Rural Migration for Bondage: A Sociological Study of *Hali* System in a Rajasthani Village

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By

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CERTIFICATE

I feel great pleasure in certifying that the thesis entitled "**RURAL MIGRATION FOR BONDAGE: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF HALI SYSTEM IN A RAJASTHANI VILLAGE**" is an original piece of work carried out by **Tribhu Nath Dubey**, under my supervision for the degree of DOCTOR OFPHILOSOPHY. He has completed the following requirements as per Ph. D.regulations of the University.

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2. Residential requirements of the University (200 days).
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ABSTRACT

The Doctoral thesis entitled "**RURAL MIGRATION FOR BONDAGE: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF HALI SYSTEM IN A RAJASTHANI VILLAGE**" being submitted to University of Kota, Kota for the award of Ph. D. degree, is a field work oriented primary data based sociological study on an 'unfree form of labour' engaged in agriculture sector as a test case in a village in Kota District of Rajasthan. It provides an interface of migration, agriculture labour and bondage in the realm of Internal migration and puts forth the system of Hali/Gwal for its Examination.

Rural Indebtedness, poverty and developmental stagnancy in rural space have caused outmigration and structural inequality of caste system has its own bearings on this process too whereby the dispossessed and depressed sections of the society are at the receiving end at large. Providing a deeper understanding in these issues with reasonable and reliable primary facts, the study analyses the social and economic situations of the migrant *Halis* and attributes various causes and consequences of the phenomenon.

Contextualizing within myriad of important studies on the related subjects, the study holds academic and policy importance particularly in post Bondage Labour (Abolition) System Act 1976 and 'new mobilities paradigm' theory of migration. Thus, the study broadens the scope for further policy review and pertinent measures as well as large scale study of the phenomenon. It is intended that the study will have significant academic importance and value in the discipline.

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I, hereby, certify that the work, which is being presented in the thesis, entitled**Rural Migration for Bondage: A Sociological Study of Hali System in a Rajasthani Village**in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, carried out under the supervision of Professor**S. C. Rajora**Department of Social Sciencesand submitted to the University of Kota, Kota represents my ideas in my own words and where others ideas or words have been included. I have adequately cited and referenced the original sources. The work presented in this thesis has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of any other degree or diploma from any Institutions.

I also declare that I have adhered to all principles of academic honesty and integrity and have not misrepresented or fabricated or falsified any idea/data/fact/source in my submission. I understand that any violation of the above will cause for disciplinary action by the University and can also evoke penal action from the sources which have thus not been properly cited or from whom proper permission has not been taken when needed.

Date: 30.05.2021 (**Tribhu Nath Dubey**)
Place: Kota Research Scholar

This is to certify that the above statement made by **Tribhu Nath Dubey** (Registration No. RS/839/16 Dt. 07.04.2016) is correct to the best of my knowledge.

Date: 03.06.2021 (**Prof. S. C. Rajora**)
Place: Chittorgarh Research Supervisor)

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Kota Tribhu Nath Dubey

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ABBREVIATIONS

ILO	International Labour Organization
UN	United Nations
UDHR	United Nations Declaration on Human Rights
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
DAR	Debt to Asset Ratio
SHG	Self Help Group
NCRL	National Commission on Rural Labour
OBC	Other Backward Class
UID	Unique Identification Number
BPL	Below Poverty Line
APL	Above Poverty Line
PMAY-U	Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana – Urban
MoHUA	Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs
CNAs	Central Nodal Agencies
EWS	Economically Weaker Section
MNDY	MukhyamantriNishulkDavaYojna
MGNREGS	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme

Chapter 1

Introduction

Chapter 1
Introduction

Background

Present thesis is an outcome of a Ph.D. fieldwork conducted in the village Daslana (Kota) which is registered with Department of Social Science, University of Kota, Kota. The fieldwork was conducted during 2016 – 19 for the purpose of this study, though the contact and interaction with the village community dates back since 2012 in connection with other studies in the village. In fact, the present study is in a way culmination of revelations and questions which arose during previous studies.

During a research on implications of gender and caste over water consumption in households and agriculture in the village concerned, the researcher encountered that a good number of migrant agricultural labours in 2012-13 residing in the village. The study of water use focused on individuals particularly women of working age group and sought to visualize the role of these individual working women in arranging and consuming water for household and farm use i.e., irrigation. Hence household as a unit of study was less prioritized then.

As a result, rather than seeking information from any adult member of a household, we sought out working women as informants, believing that a working woman would fulfil two roles: one as a water user and arranger in the home, and the other as a labourer or farmland worker. After some initial rapport building in the village, it led us to head straight to the village farms rather than individual households.It was rabi crop season, which meant wheat, garlic, and mustard crops were being grown all over the village farmland.Luckily, it was also hoeing and irrigation season, so men and women could be seen and found working in the fields. It was also realised that researcher's visit timing is a working and earning season for the village community, getting informants at their homes during the day will be difficult. Therefore, we moved from field to field and we identified

individual working women and asked them to participate in the survey, which many of them readily agreed after obtaining permission from their employers or family heads/husbands in the field.

During the interview of these women working on the farms, it occurred that several respondents belonged to a particular group who were migrant in the village, residing here for several years and they said that their husbands were working as *Gwals* with some of the village's landed peasants. After several interactions, it occurred that the word *Gwal* is not literally the herdsman as normally it would mean rather a substitute for *Hali* and contractual unfree labour with yearlong commitment. As their number looked to be significant and a majority of them coming from a particular area, it generated a lot of curiosity which encouraged further investigation.

It led to a minor research project from UGC in 2013-15 which basically mapped the social background and livelihood situation of migrant agricultural labourers residing in the village (Dubey 2015). The findings and the understanding of this study led to a full-fledged Ph.D. research on this subject to understand the phenomenon in its entirety as *Gwals* were discovered to be a type of quasi-contractual labour or a disguised form of modified boded labour that drew heavily from a specific region of Rajasthan in this village. The occurrence and practice of such arrangement becomes all the more important when there is 'enforcement' of 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976' all over India. These provided sound reason for this study.

Context of the Study: Diaspora and Migration studies

In a broad sociological area of Diaspora and migration studies(Sahoo and Maharaj 2008), present study focuses on a unique and fascinating case of agricultural labourers migrating between villages, as opposed to the much-studied field of non-agricultural labour migration from rural to urban or unorganised industrial settings. In the first context, this study is significant because there are few sociological studies on inter-village agricultural labour migration available at a national level, and it is possibly the first of its kind in this part of Rajasthan.

Both *Hali* and *Gwals* are peasant occupational expressions and their semiotics are fascinating (Raychaudhuri et.al. 1983, Bremen 1979, Patnaik and Dingwaney 1985, Sivakumar 2010, Seth and Dubye 2013). It's a situation where the signifier hasnotchanged or developed while the signified has. *Gwals* are long-term relationships that are sustained under an implicit assumption of mutual consent and trust, with little malice or dispute.

Mukherji (2013) has pointed out a conservative estimate in his study that India's greatest task is to overcome extreme poverty, which is widespread across the country. According to the Planning Commission (2009), 37.2 percent of India's population lived in poverty in 2005, meaning they did not had access to even one square meal per day, which is essential for survival with little nutrition. In 2005, it was 409 million, and in 2010, it was 446 million.There is another way to measure poverty that is based on consumption expenditures rather than calorie intake. If poverty was defined as the inability to spend even Rs 20 per person per day on food, then those living in poverty were those who were unable to spend even Rs 20 per person per day on food in 2005. According to this criterion, 77 percent of India's population lived in poverty, according to the Arjun Sengupta Committee. In 2005, there were 847 million poor people, and in 2010, there were 924 million (Mukherji 2013).

Skeldon(2003) has expressed that poverty can both cause and be caused by migration. He elaborates that poverty may be a driving force behind migration in some cases, while in others, under other circumstances, the poor will be among the last to go. Similarly, migration can be a way out of poverty in some areas, while it can also contribute to the perpetuation of poverty in others. In his perception the movement of people boosts economic growth and improves the lives of most people, but not all and it can be an important component in poverty alleviation. Thus, both poverty and causes and motives of migration seem to be important precursors to why people from rural India have to migrate and why they become victim of forced or bonded labour.

Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29) by ILO, to which India is one of the signatories in 1951, defines forced labour as “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily” is not particularly applicable to this instance as its content and practice does not match with the definition and the practice overcomes this through modification. However, later UN conventions have recognized that ‘debt bondage’is also a form of ‘forced labour’.

There are several articles on different forms and variations of forced labour, which are summarised in the literature review section of the study. However, the current case has its own unique characteristics, which justifies the need for specific as well as comparative studies. Agricultural labour slavery was higher in states and districts with a high percentage of rural labourers, low irrigation and agricultural production and weak infrastructure, according to the National Commission on Rural Labour (NCRL).

Jan Bremen (1979) found that attached labour system existed in India prior to colonial rule in his research on the Anavil Brahmins and Dablas in South Gujarat. Bremen also points out that servitude is favoured over avoidance because it ensures subsistence during off-peak seasons. Some studies connect slavery to the long-standing tradition of patron-client relationships in Indian culture, which has been highlighted by researchers including Scott (1972), Bremen (1996) and Gould (1964). Also, within voluntary relationships and compelling shared commitments, certain types of quasi contractual labour are "potentially coercive and exploitative," according to the researchers.

In view of the existing studies and existence of significant number of *Gwals* in the village, this research focuses on a specific type of migrant agricultural labour with the aim of eliciting sociologically significant factors that lead to migration, preferential forms of emigrational opportunities, changes in their life condition, and future aspirations. It delves into the issues of caste, social status, reputation, and identity to some degree in this effort. As Bremen (1979) has

suggested the current study also tries to look into if the *Gwal* system is in any way a form of servitude, it must include some element of choice.

The study aims to sociologically map the social history and livelihood condition of migrant agricultural labourers living in Daslana, a village on the outskirts of Kota's municipal boundary in Rajasthan. In the local slang, these migrant agricultural labourers are referred to as *Gwals* or *Hali*, and they refer to a form of quasi-contractual labour that is heavily constituted by a particular caste and region of Rajasthan.

The study's results are centred on an extensive village-based survey of these migrant workers, as well as personal interviews and focus group discussions. Though the study is limited to a single village, it highlights an intriguing phenomenon that is likely to be replicated in other villages in the region, as well as a promising field in the discipline of Internal migration.

Therefore this study broadly tries to put the various interpretations, meanings, and practises of *Hali* into context;place the given instance of *Hali* within the larger debate about India's *Hali* system; define the *Hali*-master dyadic relationship in the sense of village economy and caste structure, as well as its practical implications for the *Hali*s;investigates the factors that lead to migration and acceptance of the *Hali* relationship; and understand the essence of migrant *Hali*s' native relations.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into seven chapters:

1. Introduction
2. Theoretical Constructs and Review of Literature
3. Research Methodology
4. Practice of *Hali* in Daslana
5. Migration Bondage: Causes and Effects
6. Data Analysis and Research findings
7. Conclusion

The chapter on Theoretical Constructs and Literature Review focuses on comprehending and reviewing the principles and concepts associated with the title in current literature in order to contextualise the research issue. It describes the various forms, types, factors, and causes of migration. According to a review of the literature, debt bondage takes many forms and names, and it is still practised in every part of India today. Data-based facts from various years have been presented, allowing the data to be compared effectively. The background of the discussion and literature available on bonded labour including legal/illegal/formal/informal aspects, has been established using a number of references.

It discovers that the labour system was "self-sustaining and self-perpetuating" prior to independence, during the freedom movement, and after independence in Indian villages. A large number of studies have concluded that the *Hali* structure is focused on structural, social and economic hierarchy. The entire literature and debate on the subject demonstrate that India's labour bondage system is a long-standing problem. The main cause of slavery is debt owed by marginal farmers and landless labourers, who are usually from the lower social strata, and their inability to repay the debt due to severe poverty, unstable financial conditions, and high loan interest rates.

This chapter also reviews and summarizes the constitutional and legal provisions against the practice of bonded labour system. In that vein, the ‘Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' which is a major attempt to combat this menace, and it has aided attempts to free debtors from their bonds has also been reviewed to gather that the act has not yielded the desired results due to a lack of adequate rehabilitation, unawareness, bureaucratic apathy, and administrative ignorance.

The chapter on Research Methodology outlines the methods used in the research and the rationale behind using them. With due justification and appropriateness, purposive sampling, census, structured interview and schedule have been preferred in view of their merits and demerits. The research has

particularly paid attention to the ethical aspects of the research especially with regards to the field and informant subjects. The guiding ethical considerations have also been outlined here. It also provides a detailed description of the field and various aspects of its setting.

Apart from defining and operationalizing the key terms used in the research, the chapter outlines the key questions in view of the field and existing body of literature which are:

1. "Whether the contractual labour found as *Hali* or *Gwal* in the village is a disguised form of bondage?"

2. "What specific and general traits are exhibited by the incidence of *Hali* or *Gwal* as compared to the forms of contractual or unfree labour found in other parts of the country?"

3. "Is migration a scapegoat from native underdevelopment and it lands the migrant into disguised bondage?"

4. "How migration and bondage have positively and negatively affected the lives of the migrants?"

5. "How permanent and transient is the migration and how does it affect the native ties of the migrants?"

'Practice of *Hali* in Daslana' is the next chapter numbered four and it tries to contextualize the existence and extent of *Gwals* in the village within the larger framework of system of *Hali* existing in India during different periods. It emphasises the need of *Hali*s by the landed peasantry in the kind of agricultural setting that the study village has. It provides the social and hierarchical standing of the migrant castes within the caste hierarchy of the village. Agriculture is a difficult and labour-intensive task that necessitates a variety of activities to be completed on time as the season dictates. Regularity and availability of labour are critical in this regard. Within this framework, how *Hali*s are contracted and what

is their availability are the main concerns of this chapter which is supported by detailed data from the field.

This chapter also traces the social, caste and native backgrounds of the migrants in the village and tries to see the emergent patterns along various age groups, years of stay, sources of local contact, their job profiles, educational competencies, locality of stay and their caste status. It also tries to see if there any caste mobility in terms of their status and what are its indicators.

The fifth chapter entitled 'Migration Bondage: Causes and Effects' analysing the migration data as per Indian census tries to ascertain the causes and effects on migration which results into labour bondage. It tries to see if the mechanisms of migration in developing countries vary significantly from those in developed countries. Poverty, unemployment, natural disasters, and underdevelopment at the origin location drive migration in developing countries like India, rather than the so-called pull forces of the destination location, as they do in developed countries. Migration is also seen as a way of survival in developing countries. People migrate for a variety of reasons, including poverty and debt and employment. In developing countries, the former is more common, while the latter is more common in developed countries.

The chapter with support of data generated through the field work, tries to establish that the cause for outmigration is the low agricultural productivity in the migrants' native place as well as severe survival issues and the problem of indebtedness. It therefore analyses the resulting situation of contract labour and terms of compensation vis-à-vis other instances of *Hali* in the state to provide a comparative picture of changes and adaptations occurred in the practice of *Hali* in the study village.

Chapter six on 'Data Analysis and Research findings' goes into the analysis of remaining primary data to ascertain various aspects of migrants lives such as 'purchase and inherited land status of migrants', the cause and extent of outstanding debt with them, marriage as compelling factor of familial debt,

educational and economic status of their families, ability and inability to take advantage of government schemes, linkages with formal system of credit and banking, social esteem and prestige of their families, the problem of double debt trap, linkages with the native place and consequent state of familial wellbeing in order to answer the main research questions with which the research started. It finds that the migrants in the village are attracted by the connections and previous associations with the destination village, which motivate them to become*Gwal* or *Hali*with landlords. Despite the fact that the law requires otherwise, both *Hali*s and masters enter into a quasi-annual labour contract that lasts for years because *Gwals* have few to no other options. Chapter seven concerns with conclusions of the research.

A detailed and exhaustive bibliography is added apart from chapter specific references in the end and important documents are appended in the end of the thesis for necessary reference.

It is expected that the present study is meaningful in sociology as it dwells upon a very significant area of study. A lot of work has been done on diaspora and migration but on rural-to-rural migration has not got the attention as much. The study is important because rural social structure is important to agriculture. Marginalized communities (caste hierarchy/disposition/lack of development) need to be understood.Ineffectiveness of governance and legal system in this context provide a ground for further policy input as how even after Bonded labourabolition Act, the practice seemed to have progressed into a new form of bondage in the villages of India.

The words *Hali* and *Gwal* have a wide range of meanings and connotations. The proposed research in this sense becomes particularly important as it attempts to provide various perceptions and practices, as well as locate the particular case of the *Hali* system in the study village, in order to gain a better understanding of its context, politics, evolution, and eradication or resistance. The study has tried to examine the cross-section of migration and attached labour in agriculture and the agrarian situation, as well as the interplay between the two. The majority of

migration studies to date have mostly concentrated on non-agricultural migrants, with little or no attention paid to migrant agricultural workers. In this part of Rajasthan, there is also a serious lack of research on migrant farm workers and their debt attachment through coerced debtor-creditor long-term relationships. In this sense, it is thought and intended that the present study servs an important purpose.

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Chapter 2

Theoretical Constructs and Review of Literature

Chapter 2

Theoretical Constructs and Review of Literature

As it is evident from the title of the thesis: "Rural Migration for Bondage: A Sociological Study of *Hali* System in a Rajasthani Village", present study mainly studies the intersection of Migration, Bondage or Bonded labour system and a system or practice of *Hali* (alternatively locally also known as *Gwal*) in a village of Rajasthan. It is an interesting and complex instance. But before delving into how does it unfolds for the migrants at a group level and the level of a village as a microcosm of the society; it is necessary to understand and review the concepts and theories related to them in existing literature to contextualise the problem of the research.

Review of Literature

Migration

The movement of people from one location to another is known as migration. Within a country or between countries, migration is possible. Permanent, temporary or seasonal migrations are its main types. There are a variety of reasons why people migrate. Economic, social, political and environmental factors all play crucial role. Migration is influenced by both push and pull factors. Both, the place left behind and the place where migrants settle, have effects on migration. These effects can be both beneficial and harmful.

There are three main forms of migration: internal, external and forced. 1. Internal migration is change of residence within national borders, such as between states, provinces, districts or municipalities. Someone who travels to a separate administrative territory is known as an internal migrant. 2. International Migration: it applies when people relocate across national borders. An international migrant is an individual who relocates to another country. Legal

immigrants, illegal immigrants and refugees are main types of international migrants. Legal immigrants are those who enter the receiving country with the approval of the government, illegal immigrants are those who enter without permission and refugees are those who crossed a foreign border to escape persecution in the native country. 3. Forced Migration: According to Weinstein & Pillai (2015),such kind of migration occurs when a person is forced to move against their wishes or when a person is forced to move due to external factors (natural disaster or civil war).

Migration is also classified on the basis of the motives of the migration. On the basis of causes and motives, it is divided into the following categories: Marriage migration; labour migration or people migrating for jobs, housing, or other reasons; Migration due to Natural causes and calamities.Similarly, on the basis of the duration, migration can be categorized into a) permanent, b) temporary&c) seasonal. In permanent labour migration, the migrants' normal residence shifts often and their chances of returning home are slim. Temporary migrants, on the other hand, remain a regular member of the household and prefer to travel in circles between their points of origin and destination.

Rural-to-urban or rural-to-industrial migration has been the most common form of workforce migration. This isnot to say that village-to-village migration didnot happen before. Exoduses of human groups from one location to another have occurred throughout the history for a variety of reasons, including improved living conditions, career opportunities or protection from constant wars and natural disasters. However, in the modern period, urban and industrial settings have served as centres of opportunity, development and jobs, drawing a greater proportion of the rural workforce to them than any other source (Dubey 2020).

Another important reason for rural out-migration has been education, which has been restricted in terms of its coverage of rural classes, castes and numbers as opposed to out-migration for work. It is also worth noting that migration for education has largely been an upper caste – upper class phenomenon, with lower strata gradually opening up with the advent of

aspirations and economic security among them, while migration for jobs has been much more broad-based across castes and classes, with numbers still skewed towards the lower strata of society. In comparison to rural to urban migration, the relative stagnancy of rural life and growth has subdued rural to rural migration.

The sociology of migration has undergone many paradigmatic changes in past few decades as a fast-moving area of research (Bass & Yeoh 2019). It has experienced, over the past several decades, many paradigm changes.Bass and Yeoh (2019) summarise that the initial neoclassical emphasis on so-called push and pull factors influenced the sociological investigationson migration. Such variables were used to describe or forecast migration, with an emphasis on socioeconomic indicators that encouraged migrants to leave their "homes" in search of "better" opportunities elsewhere. Issues of integration and assimilation at the destination were initially emphasised and they were seen as posing a threat to local sociocultural sensitivities (Bass & Yeoh 2019).

With the emergence of the idea of transnationalism in the 1990s, a major paradigm changes in the focus of migration research occurred, further challenging questions about the nation-state. Migration scholars began to argue, under the influence of globalisation studies, that migrants could be observed to establish numerous links and relations between home and host country, as a result of which they were living "transnational lives" through and beyond nation-state boundaries. The arrival of affordable carriers, which made regular home returns feasible; the availability of cheap phone cards and (later) the advent of online media - all helped this development of ‘transnational lifestyles' across and beyond nation-state boundaries. As a result, migration studies, in this phase, are seen to have turned to transnationalism as a way to link places and processes.

As a newer shift in migration studies, Sheller and Urry (2006) introduced ‘new mobilities paradigm’. They asserted that the world has never been more mobile than it is right now. They also stressed that numerous fixities or "moorings" that make up mobility systems contribute to their complexity. The institutions that regulate or encourage migration are rife with notions of il/legalities, which are based on socio - political and cultural ideas of affiliation

and what the nation-state is supposed to represent. Thus, migration actually depends on the influence of discourses, practices and infrastructural facilities that both help and impede, stop and prevent movement (Bass & Yeoh 2019). The new mobilities paradigm has had a significant impact on migration study, especially in terms of determining who is eligible to migrate, under what circumstances and how debates in receiving countries have often focused on profoundly neoliberal notions of economic nationalism, in which migrants are rated based on the benefits they bring to the nation-state. In recent times, it has been noted that a growing number of migrants' stays abroad are characterised by "permanently" temporary stays and/or "continuously" circular pathways. Though highly skilled migrants have access to permanent residency (PR) approvals and dual citizenship statuses, migrants in the low-skilled and low-paid sectors do not have access to (eventual) ‘permanency,' and therefore face a different kind of transnationality synonymous with issues of marginality, inequality and exploitation.

