination.

In fact socio-demographic characteristics namely tribal group affiliation, occupational status (of being a wage earner) formal schooling alongside household standard of living varyingly influenced aspects of social exclusion namely social participation, material deprivation, access to basic rights and normative integration. Above all, the researcher also found the pertinent but independent effect of household standard of living over social exclusion upon global score of social exclusion.

Material deprivation is a critical indicator of social exclusion. Tribals in Kerala experience severe disadvantage in the form landlessness, illiteracy, poor health, sole dependence on coolie labour force (Paul, 2013; Wayanad Initiative, 2006), which consequently resulted in increased rate of poverty and material deprivation (Jose, 2014). The survey findings examined the effect of socio-demographic characteristics including standard of living (as measured by Standard of Living Index of IIPS, 2000). The result of the multiple linear regression analysis revealed that standard the of living scores independently accounted for significant effect on tribal migrant workers' material deprivation.

(xi) Access to Public Services at Home District: Access to public services has increasingly been recognized as a fundamental right of citizens; and consequently, both central and state governments have enacted special legislation to ensure and guarantee minimum standard of timely public services to citizens (Rights to Service Bill, 2012, Kerala). Rights to Services Acts in India mandate that covered services are clearly stated and must either completed in time or denied with explaining reasons. Unless they provide the services, Public Service Acts include provisions to fine from responsible officers (Robinson, 2012). Access to public services provide opportunities, protect the weaker and marginalized, and improve general quality of life of the public (Robinson, 2012).

In this study, researcher examined tribal migrant workers' perceived access to institutions for availing public services in respect of access to public services in government offices, financial services, education, livelihood opportunities and healthcare access.

As Robins (2012) rightly observed the gaps between the laws on book and laws on group, despite the enforcement of Kerala Public Service Acts, 2012, the tribal migrant workers, in general have continued to experience a sense of helplessness when approaching public services from village offices, panchayats and taluk office. The analysis revealed that, being a marginalized social group, people in office do not show special interest in tribals. Procedural delay continued to remain considerable in public offices. Even at people-government interfacing institution like village panchayats, tribals perceived discrimination in terms of providing them delayed services.

Interestingly, tribal migrant workers tend to associate apathetic approach of public servants to them as part of their tribal origin and believed that they are discriminated as they are tribes. Apathetic approach by public servants tends to promote self-directed detachment from public utility services by tribal migrant workers. Invariably, there is visible distress among tribal migrant workers in accessing public offices for services.

Tribal migrant workers predominantly avail public healthcare services from Primary Health Centres (PHCs), Community Health Centres (CHCs) and District General Hospitals for their health needs (Ramalingareddy, 2016; Jose & Cherayi, 2018). Consistent with George et al (2020), the present study evidenced that health system responsiveness is relatively poor in addressing tribal health needs. Many workers tend to believe that since they belong to tribal group, their health needs are not seriously addressed by health workers. Additionally, the study found that public healthcare system is relatively less responsive in terms of welcoming, and compressively addressing the problems of tribal workers at host places. The ethnic tribal origin as a social identity has continued to influence and shape their treatment access and the level of satisfaction associated with it.

Tribal identity attached stigma is a social reality that continues to marginalize the targets in many areas of their daily life, including livelihood opportunities. As Tripathy (2018) argued, rights of tribals for livelihood opportunities have been increasingly recognized as their human right by 1990s. Predominantly, the rights of livelihood are centred on defining rights on land and forest resources. The tribal migrants from Wayanad were landless agricultural labourers in majority with traditional agricultural skills. Mobility in livelihood is relatively restricted where entrepreneurial efforts are less feasible for tribals in the state due to identity induced stigma (Jose, 2014). When the researcher intended to explore the livelihood alternatives of tribals, a Paniya tribal youth, who was a migrant worker gave evidence for continued influence of tribal '*Paniya*' identity that systematically disables tribal people in their everyday life that incapacitate them from even thinking of alternate livelihood options.

Access to credit and financial services are fundamental to social and economic development and wellbeing (Bhattacharya, 2011; Das & Nath, 2011; Joseph, 2014). Although there was widespread micro-credit programmes for poor rural women and households, tribals, in general, are excluded from the fruits of such projects. As Krishnan and Silvi (2010) evidenced, the present study revealed that tribals in Wayanad have remained less benefited from basic financial inclusion projects. Tribal migrant workers are further enjoyed poor access to financial services at destination and they tend to perceive no use of opening bank accounts.