Labour in Bondage

Labour or workforce is most important part of any economy. Rural economy which is largely agricultural in nature depends on agricultural labour which is mainly constituted by landless labourers and marginal farmers of the rural society. The “self-sustaining and self-perpetuating” character of Indian villages was a distinguishing characteristic of the Indian economy prior to the arrival of the British. The village consumed the majority of the food and raw materials produced on its own land, while local artisans met the village's demand for handicrafts. With the support of his own family members, each farmer managed to cultivate his farm. There was no space in such a society for an independent and distinct class of landless labourers to exist.

As late as 1891, farm workers accounted for 13% of the country's agricultural workforce. Thanks to rapid growth over the next fifty years, agricultural labourers made up 30.4 percent of the agricultural population and 22.7 percent of the total population in 1951. The nature of the land tenure system, the length of time spent working for the British government and the availability of alternative employment opportunities were all factors that contributed to this

(Bhatia 1975).The dispossession of peasants' lands was a significant aspect of the evolution of the class of landless labourers. As a result, their proportion was highest in the Ryotwari areas of Madras, Bombay and the central provinces, where land could be easily transferred by sale or mortgage, unlike in the Zamindari or Mahalwari areas (Hamid 1982).

According to Munro “there were no landless peasants in India,” in 1842 (Bhatia 1975). The self-sufficient village economy underwent some fundamental changes after British rule was established. The old output relationships changed, separating the cultivators from their ‘means of production’. Dispossessed and impoverished peasants surged the number of agricultural labourers. From 12.5 million in 1881 to 42.2 million in 1931 and 49 million in 1951, the number of agricultural workers increased exponentially. The increase was especially noticeable between 1921 and 1931, when their population grew from 28 million to 42 million.

Government of India data shows that the total number of agricultural workers in India increased from 234.1 million (127.3 million cultivators and 106.8 million agricultural labourers) in 2001 to 263.1 million (118.8 million cultivators and 144.3 million agricultural labourers) in 2011, as per India Census 2011. It also points out that the proportion of the population employed in agriculture (cultivators and agricultural labourers) has decreased from 58.2% in 2001 to 54.6 percent in 2011(Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare 2020).

Agricultural labourers are people who make a living by working on the farm. With their kin, it accounts for roughly one-fifth of India's total population, or one-fourth of the country's rural population (Kuo-Chun 1957). Land reform laws passed by various state governments have overwhelmingly failed to offer enough relief to the economically even more marginalised agricultural wage workers. Many states have attempted to create minimum wages for this population, but the established standards have been low and, in most cases, have benefited only adult male workers, ignoring the millions of women and children employed in the rural economy (Kuo-Chun 1957).Many other fundamental national issues, such as underemployment, low wages for non-agricultural

workers, inefficiency in agricultural production andslow technological advancement in farming, to name a few, will be seriously hindered unless and until agricultural labour conditions improve. Many other labour reform attempts will be made futile as long as rural India's near-inexhaustible supply of cheap labour persists. Though some may own a small plot of land that is insufficient to feed their families, the majority of India's agricultural labourers, or rural workers who work in agriculture for a living, are landless.

Agriculture is a common part-time job for many people. They may also work as artisans or as servants in the village. To augment the family's meagre income, minor members of an artisan or agricultural tenant family often labour for pay (Kuo-Chun 1957). Agricultural wage work is not a one-size-fits-all proposition, with some labourers working only as required. Due to the seasonal nature of most agricultural jobs, planting and harvesting labourers are in high demand and such work provides an additional source of income for landless men, women and children who must make out a living in other ways during the rest of the year, usually through temporary work in nearby urban areas.Other workers and their families are more or less permanently linked to a landowning family, which provides some job security.

Agricultural workers are often drawn from lower castes in the local social hierarchy, as well as tribal groups in some areas, despite the fact that there is no direct correlation between caste and economic status in India. As a result, for a large proportion of rural wage workers, the combination of low socioeconomic status and economic disabilities creates additional challenges. A large proportion of the agricultural workforce is made up of women and children. Women and children perform the majority of farming tasks, such as weeding, husking, winnowing, seed monitoring and spreading manure.These jobs don't require a lot of physical strength, but they do require patience, dexterity and responsibility. Of course, in terms of work style and position, women have fewer choices than men. Women who work in the fields are usually from the lowest castes and since these castes seek to rise in rank, they forbid their women from doing so in order to follow orthodox Hindu views on a woman's position. Women are rarely allowed

to leave their villages in search of work due to social attitudes, whereas their male counterparts are. Women's age also plays a role; as they get older, the barriers to them working become less.

As a result, unless their families can afford it, small children, young women in their early twenties and young brides are also found working as hired labourers. Agricultural labourer-employer relationships are complex, making generalisations about all farm workers or all parts of India difficult. They vary by region due to differences in the size of the agricultural labour force, as well as local farming conditions such as crop varieties, soil fertility, keeping scale and farming methods. Local traditions, as well as village social and political organisation, play an important role.

Depending on whether the labourers are bound to their employers by contract or by traditional ties, these relationships vary. With its proclivity for caste-based occupational specialisation, the traditional village economy established some economic relationships between caste groups in the village, which continue to influence relationships between agricultural workers and landowners in many cases today. Families from the servant and artisan castes are bound by formalised, hereditary rights and obligations to conduct their economic and ceremonial specialties for each other and for some families from higher castes.

The *jajmani* system refers to the relationship between the *jajman*, or traditional employer and the *purjan*, or traditional servant. This system of occupational specialisation and economic interdependence is known by various names in different parts of India, but it is best known as the *jajman*i system, which refers to the relationship between the *jajman*, or traditional employer and the purjan, or traditional servant. The purjan family is compensated by the *jajman* either by an exchange of services (in the case of artisan-servant relationships) or through grain or cash payments made at particular times during the year, usually in connection with some religious event.The obligations and privileges that come with *Jajman*i relationships between two families are difficult to sever and they will last for centuries. These duties include not only regular employer-employee

obligations, but also gifts of clothing and food by the *jajman* on special occasions, financial assistance in times of need or ceremonial expenses and mutual assistance in village social and political matters.

Employer-employee relationships differ depending on whether the labourers are recruited on a more or less permanent basis by the landowning family or whether they are hired on a more or less ad hoc basis. Though not all attached labourers are created by traditional *jajman*i arrangements, their relationship with their employer is identical. It's a more formalised and usually simpler system than you would find for casual employees.The attached labourer has more duties to his or her employer, such as offering services at different social and household functions for little to no pay, but his or her employer usually looks after him better than casual labourers. Many employers, for example, provide simple living quarters for attached labourers at a low to no cost. Employers are also able to support workers who need financial assistance due to sickness, ceremonial needs, marriage, or other unexpected expenses.When an employer is respected, particularly if he has employed his employee's family for decades, the latter can be counted on to support him and his family in a number of circumstances, such as village disputes.

Other researches on the *Hali* and attached labour systems also suggest that the bonded labour system in agriculture as a whole is the product of a traditionally framed patron-client relationship that has existed for centuries. Patron-client relationships are described as a "special case of dyadic (two-person) ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which a person of higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both, for a person of lower status (client), who, in turn, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including peddling" (Scott 1972a). Traditionally, thus, such a dyadic relationship is often viewed as being of the functional or beneficial character for the client (Scott 1972a, Bremen1979, Gould 1964). However, in inter-caste relations, the *Jajman*i system, with its vertical interdependency of groups and individuals based on the unequal distribution of resources, provides an appropriate context to discuss patron client relations,

showing that people of disparate status, wealth and power are vertically integrated below patrons who in turn may be clients of patrons at a higher level. The patron-client formation seeks its "fullest elaboration" where there is a difference between a state's centre and periphery, according to Scott (1972a). This implies a situation of concentrated power and production and distribution systems dependent on local capital (Scott 1972a). As a result, patron-client relationships are lopsided, with unequal and sometimes non-comparable reciprocities. Clients' standards are restricted to the most basic of necessities. Family relations, mutual trust, faith, mutual desires, group support of values and the principle of a spiritual bond are all structural features of such dyadic ties (Bailey 1966, Scott 1972a & b; Michie 1981).

The patron-client relationship, according to Eisenstadt and Roniger (1980), is a "paradoxical collection of elements that combine disparity and asymmetry of power in mutual solidarity." Under voluntary relationships and binding contractual commitments, it has the ability to be manipulative and exploitative. The patron client system can be very harsh, particularly to those at the bottom, while maintaining 'functional and beneficial' dyadic relations. Such a relationship, according to Stein (1984), may be functional in the short run and at a superficial level of analysis, but it is unstable in the "long run and at a deeper level of analysis."

The factors that contributed to the decline of the patron-client system, according to Michie (1981), were the advent of commercialised agriculture, state and national electoral politics, development administration and institutional reforms. They not only shift the local structure toward higher-level incorporation, but they also replace the old at the local level with a new collection of relationships, purposes and assessment criteria. In a study of Vilayatpur, a village in Punjab, Kessinger (1974) found that the dominant landowning family, the sahota, was able to effectively manage the kamins and make the lower caste workers economically dependent on them. Sahota also had monopolistic political and legal influence, according to Kessinger. Mishra (1975) demonstrates that the thakurs of Banaras employed low caste agricultural labourers, Chamar, in part due

to the caste ban on upper caste direct cultivation and ploughing, but mostly due to the availability of Chamar labour in large numbers.

Among the more important causes of stress in labour bondage are various forms of ill-treatment and exploitation meted out to agricultural labourers by their employers. The landowner-employers demand a wide range of specialised services, which can often amount to a form of hidden forced labour. Attached labourers are often asked to run errands for their employers' domestic work or attend ritual ceremonies in addition to performing various agricultural chores for little to no pay. Employers' wives and children are often seen as a source of free labour for manual labour.The worst cases of forced labour (known as *begaar* in northern India) are found in the occupations of aboriginal tribesmen, many of whom toil as rural workers in deplorable conditions as a result of the loss of their traditional forest lands, prohibition of shifting agriculture and heavy, often hereditary, indebtedness. Despite the fact that such acts are unlawful and in violation of legislation prohibiting forced labour, insufficient compliance and the powerful influence of tradition leave many such violations uncorrected.The fear of losing credit or being evicted from their home or the small plot of land where they are allowed to grow crops for their own consumption, among other things, is usually enough to persuade a labouring family to submit to their employer's oppressive demands. Extortionate loans are a form of corruption in rural India (usury). According to the Agricultural Labour Survey conducted by the Indian government, approximately 45 percent of agricultural labour families were in debt, with the average debt per family being about Rs. 105. (Kuo-Chun 1957).

Absentee landlordism is a significant source of tension in rural India. When a landlord lives comfortably in a distant city and has assigned ownership of the land and labourers to another, his primary concern is to maximise profit and he is unlikely to care for or understand his employees' grievances. His agents can manipulate the labourers in cruel and unscrupulous ways, taking advantage of the distant owner's absence and indifference and they can escape the workers' protests by saying that they must wait for the owner's orders. The extremely low standard

of living among agricultural labourers is the last but not least source of dissatisfaction.

In India, agricultural workers are unemployed for a large portion of the year and evidence suggests that rural underemployment is increasing. Agricultural labourers' living conditions are also very low, according to data from the Government Enquiry. Their mud and thatch dwellings are overcrowded and cramped. One-room houses account for 55% of all dwellings, while two-room houses account for 27%. The average number of rooms in each house is 1.9. Education, medication and recreational activities are almost non-existent.Plantation workers and peasants in India are well-known for living in poverty, but agricultural labourers have it even worse. For example, while the per capita expenditure of all rural families is estimated to be Rs. 204, the per capita expenditure of agricultural labourers is only Rs. 107.13. With the current state of urban manufacturing employment, significant numbers of farm workers are unlikely to find a suitable solution in the cities unless industrialization accelerates significantly in the coming years.

The economic decline of former rural artisans, peasant proprietors and tenants, as well as their own reproduction, has resulted in a significant increase in the number of agricultural labourers in the last 50 years. Simultaneously, a steady migration of people from rural to urban areas has occurred, but not at a rate sufficient to keep up with the increase in the overall population or the ranks of rural wage workers. This flow is the product of many agricultural labourers seeing temporary or permanent urban migration as a means of achieving economic mobility.Despite close ties to the village, long working hours, low salaries and unfavourable working and living conditions, as well as the fact that unskilled, low-caste migrants are usually only given inferior employment, this is real. The increased freedom of city life, the fact that opportunities for economic mobility exist to some extent in the city versus the almost hopeless situation in the village, the fact that urban employment is often seen as a temporary resort and the fact that money income, if not real income, is usually much higher in urban than rural employment are all factors that encourage urban migration.

On the other hand, agricultural labourers are poorly organised on a regional and national level. There is no all-India organisation for agricultural labourers, despite the fact that the All-India Kisan Sabha, a national peasant organisation, includes many from this class among its members. According to a survey conducted by the Indian government in 1950-1951, there were 62 agricultural labourers unions with approximately 33,000 members spread across eight states.Allepey, Travancore-Cochin, had the largest union, with 7,718.16 members. With 35 million adult agricultural workers in India, the organised sector will account for just 0.11 percent of the total workforce. The few unions that do exist focus their efforts on regulating working hours and conditions, job protection, demands for higher wages, decent housing and the prohibition of forced labour. These unions, on the other hand, lack effective programmes and leadership, not to mention numerical strength.

Agricultural labourers' wellbeing is inextricably linked to the development of the rural economy as a whole. Farm labourers' lives will not change in the long run if India's villages are not prosperous and secure. As a result, agricultural labour conditions will be improved by rural extension work, community programmes and other agrarian improvements. It is particularly important to increase agricultural production and productivity.Second, secondary and tertiary occupations must be created to provide alternative employment opportunities for surplus rural labour and to reverse the decades-long trend of rising agricultural labourer numbers. Although industrialization will help to mitigate the stresses of unemployment and underemployment in this regard, it will not be a panacea for all of the issues associated with agricultural labour. Finally, a formula for motivating the agricultural labouring class to help itself must be invented.Legislation in their favour is unlikely to pass due to their illiteracy, feelings of hopelessness and apathy and lack of political power and influence. Many farm workers are unaware of their legal rights or are reluctant to use them. Landed-class members can easily misuse or circumvent laws at the expense of rural wage earners and unscrupulous local officials are often coerced or bribed to comply with the men in charge (Kuo-Chun 1957).

A major part of landless agricultural labour constituted of bonded labour and even continue so. Wadia and Merchant (1945) have referred their existence in Indian rural society as ‘agrarian surfs’ who toiled in conditions akin to slavery. According to the Royal Commission on Labour, their enslavement was caused by a desire on their part to secure financial advances. “He agrees to serve the man from whom he has borrowed” because he is unable to provide any defence. The money is not returned, nor is it expected to be repaid; instead, the borrower is bound to his creditor for the rest of his life. The worst aspect of this slavery was that the debt was never repaid and the debt was even passed on to the next generation. Furthermore, when the master himself could not supply him with jobs, the labourer was not permitted to move a long distance from his place of employment. As per some estimates, bonded labourers numbered between 2 and 3 million in 1931 in India.The main types of debt slavery in India are agricultural and brick kiln jobs, including child labourers (Bhukuth,Ballet andGuérin 2007).

*Gwal*s or *Hali*s

Several daily wage-earning women who were migrants replied *Gwal* as their husbands' occupation in a survey conducted prior to this study (Seth and Dubey 2013). Since so many women used *Gwal* as a response, more information about the job description, payment and conditions of the work led to fascinating discoveries and new questions. Discussions with a number of stakeholders show that this type of quasi-contractual labour, which is most likely a form of bonded labour, has been practised in the study village for several years, with many live examples dating back more than 10 to 15 years and some dating back as far as 30-35 years. There may be instances where the period of time is much longer. It's unlikely that the same kind of practise isn't being carried out in other surrounding villages.

While any person who is financially insecure or in need can be employed as a *Gwal*, it has been discovered that the *Gwal* labour pool in this village is heavily drawn from a specific area and caste. It was also noted that such engagements are based on a mutually agreed annual emolument (often in cash and kind, sometimes only in cash) between the engaged *Gwal* and the employer

landlord based on the *Gwal*'s skills, the size of the employer's agricultural land and animal herd and the kind(s) of work expected from the *Gwal*. It was noted that the amount and quantity of staples obtained by different *Gwal*s did not have a set amount or quantity, but rather varied from case to case. It appeared that the employer and employee have an unspoken agreement on which factors determine emoluments and which factors vary from case to case without malice or dispute. Another feature of the payment terms was that a portion of the negotiated emolument was provided to the *Gwal* up front and the rest was deferred. This contract has certain bonded labour features, such as advance payment and employer-employee fixity, but it is not entirely bonded labour since the labourer squares off the payment after a year's work and does not pay any interest on the amount of emoluments earned in advance. Other *Gwal* family members are not obligated to work for the same employer for the same salary (Seth & Dubey 2013). Another word used in the study village is *Hali*, which has a different sense than *Gwal* but is used interchangeably because both words refer to interrelated and often similar functional requirements of an agricultural household as seen and practised in the village.

Gwal literally translates to " one who takes care of cows". He looks after the cows and is mainly responsible for grazing the milch animals. Krishna, the Hindu godchild, is known as *Bal Gopal* or *Gwal* Bal (child who takes care of cows). That is why, in some parts of northern India, the Yadavas or Ahir caste, whose ancestors are linked to Lord Krishna and who primarily engage in animal husbandry and earn their living by producing and selling milk, are also referred to as *Gwala*. However, in this part of Rajasthan, the *Gujars* or *Gochars*, who have very different religious practises and are not often referred to as *Gwal* or *Gwala*, are the caste who primarily engage in rearing milch animals for a living. *Yadavs* or *Ahirs* are few or non-existent in this region. In this part of Rajasthan, Gujars or other caste members who sell milk door to door to urban households are known as *Gwal*as. In general, *Gwal* denotes someone who looks after dairy animals such as cows and buffalos, while *Gwal*a denotes someone who sells milk. Consequently, the words *Gwal*a and *Gwal* are not interchangeable. It's also worth noting that it

no longer applies to any specific caste, as it does in northern India and instead refers to occupational engagements(Seth and Dubey 2013).

Due to changes in livelihood and working conditions, the perception of *Gwal* has changed and developed over time. The other word, *Hali*, is the same. Both *Hali* and *Gwal*s are peasant occupational expressions and their semiotics are fascinating. It's a situation where the signifier hasn't changed or developed while the signified has.Discussions with different people and knowledgeable people in the area reveal that the art of *Gwal* and *Hali* has been practised in Rajasthan villages since the mediaeval era. However, there seems to be a lot of ambiguity regarding the words' origins, meaning and functions. According to some scholars, these terms have their origins in the feudal agrarian system and are linked to a form of bonded labour. According to this viewpoint, the well-off landed peasantry, especially Jagirdars and larger landlords, required people to work on their farms and care for their animals, so the *Hali* and *Gwal* systems arose.

*Hali*sare in charge of all agricultural tasks, including ploughing, sowing, irrigating, guarding the crop, harvesting and caring for the ploughing oxen if there were a small number of them. If there were more cattle, a separate *Gwal* was hired to look after them, but he could also run other errands if he was free and if the household situation warranted it.*Hali* is also thought to be derived from the Hindi word Hal, which refers to a ploughing tool. As a result, a *Hali* is someone who ploughs the field with the Hal ploughing tool. Ploughing isn't something you do all year. It is only needed for sowing crop seeds or preparing the field for plantation. Following the sowing, the family farm involves a variety of tasks before the crop is harvested. Since the person who needed the *Hali*'s services and the person who wanted to operate as a *Hali* wanted some kind of regularity in their partnership to ensure workforce availability and employment, a scheme of some contractual agreement for the mutual benefit of both parties developed. The contract stipulated that either the crop produce would be shared in a certain proportion or the *Hali* would be paid in cash proportionately.

Historically speaking, since barter was the common method of trade, it's possible that exchanging crop produce would have become more common at first and then, as the use of money as a medium of exchange became more widespread, cash compensation would have been more common. Other family members, especially the *Hali*'s wife, were also employed by the employing family, either at the homestead or on the farm, it was also emphasised. It was also mentioned that most *Gwal*s were children or teenagers because grazing the animals was not a physically demanding job. As a result, the study was performed by non-adult *Hali* children or other children.

In some of the discussions, it was also stated that well-to-do families lend money to poor families, with family members working as *Hali* or *Gwal* in exchange for repayment of the principal and interest. Well-to-do families need labour 24 hours a day, seven days a week, so they entice those poor families with loans and advances. In certain situations, if interest rates are high, the granted loan is never repaid and the relationship persists for several years. It has been found that *Gwal* or *Hali* and the landlord have been associated for a longer period of time. However, it has been observed that *Hali* or *Gwal*s are easily enticed by other employers, or that a smooth change of affiliation is possible if dues are paid (Seth and Dubey 2013).

Some experts related the system's origins to the prevalence of the *Begaar* system in Rajasthan's feudal society. However, some distinguished between the *Begaar* system and the *Hali* and *Gwal* systems, noting that the *Begaar* system was based on Petia (a complete meal for an adult worker) for the entire day's work, while *Hali* and *Gwal* were paid in cash or kind. Some people believe *Hali* is a driver, while others believe the word is now also used to refer to a share cropper.

The migrant agricultural labourers of this project village who are termed most often as *Gwals* and sometimes as *Hali* in the local parlance and they signify a form of quasi-contractual labour which draws heavily from a particular caste

and area of Rajasthan. Hence this study is about particular kind of migrant agricultural labour called *Gwal/Hali*and tries to elicit sociologically meaningful factors causing migration, preferential form of emigrational opportunities, changes in their life situation and future aspirations. In this effort it also plans to engage with the question and interplay of caste, social status, prestige and identity as well in the context of the discussion and literature available on the matter. Therefore, for the purpose of this research *Gwal*s and *Hali*s are used interchangeably, as construed by the meanings taken and perceived by the actors involved in the given village settings. It is also noteworthy that these *Gwal*s or *Hali*s are employed by the landed peasants of the village and it need further to be explored that whether this practice is a kind of wilful contractual labour for agriculture and household work and whether it is modified / disguised form of contractual or bonded labour. In chapter four, the detailed meaning and historical moorings of bonded labour along with legal provisions will further be explored so that these questions are answered with the analysis of the field data on the matter.

Halis in Other Parts of India

Bremen characterized the attached labour system known as *Hali* in south Gujarat as a caste-based system that predates colonial rule in India. The *Hali* relationships between Anavil Brahmins and Dablas are not strictly economic, but rather part of a larger caste pattern. While the arrangement ensures labour supply during peak seasons, it is also aided by the fact that ‘ritually pure' castes are historically prohibited from actively participating in ploughing and cultivation. Another explanation for the practice's popularity is that having a large number of attached labourers raise one's social status and reputation (Chaudhuri 2008:119, Mollona 2014).

According to Bremen, servitude is favoured over avoidance because it ensured survival during off-peak seasons. According to Bremen (1996:214), there were approximately 171000 bonded *Hali*s in southern Gujrat after the bondage law was passed. The ruler of Baroda also banned labour slavery in 1923, but it had little effect. In 1947, a committee appointed by the state of Bomaby

recognised that the *Hali* system was based on slavery and recommended to the government that it be abolished if the material conditions of the *Hali*s could be improved.

When discussing the economic history of India, Raychaudhuri et al. (1983) mentions the *Hali* system as a form of bonded labour in Gujrat. They describe *Hali*sas a serving caste in the village who worked as farm servants for a landlord on an indefinite or hereditary basis. They were usually from a low caste or tribal background who became *Hali*s after taking out a loan to marry. With the rise in debt, *Hali*s became effectively enslaved for the rest of their lives. The debt was not passed on to the next generation, but the master had first choice in hiring the *Hali*'s son. They point out that other non-attached labourers, who could be referred to as "free labour," were less well off than the *Hali*s. They say that the *Hali* arrangement was reassuring because the employer offered cash and in-kind benefits in sickness and old age. In exchange, the *Hali* family worked at the master's farm and household at whatever time and for whatever work was requested. The scheme benefited both parties because the *Hali*s were assured of work and subsistence, while the employer was assured of labour availability throughout the year, even when labour was in short supply. They also noted the gradual deterioration of the *Hali* system in Gujrat as a result of a lack of growth in the number of agricultural labourers and other factors.

In her study of the Pulayas of Kerala, Sardamoni (1980) clarified that the Pulayas were a landowning and cultivating caste in Kerala, but that long before the British rule in India, Brahmins intruded and colonised the Pulayas villages by driving them out of the village and taking possession of their land, rendering the Pulayas as agressive serfs and linking them with land grabbers.

Shri Krishan (2005:83) has also discussed the labour situation in colonial India in the Bombay presidency's countryside. According to his research, Dublas who served as *Hali* or indentured labour provided the majority of agricultural labour in south Gujarat. He said that all*Hali*s were not bonded labourers. The bonded bandhela*Hali*s are just one form of *Hali*. Another kind of *Hali*, known as chhuta*Hali*, had the freedom to work wherever they pleased. When Dablas

borrowed money from white-skinned castes, they were forced to work on the creditors' fields until the debt was repaid, but the creditors made sure the debt was never repaid. The master provided them with food and clothing in exchange for their service as bonded slaves. Dablas' wife was also working as a domestic worker for food and a small sum of money. In exchange for the daily bread provided to them by the master, the *Hali*'s smaller children were used as herdsmen. As a result, Shri Krishan disagrees with Bremen and believes that this type of agrarian serfdom does not contain elements of patronage. In Gujrat, he also mentions some other types of labour engagements -

- *Chakar* or *Sathi*: For a cash payment in lump sum, regular food and a collection of clothing, a labourer employed for a period of 6-12 months.
- *Saldar*: Bhils working in Khandesh's cotton fields were hired for a year and paid in advance.
- *Bhagia*: In the Panchmahal and kaira areas of Gujrat, a portion of the produce (one fourth or one fifth) or 15 mounds were provided as labour compensation for 5-6 months.

The supply and life of bonded labour, according to Chaudhuri (2008:119), are the product of credit ties, as debtors' "attachment" to their creditors is an inevitable result of the obligation to work until the credit is repaid. Since the creditors want the *Hali*'s attachment to continue supplying cheap labour throughout the year, the repayment is never done. He states that Buchanan experienced enslavement of labour by loaning as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century in his Bhagalpur and Dinajpur records, citing limited supply and limited mobility of labour as reasons.

According to Chaudhuri (2008), the caste system's coercive function in perpetuating labour in slavery is attributable to the caste system's coercive role in creating a reserve army of agricultural labour at the disposal of the landowning castes. He has also essentially dismissed the notion that the *Hali* scheme is a component of the *Jajman*i reciprocity and economic exchange system. He claims

that the *Hali* system began to collapse in the late 1800s as a result of the growth and availability of labour markets outside of the village. As a result, migration was a means of emancipation and a desire for better economic opportunities. He also points out that Kumar (1965) and Bremen (1979) only looked at the oppressive role of the *Hali* system in the perpetuation of slavery to a limited extent.

Ciotti (2010:56-57) researched the Chamars of Manupur (Banaras), arguing that due to the declining agrarian economy and the lack of employment opportunities, the Chamars were unable to land in a *Hali* situation and were forced to work as weaver in the nearby city of Banaras.Dhakal (2007) investigated the Nepalese Kamaiya System and the effect of the Nepalese KamaiyaLabour (Prohibition) Act 2001 on the abolition of bonded labour in agriculture. He also believes that the *Hali*ya, haruwa, *Hali* andcharuwatarais of Nepal and India, which are known by various names such as *Hali*ya, haruwa, *Hali* andcharuwatarais, is a type of slavery and illegal. Similar to Scott (1972a & b) and Michie (1981), the Haruwa arrangement is similar to other dyadic relationships in a hierarchical caste-based society and thus is an important predictor of a society with considerable local autonomy and a subsistence economy. He also mentions that the method has recently evolved and deteriorated, but that it has not vanished and that it still exists in the form of Haruwa in Nepal's Tarai.

In his book Land and Caste in South India, Kumar (1965) points out that agricultural slavery is a long-standing issue in India, dating back to pre-colonial times. *Hali*'s life is a long-lasting and pan-India phenomenon (Srivastava, 2005; Chaudhuri 2008). Article 23(1) of the Indian Constitution condemns "*Begaar*" and other forms of forced labour. Any violation of the prohibition, according to Article 23(1), is a crime. Despite this constitutional clause, a system of usury existed in many parts of the world in the mid-1970s, in which the debtor or his descendants or dependants were forced to work for the creditor without fair wages or no wages in lieu of full repayment of the debt. Several generations have been found to be kept in servitude in exchange for the redemption of a small amount

taken by a distant ancestor. It violates the fundamental human rights of such gamblers and diminishes the value of human labour.

According to studies, the *Hali* issue persists in our society despite a range of legislative interventions and state intervention, but it is weakening. It is also worth noting that the term *Hali* is a dynamic term and the term *Gwal* is interchangeably used for *Hali* in the given field of analysis. While it has existed in general during India's agrarian social system, it has different content and context in different places and times. A variety of studies on bonded agricultural labourers have been conducted in the Indian subcontinent. Dhakal (2007) referred to the Nepalese Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act 2001 in his thesis on the Kamaiya System in Nepal, which was enacted in Nepal (a socially and culturally similar neighbouring country of India) to combat the prevalence of the Kamaiya labour system in Nepal tarai region. He recognises the presence of a few long-term labour contracts that are both illegal and slavery, such as the *Hali*ya, *Haruwa, Hali* andCharuwa, who work as agricultural labourers. He points out that the whole structure of this type of labour practise is the product of centuries of traditionally framed patron-client relationships. In order to protect from any suit brought against a freed bonded labourer, a member of his family, or any other person who is financially dependent on him for the recovery of all or part of any bonded debt or any other debt alleged to be bonded debt by such person.

Patron-client relationships, according to Scott (1972a), are a "special case of dyadic (two-person) ties involving a mostly instrumental friendship in which a person of higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both, for a person of lower status (client), who, in turn, reciprocates by offering general support and service." As a result, such a dyadic partnership is often regarded as having a practical or advantageous nature for the client.

As there are various 'economic interactions' between employer and employee or service provider and customer, it has been pointed out that there are 'limitless' differences between patron-client variations (c.f. Scott 1972a). However, in inter-caste relations, the *jajman*i system, with its vertical

interdependency of groups and individuals based on unequal resource distribution, provides an apt background to address patron client relations, demonstrating that people of varying rank, income and power are vertically integrated beneath patrons, who could be clients of patrons at a higher level. The patron-client formation sees its "fullest elaboration" where there is a difference between a state's centre and periphery, according to Scott (1972a). This implies a situation of concentrated power and production and distribution systems dependent on local capital. As a result, patron-client relationships are lopsided, with unequal and sometimes non-comparable reciprocities. Clients' demands are restricted to the most basic of necessities. Bailey (1966), Scott (1972a & b) and Michie (1981) maintain that such dyadic relations entail systemic characteristics such as family ties, shared trust, faith, mutual aspirations, community acceptance of values and the idea of a moral bond. As a result, the patron-client relationship is a "paradoxical collection of elements" that "combine disparity and asymmetry of power in reciprocal solidarity, combinations of possible coercion and exploitation with cooperative relations and compelling mutual obligations" (Eisenstadt and Roniger 1980).

The patron client system, according to Stein (1984), can be very harsh, particularly to those at the bottom, while maintaining 'functional and beneficial' dyadic relations. In the short run and at a superficial level of study, such a relationship may be functional. In the 'long term and at a deeper stage of study,' it is dysfunctional. As a result, Dhakal argues that, like the Haruwa system, all other dyadic relationships in a hierarchical caste-based society arc are a necessary component of local autonomy and a subsistence economy. He claims that the method has evolved and deteriorated, but that it still exists in the form of Haruwa in Nepal's Tarai.

The reasons responsible for the collapse of the patron-client system have been addressed by Michie (1981) and Brass (1999), including the implementation of commercialised agriculture, state and national electoral politics, development administration and institutional reforms. These not only drive the local structure

toward higher-level incorporation, but they also replace the old at the local level with a new collection of relationships, purposes and assessment requirements.

Gyan Prakash (1990) attempted to show that concepts of independence and the objectification of land and money had the exact opposite effect in India's nineteenth-century bourgeois political economy as the British hoped. Rather than limiting slavery and inequality, they produced and sanctioned debt-bonded labour. In India, a large percentage of agricultural wage jobs are contractual, meaning they are dependent on an arrangement between the workers or their families. In some cases, especially in the case of attached labour, the employer-employee relationship is a long-standing one between the two families involved, possibly dating back centuries. Due to usurious interest rates and wages that leave no surplus for debt repayment, bonded labour is also common in rural India, especially among tribal people and it often becomes hereditary. Prakash's study of the Santhal Parganas and the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Palamau, Gaya and Hazaribagh (1990) addresses debt-bondage as a kamaiuti scheme, in which bonded labour Bhuminyas were referred to as kamias and landlords as Maliks.

In Indian agriculture by 1930, there were a large number of landless labourers. It's debatable whether landlessness was an inherent feature of Indian agriculture or a product of colonial misrule (Prakash 1992). In a 1952 article, S. J. Patel confidently proclaimed that "pre-nineteenth century India was predominantly self-sufficient village communities where "there was no space for the life of an independent and distinct class of landless agricultural labourers." He then used census data to show that between 1871 and 1931, the proportion of landless agricultural labourers as a percentage of the population grew dramatically. Patel attributed much of the rise to British colonial policies, especially those that turned land into a tradable commodity.

Dharma Kumar responds to Patel with an excellent study of landlessness in southern India, based on the percentage of the population who belong to castes that traditionally performed agricultural labour. Between the early nineteenth century and 1901, there is no evidence of an increase in landlessness in southern India, the area most associated with wage labour. However, Neeladri

Bhattacharya has stated that census statistics are inherently unreliable due to the prevalence of multiple occupations and the tendency for census enumerators to list those with the highest status. Bhattacharya challenges Kumar's approach to the problem for the same reason (Prakash 1992).

Based on the Report of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry, Rao (1996) has shown that the standard of living of agricultural labour in India has deteriorated over the course of the First Plan (conducted in 1956-1957). The study revealed a fall in labour income as a result of lower real wages.

According to Basu and Chau (2003), there is a clear connection between the possibility of child labour in debt bondage and the economy's rise, financial development stage and enforcement of core labour rights. In 1956, the United Nations Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery made debt bondage illegal. The International Labour Organization's (ILO) Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, which was adopted in 1999, reignited interest in organising international efforts to address the plight of children whose labour is pledged against unpaid household debt. In countries where agriculture is the primary source of income, child labour in debt bondage is particularly common. The root causes of child labour in debt bondage are poverty and a lack of dependable legal and financial systems by which the vulnerable can access loans to shield themselves from poverty or unexpected consumption needs. As a result, child labour in debt bondage emerges from an institutional framework in which labour and credit contracts are linked and unpaid household debts are partially compensated by child labour.

Debt repayment and subsistence spending are priorities for agrarian households. Adult productivity (and thus adult income) is boosted during the lean season and adult productivity (and thus adult income) is boosted during the harvest season. "An estimated 15 million children in India are bonded workers" (March Against Child Labour Around the World 2000). Child labour and debt bondage are becoming more common in developing countries. In 1994-98, countries with a mean GDP per capita of more than $4,614 did not have debt slavery. This is similar to Krueger's (1997) findings, which show that a certain

amount of income distinguishes countries with and without documented child labour incidences. Child labour in debt bondage is less likely in countries where per capita real income is relatively high, workers' rights to freely negotiate wages and join unions are respected and financial markets are more mature (Basu& Chau 2003).

Poverty is seen as one of the root causes of child labour, with one of the key reasons for putting children to work being to finance food consumption. Second, it is believed that agrarian households lack access to formal credit markets, with consumption smoothing possible only by local landlords-moneylenders during periods of low income (Basu& Chau 2003). Reduced seasonal credit demand and improved reservation household well-being would be a viable policy option. Consider a rural public works programme that improves agricultural production through activities like irrigation, road construction and other rural public goods while also providing employment during the lean season. 26 Since labour productivity is higher during the harvest season, a programme like this reduces the need for borrowing during the lean season and the use of child labour during the harvest season.

Das (1976) finds that there is no system of bonded labour in the real sense of the word in the state. The sevakia system, which is common in Palamau and other parts of the state, however, engages in the most heinous, dehumanising corruption, which even bureaucrats have been forced to recognise is a "barbarian... feudal legacy." It's not easy to set sevakias free. The economy of most rural areas of Bihar, especially Palamau, is both the cause and effect of the perpetuation of this system of bondage. Completely reliant on the whims of nature, farmers cannot survive without a steady supply of subsistence-wage labour during the crucial 30 days of sowing and harvesting. The pitiful surplus produced by such agriculture is then ploughed back into holding on to the bonded labourers and the almost equally poor chhuttamajoor, rather than increasing production. Every good landlord has at least one or two barahils (armed retainers) on hand to scare the workers into accepting their dependence. When agricultural operations are carried out, they receive two katchi seers for 120 days. Hunger, the need to

buy clothes, salt and oil for the rest of the year, the demands of weddings and funerals and the need to pay forest officers 10 pence for a headload of firewood to which the poor are legally entitled.

In one such village, Jogikhora near Ranka, the landlord has only 14 acres of land, but he also has 12 bullocks and 12 ploughs, which he uses to farm more than 100 acres of Bhoodan land that the harijans are supposed to have been given. His slaves aren't even called sevakias; they're called dharmaru (basically meaning, catch and beat up). Minimum subsistence wages for labourers and low land productivity for peasants make them especially vulnerable to being indebted in order to meet even the most basic needs.

What people don't realise is that a marriage loan is usually for consumption, not for a band-baaja barat. The event may be a wedding or a death, but poverty and malnutrition are the root causes. A 'healthy' meal once every 5 or 10 years is not a luxury; it is a requirement in the rural poor's situation. The bonded labourer exists on the periphery of the consumer economy, but he is its worst victim. Even after the abolition of Zamindari, *Begaar* remained a strong presence in Palamau. BDOs, COs and other officers continue to use them for free. Unless they paid the gramsevak's fee, he refused to show them the allocated land in Mahuadaar Block. The landlord-moneylender *bania* combination, whom they respectfully refer to as malik, has total social and cultural superiority over the sevakias (mister). In several cases, the malik asserts ownership of his sevakia's wife on the grounds that "you were able to marry her with my money"! The sevakias face enormous social, cultural and economic challenges. It's much more difficult to keep them from being enslaved.

Halis in Other Parts of Rajasthan

In terms of Rajasthan, Bhasin (2005) reports in a study of the Sahariya of Baran that the majority of Sahariays in Kishanganj and Shahabad are wage labourers, accounting for around 38% of the total population of the saharia. She also mentions that the area's wage-earning saharias must move to earn a living for part or the entire year due to a lack of local demand for labour due to factors such

as mechanisation and the involvement of members of the low caste farmer family in the job. She does, however, note that some of them work as attached labour both locally and in the villages to which they migrate. According to Bhasin (ibid:256), the *Hali* system was highly exploitative in the past since they could be attached as workers for Rs.200/- a year and the system was easily transformed into serfdom due to their "habit of taking advance." “A Sahariya could easily be hired for a day on half a kilogramme of Jowar and his wife for a pitcher of chhachh 30-40 years ago,” she says. Due to the state's development activities, this form of *Hali* arrangement has deteriorated. *Hali* now receives a fixed amount of money ranging from Rs.700/- to Rs.2000/- for a year at the time of contract, according to her. The contract money could be taken at any time during the year, depending on the need. The *Hali* is given a collection of clothes and porridge to eat during the term, for which the money is deducted from his payment, resulting in the Sahariya receiving less or no payment. She describes the scheme as exploitative since they are needed to perform all other tasks in addition to agricultural labour. If the *Hali*s break the contract or flee, their possessions and animals are taken away. When they are arrested, they are beaten severely and forced to work to repay the money plus interest.

In another study on Damors in Rajasthan's Dungarpur districts, Bhasin (2004) stated that Damors in this region "often become *Hali* for a year." She has observed that, unlike Bhils and Sahariyas, Damors do not choose to work in casual labour. They serve in the fields of local politico-economically dominant castes as *Hali* (ploughmen).Sivakumar (2010), like Bisht and Naqvi, hasexplained how poor saharias are forced to serve as *Hali*s. The storey of Hansraj demonstrates this:

> “Om Prakash borrowed Rs 4,000 from Hansraj. Thus began a vicious cycle of debt, which quickly trapped him into bondage..… He worked for Hansraj for three years. Instead of receiving money, he was told that his debt with the landlord was only rising. At the end of the first year, he was told that he still owed Rs 5,000, which included the interest, food provided and penalties for leave. Om Prakash

> wanted to give up the work but was told that he could not do that unless he paid up. He had no way out…… by the end of that year, he was informed that he owed Hansraj Rs 11,500 and that he had to work for 11 months without money in order to repay him. Hansraj 'sold' to him to his brother, Chauthmal, for Rs 11,500. His miseries mounted as his daughter fell ill and he had to borrow another Rs 2,000. He also had to donate blood for her treatment. Already weakened, he collapsed and could not go to work for a couple of days. The two brothers then went to his house and began to pressurize him – they said he owed them Rs 20,000 and that if he could not pay up, he had to get up and work on their fields."

Sivakumar also points out that the then district collector denies the existence of *Hali* as bonded labour on the grounds that in the *Hali* system, minimum wage norms are followed and therefore only a small percentage of cases brought to the attention of the administration, i.e., 2 out of 16 are cases of bonded labour, despite the fact that there are 15-20 such cases in each Saharia village.

In a journalistic finding, Bisht and Naqvi (2013) reported on the life and plight of *Hali*s in the Kinshanganj and Shahabad tehsils of Rajasthan's Baran district, as well as adjoining districts of Madhya Pradesh such as Sheopur and Shivpuri, where the Sahariya tribe faces acute poverty, malnutrition and extinction. Local landlords, mainly Gujars and Sardars, who control large tracts of land, some of which is usurped from these Sahariyas, employ them as *Hali*, according to them. Unlike Raychaudhuri et al. (1983) revelations of a mutually beneficial relationship between *Hali*s and their masters in Gujrat, the masters in this part of Rajasthan are said to be cunning and dictator, forcing them to serve as *Hali*s for an indefinite period of time in exchange for a small loan taken during distress.

According to Bisht and Naqvi, the terms of the loan are so onerous that they never stop and they continue even after the person's death, when his son or family must repay it. They cited the plight of Babu, an ex-*Hali*who had served as *Hali* for 30 years:

> "I became bonded labour after my father died. He had taken a loan from Sardar Amrao Singh, so I had to repay it by working on his land. Since childhood, I have only witnessed misery."

Kishan Lal of Sunda village in Kishangarh Tehsil explains how he was forced to work as a *Hali* for 24 years to repay his father's loan:

> "When I was 17, my father, who worked as a bonded labourer with a Sardar, died. The Sardar came to our house and said that my father owed him Rs 2,25,000 and I too must work on his land to repay the debt…….He would pay me Rs 4,000 for an entire year's hard labour and that too in instalments. He would sometimes pay Rs 10 or Rs 20 as daily wages. At the end of the year, he would declare that I still owed him a huge amount of money since he had paid for my medicines and food. So, I never really came out of that cycle of debt."

According to reports, since 2010, some *Hali*s have been freed from forced attachment and the usurped land has been freed and redistributed among them, thanks to the concerted efforts and demands of these Saharias, the majority of whom have been *Hali*s for a long time. A large number of people (approximately 1000 in just one tehsil of Kishanganj) are still waiting for their land to be returned to them. MNREGS is a breath of fresh air for such people, but it comes with its own set of issues. Some of these ex-*Hali*s seem to be living a less harsh life as a result of MNREGS-generated jobs and regaining control over lost land, but due to the lack of knowledge and a local caste power structure that is not in their favour, they do not appear to be receiving the full benefits of MNREGS, as local panchayats are dominated by landed and dominant castes such as Gujjars. Non-Sahariya guardians of MNREGS works, such as Gujjars, are in charge of the muster rolls, job cards and passbooks. Bisht and Naqvi also express concern that without viable job options and the closure of loopholes, Saharias in this area will continue to work as *Hali*s.

Bondage System and Law

The “self-sustaining and self-perpetuating” character of Indian villages was a prominent characteristic of the Indian economy before the arrival of the British. The village consumed the majority of the food and raw materials produced on its own land, while local artisans supplied the village's handicraft requirements. With the assistance of his own family members, each farmer continued to cultivate his farm. There was no space for a separate and independent class of landless labourers in such a society. “There were no landless peasants in India,” Munro wrote in 1842. The introduction of British rule brought about some significant improvements to the self-sufficient village economy. The old output ties shifted, separating cultivators from the means of production. Agricultural labourers swelled as the peasants became destitute and impoverished. And as late as 1891, this community made up 13% of the country's agricultural population. In the fifty years that followed, the rate of growth was accelerated to the point where, by 1951, agricultural labourers accounted for 30.4 percent of the agricultural population and 22.7 percent of the country's total population. The existence of the land tenure system, the time of involvement with the British government and the availability of alternative sources of employment were major factors.