(xii) Suggestions for Practice and Future Research:

The state government at home state needs to take up focused effort to address the issues of material deprivation through diversifying livelihood opportunities, intensifying skills-based education, subsequent job placement and monitoring. National level skilling and employment connect programmes like Dheen Dayal Upadhaya Grameen Kaushalaya Yojana (DDU-GKY) of Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India and its state-specific complementing institutions can take up effective role in imparting skills to tribal adolescents and youths and place them for jobs.

Further, intensifying MNREGA scheme also may be strengthened and catered to the context specific needs of tribal communities, focusing migrant workers to provide jobs to improve standard of living and reduce material deprivation. However, little is know how such national level projects are situated to the context-specific needs of tribal migrant labourers in local context and therefore, more systematic studies are needed in future to address this problem.

Improving social participation at the destination is an important aspect of social inclusion. However, near-complete cultural insularity partially self-imposed and socially enforced and ascribed continue to remain as barriers to social participation. Such social disconnection tends to results in exclusion in host societies therefore, critical disconnection with social support and social security systems including civil supplies and other benefits.

Access to justice institution is a critical need when tribal migrant workers in general and tribal migrant women workers in particular are vulnerable to severe rights

violation including physical and sexual abuse and violence at the workplace. The workplace grievances redressal systems at destination states need to be proactive in addressing the issues of migrant workers, especially for women. Ensuring access to institutions of justice such as police stations, court of justice needs to be made available to tribal women migrants who are at risk for sexual violence at workplace.

Local self-governing bodies at destination need to be vigilant and mandate for ensuring safety preparedness at farms, especially when using pesticides. Local self-governing bodies should ensure that employers are providing adequate safety enabled gadgets to ensure the safety and health of migrant workers. The district administration should track tribal migration at village level and ensure through appropriate channels to interact with neighbouring state's authorities to track, monitor the tribal migrant workers at neighbouring Karnataka.

In access to public services and rights, the present study evidenced the systemic vulnerabilities including tribal identity-based discrimination that fundamentally restrict tribal migrant people's access to public services. It is therefore important to sensitize public service providers to remain proactive in addressing public service needs of tribals. In accessing to healthcare service, Tribals in general also face problems in timely accessing healthcare services. It is further characterised through poor health system responsiveness to the health needs of public health system at the destination as well as at home district. Secondly in accessing financial services, it was a pertinent need for financial inclusion, which needs to be facilitated by NGOs and Micro-credit programmes at destination. More importantly, there needs to be

concentrated efforts to generating systematic knowledge base on tribals' access to public services concerning to health, education and financial institutions.

Tribal identity continued to act as an epicentre of inducing and sustaining social disabilities in tribal migrants' life at destinations. Identity attached discrimination at the workplace needs to be systematically addressed through effective labour laws enforcement at informal sector employment. Local self-governing bodies can effectively intervene and monitor the living conditions of tribal migrant labours at host states. Alongside, the government tribal department at host state should be vigilant on tribals employed in informal sector jobs in agricultural sector of the state by taking up effective measures to address the problems at work place.

(xiii) Conclusion

The findings of the qualitative phenomenological investigation have been summarised under seven sub-themes as follows. Initially, tribal perceptions surfaced were collective and communal living in remote locations adjacent to forestlands, hilltops and mountain slopes. The references to one's own tribe was overwhelmingly characterised by poverty, deprivation and social marginality in expressions namely *'all I know we are a poor tribe'*, *'we are a backward tribe'* *'we live in hilltops, mountain slops'* *'we are dull and dirty'*.

Secondly, the tribal identity stigma tends to induce affiliation shame, self-imposed social distancing, social isolation, discrimination and restricted social interactions.

Thirdly, some migrant workers identify self with their tribe's name 'Paniya' which means *'worker'* and it suggests tribals individually and communally identify themselves as traditionally as working group. Paniya migrant workers have the taste,

skills and expertise to perform farming work that give them job satisfaction. Hence, the Paniya tends to personalize farming activities are traditional and ancestral choice for which they are meant for. Fourthly, the tribal migrants at plantations are frequently exposed to chemicals and pesticide spraying with little or less safety gadgets and preparedness. Tribal workers directly engage in pesticide use in farms during whole days and are suffered from health consequences namely headaches, throat pain, dry skins, breathing difficulties and vomiting immediately after day-long exposures.