The dispossession of peasants' lands was a significant aspect of the evolution of the class of landless labourers. As a result, in comparison to the Zamindari or Mahalwari areas, their proportion was highest in the ryotwari areas of Madras, Bombay and the central provinces, where land could be easily transferred by sale or mortgage (Hamid 1982).

A major part of landless agricultural labour constituted of bonded labour and even continue so. Wadia and Merchant (1945) have referred their existence in Indian rural society as ‘agrarian surfs’ who toiled in conditions akin to slavery. According to the Royal Commission on Labour, their enslavement was caused by a desire on their part to secure financial advances. “He agrees to serve the man from whom he has borrowed” because he is unable to provide any other form of repayment. The money is not returned, nor is it expected to be repaid; instead, the borrower is bound to his creditor for the rest of his life. The worst aspect of this slavery was that the debt was never repaid and the debt was even passed on to the

next generation. Furthermore, when the master himself could not supply him with jobs, the labourer was not permitted to move a long distance from his place of employment.

To begin with, there was the ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), which was ratified by India in 1951 and describes forced labour as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the threat of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily." Following this, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of the United Nations (UN) of 1948 reaffirmed the principle that “no one shall be kept in slavery or servitude” (Article 4) and the right to “free choice of employment” (Article 23(1)). Despite the fact that Convention 29 on Forced Labour did not expressly mention debt bondage, the ILO's Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations has repeatedly claimed that "debt bondage" is a form of "forced labour" that is protected by the Convention's concept.

Debt bondage is a type of forced labour in which the factor of compulsion is based on debt. The UN Supplementary Convention on the “Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery” (1956) defines debt bondage as “the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited or defined”. Employees may enter into bonded labour agreements willingly because of economic necessity, but they are not strictly economic contracts. Employees are distinguished by various asymmetries and high exit costs once they reach these partnerships, which were not part of the arrangement as known by the employee at the outset (Srivastava 2005).

Indian Constitution and Law

Forced labour is illegal in India, according to Article 23 of the Constitution. A violation of this prohibition is a legal offence. However even after Independence and adoption of Indian constitution, the practice of forced labour

continued. In 1939, Mahatma Gandhi tried to proclaim the Bonded Labour Liberation Day, criticising the system and its employers. These proposals, however, were rejected by these employers because they included raising worker salaries and ending debt bonding for long-term employees (Bremen 2019).

The Government of India enacted 'Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act' in 1976. Still the menace is not completely uprooted and still exists in Indian society in some form disguised as well as apparent due to week enforcement. According to India's Ministry of Labour and Employment, there are over 300,000 bonded labourers in the country, the majority of whom live in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Odisha (Acharya & Naranjo 2018). However, presence of contractual or bonded labour in present in almost throughout India including Rajasthan in agricultural sector in some form or the other.

Debt bondage is most common in agricultural areas in India, with agriculture accounting for 80 percent of debt bondage (Knight 2012). According to the 2016 Global Slavery Index, India has the fourth-highest number of slaves, with 19 million people enslaved in some kind of debt bondage (Acharya & Naranjo 2018). It is also said that the Indian caste system has resulted in social injustice and corruption, which too contribute to the continued existence of Bondage (Knight 2012). Guérin, Venkatasubramanian and Kumar (2015) have also pointed out that even after legal abolition of the debt bondage, rural workers whose debts were cleared and freed, had to migrate due to the lack of proper rehabilitation and employment and such migrant labourers had to get into new bondage to other sources of debt, such as agro-industry or building contracts, after being freed from rural bondages.

According to Srivastava (2005), bonded labour in agriculture is prevalent in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. Brick kilns, stone quarries, beedi manufacturing, carpet weaving and construction and child bonded labour in the silk industry are all examples of non-agricultural bonded labour. States such as Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Punjab and

Haryana engage in migrant bonded labour, which is a more severe type of deprivation and exploitation.

The persistence and renewal of this phenomenon can be seen in the brick-making and sugar cane sectors in Tamil Nadu, where slavery coexists with many public welfare schemes (Guérin et.al. 2015). Welfare programmes, though served as a safety net, but they also led to low wages and employer impunity. Through the 'politicisation of employers,' and alliances between capital and the state were instrumental in the continuity of all types of exploitation. Employers also tightened working conditions and started hiring migrant workers from North India when workers resisted. Even if these types of management followed a capitalist pattern of production, they were also inextricably linked to the caste system (Knight 2012). It is also noteworthy that this new type of bondage of labour was a kind of "voluntary servitude" which was driven by economic considerations rather than coercion (Guérin et al 2015).

Sarah Knight (2012) believes that debt slavery is more permissible because of the caste system and its relation to social stratification. Dalits, in particular, have limited access to schooling, health care and housing, forcing them to borrow money and engage in forced labour. Furthermore, they mostly do not qualify for bank loans, forcing them to borrow money at a high interest rate from lenders. These people also do not learn about human rights or have a proper voice for advocacy due to a lack of education. As a result, there is a linkage between one's caste and economic opportunity. While the government has attempted to develop quota-based policies to increase opportunities for mobility in both the economic and political spheres, the desired changes have not been satisfactory due to embedded structural inequalities (Saeed 2007).

Apart from constitutional measures, legal provisions and governmental efforts there have been many attempts to free the labour from bondage. The role of international agencies and Indian organizations including NGOs have been noteworthy. In this context, it needs to be pointed out that Bandhua Mukti Morcha, an Indian organisation whose mission is to recognise and free bonded labourers, since its founding in 1981 by Swami Agnivesh, has assisted in the

release of nearly 180,000 bonded labourers as well as rehabilitation efforts to help them get back on their feet. Furthermore, this group has advocated for a higher minimum wage and increased government efforts to end debt slavery in India (Morcha, Bandhua Mukti 2021). There is the National Human Rights Commission also which was established in 1993 by the Human Rights Act, which investigates human rights violations and therefore human rights violations due to debt bondage also comes under its purview.

In 1998, India ratified 39 of the ILO's 189 conventions, including one on the abolition of forced labour. The Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work was part of a broader ILO effort to compel countries to end forced labour. Microfinance programmes have been initiated by the ILO to assist Indians who are in debt. This organisation has been careful to use microfinance, or the distribution of small loans at low interest rates, to assist Indians who are at risk of debt bondage or returning to this type of forced labour. The ILO's involvement in India resulted in the creation of the Integrated Rural Development Society and the Madras Social Service Society, both of which concentrate on debt bondage prevention. As a result, state governments have been forced to devote more time and resources to addressing bonded labour concerns. More programmes have resulted as a result of this, including educating employers about debt bonding options, expanding educational opportunities for students and offering financial assistance for health-care costs (Daru, Churchill andBeemsterboer 2005).

Article 35(a)(ii) of the Constitution not only gives Parliament the power to impose penalties for violating the provisions of Article 23(1), but it also specifically deprives the State Legislature of the power to enact legislation on the subject.Many social and charitable groups raised the question of such inhumane labour practises and the President promulgated the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Ordinance, 1975 on October 24, 1975. Contraventions of the Ordinance's terms have been made criminal offences punishable by statute. The Ordinance also includes provisions for follow-up initiatives and economic rehabilitation for released bonded labourers.

'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976', was introduced and passed in Parliament to replace the said Ordinance and it received presidential assent on February 9, 19976. The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Amendment Act of 1985 changed the act further. The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 abolished the bonded labour system in India, rendering all bonded labour arrangements, customs and other forms of bonded labour void and removing the Labourer's obligation to repay the bonded debt. Forced labour is described by the act as the following types of work practises:

"**Adiyamar, Baramasia, Basahya, Bethu, Bhagela, Cherumar, Garru-Galu, *Hali*, Hari, Harwai, Holya, Jana, Jeetha, Kamiya, Khundit-Mundit, Kuthia, Lakhari, Munjhi, Mat, Munish system, Nit-Majoor, Paleru, Padiyal, Pannayilal, Sagri, Sanji, Sanjawat, Sewak, Sewakia, Seri, Vetti**"

Forced labour is a violation of the Indian Constitution's guarantee of human rights to all people. Article 23(1) of Part III of the Indian Constitution, relating to Fundamental Rights, says, according to Srivastava (2005) that "traffic in human beings and *Begaars* and other forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of the provision shall be an offence, punishable by law." The 1976 Act is derived from Article 23(1) of the Constitution, which has a much broader scope than Article 4 of the UDHR, according to the courts since "the article strikes at forced labour in whatever form it may manifest itself, because it is violative of human dignity and is contrary to basic human values" (Supreme Court judgment in the Asiad case):

> "Any factor which deprives a person of a choice of alternatives and compels him to adopt a particular course of action, may properly be regarded as 'force' and if labour and service is compelled as a result of such 'force' it would be 'forced labour'. The word 'force' must be construed to include not only physical or legal force but also force arising from compulsion of economic circumstances which leaves no choice of economic circumstance to a person in want and compels him to provide labour or service even though the remuneration received for it is less than the minimum wage.

> Therefore, when a person provides labour or service to another for remuneration, which is less than the minimum wage, the labour or service provided by him clearly falls within the scope and ambit of the words 'forced labour'."

In December 1978, figures from a survey on the scale of bonded labour in India placed the total number of bonded labourers at 2.62 million. According to the Government Commission, agricultural labour slavery was higher in States and districts with a high proportion of rural workers, low irrigation and agricultural production and poor infrastructure. In the fields of Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, the NCRL discovered a high rate of migrant bonded labour from Bihar.

Tamil Nadu had over one million bonded labourers spread across 23 districts and 20 occupations, according to the Tamil Nadu Commissioners' Report of 1995, which was based on a large survey, with 10% of them being bonded children. According to a study submitted to the NHRC in 2001, bonded labour is prevalent in almost all states, despite the fact that the Ministry of Labour identified 13 states and 172 districts as being vulnerable (Srivastava 2005).

According to Srivastava (2005), bonded labour in agriculture is prevalent in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. Brick kilns, stone quarries, beedi manufacturing, carpet weaving and construction and child bonded labour in the silk industry are all examples of non-agricultural bonded labour. States such as Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana engage in migrant bonded labour, which is a more severe type of deprivation and exploitation.

The central government passed 'The Contract Labour (Regulation And Abolition) Act, 1970' which was meant to be applicable for any such establishment or contractor where twenty or more contract labourers are employed or were employed on any day in the previous twelve months.

The Government of Rajasthan made amendments vide another act called Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) (Rajasthan Amendment) Act, 2014 which mainly to narrow its purview as the central act now applicable in Rajasthan only on any establishment or contractor where fifty or more workers are employed or were employed as contract labour on any day in the previous twelve months. Though these acts are related to contractual workers but they are only applicable on establishments and contractors who employ labourers in bulk (more than 20 or 50 as the case may be).

Obviously, these acts are of no consequence to agricultural debt bondage labourers where only very limited number of workers, most often one or two, are employed by wealthy farmers or zamindars who anyway would not qualify as establishment in any formal sense of the term. The Act which implies on the plight of agricultural contractual labourers is 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' which came after 29 years of independence.

Sivakumar (2010) has summarized the relevant sections of 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' in his report as given below which gives a ready reference to the contours and various forms of banned bonded or attached labour:

'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act of 1976' describes bonded labour as a system of forced, or partially forced, labour under which a debtor enters, or has entered, or is assumed to have entered, into an arrangement with the creditor to the effect that–

(i) In exchange for an advance received by him or any of his lineal descendants or descendants (whether or not such advance is evidenced by any document) and the interest earned on such advance, if any, or

(ii) In order to fulfil any social or customary duty, or

(iii) As a result of a legal duty that has been passed on to him, or

(iv) For any monetary consideration he or any of his lineal ascendants or descendants obtained, or

(v) Since he was born into a specific caste or group, he would –

a) Render labour or service to the creditor, or for the benefit of the creditor, for a fixed or indefinite time, either without wages or for nominal wages, by himself or by any member of his family or any person dependent on him, or

b) Forego the right to work or pursue other sources of income for a set period of time or an indefinite period of time, or

c) Abandon the right to freely travel across India's territory;

d) Forfeit the right to appropriate or sell at market value any of his property or the product of his labour, or the labour of a member of his family or any person dependent on him and includes the system of forced, or partly forced, labour in which a surety for a debtor enters, or has entered, or is presumed to have entered, into an agreement with the creditor to the effect that in the event of the debtor's failure to pay, the creditor will receive services of bonded labour from the debtor.

The Act declares such behaviour to be unlawful and empowers the District Magistrate or any officer assigned by him to enforce the Act's provisions, including conducting investigations to determine if such a scheme exists in the district and, if so, eradicating it and rehabilitating those impacted (Sections 10, 11 and 12)'.Despite the fact that the law 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' expressly prohibits bonded labour in all forms, Sivakumar (2010) states that the supposedly-abolished practise is thriving as it has always been.

In its working paper on bonded labour in India, the International Labour Organization provides the most detailed evaluation of the nature of the problem and the steps taken to eliminate it in all forms (Srivastava 2005). According to the study, strong legal structures exist in India, Nepal and Pakistan, but bonded labour

continues to exist in practise. The study offers convincing proof of bonded labour's persistence across a broad variety of economic sectors and in nearly every state. While agrarian labour attachment has declined significantly in India, new types of slavery have emerged in more modern agricultural as well as many different sectors of the informal economy, according to Srivastava.

Migrant labourers, according to Srivastava (2005), are especially vulnerable to bonded labour exploitation through recruitment schemes in which labour contractors and intermediaries entice ill-informed workers from their home communities with advance payments and false promises of well-paid, decent jobs. On the one hand, studies of labour relations have highlighted the connection between caste and social structure, as well as slavery and on the other, traditional feudal social relations and bonded labour. Both inside and outside of agriculture, colonialism heightened the dimension of debt bondage. The evidence shows that in India, whether traditional or modern, slavery and forced labour thrive on a foundation of social hierarchy and inequality, with the former untouchable castes and tribal communities, as well as women and children, being the primary victims. It's possible that the problem of bondage's poor visibility is attributable to the fact that many of its victims have low social ascriptions and less perceived privileges (Srivastava 2005).In another report, Srivastava and Sasikumar (2003) pointed out that migrant labour bonding is a way of disciplining workers while also keeping labour costs down. Another explanation bonded labour systems thrive on the labour of refugees, women and children is because of this. Migrant labour has less protections and entitlements, making it more vulnerable to predatory capitalism.

The act stated that creditors would not allow payment for an extinguished debt, that bonded labourer property would be free of mortgage and that freed bonded labourers would not be evicted from their homestead. The act stipulates that From the 25th of October, 1975, the bonded labour system was abolished and every bonded labourer was set free and released from any duty to perform any bonded labour. Under or in the context of the bonded labour scheme, no one is

permitted to make an advance. No one has the authority to compel someone to perform bonded labour or some other form of forced labour.

Any custom, practise, agreement, or other instrument (whether entered into or performed before or after October 25, 1975) by which any person or any member of his family or dependent is required to do any work or render any service as a bonded labourer is void and ineffective under the provisions of this act. Every liability of a bonded labourer to repay any bonded debt has been extinguished under section 6 of the Act and no suit or other proceeding shall lie for the recovery of any such debt. Any declaration or order for the collection of bonded debt is considered to be completely fulfilled. Any attachment for the recovery of a bonded debt is hereby revoked. If a creditor has forcibly seized possession of any property belonging to a bonded labourer, a member of his family, or another dependent in order to recover the bonded debt, the property must be returned.

Any property vested in a bonded labourer that was subject to any mortgage, charge, lien, or other encumbrance in connection with any bonded debt is freed and discharged and if the mortgagee or other holder of the charge, lien, or encumbrance had possession of the said property, it will be returned to the bonded labourer. As part of the consideration for the bonded labour, no person who has been freed and discharged from any duty to make any bonded labour will be evicted from any homestead or other residential premises.

The act provides that (1) No borrower shall receive payment for any bonded debt that has been extinguished or declared to have been extinguished or entirely satisfied under the terms of this Act. (2) Whoever violates the provisions of sub-section (1) is subject to incarceration for a period of up to three years, as well as a fine. (3) If a person is convicted under sub-section (2), the court may require the person to deposit the sum admitted in violation of sub-section (1) in court within the time prescribed in the order for restitution to the bonded labourer, in addition to the penalty that may be levied under that sub-section.

To ensure that the provisions of this Act are properly carried out, the State Government may confer certain powers and impose certain duties on a District Magistrate and the District Magistrate may designate the officer, subordinate to him, who shall exercise all or some of the powers and perform all or some of the duties so conferred or imposed. The District Magistrate and other officials are responsible for ensuring credit for the freed labour. The District Magistrate approved by the State Government under section 10 and the officer designated by the District Magistrate under that section shall, to the extent possible, aim to foster the welfare of the released bonded labourer by securing and maintaining such bonded Labourer's economic interests so that he does not have any excuse to contract and further bonded debt.

The act states that it is the duty of the District Magistrate and officers he appoints to investigate if, since the commencement of this Act, any bonded labour system or other form of forced labour is being enforced by, or on behalf of, any person resident within the local limits of his jurisdiction and whether, as a result of such investigation, any person is found to be enforcing the bonded labour system or other form of forced labour. According to the act, each State Government shall, by notification in the Official Gazette, create as many Vigilance Committees as it deems appropriate in each district and Sub-Division.

A district's vigilance committee shall be composed of the following members: a) The District Magistrate, or a person nominated by him, shall be the Chairman; (b) three persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes and residing in the district, to be nominated by the District Magistrate; and (c) two social workers, to be nominated by the District Magistrate; (e) The District Magistrate will appoint one person to serve the district's financial and credit institutions.

A Sub-Vigilance Division's Committee shall be made up of the members mentioned below:- (a) the Chairman shall be the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, or a person nominated by him; (b) three members of the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes residing in the Sub-Division, to be nominated by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate; (c) two social workers residing in the Sub-Division, to be

nominated by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate; (d) the District Magistrate shall appoint not more than three individuals to represent official or non-official agencies in the Sub-Division concerned with rural development; (e) one official to serve financial and credit institutions in the Sub-Division, who will be appointed by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate; (f) one officer designated under section 10 and working in the Sub-Division.

Every Vigilance Committee shall have the following functions: (a) to advice the District Magistrate or any officer approved by him on the efforts made and actions taken to ensure that the provisions of this Act or any law made there under are properly implemented; (b) to do something for the economic and social resettlement of released bonded labourers; (c) to coordinate the activities of rural banks and co-operative societies in order to analyse proper credit to the released bonded labourer; (d) to keep track of the amount of offences for which cognizance has been taken under this Act; and (e) to conduct a survey to determine if there is any offence for which cognizance should be taken under this Act. A Vigilance Committee may permit one of its members to defend a suit brought against a freed bonded labourer and the member so authorised is considered to be the freed bonded Labourer's recognised agent for the purposes of the suit.

Burden of evidence- Whether a bonded labourer or a Vigilance Committee claims a debt is a bonded debt, the lender bears the burden of proving that the debt is not a bonded debt. In terms of penalty for advancement of bonded debt, the act states that anybody who advances any bonded debt after the commencement of this Act is subject to imprisonment for a period of up to three years and a fine of up to two thousand rupees. Harvesting bonded labour is punishable under the bonded labour system. After the effective date of this Act, anyone who enforces any custom, practise, contract, arrangement, or other instrument by which any person, member of their family, or dependent of such person is compelled to render any service under the bonded labour system shall be punished by imprisonment for a period of up to three years, as well as a fine of up to three times the fine. It also states that anyone who, after being ordered by this Act to return any property to a bonded labourer, omits or fails to do so within thirty days

of the Act's commencement, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term up to one year, or a fine up to one thousand rupees, or both; and, out of the fine, if recovered, payment of the fine.

There are no ambiguities or euphemisms about 'attached' and 'bonded' labourers in the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act. The "bonded labour scheme," as defined by the Ordinance, is a system of forced or partially forced labour in which a debtor enters, or has entered, or is assumed to have entered, into an arrangement with the creditor to the effect that (i) in consideration of an advance obtained by him or any of his lineal ascendants or descendants (whether or not such advance is shown by any document) and the interest, if any, due on such advance, or (ii) in fulfilment of any customary or social obligation, or (iii) in fulfilment of an obligation devolving on him by succession, or (iv) for any economic consideration receivable (v) by reason of his birth in any particular caste or community, he would (i) render, by himself or through any member of his family, or any person dependent on him, labour or service to the creditor, or for the benefit of the creditor, for a specified period or for an unspecified period, either without wages or for nominal wages, or (2) forfeit the freedom of employment or other means of livelihood for a specified period or for an unspecified period, or (3) forfeit the right to move freely throughout the territory of India, or (4) forfeit the right to appropriate or sell at market value any of his property or product of his labour or the labour of a member of his family or any person dependent on him and includes the system of forced, or partly forced, labour under which a surety for a debtor enters, or has, or is presumed to have, entered, into an agreement with the creditor to the effect that in the event of the failure of the debtor to repay the debt, he would render the bonded labour on behalf of the debtor (The Bonded Labour (Abolition) Ordinance, 1975).

It was also made apparent by the act that "It shall be the duty of every District Magistrate and every officer specified by him... to inquire whether, after the commencement of this act, any bonded labour system or any other form of forced labour is being enforced by, or on behalf of, any person resident within the local limits of his jurisdiction and if, as a result of such an inquiry, any person is

found to be enforcing the bonded labour system or any other system of forced labour, he shall forthwith take such action as may be necessary to eradicate the enforcement of such forced labour."

It was discovered that only about 40% of the officers had read or even glanced at the Act! Thus, it was pure luck for the 581 sevakias of Palamau that the district's Deputy Commissioner had not only read but also taken the Act seriously. Das argues that the mission must be completed. Finally, compassionate members of other communities can assist the rural poor by providing an efficient support system. Finally and most importantly, the rural poor must organise themselves in order to maintain their rights. They must wrest the right to write, organise and fight oppression from the oppressors. The sevakias will do it because they stand to lose nothing except their slavery (Das 1976).

Statement of the Problem

Migration is an age old and inevitable process which has many types, motives and consequences. The migration in*Daslana* is also a kind with its own characteristics, type and consequences for the village of origin and village of destination. In this study, therefore, it is necessary to understand the various aspects of this rural to rural or to be specific a village-to-village migration of agricultural labour which is of permanent kind. In this context it will be worthwhile to investigate:

- What are the characteristics, causes and consequences of the migration in the study village *Daslana*?
- Whether migrants' ties with the native place is severed or alive?
- Whether the migration is permanent, temporary or imbued with the qualities of 'permanent temporariness' (Seller 2019)?
- What are the pulls and pressures for thismigration?
- In the view of 'new mobility paradigm' (Seller and Urry 2006), what are the 'fixities' and 'moorings' of this internal migration?

Rural India has seen a sea of changes. One of them being that from 'having no landless peasants in 1842' India became to have 49 million agricultural laborers in 1951 and 106.8 million in 2011. Within this fold bonded labour is a grim reality of rural India and agricultural sector. Even after constitutional measures, legal provisions, the illegal practice has not been wiped out. Because of the poor economic condition, unemployment, social backwardness, lack of education and cultural practices, labour bondage is still present and practiced in changed or disguised form which is very much akin to 'unforced servitude'. The practice of *Gwal* or *Hali* in the study village seem to be a glaring example of this practice.

The entire literature on the subject and debates points out that bondage system of labour in India is a long-standing issue. Main reason of the bondage is debt by the marginal farmers and landless labourers generally from the lower strata of the society and their inability to repay the debt due to extreme poverty, precarious financial conditions and high interest rate of the loan. The debt bondage has many forms and names and it is prevalent in every part of India even today.

ILO Conventions on Bonded labour, Enforcement of Indian constitution in post independent India and 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' prohibit and illegalize bonded or debt induced bonded labour in any form. Major effort to curb this menace came in the form of 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' and with its help there have been efforts to free the debtor from the bondage but it has not yielded the fruitful result due lack of proper rehabilitation, unawareness, systemic apathy and administrative ignorance. Instead, it has been continuing and adapting in new forms, situations and sectors of work.

Hali system is commonly present in all parts of the country in rural part of India. At some places it still exists in its traditional form while at some places it has evolved, adapted and changed form. The post 'Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' era studies have found its existence and categorised it as a form of bondage. It has been said that even if it is mutually agreed and not forced

apparently still it is illegal. The instance of *Hali* or *Gwal* in the study village seem to be another such example and therefore its study hold significance. Hence it is also necessary to understand:

- Whether the case of the village-to-village migration in the study village aid to the existence and continuance of a form of bonded labour?
- Whether *Hali* or *Gwal* System involves certain kind of labour contract or agreement between the employer and the migrant labourers as a long-term commitment?
- Is the agreement between employer and employee is forced or mutual?
- What freedom, relaxation and compensations are available to the labour in bondage?
- What are the reasons which are responsible for the labourers to get into such arrangements? Do they find it compelling, binding, limiting or facilitating?
- Is the practice of such kind of labour in a way a circumvention of existing bonded labour rules? And finally
- How the poverty and rural indebtedness work in tandem to compel the poor for out-migration and long-term bondage?

In light of above questions related to migration, bondage and its consequences for various stakeholders; this study plans to find the actual understanding based on primary data from the study village within an objective framework of social investigation.

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Chapter 3

Research Methodology

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Research Methodology

A method is simply a research tool, or a part of research, such as a qualitative or quantitative method like observation or a questionnaire. The reasoning for using a specific research approach is known as methodology. Decisions related to the research that what is to be done and which tools and techniques are to be used and what to be observed and interviewed etc. "are often based on values and assumptions which influence the study, and as such therefore need to be fully interrogated in order to clarify the research decisions which are made" (Clough and Nutbrown 2012). In other words, the reason for the research approach, as well as the lens by which the study is conducted, is referred to as research methodology (Brookshier 2018). Howell (2012) rightly points out that research methodology basically signifies the "general research strategy that outlines the way in which research is to be undertaken". Therefore, this chapter outlines research methodology employed for this research and discusses specific methods used for it along with the basic research questions are looked into and the study area (the village where fieldwork is conducted) where these are explored into.

Background

This study was conceptualized by the researcher during a preceding study on Household consumption of water and role of women in this particular village as it was encountered that a quite few respondents belonged to this particular category who are migrants in the village and their husbands were serving as *Gwals* with some of the landed peasants in the village (Seth and Dubey 2013). It was not that all the families had employed *Gwals* but some of them and one particular caste in majority which was relatively more landed and economically well-off were seen to have their services. As there is a general awareness that 'bonded labour' or '*bandhuamajdoori'* is prohibited and illegal,

the acceptance and reporting of such employment by the employer was less forthcoming and disguised.

Objectives of the study

Well defined objectives of the research pave the way and direction of the research and shape the scope the research. The broad objectives of the proposed study are to:

i. Put the varied perception, meaning and practice of *Hali* into a cohesive perspective.
ii. Locate the given instance of *Hali* into the wider debate of the system of *Hali* in India.
iii. Delineate the dyadic relationship between the *Hali* and the master within the context of village economy and caste structure and its tangible implication on the *Halis.*
iv. Examine the factors responsible for inducement of migration and acceptance of *Hali* relationship.
v. Understand the nature of native ties of migrant *Halis*.

The Field: Village Daslana (Kota)

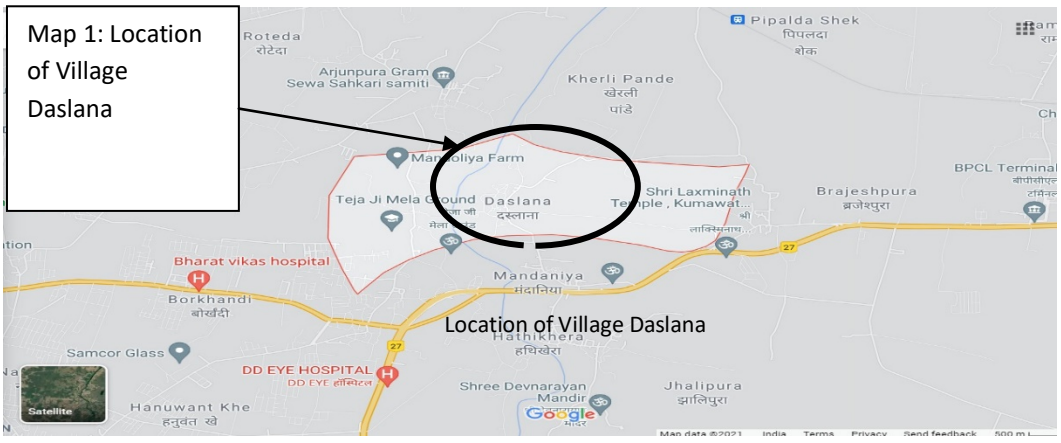
The district in which the study village is located is named after Kota, the district's headquarters city. Historically, it is the former capital of the same-named princely Rajput state. According to the information available, the grandson of the Bundi king, Jait Singh, established Kota by attacking and driving out some Bhils from the Koteah clan from a location east of Chambal, which he called Kotah (Kota). Another account claims that in Vikram Samvat 1321 (1264 A.D.), Jait Singh captured Akelgarh and occupied Kota, which was later used as a pargana attached to the Jagir of Bundi(Government of India 2011).

When the former Kota and Tonk States joined the former Rajasthan in March 1948 and were absorbed into the United States of Rajasthan in 1949, a separate district known as 'Kota' was formed. The district comprised parts of the former Jhalawar State (Kirpapur) and Tonk State (Chhipabarod and Sironj), in

addition to a significant portion of Kota State. As a result, some Kota State areas, such as Asnawar, Aklera, Khanpur, Manohar Thana, and Bakani, were separated and incorporated into the new Jhalawar district (Government of India 2011). Following the reorganisation of states in 1956, two of its tehsils, Sironj and Lateri, were moved to the Madhya Pradesh state's Vidisha district. Since the 10th of April, 1991, the area of the old district Kota has been transformed into the new district Baran.

The district of Kota is divided into Sub-Divisions and Tehsils (sub-districts) for administration and progress. The district of Kota is divided into five sub-divisions. Each of the sub-divisions is led by a Sub-divisional Officer (SDO) / Magistrates, who are in charge of enforcing the law and maintaining order in their respective areas (Government of India 2011). Presently the population of Kota district as per Census 2011 is 1,951,014 with a literacy rate of 76.56 %, population density of 374 and sex ratio of 911 as compared to the state sex ratio of 928.

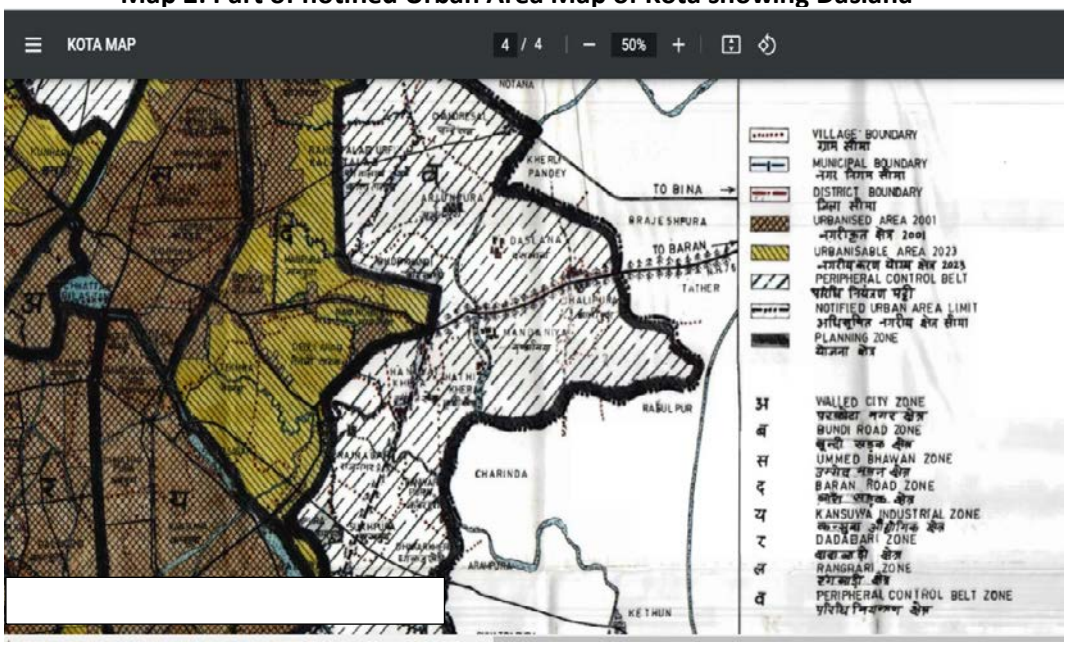
The district of Kota is ranked 16th in population, 24th in area, and 7th in terms of population density. It has a rural population of 39.7% and a city population of 60.3 percent, while the state's rural and urban population percentages are 75.1 and 24.9 percent, respectively. Kota district has a literacy rate of 76.6 percent, which is higher than the state average (66.1 percent) and places it first among the state's other districts. In the district, the gender gap in literacy rates is 20.4 percent. Cultivators, agricultural labourers, workers in household industry, and other workers (category of workers) account for 18.7%,



18.0, 3.4, and 59.9% of workers in Kota district, respectively.

Village *Daslana* which is situated at the periphery of municipal boundary of Kota city in Rajasthan is the research area of this project. It falls in Ladpura Tehsil and became part of Kota municipal 'notified urban area' in 2005.

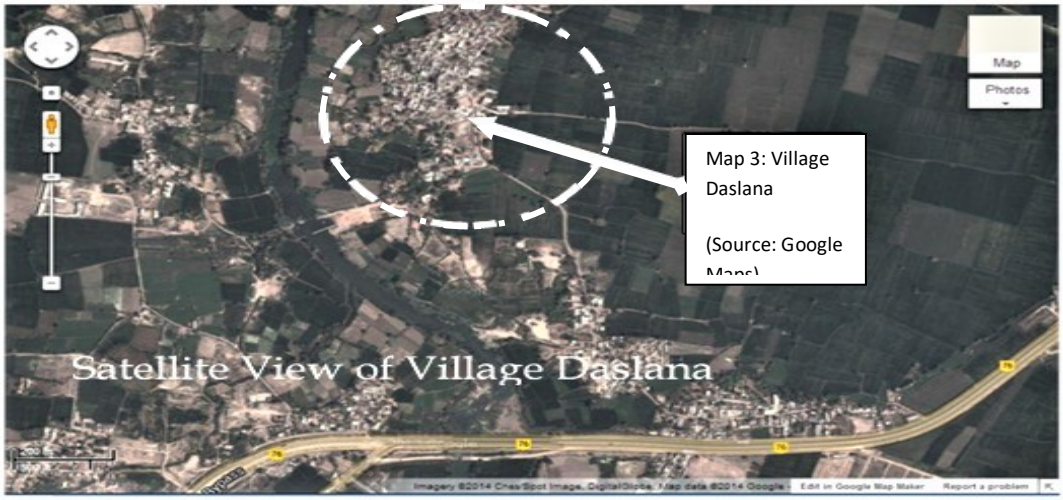
Map 2: Part of notified Urban Area Map of Kota showing Daslana



It comes under 'peripheral control belt' of municipal area and is yet to come into planning zone of the city (UDH 2005). Currently Daslana falls in ward 19 of Kota north municipality after the bifurcation of Kota municipality into two different municipalities namely Kota North and Kota South in 2020. (Govt of Rajasthan 2020).

The village is situated on the eastern bank of a rivulet called *Chandraloi* (which is a tributary of River *Chambal*). It is on the north eastern periphery of Municipality of Kota at a distance of about 13 Kilometre from the city centre and about one K.M. northward to the N.H. 76 (the highway passing through Kota towards Baran popularly known as Baran Road). It can be approached by a village pucca road by leaving NH 76 at Gopalpura village.

Daslana was part of *Tathed* village panchayat until it was incorporated under Kota municipality limits in 2005. Prior to the bifurcation of the municipality of Kota, it was part of ward 40 of the city municipality but practically has remained a rural setting entirely as inhabitants predominantly live on agriculture and agricultural labour and has not been yet included in 'Urban Area Development Plan' of the city. Census Data 2011 does not provide ward wise specific population data for Daslana as it is part of the municipality of Kota



and population data for all areas and wards are aggregated for Kota city only (Government of India 2021). As per the estimate of local inhabitants, Government teachers and Election office booth level officer, the village population is about 1530 with 850 adult voters and about 260 children below the age of 14. Total number of households in the village is 271 which includes about more than half of the migrants families which do not get counted in government surveys and enumerations. If we exclude such uncounted families by collating through various government surveys, the household count stands about 246.

The study village is primarily an OBC majority village forming about 82.29 % of the total households (Table 1). The dominant caste of the village is *Dhakad*, also known as *Malav*, accounts for about 42 % of total households. *Dhakads* are not only numerically highest but also economically well off, politically influential and control the majority of the agricultural land of the village followed by *Malis* and Gujars. In past before the reorganization of the ward, the then ward member (representative to the municipality of Kota) who was

elected to represent in the municipality after the reorganization of municipal mimits was also a *Dhakad*who also has had stint as *Pradhan* of the erstwhile *Tathed* village panchayat when Daslana was part of it.

Dhakad is traditionally a farming caste. So are *Malis* but they also grow and sell flowers. *Gujars* primarily rear milch animals and earn livelihood mainly by selling the milk along with farming. Malis and Gujars formed 9.59 % and 8.12 % of total households of the village (Table 1).

Table 1: Village Households by Social category and caste

Social Category	Caste	No. of House holds	%
General	Brahmin	4	1.48
OBC	Dhakad	114	42.07
	Mali	26	9.59
	Gujar	22	8.12
	Yogi	8	2.95
	Gosain	3	1.11
	Teli	3	1.11
	Nai	3	1.11
	Lodha	44	16.24
SC	Meghwal	17	6.27
	Mehar	5	1.85
	Dhobi	6	2.21
	Harijan	2	0.74
	Mochi	6	2.21
ST	Bhil	8	2.95
Total		271	100.00

(Source: Field work in Daslana)

As is evident from the table 2, landholding is mainly concentrated amongst the intermediary castes like *Dhakars* and *Malis,* both in terms of magnitude and land size. Few *Meghwals* (SC) also have 9-10 *Bighas* of land. But significant number of respondents (about fifty percent), composed of SCs, STs and few OBC castes

like *Gujars, Lodhas, Naths* and *Telis,* have less than six *bighas of* family landholding and about sixty percent of them are landless in the study village. The other major OBC caste is *Lodha* which is present in the village in sizable number (about 27%) but they do not hold any land in the village.

Table 2: **Caste by Landholding pattern**

Castes	Landholding in *Bigha*									
	landless	<2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	Total
Bheel	2									2
Dhakar	2		4	4		4	4	2	2	22
Dhobi	2			6						8
Gujar			4							4
Lodha	2									2
Mali		2	2		4		2			10
Meghwal	2					4				6
Mehra			2							2
Muslim	1									1
Nath	6									6
Teli	4									4
Total	21	2	12	10	4	8	6	2	2	67

Source: (Seth and Dubey 2013)

It is interesting to note that *Lodhas* are migrant agricultural labourers from *Eklera* which is in the neighbouring district of Jhalawar. *Lodhas* do have agricultural land holding at their native villages but due to high cost of agricultural inputs and lack of irrigation, they have left cultivation on their land and migrated to villages such as *Daslana* where agriculture is still a mainstay due to availability of water as there are irrigation canals and relatively high ground water level due to happening to be in the command area of Chambal river valley project known as Command Area Development (CAD), Chambal, Kota (GoR 2011).

The migration of *Lodhas* to the village is of semi-permanent kind. Some stay here only during the agricultural season and some have settled permanently for last 20-25 years. They have migrated with the entire family. Very few of the *Lodhas*, older migrant or new, have been able to buy land as the land being fertile, irrigated and in the vicinity of city Kota, is very costly. The cost

of land has escalated manifold after getting incorporated in the municipality. That is why they are not able to make even a self-owned house for themselves.

All the migrants in the village, along with their families which is of the size of about 4 to 6, live in a rented one or two room sets of *kachcha* houses. The going rate of such rented accommodation in the village is Rs.300 to Rs.500 per month. The villagers also employ a system of contractual labour arrangement called *Gwal Keeping* with the *Lodhas.* It is important to note here that *Gwal* keeping in the village is practice of contractual labour arrangement whereby a needy and well-off farming family which employs a male *Lodha* or other caste agricultural worker (migrant or local) as *Gwal* (nearly translated as servant and also called as *Hali*) on an annual verbal contract to contribute in the family farm activity. The *Gwal* may get Rs. 30000 to Rs 60000 along with 3-4 *boris* (approx. to Quintal*)* of food grain for the entire year depending on the bargain and skills possessed by the *Gwal.* The employer family releases the emoluments on instalment basis by keeping about one month's payment with them as security. *Gwals'* services are also borrowed and exchanged amongst the employers on mutual basis depending on the availability of work and need (Seth and Dubey 2013).

Discussions with the villagers revealed that there are about 58 *Gwals* in the village kept mainly by Dhakad families along with few *Mali* and *Brahmin* families as well. Women are not employed as *Gwals* as they have to manage daily family chores. Thus, accompanying wives and women of *Gwals* and Lodhas along with *non-GwalLodhas*do not get annual job security and they work on daily wages in the fields as agricultural labour.

Other significant category of castes in the village is SC, which forms about 13% of the total household. Amongst SCs, *Meghwals* are the highest in number and they also mainly do farming activity. There is a negligible presence of the general category castes (upper castes) in the village.

There is only one school in the village which is Hindi medium Government Secondary School. The school earlier ran as primary school till 2009

and was upgraded to the present status recently in 2010. There are two private senior secondary schools recognized by the Rajasthan Board in the nearby Gopalpura village. Both these schools are Hindi Medium. There are Englsih medium CBSE schools in the city of Kota to which some of the families have admitted their children who commute to and from these schools through school buses. There is marked preference among the villagers to teach their children in the private schools. As they cost more and are placed distantly, mainly male children get the facility of studying in these private schools.

For graduation and higher education, the children go to Government Colleges of Kota city. There are about 31 youths attaining college education of which about 50% are from *Dhakad* families and only less than one third are female (Table 3). Almost all college going students have opted for traditional graduation courses. Some, largely male students, while studying in the college also take additional coaching and attempt for competitive exams for Government Jobs. Emphasis on Engineering or other professional courses is less. It is evident that though girls are getting higher education but the stress on girl education is comparatively lesser across all caste groups.

Table 3-**Caste wise break up of College goers**

Castes	Boys	Girls	Total
Mali	3	2	5
Dhakar	10	5	15
Brahman	Nil	1	1
Gujar	2	Nil	2
Gosaiin	1	Nil	1
Meghwal	2	1	3
Dhobi	2	Nil	2
Nai	2	Nil	2
Total	22	9	31

(Source: Field Work)

Rapport with the field and Ethical considerations

Researcher's rapport with the field, inhabitants and the informants is necessary. It is not only important for the ethical concerns of the research, it is also very important for developing a trust among the informant that their anonymity, confidentiality voluntary participation in the research is ensured. As Earl Babbie (2020) rightly points out that people's lives are intruded upon by research. It takes up their time and resources, which they did not request. It exposes their private details. To ensure that they will not lose, gain or get harmed, they should be fully informed about the intent and outcome of the research truthfully and informants' involvement must be entirely voluntary. They should not be given false hope or lured in any way. In achieving this good rapport and trust with the filed and informant are primarily important as it helps clarifying any doubts and any misgivings.

The researcher had a good rapport with the villagers due to previous study intervention in the village. Since there was sufficient pre-existing confidence, it was possible to have multiple focus group discussion with the villages of different castes and occupational groups over a period of time to share the objectives of research and seek their help in determining the names of such *Gwals* and employers.

At the very outset it was made very-very clear to the people that information gathered will only be used for research and related reporting and it will in no way used for any legal or administrative purposes and therefore anonymity and confidentiality will be strictly maintained. Thus, on the basis of a number of focus group discussions about 7 to 8 within a period of 15 days and 5 to 6 successive visits to the village, the names of employed *Gwals* were enumerated and fixed for interview. Informants' convenience of time and availability was religiously guarded. No coercion and stigmatization of any kind was ensured during the research. Particular emphasis was given that researcher's behaviour at any point of time and occasion should not be construed as luring, enticing or threatening. Interviews were always conducted in a friendly and conducing environment under full mutual confidence. Oral consent of their

employers was also taken that employer – employee relation does not get strained in anyway due to the research.

Sampling

It was only through the employed families who were encountered by chance or inquiries from the other people in the study village, it could be ascertained about who all are employing and who are engaged in such arrangements. Therefore, due to the requirement of the situation, the purposive sampling technique was thought to be most appropriate for the situation and hence employed to interview the respondents who were actually working as *Gwal* in the village. It is also important to note that the sample so selected was fully exhaustive of all the *Gwals* employed in the village thus in a way amounted to a census selection also.