Sixthly, many tribal migrant women are vulnerable to sexual abuses at the workplace in neighbour Karnataka. These migrant women workers are faced with sexual abuses in the form of staring, eve-teasing and sexual advancement by employers and fellow-workers at workplace. Some of them were raped, and much more of them faced rape attempts at workplaces. However, these women do not have access to justice institutions neither at host place nor at home-state. Finally, access to institutions for public services provide opportunities, protect the weaker and marginalized and improve general quality of life. The barriers faced by tribal migrants in accessing public services are discussed under the thematic area of access to public services, financial services, school services, livelihood opportunities and healthcare.

In survey finding, out of 300 tribal migrants surveyed, the mean age was 36.1 year, 57% were females, 63.7% were Paniya, 64.7% married, 32.3% had no formal schooling, 65% were on contract work with daily wage and 52.7% were lowest wealth quintile. Tribal migrant workers ethnic identity, identity affirmation mean score was 9.5 and identity exploration mean score was 3.2. In tribal identity resolution, the mean was 6 and mean global ethnic (tribal) identity scale score was 17. In social

participation, the mean score was 11.9 and material deprivation mean score was 7.8. In access to basic rights, mean score was 7.3 and normative integration mean score was 8.6. In global social exclusion scale's mean score was 35.6. Tribal group affiliation, occupational status, formal schooling and standard of living varyingly influenced aspects of social exclusion namely social participation, material deprivation, access to basic rights, normative integration and social exclusion.

Therefore to conclude, the social inclusion of tribal migrant workers is a crucial issue to be addressed at multiple levels through multifaceted approaches. The cultural insularity, social disconnection, poor social participation, restricted access to basic rights, high level of material deprivation and low normative integration, poor standard of living are further aggravated by tribal ethnic identity, which are attached to stigma and discrimination present the complex state of social exclusion. These in turn lead to their poor access to public services in the areas of health, education, civil supplies, local self-governance, and institutions of justice and so on. The central and state governments and their respective tribal development/welfare department alongside labour department have significant stake in promoting social inclusion and fundamental rights of tribal migrant workers of Wayanad working in different parts of Karnataka.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SECTION-1: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES		
S. No	Items/questions	Responses
1	How old are you? (Record age in years)	[.....] = 00
2	Gender	Male = 01 Female = 02
3	What is your highest level of education	No formal schooling = 01 LP school = 02 UP school = 03 High school = 04 Higher secondary school = 05 UG/Diploma/More = 06
4	What is your marital status?	Married = 01 Remarried = 02 Cohabit = 03 Divorced = 04 Widowed = 05 Never married = 05
5	How many children have you ever had?	[.....] = 00
6	What is your ethnicity/tribe?	Paniya = 01 Adiya = 02 Kurichya = 03 Kattunaika = 04 Kuruma = 05 Others = 06

7	What is your current work status?	Wage earner = 01 Farmer = 02 Self-employed = 03 Household worker = 04 Unemployed = 05
8	What is the nature of your work?	Contract work = 01 Daily basis = 02 Task-based = 03
9	If contract work, how long is your contract?	Year: = 01 Months: = 02
10	How many days did you work over the last one week?	[.....] = 00
11	How many hour did you work over the past working day?	[.....] = 00
12	How often do you receive your wages?	Daily basis = 01 Weekly basis = 02 Monthly basis = 03 Occasionally = 04
13	How long are you on current work?	[.....] = 00
14	How did you find this job?	Friends = 01 Relatives = 02 Hired by employer = 03 Other = 05
15	How long have you been working away from your village?	Year..... = 00 Months: = 00
16	How often do you visit your village in a year?	Once in a year = 01 Once in 6 months = 02 Once in 3 months = 03 Once in a month = 04 Once in 2 weeks = 05 Once in a week = 06 Daily = 07

17	At what age did you first leave your village for work?	[.....] = 00
18	What was your job in your village?	Wage earner = 01 Farmer = 02 Self-employed = 03 Household worker = 04 Unemployed = 05
19	How much did you earn per day last time when you worked in your village?	[Rs:.....] = 00
20	Do you have relatives at your workplace here?	Yes = 01 N=02
21	Do you visit them?	I live with them = 01 Frequently = 02 Rarely = 03 Never = 04
22	What social activities do you engage here at your workplace?	No social activities =01 Festivals=02
23	How many persons are sharing your room?	[...Persons] = 00
24	Does your place of residence at workplace have electricity?	Yes = 01 No = 02
25	Does your place of residence at workplace have piped water?	Yes = 01 No = 02
26	Is your residence at workplace connected to sewage disposal network?	Yes = 01 No = 02
27	How much do you spend for housing at workplace per month?	[Rs:.....] = 00
28	How much money do you save per day from your wage?	[Rs:.....] = 00
30	Do you send money home while you are here?	Yes = 01 No = 02
31	Do you have contact with your family while you are here at workplace?	Yes = 01 No = 02