Purposive sampling (also known as selective sampling) is a sampling technique in which researcher relies on his or her own judgment when selecting informants for the study (Goode and Hatt 1932). Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method. This method is useful when researcher believes that appropriate representation or sample could be better determined with proper identification of respondents who are suited to the objectives of the research (Ahuja 2001). It's especially important when the study area's general population differs from the expected informants, whose numbers are much smaller than the total population. In this case, using sound judgement to obtain a representative sample is advantageous in terms of saving time, energy, and money. It has been noted that "purposive sampling method may prove to be effective when only limited numbers of people can serve as primary data sources due to the nature of research design and aims and objectives. For example, for a research analysing effects of personal tragedy such as family bereavement on performance of senior level managers the researcher may use his/her own judgment in order to choose senior level managers who could particulate in in-depth interviews" (Dudovskiy, 2015).

Purposive sampling requires the use of the researcher's own assessment and selection to select informants that can assist in answering research questions or achieving research objectives. Purposive sampling is classified into six groups based on the types of instances. (Dudovskiy, ibid.):

1. **Typical case**. Explains the differences between average and regular events.
2. ***Extreme or deviant case***. Obtaining samples from special or uncommon instances, such as investigating the causes of business failure by questioning executives who have been shot by shareholders.
3. **Critical case** sampling concentrates on individual cases that are either dramatic or significant.
4. **Heterogeneous** or **maximum variation sampling** selects subjects with a variety of attributes based on the researcher's decision. This is done to ensure that the primary data contains as much uncertainty as possible.
5. **Homogeneous sampling** focuses on "one specific subgroup in which all sample participants are identical, such as a particular occupation or organisational hierarchy level"
6. **Theoretical sampling** is a form of purposive sampling that is based on a Grounded Theory inductive approach.

Therefore, in this particular study the Homogeneous purposive sampling is used for the selection of the informants which has following advantages and disadvantages:

Advantages:

1. It was able to assemble a homogeneous group of informants who were appropriate for the study's intent and objectives.
2. It was the least 'expensive and time-consuming' sampling method available.
3. Since the number of primary data sources who could contribute to the analysis was small, the methodology proved to be effective in selecting informants.

4. With the help of local informants and discussion with many villagers, it was ascertained that there were about 58 *Gwals* working in the village in total. 55 out of 58 i.e. sample size of 94.83 % of the given universe were contacted and interviewed. 3 could not be contacted as they were out of study village during the study, perhaps were visiting their native place for some necessary work.
5. Given the size of the sample, notwithstanding the number of informants being only 55, is very similar to a census study.
6. The bias of non-representation or under-representation is reduced because the informants are a homogeneous group operating in the same situation, migrating from the same area, and belonging to the same caste and cultural settings.
7. As informants form a homogenous category with respect to their background, occupational profile and social standing, it is safe to assume that even with this number, the inferences and conclusions would be reliable and very likely to be similar for other surrounding villages too if they exhibit same characteristics of *Halis* or *Gwals* in themselves.
8. It is of particular significance as local wisdom and experiences support the view that surrounding villages too follow the same pattern of practice with regard to contractual agricultural labour or *Halis* and it is widespread and common practice in this area.

Disadvantages:

1. While this approach is vulnerable to researcher errors in judgement, it was reduced in this case because informants were chosen based on required qualifications such as migrant status, working as a *Gwal*, and identification by multiple local sources.
2. Since not all *Gwals* could be thoroughly identified and interviewed, the degree of reliability and bias could be slightly restricted.
3. The study being only limited to one village has limited generalisability. However, a cursory examination of other villages in the area reveals that the practise of employing migrant workers as *Gwals* is widespread, and

thus this study serves as a strong and accurate benchmark for further and broader investigation and potential generalisation.

Tool of Data Collection: Interview Schedule

An interview schedule is a list of standardised questions which are prepared to guide interviewers, researchers, and investigators in gathering information or data regarding a particular subject or problem. The interviewer uses the schedule to fill in the blanks with the responses he or she receives during the interview. The benefits of using an interview schedule are (Ahuja 2001, Luenendonk 2019):

i. The execution of an interview is made easier by the use of an interview schedule. It is easier to conduct and complete the interview because the questions have already been written.
ii. It improves the chances of gathering accurate data or facts. The questions, which were planned ahead of time, are supposed to be well-thought-out and focused, focusing on the "heart of the matter," ensuring that the responses received are right or reliable. Interview schedules increases the data's reliability and credibility.
iii. It enables interviewers and researchers to obtain additional details by allowing them to ask follow-up questions or clarifying clarifications to the questions they have prepared. As a result, the data collected is more important and useful.
iv. The response rate and volume are also higher. Interviews are often timed. Interviewers are only given a certain amount of time to ask all of their questions and receive responses. If you came prepared, you would be able to make the best use of his time. Otherwise, one has to waste a lot of time trying to figure out what question to pose next.
v. It has a lot of versatility and customizability, and it can be used to interview a variety of people. With the respondents in mind, the interviewer will plan it. A job interview schedule for the recruitment

of a construction worker or labourer, for example, may have been planned by an interviewer. He can use the same schedule when interviewing applicants for a senior management role, but with a few modifications.

With all the benefits given above there are some disadvantages of using the Interview schedule also. It can take a long time. The preparation of an interview schedule can eat up a lot of an interviewer's time, particularly if the interview is long or in-depth. To be able to draught good questions, a significant amount of research is needed. Since the interviewer selects the questions to be answered during the interview, there is a possibility that the interview and its findings may be tainted by the interviewer's bias. And lastly, if many interviewers use the same interview schedule, there might be a lot of variation. As a result, the information obtained during the interviews can be inaccurate.

In the given circumstances, interview schedule and structured interview was thought to be the best fit as data collection tool. A draft interview schedule was introduced with a small group of the informants and on the basis of their responses as well as additional information such as instance of loan at their native place, the schedule was revised and modified twice to finalize before actual introduction of the same for interview with the entire pool of the informants. With the guidance of the finalized schedule, structured interviews in which the researcher poses a series of predetermined questions to the respondent, were conducted.

Prior to the interviews of the informants, their employers were also taken into confidence for such exercise. Their all enquiries about the purpose and uses of the information were satisfied, if raised by any, before the commencement of the interview. It is satisfactory that there was not a single hindrance or objection by any of the employer in interviewing their *Gwals*. It was possible because the researcher enjoyed the confidence of the villagers through a good rapport since the previous studies, proper clarification about the purpose through

focus group discussions and established identity of the researcher as a teacher as there were village community members who knew the researcher well as students of nearby college where the researcher used to teach. Information gathered through the interviews were collated and analysed with the help of SPSS to draw the findings of the research.

Operationalization and Working Definitions of Key Terminologies

Several sociological terms and variable are being used in this study which have varied meaning and connotations. The "operationalization of terms" is necessary in order to convert abstract ideas and concepts into observable data. Therefore, it is necessary to operationalize them and have working definitions which would be used in this study unless specified otherwise.

Gwal or *Hali*

Both these terms are used interchangeably in this study as they mean and used interchangeably in the study village. Lot has been discussed about it in the previous chapter, but for the purpose of this research *Gwal* or *Hali* is the one who is unforced willing contractual labour for a village household to work on the family farm and do other household work including driving the family tractor and looking after the pet animals of the family. As a part of contract, he gets a sum (part advance and part as deferred surety as well as food grain for the year. The contract is for a year but same arrangement ordinarily continues for several years. The *Hali* or *Gwal* may and may not get lodging facility with the employer.

Employer

The term employer means the peasant family which engages and gets into verbal, mutual contract with the *Gwal* or *Hali*.

Peasant

The term peasant has varied meaning and used differently. The Cambridge Dictionary defines it as an individual with a low income, little education, and a low social status who owns or rents a small piece of land and

grows crops, keeps animals, and so on. Sociologically, the term "peasant" refers to agriculturists who own small holdings and carry on their agricultural work with the assistance of family members, as well as those who depend on land for their livelihood, such as supervisory agriculturists and landless labourers. The operational definition of the term peasant for this study is such a person whose owns some agricultural land and main or significant part of his family livelihood dependent on the produce from the family farm and he along with other family members and labourers work on it or look after.

Agricultural Worker

Agricultural worker denotes a person who work on agricultural field or allied activities in lieu of payment or wages in rural areas.

Marginal Farmer

In this research marginal farmer is taken to be a farmer who earns a small amount of subsistence from his own land and occasionally works as an agricultural labourer. The term "marginal farmer" refers to a peasant who owns, rents, or shares less than 5 bighas of agricultural tract.

Contractual Labour

It is defined that contractual labour is one who gets a agreed payment in lieu of his/ her services part in advance and part deferred a work over a period of time which is most often annual.

Native Place

Native place normally means the place where one hails from. In this research it is meant that the point of origin or the villages from where the migrant workers have come from in search of employment.

Migrants

Migrant means a person who temporarily or permanently moves alone or with family from one place to other for some reason. In this study the term

migrant is used for those people who have shifted from a village within the district or nearby in this village in search of secure employment for more than a year and he keep their native ties alive through occasional visits and meeting out familial obligations at native place.

Main Research Questions

The present study delves upon and explores into some important research questions which underly the objectives of research and guide the entire research process to gather, evidence, analyse and conclude on these aspects. These basic research questions are:

1. Whether the contractual labour found as *Hali* or *Gwal* in the village is a disguised form of bondage?
2. What specific and general traits are exhibited by the incidence of *Hali* or *Gwal* as compared to the forms of contractual or unfree labour found in other parts of the country?
3. Is migration a scapegoat from native underdevelopment and it lands the migrant into disguised bondage?
4. How migration and bondage have positively and negatively affected the lives of the migrants.
5. How permanent and transient is the migration and how does it affect the native ties of the migrants?

Importance of the Study:

The proposed study intends to cover the cross-section of and interplay between migration and attached labour in agriculture and agrarian situation. Generally, most of the studies conducted in migration have so far focused on non-agricultural migrants while the focus on migrant agricultural worker has been little and scattered. It is also noteworthy that there is serious lack of study of migrant agricultural and their debt attachment into forced debtor-creditor long term relationship in this part of Rajasthan.

Term *Hali* or *Gwal* has a myriad of meaning and perception. The proposed study intends to present these varied perceptions and practices and intends to locate the specific case of the system of *Hali* in the study village to provide the deeper insight into the meaning, politics, evolution and eradication or its resistance.

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Chapter 4

Practice of *Hali* in Daslana

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Practice of *Hali* in Daslana

The study village Daslana, though being included in municipal limits of Kota municipality since 2005 and yet not being included in urban development plan of the city (UDH 2005), predominantly remains a rural setting as far as main stay of village livelihood is concerned as all the agricultural tract is available for cultivation. Activities like colonization and land development for housing etc have not taken roots though the land prices have escalated in anticipation. By virtue of Dams on river Chambal, ground water level being good in the area and availability of irrigational facility through canals under Chambal Area Development (CAD) plan, agricultural viability in this village as in other surrounding villages of Kota is better than other parts of the state where irrigational facilities are scarce and monsoon dependence is higher.

Need of *Hali*s in an Agricultural Setting

The study village is located on the eastern bank of the *Chandraloi* rivulet (which is a tributary of River Chambal). It is located on the north eastern outskirts of the Municipality of Kota, about 13 kilometres from the city centre and one kilometre north of the N.H. 76 (See the map 1, 2 & 3 in chapter 3). Therefore, main source of livelihood in the village is still agriculture. There are only a handful of people who are in private or government job and go out of the village for their living. The study village is predominantly an OBC majority village, with OBCs accounting for approximately 83 percent of total households (Table 1 chapter 3). Dhakad, also known as Malav, is the village's dominant caste, accounting for about 39% of all households. Dhakads are not only the most numerous, but they are also the most prosperous, politically powerful, and own the majority of the village's agricultural land, followed by Malis and Gujars.

Dhakads are known as a farming community. *Malis* are also flower growers and sellers. *Gujars* primarily raise dairy animals and make a living by

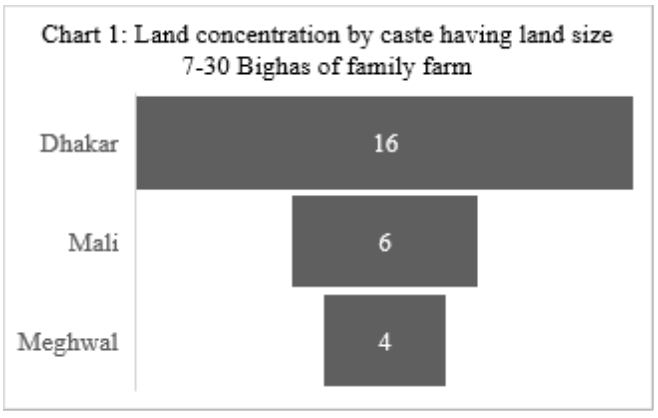
selling milk in addition to farming. Malis and Gujars made up 7.94% and 6.35 percent of the village's total households, respectively.

Table 2: **Caste by Landholding pattern**

Castes	Landholding in *Bigha*									
	landless	<2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	Total
Bheel	2									2
Dhakar	2		4	4		4	4	2	2	22
Dhobi	2			6						8
Gujar			4							4
Lodha	2									2
Mali		2	2		4		2			10
Meghwal	2					4				6
Mehra			2							2
Muslim	1									1
Nath	6									6
Teli	4									4
Total	21	2	12	10	4	8	6	2	2	67

(Reproduced from Chapter 3)

About 24 percent sample of all households of the village exhibit somewhat approximate land holding pattern in the village. Evidently, in terms of magnitude and land size, landholding is primarily concentrated among the intermediary castes such as Dhakars and Malis. Bigger landholdings i.e., family land holding more than 7 bighas to 30 Bighas were concentrated with Malavs primarily and only a few Malis and Meghwals were part of this league (See the funnel chart 1 for progressive decrease in holding). Rest of the households were either landless or marginal famers who had less than 5 bighas of land.



A small number of Meghwals (SC) also own 9-10 Bighas of land. However, a large number of respondents (around 50%) from SCs, STs, and a few OBC castes such as Gujars, Lodhas, Naths, and Telis have less than six bighas of family landholding and are landless in the study village. The disparity of holdings is also visible from the fact that about thirty one percent of the selected sample was landless and these were mostly lower caste households which are Bheel, Dhobi, Lodha, Meghwal, Muslim, Nath and Teli. Few Malav families also were landless but their percentage to the total number in the sample was only nine percent as compared to Malavs constituting 39 percent of total village households. Though it (table 2) does not portray the exact landholding distribution in the village across the castes, but if the randomness of the sample is taken into consideration, it fairly establishes the dominant position of Malavs or Dhakars in terms of landholding.

Agriculture is an arduous and labour-intensive activity and that too requires various activities to be done on time as the season demands. For this regularity and availability of labour is very necessary. Singh (2006) points out that wheat is sown up until the first fortnight of November, which is true not only in Punjab but also in other cultivating regions. A one-week delay in the harvest results in a yield reduction of around 1.50 quintals per acre.

This is also true for other crops and farm operations such as hoeing, irrigation, harvesting, threshing, and selling, which must be completed at the required time or the yield and farm income will suffer. During peak seasons, as Bremen has pointed out, there is a need for labour supply. Apart from making it easier to complete farming tasks on time, having attached labour improves one's social standing and prestige too (Bremen 1979, Chaudhuri 2008:119, Mollona 2014). It is also common that farming families in rural areas raise and maintain draft and milch animals and it also needs care. Normally it is taken care of by family members but when the number is large or the family is well off or capable, it is always preferred to have it serviced by the labour outside the family.

Mechanization in agriculture is growing as it reduces cost of production, saves time and augments productivity (Singh 2006; Mehta, Chandel

and Senthilkumar 2014). All over India demand and use of machinery and power implements has been growing. Since the mid-1960s, technical advancements in Indian agriculture have resulted in a significant increase in agricultural production (Singh 2006. The decadal growth rate of tractor from 1951 to 2001 has been 10.30 percent (table 4). It is estimated that the maximum contribution in this technological adaptation and integration in agriculture has come from Punjab and Haryana, still there is a general growth in other parts of the country too including Rajasthan.

Table 4. **Trend of Mechanization of Agriculture in India**

No. in 10lakhs

Machinery	1950-51	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1990-91	2000-01	Growth rate%
Tractor	0.008	0.030	0.090	0.428	1.233	2.641	10.3
Power tiller	-	-	0.017	0.080	0.095	0.118	7.76
Combine harvesters	-	-	-	-	0.003	0.006	-
Electric pump	0.02	0.10	1.029	4.33	8.91	12.514	8.20
Diesel pump	0.083	0.230	1.546	3.101	4.659	5.940	4.89
Power sprayer/duster	-	-	0.045	0.124	0.200	0.311	7.10

(Source: Singh, Gajendra 2006:55)

One can also see that growth rate and popularity of tractor has been the highest. Tractor apart from aiding in host of agricultural activities, also helps for commercial and hiring services and add to the family income. Availability of a person for its operation is added benefit for the family. Therefore, the considerations like a) availability of a person round the clock to assist in the farm activity, b) undertake the agricultural activities timely and avoid the non-availability of the workforce in peak season, c) helping hand for rearing up of milch and draft animals, d) a source of enhancement in social status and e) availability of an skilled person to operate the tractor or other agricultural implements if the family owns so that apart from meeting out familial agricultural need, the tractor or implement could be used for commercial or higher purposes in extra or free time prompt a well off peasant mainly dhakars of the village to engage somebody as a *Gwal* or *hali* in Daslana.

Who the *Hali*s or *Gwal*s are?

There is a considerable presence of a Lodha caste in the village. These are not original residents of the village. All of them are natives of villages of Manoharthana or Iklera tehsils of adjacent district Jhalawar. The Lodhas an OBC caste and present in the village as migrant agricultural workers. According to the local estimates there are about 271 households in the village and if there are 58 *Hali* households in the village then they form about 21.40 percent of total village households. Majority of these *hali* families are Lodhas which is about 80 percent of total migrants in the village.

A total of 55 out of 58 migrant agricultural worker families were visited, interviewed, and their information was collected through a census of residing migrant agricultural labourers (table 5). This list of all migrant workers was determined for purposive sampling through focus group discussions and rapport building exercises to instil the villagers' trust in the purpose of the research and to provide necessary support and help in gathering the required information. Since the number of migrant agricultural labourers turned out to be 58 in all, it turned out that each and every migrant will be contacted through a detailed census for information for the study.

Table 5. **Caste of the Migrants**

Valid	Caste	Freq.	Percent
	Bheel	5	9.09
	BheelThakur	3	5.45
	Chamar	1	1.82
	Gosain	1	1.82
	lodha	44	80.00
	Meghwal	1	1.82
	Total	55	100

(Source: Field work Daslana)

The majority of the informants (54 out of 55) were males who were the family's primary breadwinners, and only one primary informant was female because her husband was visiting the family's native land at the time of the

interview. The majority of the migrants were from lower castes such as Lodha, Bheel, Chamar, and Meghwal.

Apart from Lodhas, other *Gwal* castes are Bheel and Bheel Thakur. There are only three cases of Chamar, Gosain and Meghwal one each working as *Gwal* in the village who are natives of the same village. The rest 52 out of 55 *Gwal*s interviewed are migrants which is about 94.54 % of total *gwal*s in the village. Thus, *Gwal*s or *Hali*s are mainly migrant agricultural workers in the village and except lodhas and Gosain, rest of them are low in the caste hierarchy. Even Lodhas who are an intermediary caste falling under OBC category but their social status and living condition as well as social participation is no different than the low castes of the village. Like other low castes of the village either they live on the periphery of the village or in the hamlets where meghwals or other low castes live. The quality of their homesteads and its possessions are also very similar to the low castes of the village. Almost all of the *gwal* families live in a rented accommodation which is mainly kaccha or semi-pucca one room hutment.

Table 6: **Native Tehsil * Caste Cross tabulation**

Native Tehsil of the informants	Caste of the migrant labourers						
	Bheel	BheelThakur	Chamar	Gosain	Meghwal	lodha	Total
Anta	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Asnavar	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Chhipabarod	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
Iklera	4	3	1	-	-	28	36
M/Thana	1	-	-	-	-	6	7
Panchoda	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sangod	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	5	3	1	1	1	44	55

Source: Field work Daslana

A cross tabulation of the informants' native tehsil and caste group (see table 6) reveals that the majority of the migrant population, which is Lodha, is from the Iklera and Manoharthana tehsils of Rajasthan's Jhalawar district, with

some from Chhipabarod and Asnawar also in the geographical vicinity of the main outmigration area (Iklera). Bheels from the tehsil of Aklera are the second most significant contributors. This entire area, which lies on the border of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, is socially and economically backward. It has a reputation for being less urbanised. The region is known for its citrus (orange) production and holds a significant position on the global citrus map. Aklera is also known for having a high average annual rainfall of 943 mm and ‘dense green forests with lush foliage.' Kota, Ratlam, and Indore are the closest large cities. Agriculture is primarily dependent on monsoon in the district, with Parwan and Kalikhad as the two main rivers, and restricted industrial and commercial growth does not provide enough livelihood support opportunities for the impoverished community.

The Malav or Dhakar castes, who own the most land, are the main employers of these migrant labourers in the village. The majority of migrants working as *gwal*s work for Malav families (table 7). The employers' castes were not recorded by 19 of the informants because the majority of them have not found jobs as *gwal* or *hali* and are working as daily wage agricultural workers while waiting to be hired or employed as *gwal* like their brethren. It's worth noting that without confidence and any kind of guarantee, it's difficult for a migrant to get that kind of work with any landlord, as it requires a significant amount of money up front.

Table 7: **Caste of the Employers**

Employer	Frequency	Valid Percent
Bangali	1	2.8
Bania	1	2.8
Brahmin	1	2.8
Gujar	1	2.8
Kumawat	1	2.8
Malav	28	77.8
Mali	3	8.3
Missing	19	34.5
Total	55	100.0

(Source: Fieldwork Daslana)

So, first and foremost, a known trustworthy individual must serve as a guarantor for the contract in the event that the employee flees after receiving the advance payment; second, known examples from the native place provide encouragement and an incentive for others to imitate and seek assistance from already working relatives or associates. Bringing one's family and remaining with them may also help establish confidence that one is committed to staying and working. This explains why about 35% of migrant agricultural workers do not have a permanent employer.

Migrants were found to be almost evenly distributed among all earning or active age groups, with a small preference for the 20-40 years age group (50.91 percent) over the 40-60 years age group (43.64 percent). Just three of the respondents were between the ages of 60 and 70 (table 8). The age spread suggests that migrants are forced to leave early in their productive lives, and as they grow older and their physical health deteriorates, their capacity to work is limited, and their commitment is reduced or transferred to another recognised relative or family member. With the exception of a few individuals, older or retired *gwal*s leave the employing village and return to their native land.