32	By what means do you contact family?	Telephone =01 Postal letters = 02 Online mode = 03
33	Are you covered by any healthcare insurance at workplace?	Yes = 01 No = 02
34	Have you had any health problem while working here over the past 1 year?	Yes = 01 No = 02
35	Did you consult a doctor?	Yes = 01 No = 02

SECTION-2: STANDARD OF LIVING INDEX

S. No	Household characteristics		Scores	
36	Type of house	Pucca = 04	Semi-pucca = 02	Kachha = 00
37	Separate room for cooking	Yes = 01	No = 00	
38	Ownership of house	Yes = 01	No = 00	
39	Toilet facility	Own flush toilet = 04	Public or shared flush/own pit toilets =02	Shared/public pit toilet = 01 No facility = 00
40	Source of lightening	- electricity=2	- kerosene, gas, oil=1	- other source of lighting=0
41	Main fuel for cooking	- electricity, liquid petroleum gas or biogas=2	- coal, charcoal or kerosene=1	- other fuel=0
42	Source of drinking water	- pipe, hand pump, well in residence/ yard/ plot=2	- public tap, hand pump or well=1	- other water source=0
43	Car or tractor		- yes=4	- no=0
44	Moped or scooter		- yes=3	- no=0
45	Telephone		- yes=3	- no=0
46	Refrigerator		- yes=3	- no=0

47	Colour TV	- yes=3	- no=0
48	Black and white TV	- yes=2	- no=0
49	Bicycle	- yes=2	- no=0
50	Electric fan	- yes=2	- no=0
51	Radio	- yes=2	- no=0
52	Sewing machine	- yes=2	- no=0
53	Mattress	- yes=1	- no=0
54	Pressure cooker	- yes=1	- no=0
55	Chair	- yes=1	- no=0
56	Cot or bed	- yes=1	- no=0
57	Table	- yes=1	- no=0
58	Clock or watch	- yes=1	- no=0
59	Ownership of livestock	- yes=2	- no=0
60	Water pump	- yes=2	- no=0
61	Bullock cart	- yes=2	- no=0
62	Thresher	- yes=2	- no=0

SECTION-3: ETHNIC IDENTITY SCALE

S. No	Items	Response
63	1. I am clear about what my ethnicity means to me.	Does not describe me at all = 01 Describes me a little = 02 Describes me well = 03 Describes me very well = 04
64	2. I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my ethnicity.	Does not describe me at all = 01 Describes me a little = 02 Describes me well = 03 Describes me very well = 04

65	3. I have read books/magazines/newspapers or other materials that have taught me about my ethnicity.	Does not describe me at all = 01 Describes me a little = 02 Describes me well = 03 Describes me very well = 04
66	4. I feel negatively about my ethnicity.	Does not describe me at all = 01 Describes me a little = 02 Describes me well = 03 Describes me very well = 04
67	5. I wish I were of a different ethnicity.	Does not describe me at all = 01 Describes me a little = 02 Describes me well = 03 Describes me very well = 04
68	6. I know what my ethnicity means to me.	Does not describe me at all = 01 Describes me a little = 02 Describes me well = 03 Describes me very well = 04
69	7. I have participated in activities that have taught me about my ethnicity.	Does not describe me at all = 01 Describes me a little = 02 Describes me well = 03 Describes me very well = 04
70	8. I dislike my ethnicity.	Does not describe me at all = 01 Describes me a little = 02 Describes me well = 03 Describes me very well = 04

71	9. I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me.	Does not describe me at all = 01 Describes me a little = 02 Describes me well = 03 Describes me very well = 04
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SECTION-4: SOCIAL EXCLUSION SCALE

S. No	Social participation	Responses
72	There are people who genuinely understand me	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
73	I feel cut off from other people	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
74	There are people with whom I can have a good conversation	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
75	have contact with neighbours	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
	Material deprivation	

76	I have enough money to meet my household needs	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
77	I have enough money for leisure with my friends	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
78	I have enough money to visit others	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
79	I have enough money to meet unexpected expenses	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
	Access to basic social rights	
80	We all get on well in our neighbourhood	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01

81	I am satisfied with the quality of my home	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
82	I didn't receive a medical or dental treatment	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
	Normative integration	
83	I give my money for good causes	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
84	I sometimes do something for my neighbours	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
85	I put glass items at secure places or trashes	Strongly agree = 05 Agee = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01

86	For me, work is just a way of earning money	Strongly agree = 05 Agree = 04 Neither agree nor disagree = 03 Disagree = 02 Strongly disagree = 01
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Thesis title:

Tribes of Wayanad and their Livelihood Activities in Karnataka: A Study on Human Rights Perspective

Researcher's Name: Sangeetha Jose

Department of Political Science

Lovely Professional University

In-depth Interview Guide for Tribal Migrant Workers

Introductory Remarks:

I am Mrs. Sangeetha Jose, a PhD scholar doing research on the topic of “Tribes of Wayanad and their Livelihood Activities in Karnataka: A Study on Human Rights Perspective” at the Department of Political Science, Lovely Professional University.

At first, I thank for agreeing to participate in this interview and share your valuable experiences, worldviews and insights related to the livelihood activities of Tribes in Wayanad in Karnataka. Before we begin this interview, I remind you that all information we discuss during interview shall be kept confidential and be used only for the purpose of my PhD thesis. Please you may remember that you have every right to ask clarifications, and discontinue this interview at any point in time during the interview if you desires so. It shall not bring any consequence. Please feel comfortable throughout the interview process and ask me if you have any clarification!

Do you have any questions, if you are OK with it, let us begin now!

Interview Guide begins

General descriptions

- 1) Could you please tell me about your family and home?
- 2) How are they all doing? How do you feel about your native place?

Human dignity and migrants reflections on tribal Self sub-theme:

- 1) What is your age?
- 2) Can you say something about your education?
- 3) What type of cultivation that you are engaged in to survive?
- 4) What wage do you receive?
- 5) Would you please tell me about your education?
- 6) How long do you stay in a new host place?
- 7) Do you have your own land? About how many cents or acres you have?
- 8) Do you like the new places that you go to for work?
- 9) Are you satisfied with your present living conditions?
- 10) Do you have any idea about your tribal origin?
- 11) Do your women go for any work? Can you say about your work atmosphere?
- 12) Do you go for any other work other than agriculture?
- 13) Where do you live mostly?

Factors responsible for migration questions:

- 1) What is the reason you shift places for work?
- 2) Do you think you can earn more than being in your native place?
- 3) Do you interact with non-tribal people?
- 4) Do they interact with you? How do they treat you?
- 5) Do you have enough opportunity to work here in your native place?
- 6) Is Karnataka better than Kerala situations related to your tribes?
- 7) Is it easy for you to move to Karnataka for work?
- 8) Do you face any legal restrictions?
- 9) Why do you prefer to work in Karnataka?
- 10) What about your family when you migrate?

Working conditions:

- 1) What type of support do you get from Karnataka?
- 2) Are your work conditions satisfactory in Karnataka?
- 3) Do you get safety instructions and equipment during dangerous works?
- 4) Is there any health issues related to your working conditions?

- 5) How long do you continue to do your work in a day?
- 6) Do you face any abuses in the work place?
- 7) Have you reacted against any abuses in your workplace?
- 8) To Women: Do you get equal wages same as men?
- 9) Is there any access to express your grievances in your work area?
- 10) Are you able to manage your personal and work life?

Identity Issues

- 1) Do you get any support from others?
- 2) Do you face any discrimination from people around you regarding your caste?
- 3) Being migrant tribals, what difference can you see comparing native and host place?
- 4) Are you happy being in your present status?
- 5) Do you get proper recognition in the area that is essential for you??
- 6) Why do you think you are excluded from the main society?
- 7) How do you react to the ignorance?
- 8) Which field do you believe is the best for you?
- 9) Do you interact with non-tribes? Do you maintain any distance from them? If yes, why?
- 10) Do you expect a near positive change in your social conditions and the attitude of otherstoward you?

Access to public institutions

- 1) Do you know how to approach a government office for something?
- 2) What is authority's attitude to you? Do they delay your requests and applications?
- 3) Do you get proper facilities and benefits from the government?
- 4) Are government services at your near distance?
- 5) Do you have any public transport service here for you?
- 6) Do you have a bank account?
- 7) Do you receive money from your bank at the proper time?
- 8) Do you save money for your future?

- 9) Do your children go to school for getting their primary education?
- 10) Are the procedures easy to take admission to school?
- 11) Why don't you start a business of your own? Is there any help that you get from the government?
- 12) Are there any nearby hospitals here?
- 13) Are you getting proper health care?
- 14) How do the officials behave when you go for treatment or check-ups?

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation with this interview.