Table 8: **Age of the informants at the time of Interview**

Age (yr.)	Frequency	Valid Percent
20-30	15	27.27
30-40	13	23.64
40-50	11	20.00
50-60	13	23.64
60-70	3	5.45
Total	55	100.0

(Source: Fieldwork Daslana)

It can also be clarified by the number of years they spent in the emigrated village and the people they met during that period. Just about a third of the migrants stayed in the village for less than five years, according to the findings (Table 9). *Gwal* migrants in Daslana have an average stay of 16 years, with the maximum number of people (12) reporting stays of 20-25 years. Some people have said to have stayed for more than 40 years, even up to 46 years. They are

mainly unemployed ex-*gwal*s who have built a hut in the village and only come here because there is nothing to return to in their native village.

Table 9: ***Gwals'* years of stay in the village**

Years	Frequency	Valid Percent
Less than 5	7	12.73
5-10	11	20.00
10-15	12	21.82
15-20	4	7.27
20-25	6	10.91
25-30	6	10.91
30-35	5	9.09
35-40	1	1.82
40-45	2	3.64
45-50	1	1.82
Total	55	100.00

Mean 16 years, Mode 20 years
Source: Fieldwork Daslana

An examination of the migrants' job profiles and types of jobs (table 10) shows that only about 37% of migrants are working as daily wage workers and are waiting to be absorbed as *gwal*. The remaining 63 percent of migrants work as *Gwal*s or *Gwal*-drivers or have retired as *gwal*s. It was also discovered that all male migrants spend almost the whole year in the emigrated village, only visiting their native places or relatives when someone is sick or there is a special event such as a wedding. The majority of the time, wives perform this juggling act in both places, and their average stay in the emigrated village throughout the year is around 9-10 months, as they share the burden of looking after the native place by visiting it for a few days at

Table 10: **Respondents' Work Profile**

Work	Frequency	Valid Percent
Daily Wage	18	32.73
Gwal	26	47.27
Gwal& Driver	9	16.36
Old ex-*Gwal*	2	3.64
Total	55	100.00

Source: Fieldwork Daslana

times during the year. They typically visit their native village two or three times a year, depending on the needs of the situation. As the primary breadwinner and performer of the *gwal* contract, the male has limited mobility and only visits his hometown or relatives when it is absolutely necessary and allowed by the employers.

Education is the most important source of empowerment and the founder of better life chances and possibilities. Its absence limits not only one's negotiating capacity, but also one's sense of rights and ability to exercise those rights. The majority of migrant respondents (about 61 percent) were found to be illiterate. When you include the primary educated (see table 11), the figure nearly doubles to 81 percent.

Table 11: ***Gwals'* Educational level**

Education	Frequency	Valid Percent
Illiterate	34	61.8
Primary	11	20.0
Middle	7	12.7
Secondary	3	5.5
Total	55	100.00

Source: Fieldwork Daslana

Just 5.5 percent of the respondents had completed secondary education. The respondents' alarmingly low educational attainment is representative of their lower negotiation skills as well as their poor social and economic history. In such a case, they are best positioned to join the type of labor-employer relationship because it provides them with some assurance of all-weather jobs to support their livelihood. The educational standard of the migrants' wives is even worse. 96 percent of their wives were found to be illiterate. It has significant implications for women in terms of life opportunities and gender equality, as migration brings with it a slew of additional challenges. It further complicates the family's grim educational outlook for the next generation.

All of the migrants live in the emigrated village, but they have a feeling of being outsiders, and they are not fairly and completely observed and assimilated into the village's group life. The condition, scale, place, and amenities of their homestead all point to this. A map of the location of their hutments reveals (see table 12) that only one family lived within the village, and the majority of the families lived on the outskirts, such as in Meghwalmohalla, near the river or cremation ground, or in Gujar mohallas, where they often choose to live for the convenience of rearing their animals.

Table 12: ***Gwal*s Residential Locality**

Mohalla	Frequency	Valid Percent
Devnarayan	9	16.4
Gujar	5	9.1
Inside village	1	1.8
Mandir	26	47.3
Meghwal	10	18.2
Towards River	3	5.5
Towards Cremation Ground	1	1.8
Total	55	100.0

Source: Fieldwork Daslana

Migrants' earnings vary depending on their job history, experience, and negotiating skills. There is no one-size-fits-all solution, and it varies from case to case. Migrants working as *Gwal*s usually receive a lump sum payment ranging from Rs.30,000 to Rs.60,000, depending on their ability and experience, as well as 4-6 quintals of food grain per year and a place to live with their families (Table 13). In some cases, all three are involved, and in others, only two or one are. However, the primary foundation of the partnership is a negotiated advance, either all at once or in increments. A better deal will include all three.

Cross tabulation of Grain Supply in quintal and type of occupation

Case Processing Summary of Table 13

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Grain earning in quintal in addition to Cash * Classified Occupation	53	96.4%	2	3.6%	55	100.0%

Table 13: **Grain earning in quintal in addition to Cash * Classified Occupation Cross tabulation**

		Classified Occupation		
		DW	*Gwal*	Total
Grain earning in quintal in addition to Cash	0	18	16	34
	4	0	5	5
	4.5	0	5	5
	5	0	9	9
	Total	18	35	53

Chi-Square Tests for Table 13

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.232[a]	3	.002
Likelihood Ratio	20.907	3	.000
N of Valid Cases	53		

a. 5 cells (62.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.70.

Table 14: Annual Earning of Migrants

Annual Earning in Rs.	Frequency	Valid Percent
18-20000	1	1.92
20-30000	2	3.85
30-40000	15	28.85
40-50000	13	25.00
50-60000	15	28.85
60-70000	6	11.54
Missing	3	
Total	55	

Mean annual Earning: Rs.43055/-,
Mode Multiple (Rs.50000/, Rs.60000/-)
Source: Fieldwork Daslana

Table 15: **Occupation and Earning Cross tabulation**

Occupation	Annual Earning in Rs (000s)						
	<20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	Total
Daily Wage	**1**	**0**	**9**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**18**
Gwal	2	2	4	6	7	5	26
Gwal& Driver	0	0	0	2	5	2	9
Old ex-*Gwal*	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
All *Gwal*s	**3**	**2**	**4**	**8**	**13**	**7**	**36**
G. Total	4	2	13	13	15	8	55

Source: Fieldwork – Daslana

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.193[a]	5	.022
Likelihood Ratio	13.867	5	.016
N of Valid Cases	55		

The migrants' average annual earnings were found to be Rupees 43055. Those who were *gwal*s could earn between Rs. 50,000 and Rs.60,000 per year (Table 14). The amount of money earned on a daily basis was discovered to be smaller (table 15). A significance test using the X^2 calculation was used to assess the relationship between migrants' earnings and their form of occupation, as follows:

H_1= There is significant difference between the earning of daily wagers and *Gwal*s

H_o= There is no significant difference between the earning of daily wagers and *Gwal*s.

It was found that the significance value 0.022 at degrees of freedom 5 for the given chi-Square value 13.193 is smaller than $\alpha = 0.05$, hence, H_o is rejected. As a result, the test indicates that there is sufficient evidence to indicate a connection between migrant earnings and occupation, and it is clear that *gwal*swere better off in terms of annual earnings than daily wage earners. The *Gwal*s earn an additional gain in the form of food grain supplies. Just 13 of the

active *gwal*s were found not to be receiving grains from their employers, while the rest of the 35 reporting cases, 19 of them, were receiving a supply of 4 to 5 quintal per year.

The migrants' average family size was discovered to be four. Table 16 reveals that eight respondents had four children, six had three, 27 had two, and nine had only one child, while ten respondents had no children because they were not married or newly married. In the case of the respondents' girls, it was discovered that the sex ratio of the children was highly skewed, with only 41 daughters to 62 sons, resulting in an alarmingly low sex ratio of 661.

Table 16: **Number of Children of Migrant Couples**

		1st Child	2nd Child	3rd Child	4th Child
Valid	Male	31	23	4	4
	Female	14	13	10	4
	Total	45	36	14	8
Missing	9	10	19	41	47
Total		55	55	55	55

Table 17: **Migrants' Children Education by Age and Gender**

			Educational Level of Children							
Gender	Child. Age		Illiterate	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Grad. &more	NA	Total
Male	Child Age (Binned)	0-10yrs	2	12	0	0	0	0	9	23
		10-20yrs	1	6	7	10	2	3		29
		20-30 year	3	0	2	0	0	4		9
		>30years	0	1	0	0	0	0		1
		Total	6	19	9	10	2	7	9	62
Female	Child Age (Binned)	0-10yrs	2	4	0	0			10	16
		10-20yrs	5	7	6	2	2			22
		20-30yrs	3							3
		Total	10	11	6	2	2		10	41

There is also a similar difference in terms of educational achievement of children based on gender, with girls being taught until primary school and boys until secondary school. Graduate level studies in children are only available to male children, and only in a small percentage of cases (Table 17).

Jati-Avarohan[1](Downward Caste Mobility) of OBC Migrants

Raychaudhuri et.al. (1983) have mentioned that *hali*s happen to be from a low caste or tribal background who took out a loan to marry and become *Hali*s. The increase in debt essentially enslaved the *hali*s for the rest of their lives. The debt was not passed on to the next generation, but the master had first pick of the *hali*'s son for jobs. We find some similarities and some differences in the case of *hali*s in Daslana which is worthwhile to note. What we see here is that though there are a few *hali*s only which are local and from low caste or tribal background and majority of them are from OBC category (80%) and 95% of them are migrants however, we see a visible fall in the social status of OBC migrant *hali*s in the village which is almost similar to the low caste. So, what we see in the case of Lodhas is a process of '***Jati-Avarohan***' akin to 'de-Sanskritization' resulting from the economic and social conditions arising out of migration and bondage.

Jati-Avarohanis a term used by the researcher, drawing from the instance of Lodha in the study village, to denote a form de-Sanskritization which marks a process of downward caste mobility of a higher caste towards a lower caste(s) in which the caste in question circumstantially or otherwise adopts to the behaviour and living conditions of a caste(s) lower to it in the caste hierarchy.

M N Srinivas proclaimed that Sanskritization is "is a process by which a low or middle Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently twice-born caste. Generally, such changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy than that traditionally conceded to the claimant class by the local

[1] A Hindi term used by the researcher

community" (Srinivas 1952, Jayapalan 2--1). Regarding a reverse process of Sanskritization, Shyamlal (1992) writes about de-Sanskritization in the form of 'Bhangiisation' which denotes downward mobility in Indian caste system. By Bhangiisation he means a process by which 'a high caste Hindus convert themselves into the Bhangi caste'. In this process an individual from the upper caste who converts to the untouchable caste and changes his identity must be officially incorporated and accepted into the new untouchable community for which a process and ritual is observed by the community.

In contrast to Sanskritization it is an individual process in which the convert does not claim to be the descendants of upper caste (Shyamlal 1992). However, the de-Sanskritization as seen at Daslana is not marked by any ritual or event rather is circumstantial or consequential process in which OBC Lodhas are forced to live with and alike lower castes of the village unconsciously due to life situation and economic impoverishment. Unlike Bhungiisation, they are aware mentally about their OBC or higher Hindu caste status.

Another important aspect of the *hali* system in Daslana which is at variance with the finding of Raychaudhuri et.al. (1983) is that the labour bondage or contract is resultant of debt to repay another debt created at the native place which is high interest debt. The debt taken at Daslana is interest free, mutual and annual in lieu of commitment of service to be provided by the *hali*. Thus, the severity of the *Hali* system found in Daslana as not as much as described by Raychaudhuri et.al. (1983) and others as it is not passed onto other generation for principal amount not being repaid due to high rate of interest of usuary. However, it is true in this case too that majority of the loans taken by *hali*s of Daslana at their native place is for marriage of oneself or another family member which will be discussed in details in forthcoming chapters.

"Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery" (1976) says that debt bondage is "the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature

of those services are not respectively limited or defined"(Gutteridge 1957). *Hali*s of Daslana, as defined above, do get into a kind of debt bondage with the employer but it on the better terms than what he is obliged to service at his native place. Also, that debt taken here is an agreed amount against the yearlong promised service by the debtor and only part of agreed debt is paid in advance and rest is payment is deferred for the later part of the year a security by the employer.

Srivastava (2005) mentions that in debt bondage labourers enter into willing labour agreements for their economic necessity but they aren't merely economic agreements. Employees are differentiated by a variety of asymmetries and high exit costs as they hit these partnerships, which were not part of the deal as the employee knew it at the outset. Daslana experience is somewhat different form this too. It is true that these contracts are not purely economic as there are several other considerations and there are asymmetries in the contract but there is no such high exit costs here as the agreed amount is not fully paid in advance and only paid in staggered steps.

Re-enactment of Patron-Client relationship

It is to some extent very similar to what Bremen (1979, 1996, 2019) would say that it is a kind of 'favoured servitude' to 'ensure survival'. It also resonates with Scott (1972) that the bonded labour system in agriculture as a whole, including the *hali* and attached labour systems, is the product of a centuries-old patron-client relationship which is a "special case of dyadic (two-person) ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which a person of higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both, for a person of lower status (client), who, in turn, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including peddling". Apparently the *hali* system in Daslana seems like the extension of patron-client relationship too.

Thus, it can be said that although any individual in need of work can be hired as a *Gwal*, it has been discovered that the *Gwal* labour pool in this village is heavily drawn from a particular area and caste. It was also noted that such

contracts are based on a mutually agreed annual emolument (often in cash and kind, but often only in cash) between the engaged *Gwal* and the employer landlord, which is determined by the *Gwal*'s abilities, the size of the employer's agricultural land and animal herd, and the type(s) of work required from the *Gwal*. The number and quantity of staples collected by different *Gwal*s did not have a fixed amount or quantity, but varied from case to case. The employer and employee tend to have an unspoken understanding on which factors decide emoluments and which factors differ from case to case without malice or disagreement. Another aspect of the payment terms was that the *Gwal* was given a portion of the agreed emolument up front and the remainder was deferred. Such bonded labour features, such as advance payment and employer-employee fixity, are included in this contract.

It is also evident that *Hali* or *gwal* occupation is the preferred and agreed occupation of the migrants. The migration and bondage have though given sustenance and help in meeting out native obligations but has brought down their social status and marks downward social mobility seeming to be a process of ***'Jati-Avarohan'*** as a variant of de-sanskritization. It also in many ways reinforces prevalent patron-client relationship of caste system in a newer form.

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Chapter 5

Migration Bondage: Causes and Effects

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Migration is a form of population movement that involves a change of residence from one geographical unit to another. It has social, cultural and economic consequences. It is stated that migration has three key effects (1) the out-migration area (2) the in-migration area, and (3) the migrants (Kaul 2006). The most common explanation for migration is for work or business reasons. Male migration is the most common form of migration in India, and it is primarily for the purpose of finding work. Females typically migrate as male companions as a result of a variety of other factors, such as marriage or family relocation.

At the time of the first census in 1881, migration data was collected based on the place of birth. In 1961, changes were made to include the place of birth and the length of time spent in the region. Additional details on the last place of residence and the length of stay at the enumeration site was added in 1971. The 1981 census included information on migration factors, which was later updated in subsequent censuses. In India's census, migration is counted on the following two criteria: (a) Birthplace: if the birthplace is different from the enumeration site (known as life-time migrant). (b) Place of current residence (also known as migrant by place of last residence). Settled in a place different from their previous residence was 31.45 crore in 2001 census. In 2011 Census it became 45.36 crore which is 44.23 percent increase over the last decade. Though 70 percent of these migrants are female (mainly due to marriage - 49 %). Census 2011 shows a de-growth in people relocating for work and employment — it being 10.2 per cent in 2011, is down from 14.4 per cent in 2001.

In comparison to migrants heading abroad, the growth rate of migrants bound for other destinations within their own states increased between 2001 and 2011. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of so-called inter-state migrants increased by 55 percent. Between the 2001 and 2011 Censuses, this percentage fell to just 33%. In comparison, between the 1991 and 2001 censuses, the rate of growth in so-called inter-district migrants (within the same state) increased from

30% to 58 percent. People are relocating not only within states, but also within districts. Between 1991 and 2001, intra-district migration (movement within the same district) increased by 45 percent. People are evidently seeking better prospects closer to home than they were previously (Jha and Kawoosa 2019).

Table18: **Reasons for migration in India (during 1991-2001)**

Total migrants by last residence (0-9 yrs.)	98.3 million
Reasons:	
Work/Employment	14.4 million (14.7%)
Business	1.1 million (1.2%)
Education	2.9 million (3.0%)
Marriage	43.1 million (43.8%)
Moved after birth	6.5 million (6.7%)
Moved with household	20.6 million (21.0%)
Other	9.5 million (9.7%)

(Source: Census 2001)

There were 14.4 million migrations for work and employment (table 18) and during the same period rural to rural internal migration in India was 53.3 million. Rajasthan ranked seventh in the top ten states for intra-state migration by last residence (duration 0 to 9 years) and its Rural-to-rural migration was 3,285,585 which is 69.7% of its total migration (Census of India 2001).

The migration processes in developing countries are fundamentally different from those in developed countries. In developing countries like India, migration is primarily driven by poverty, unemployment, natural disasters, and underdevelopment at the origin location, rather than by the so-called pull powers of the destination location, as it is in developed countries. In developed countries, migration is also seen as a means of survival. Poverty and wealth are both factors that cause people to migrate. The former is more common in developing countries, while the latter is more common in developed countries.

An UN report on migration says, “Population pressure on finite resources encourages migration. ……. The migration is seen, not so much as a natural outcome of development, but more as a result of distortion in the development process deriving from inappropriate or ineffective planning”. Migration is more common as a result of regional development disparities. People migrate from underdeveloped, backward areas to developed, prosperous areas in order to improve their living conditions. Regional inequality and migration are inextricably related. ‘Underdevelopment, poverty, spatial disorganisation, regional disparities, social inequality, rural stagnation, rural neglect, and unbalanced regional development’ over national space are all thought to be major triggers of migration in India. People move to cities because of a shortage of work opportunities in rural areas and better job prospects and infrastructure services in urban areas.

The most common form of workforce migration has been from rural to urban or rural to industrial. It's not to say that migration from village to village has just not happened before. Human exoduses have occurred throughout history for a number of causes, including better living conditions, job prospects, or relief from continuous wars and natural disasters. In the modern era, however, urban and industrial settings have served as hubs of opportunity, growth, and employment, attracting a larger proportion of the rural workforce than any other source (Dubey 2020).

Low productivity in agriculture at native place is another reason for outmigration. Lack of agricultural resources and transparent as well as low interest rate credit facilities are severely lacking. According to Dayal (1984), low agricultural productivity exists in two circumstances. It is primarily due to physical terrain constraints or inadequate moisture supply in Rajasthan, central India, and the coastal districts of Maharashtra and Karnataka. A number of actions are needed in India to increase agricultural productivity over large areas. First, expanding irrigation and fertiliser supplies, as well as improving credit facilities, are critical to allowing small farmers to benefit from the availability of physical inputs. Increased production can be achieved by expanding irrigation facilities in

areas where they are currently insufficient, even though it is costly. Also, small ponds in the fields or unused barren land used to collect rainwater for irrigation will boost productivity significantly.

The term "new mobilities paradigm" was coined by Sheller and Urry (2006). They said that the world has never been as mobile as it is now. They also emphasised that the mobility systems' difficulty is exacerbated by the various fixities or "moorings" that make them up. Institutions that govern or promote migration are fraught with il/legalities based on socio-political and cultural ideas of allegiance and what the nation-state is supposed to represent. The new mobilities paradigm has had a major effect on migration research, especially in terms of deciding who is qualified to migrate, under what conditions, and how. The migration of *Gwals* from their native places to villages like Daslana are also encountered with various “fixities” and “moorings” which should unravel in coming discussions.

As stated previously, migrants of Daslana who are mainly from Iklera and Manoharthana tehsils of adjoining district of Jhalawar and some from other tehsils of Kota Districts only. They all face developmental stagnancy, poverty and rural unemployment at their native places and hence they had to move out for livelihood as repaying of self or familial debt. In such a situation, one has to earn enough as there is pressure to pay off the loan and service its high rate of interest otherwise whatever little land one has, which was given as collateral, would be gone. It forces the labour to get into some kind of arrangement whereby there is some surety of earning for the year and one is not left with daily uncertainty.

Similarly, the need of having a working hand available round the year for the landed peasantry in village provides this inclination and willingness to hold on and engage the available labour who can commit for a long term. Thus, the migrants and employers get in into this *Hali-malik* relationship. Perhaps it is a very simple arithmetic in which both the parties are satisfied to some extent. A wage (commonly prevalent in this area) of Rs. 300 per diem can fetch Rs.109500/- per annum earning for the daily wager if he gets the work every day. But that does not happen in reality ever. Even for 180 days employment for a

daily wager during the year, if one is fortunate enough, it will bring about Rs. 54000/ in a year while there shall always remain uncertainty and stress that one will get the work or not.

This simple back hand calculation plays an important role for the contract which exists in the study village. If the employer is supposedly having a *Gwal* for Rs. 50000 for a year, he is saving on the cash of Rs. 50-60000 as he is getting the commitment of labour for entire year as he would have to pay Rs. 300 per day otherwise. Similarly, the workers understand that they are not going to get employment for the whole year and would consider very lucky if get even 180 days work. In such a situation, whatever favourable bargain they can strike for annual job security and regularity, it is better. So, they look forward to get into some kind of annual agreement and commitment from a prospective employer. Due to this consideration, we find that range of annual cash agreement for these *Gwals* in the village vary from Rs.30000 to Rs.60000. Those who are new, less experienced and skilled even settle for Rs.30000 per annum. It is also explained by the fact that about 37% of migrants living as daily wage workers are waiting to be absorbed as *Gwal*. Getting Rs. 60000/- are those luckier ones who have some skills like they can operate tractor and other power tools of agriculture.

Table 14: **Annual Earning of Migrants**

Annual Earning in Rs.	Frequency	Valid Percent
18-20000	1	1.92
20-30000	2	3.85
30-40000	15	28.85
40-50000	13	25.00
50-60000	15	28.85
60-70000	6	11.54
Missing	3	
Total	55	
Mean annual Earning: Rs.43055/-, Mode Multiple (Rs.50000/, Rs.60000/-)		
Source: Fieldwork Daslana (reproduced from Chapter 4)		

It is discovered that such *Hali* or *Gwal* engagements in the study village are based on a mutually agreed annual emolument (often in cash and kind, sometimes only in cash) based on the engaged *Gwal*'s skills, the size of the employer's agricultural land and animal herd, and the kind(s) of work expected from the *Gwal*. It was noted that the amount and quantity of staples obtained by different *Gwals* did not have a set amount or quantity, rather varied from case to case. It seems that the employer and employee have an unspoken agreement on which factors determine emoluments and which factors vary from case to case without malice or dispute.

Table 13: **Grain earning in quintal in addition to Cash * Classified Occupation Cross tabulation**

		Classified Occupation		
		DW	*Gwal*	Total
Grain earning in quintal in addition to Cash	0	18	16	34
	4	0	5	5
	4.5	0	5	5
	5	0	9	9
	Total	18	35	53

(Source Fieldwork Data, Table reproduced from chapter 4)

Another feature of the payment term in the village was that a portion of the negotiated emolument is provided to the *Gwal* up front and the rest is deferred. This contract has certain bonded labour like features, such as advance payment and employer-employee fixity, but it is not entirely bonded labour in usual sense of the term (where loan due to high rate of interest does not get paid and bondage, therefore, does not end) since the labourer squares off the payment after a year's work and does not pay any interest on the amount of payment earned in advance. Other *Gwal* family members are not obligated to work for the same employer for the same salary. A smooth change of affiliation is also possible if dues are squared and other employers are interested in hiring that *Hali* or *Gwal*.

Bisht and Naqvi (2013) recorded the lives and plight of *Halis* in Rajasthan's Baran district's Kishanganj and Shahabad tehsils, as well as adjoining Madhya

Pradesh districts like Sheopur and Shivpuri. This area is very near to the study village and falls almost in the same geographical terrain. It is reported that the Sahariya tribe, in these regions, faces extreme poverty, starvation, and extinction. According to them, local landlords, primarily Gujars and Sardars, who control large tracts of land, some of which is usurped from these Sahariyas, employ them as *Hali*. As per their reports, in this part of Rajasthan, the masters are said to be cunning and dictatorial, compelling them to serve as *Halis* for an infinite period of time in return for a small loan taken during a time of need. They found that the loan terms were so stringent that they could never end, and they continued even after the person's death and his son or family was made responsible for repaying it. They have recorded a number of pitiful cases (two excerpts are given below):

'Babu, an ex-*Hali':*

> "I became bonded labour after my father died. He had taken a loan from Sardar Amrao Singh, so I had to repay it by working on his land. Since childhood, I have only witnessed misery."

'Kishan Lal of Sunda village in Kishangarh':

> "When I was 17, my father, who worked as a bonded labourer with a Sardar, died. The Sardar came to our house and said that my father owed him Rs 2,25,000 and I too must work on his land to repay the debt…….He would pay me Rs 4,000 for an entire year's hard labour and that too in instalments. He would sometimes pay Rs 10 or Rs 20 as daily wages. At the end of the year, he would declare that I still owed him a huge amount of money since he had paid for my medicines and food. So, I never really came out of that cycle of debt."

Similarly, Sivakumar (2010) has recorded the misery of Jaiprakash, another *Hali* from Kishanganj area. It painfully points out what ordeals some of the *Halis*have to go through. How loans are are never repaid and keeps on getting accumulated for which the borrower has to repay through forced and bonded labour:

> "Om Prakash borrowed Rs 4,000 from Hansraj. Thus began a vicious cycle of debt, which quickly trapped him into bondage..… He worked for Hansraj for three years. Instead of receiving money, he was told that his debt with the landlord was only rising. At the end of the first year, he was told that he still owed Rs 5,000, which included the interest, food provided and penalties for leave. Om Prakash wanted to give up the work but was told that he could not do that unless he paid up. He had no way out…… by the end of that year, he was informed that he owed Hansraj Rs 11,500 and that he had to work for 11 months without money in order to repay him. Hansraj 'sold' to him to his brother, Chauthmal, for Rs 11,500. His miseries mounted as his daughter fell ill and he had to borrow another Rs 2,000. He also had to donate blood for her treatment. Already weakened, he collapsed and could not go to work for a couple of days. The two brothers then went to his house and began to pressurize him – they said he owed them Rs 20,000 and that if he could not pay up, he had to get up and work on their fields."

If we compare the situation of *Halis* in the study village, we find that such an extreme situation as portrayed by Bisht and Naqvi (2013) and Sivakumar (2010) above is not visible in the study village. Here, loan taken in most of the cases are for the repayment and service of the loan taken at the native place. Loan taken here is much easier and convenient as compared to the loans taken at native place which much similar to debt trap described above and therefore migrating to

the study village and finding work as *Gwal* or *Hali* is to some extent a kind of much needed scape goat.

Sivakumar (2010) has pointed out that the district administrations sometimes deny the presence of *Hali* as bonded labour on grounds that it adheres to minimum wage standards and therefore only a small percentage of cases are brought to their attention, i.e. 2 out of 16 cases while there are still 15-20 such cases in each Saharia village.

Minimum wages, as per ILO, has been defined as "the minimum amount of remuneration that an employer is required to pay wage earners for the work performed during a given period, which cannot be reduced by collective agreement or an individual contract". Minimum Wages Act, 1948 says that minimum wages are "any minimum rate of wages fixed or revised by the appropriate Government in respect of scheduled employments under section 3". The declared minimum wages in Rajasthan since January 1, 2014 and thereafter have been as under:

Table 19: **Minimum wages in Rajasthan**

Rajasthan **Minimum Wage** (Shops & Establishment) (**As on Jan 1, 2014**)		
Class of employment	Total per day	Total per month
Unskilled	INR 189	INR 4,914*
Semi-Skilled	INR 199	INR 5,174*
Skilled	INR 209	INR 5,434*
Highly skilled	INR 259	INR 6,734*
Rajasthan **Minimum Wage** (Shops & Establishment) (**As on May I, 2019**)		
Unskilled	INR 225	INR 5,850
Semi-Skilled	INR 237	INR 6,162
Skilled	INR 249	INR 5,474
Highly skilled	INR 299	INR 7,774

(*Calculated by the Researcher for 26 days, Source: ET 2015, India Briefing 2021)

If we compare the rates of wages in table 20 with the earnings of *Gwals* as stated in table 15, we find the extent of how the requirement and norm of minimum wage is being adhered in spite of the fact that *Gwal* contracts in the village is much more conducive than other reported places. The mean earning of *Gwal* is Rs. 43055/- per annum which amounts to Rs. 120 per day for unskilled labour. Tractor driving is a skilled job. A *Gwal* driver getting Rs.60000/ per annum accounts for Rs. 167/- per day which is way below the standards of rate effective from 2014. These calculations are for mean and maximum earnings. *Gwals* who are getting Rs.30000 only, their daily wage earning would be Rs.83/- per day only. It is an important aspect which should be kept in mind.

An analysis of *Gwals* in Daslana reported that migrants employed as *Gwals* were nearly evenly distributed across all earning or active age groups, with a slight preference for the 20-40 years age group (50.91 percent) over the 40-60 years age group (43.64 percent). Just three of the respondents were between the age of 60 and 70. The age spread indicates that migrants are forced to leave early in their productive lives, and as they grow older and their physical abilities deteriorate, their engagement is reduced or transferred to other known relatives or family members. Just about a third of the migrants stayed in the village for less than five years, according to the findings. The average length of stay for *Gwal* migrants in Daslana is sixteen years, with twelve people reporting a stay of 20-25 years. Some people have mentioned staying for more than forty years, even up to forty-six years. They are mainly unemployed ex-*Gwals* who have built a hut in the village and only stay here because there is nothing to return to in their native village.

With the exception of a few individuals, older or retired *Gwals* leave the employing village and return to their native land. It can also be clarified by the number of years they spent in the in-migrated village and the people they met during that period.

Due to a lack of irrigation in their native land, combined with debt and poverty, the Lodhas have been forced to migrate because, despite having ancestral agricultural land, they are unable to farm it optimally and therefore serve as landless agricultural labour in another village.

South Rajasthan's well-irrigated villages are agriculturally promising, but they require the availability of outside labour. This causes people to migrate from rural areas where agriculture and other avenues of jobs are not as promising as they once were, but to places where the fulfilment of familial needs provides a boost to out-migration. There are several factors responsible for pushing people from villages for out-migration. The main such factors among others are:

a) Loan repayment: Due to severe poverty in rural India, there always has been a general tendency to borrow money to meet out eventualities like reasons such as investment in agriculture, marriage, death, sickness etc. It causes rural people to borrow a large amount of money on a regular basis to meet their important needs and social obligations. Most of these debts are from local moneylenders on a very high compounding interest rateand not through formal baking credit sources.

   Usually, the compounding high rate of interest aided with poverty and unemployment of the debtor makes it difficult to repay and square off. These loans are accumulated overtime with non-repayment, further borrowing and dubious practices of the moneylender.

   The accumulated debt is either result in forfeiting of familial property particularly land by the lender or it gets passed on from a generation to another generation.

   According to various estimates, rural indebtedness has increased significantly from Rs 600 crore in 1925 to Rs 6,193 crore in 1981.

The amount of outstanding rural debt has risen from Rs 1,954 crore to Rs 6,193 crore in the last two decades, from 1961 to 1981. Furthermore, between 1961 and 1971, rural indebtedness increased by 97 percent, and by 60 percent between 1971 and 1981.

Table 20: **Extent of Rural Indebtedness in India**

Estimators	Year	Credit (Rs Crore)
Mr. Maclagan	1911	300
M. L. Darling	1925	600
Central Banking Enquiry Committee	1931	990
P. J. Thomas	1933	2200
R.K. Mukherjee	1935	1200
Reserve Bank of India	1937	1800
N. S. Naidu	1938	1100
Shri Menon	1938	1800
All India Rural Credit Survey Committee	1951-52	750
National Income Committee	1954	913
S. Thirumalai	1956	1800
Ministry of Finance	1962	2762
All India Rural Credit and Investment Survey	1972	4000
Rural Credit Survey Report	1981	6193

(Source: Kwatiah 2021)

According to the NSSO's 59th round of surveys (January-December 2003), 48.6% of farmers' households were in debt, with 42.3 percent of unpaid loans coming from money lenders, merchants, family and associates. Farmers' unpaid loans totalled Rs 18,000 crore, according to estimates. Farmers' unpaid loan of Rs 18,000 crore was also

estimated to have been taken out at a rate of 30% per annum or higher (Kandikuppa 2018, Kwatiah 2021).

The debt-to-asset ratio is a metric used by the NSSO to assess indebtedness (DAR). A DAR of less than 40% is considered perfect, and a DAR of more than 60% is considered worrying. A farming household in India in 2013 had a debt-to-asset ratio that was more than 630 percent higher than one in 1992. Households with casual labour as their primary occupation were more likely to have a higher DAR than the rest of the rural population. Farmers also have one too many loans and are forced to juggle them by borrowing from one source to pay off another.

Farmers are forced to labour under increasingly stressful conditions for meagre pay as a result of their high debt.Farmers from Odisha migrated to Sangareddy, Telangana, to work in brick kilns for extremely low pay in order to pay off their loans back home, according to The Wire(Kandikuppa 2018).

It is also true for a large number of migrants of this study village too that they migrate to become *Hali* in order to repay the debt at their native place. It would be supplemented by the upcoming analysis that 68.10 percent of migrants of the study village either were indebted or the debt at the native place still continues. Therefore, loan at native place is understood to be a major cause of outmigration and it was explored in this research with regards to the migrants.

b) Landlessness: Landlessness is another reason of migration. In rural areas if you have no land then major option is to work as landless labourer. For an area which is rife with hidden unemployment,

agricultural development and stagnancy, labourers are forced to migrate to earn and sustain livelihood.

It has already been discussed that by 1930 there were a significant number of landless labourers in India (Prakash 1992).Rao (1996) has shown that the standard of living of agricultural labour in India has declined over the course of the First Plan, based on the Report of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry (conducted in 1956-1957). Lower real wages resulted in a decrease in labour income, according to the report.

c) Lack of Irrigation and infrastructural facilities: we know that there is high monsoon dependence of agriculture in India and for agricultural production regularity and growth development of irrigational facilities and other infrastructures are necessary. In non-green revolution areas adequate investment for developing irrigational and infrastructural facilities have been wanting. Rajasthan itself falling in arid zone along with the quality of the terrain, such investments still wanting and way below the satisfactory level. Thus, it was thought that lack irrigation and infrastructure in the native places of the migrant could be another possible reason for people's push off from the village.

d) Lack of employment: Employment is the foremost means of living. We know that population growth is India is one of the major developmental concerns. With high growth of population without commensurate agricultural and industrial development, unemployment at the rural level increases. While Covid-19 impact on unemployment has been very adverse and it has alarmingly raised the magnitude, it has averaged about 8.5% during 2018-2021. During the years 2009-10 and 2011-12, India's unemployment rate remained stable at around 2%. The ratio of growing population to

available livelihood resources particularly cultivable land also cause underemployment. Inevitable underemployment or unemployment of working age population in rural areas are a major source of migration.

e) Marriage: Marriage has been the biggest cause of migration in India as seen table 19 also. In India, women have to move to husband's place after the marriage. But in the case of Daslana migrants, marriage is not taken in that sense. In fact, most of the migrants in Daslana belong to communities who practice bride price unlike dowry as practiced and prevalent among upper caste Hindus. As a bride price, the groom side has to give half to one kilogram of silver and cash, which may go up to Rs.40-50000 depending on negotiation, to the bride side. Silver is converted as jewellery for the bride and cash is kept by the father of the bride as compensation as working and productive hand of the family will be given in marriage.

Depending on the situation like price of the silver and negotiation of cash, it may cost Rs.40000/- to 90000/- to the groom side. In addition to this expense, the groom side has to arrange for conveyance for the marriage party and usual feast to kins and neighbours. It is a huge financial burden on the families who are subsisting on daily wage or meagre agricultural produce. So, either one takes loan from the local moneylender or one saves from the earnings. Many of the working age youth migrate to other areas in anticipation of regular income so that they can save for their marriage after meeting out the daily necessities of living.

Therefore, it was a high probability that some of the migrants in the village would have also shifted to Daslana so that they can earn and

save for the prospective marriage of their own or their younger family relative.

In order to understand the probable reasons behind the outmigration of the *Halis* from their native village, these possible causes were enumerated before them and their priorities with the respect to these causes were ranked on a scale of 5 where most compelling reason was attributed with score of one as first reason and the least compelling reason was attributed to score of five as last preference.

Table 21: **Causes of Migration prioritized by the Migrants in Daslana**

Causes	Priority							
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	9#	Total	valid total
Loan Re-payment	33 (71.73%)	4 (16.17%)	3 (6.52%)	2 (4.34 %)	4 (8.69 %)	4	55	51
Land-lessness	1 (2.63%)	12 (31.57%)	10 (26.31%)	13 (34.21%)	2 (5.26%)	17	55	38
Lack of Irrigation	6 (15.0%)	11 (27.50%)	15 (37.5%)	4 (10 %)	4 (10 %)	15	55	40
Unem-ployment	9 (16.98 %)	26 (49.05 %)	8 (15.09 %)	9 (16.98 %)	1 (1.88%)	2	55	53
Marriage	4 (10%)	2 (5%)	12 (30%)	9 (22.5%)	13 (32.5%)	15	55	40

Note: 1st meaning most compelling and 5th as least compelling# 9 denotes Missing responses
None of the respondents listed out any other reason in addition to above (Source: Fieldwork Data)

A modal analysis of, considering best fit for the categorical data collected, it was found that 'Need of Loan Repayment' at the native place the most favoured number one reason for causing migration. Reasons of these familial loans were as usual as discussed above like marriage or other familial livelihood need. About 72 percent of valid responses favoured loan repayment as the prime cause. Similarly, the second most important reason comes out to be the problem of 'Unemployment' as 49 percent of the migrants it was the second choice. 'Lack of Irrigation and Infrastructural facilities' was the third most important reason with a score of 37.5 percent. 'Saving for marriage' and 'Landlessness' were given almost

equal emphasis with 32.5 percent and 34.21 percent respectively for fourth and third reason.

Still, if compared in gross terms all these five reasons stand to be endorsed by the respondents as they were given the choice of listing out any other reason if they think that is important and not listed out. But none of the respondents listed any other reason beyond the given 5 reasons. As seen in the table 21, in gross terms, the total valid responses entail that 'Unemployment was the primary reason followed successively by 'Loan Repayment', 'Saving for Marriage', 'Lack of Irrigation and Infrastructural Facilities' and 'Landlessness' as these reasons were marked somewhere in their priority.

Thus, one can safely assume that prime reasons for out migrations of *Halis* in Daslana were Loan repayment and Unemployment opportunities at native place which was aided by the problems of Lack of infrastructural and irrigational facilities, Landlessness and the Need to Save for the Prospective Marriage.

Table 22: **Major considerations favouring the study village to Migrate**

Encouraging Factors	Preferential Priority										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9#	Total	Valid Total
Chance to Work as *Gwal*	49 (92.5)	3 (5.7)	1 (1.9)						2	55	53
Wife Employment	5 (10.4)	34 (70.8)	7 (14.6)	2 (4.2)					7	55	48
Help in Loan Repay	3 (5.7)	14 (26.4)	32 (60.4)	4 (7.5)					2	55	53
Better Child Education		1 (1.8)	5 (16.7)	24 (80.8)					25	55	30
Offseason Employment				5 (23.8)	13 (61.9)	2 (6.5)	1 (4.8)		34	55	21
Presence of Natives			7 (29.2)	1 (4.2)	7 (29.2)	8 (33.3)	1 (4.2)		31	55	24
Destination near Kota			2 (9.5)	2 (9.5)	5 (23.8)	5 (23.8)	7 (33.3)		34	55	21
Proximity with Native village					1 (7.1)	3 (21.4)	4 (28.6)	6 (42.9)	41	55	14

9 denotes Missing responses, Figures in parenthesis are valid precents,

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

When the whole world is open to migrate, why did they come to Daslana. What lured them here which is a small tiny village living in oblivion? With the data available it is clear the most of the migrants are from same locality or administrative region i.e.Iklera and Manoharthana. It seems that migrants are encouraged and inspired by the example of their, relative, friend from the area before venturing out. It helps if you have someone known at a new place. It helps emotionally and winning the trust of the employer.

Migrants were asked about what are the places where people from their native places normally prefer to migrate. It was found that Kota and the areas around are the most preferred place to seek employment. About 98 % of them said that Kota and areas around are the most preferred area at their place and about 52 percent of all respondents indicated preference for this particular village. Only one person said that people prefer to go to Bapawar for work. However, when asked that what is their own place of preference best suited for migration, 92.5 % of migrants vouched for Daslana. It seems that a large number of migrants are satisfied with their choice and would like to continue to working in the village.

Therefore, as logical derivation, eight reasons were cited before the informants which were the most promising possibilities which attracted them to this village and they were asked to rank their preferences from their experiences. These encouraging factors were thought to be:

i. Possibility to get a job as a *Gwal*/*Hali* so that there will be annual security of employment.
ii. If moved with the family, their wives would also get the opportunity to work in agricultural fields as daily wage workers.
iii. Working as a *Gwal* or getting daily employment would help in repaying the loan at native place.
iv. Prospects of better child education as the village is near Kota and there are more educational amenities like proximity of schools and colleges.
v. Off season employment since agricultural labour is seasonal. So in non-peak seasons, they can get other daily wages such as *beldar* (loading and unloading of goods) or any other daily wage.

vi. Presence of natives (relatives, friends, acquaintances) in the village which is conducive in getting a job, security and support.

vii. Proximity of the village to the town of Kota where daily wage could be easily found. As living and house rents are cheaper in the village, commuting to Kota could be easier with village stay as base.

viii. Since the destination village in adjoining district or the same district (for few cases), the native place where the ties are generally alive and some family member or property is still there, would be easier to approach and commute. Hence the proximity of the destination village with the native village could be another important consideration in opting for this village for migration and work.

The abovesaid preferences of the migrants are plotted in table 22 above in which their priority rankings are comparable. In table 21 also, the modal measure suggests that possibility to getting a chance to work as a *Gwal* was the first choice of the migrants in in 92.5 % of the respondents. Wife could get some employment as a daily wager by working in the farms (a skill they carry from the native village and do not have to make more adjustment or new learning) was the second most favoured consideration. About 60 percent of the respondents marked help in loan repayment at the native place as the reason for the preference. Interestingly 80 % of the respondents said that availability of better amenities for education also was a consideration but they marked it as their fourth choice. Off season employment, presence of natives and proximity near city of Kota show medium to low preference. The proximity of native village to the destination village was marked as least important consideration.

However, if the same table is seen in the gross terms (see the column of valid total against the listed preferences in table 22) and consider over all enumeration of choices getting reflected anywhere on the preference scale and keep in mind that some of the choices did not find mention at all giving missing responses, the major reasons for choosing the village as destination would be in following order:

i. Chance to Work as *Gwal*(96.4%) and Help in Loan Repay (96.4%)

ii. Possibility of Wife's Employment (87.3%)
iii. Possibility of better child education (54.5%)
iv. Presence of Native in the village (43.6%)
v. Destination near Kota (38.2 %)
vi. Offseason Employment (38.2%)
vii. Proximity with Native village (25.5%)

Therefore, the analysis of choice rankings of the considerations of the migrants over what led to migrate to the study village, clearly points out all the above listed reasons have contributed to some extent in choosing the village as their destination as no other choices were listed by the respondents. However, chance of getting to work as *Gwal* and help in repayment of native loan are the most important factor. Possibility of wife getting employed as casual labour in agricultural work is another important consideration followed by possibility of better education of children. The findings as ushered by table 21 and table 22 have logical reciprocity and clearly establish the link between the place of out-migration and place of in-migration. The further analysis of data would entail this link further.

Table 23: **Present state of loan at native place**

(source: village field work)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No loan	16	29.1	33.3	33.3
	Finished	8	14.5	16.7	50.0
	Contd.	24	43.6	50.0	100.0
	Total	48	87.3	100.0	
Missing	9	7	12.7		
Total		55	100.0		

It has been discussed earlier in the chapter that how loans at native place are major reason for outmigration and also a major source of preference of settling in the study village. It was found that about 68 percent of the migrants had loan at their native place in some form or the other (table 23). While 16.7 percent of the migrants had finished their loan by working in the village, 43.6 percent migrants' loan was still continued and they were able to service it as they were able to

generate income from working in the village. There were also some informants (33.3%) who did not have any loan at their native place but still migrated to the village for work. It is very likely that a sizable portion of such respondents would be comprised of people working to save for the marriage of their own or any of their relative.

For migrant workers who are married and have children, it is a major issue as to whether leave the family behind or migrate with them. In most of the cases they are left behind literally giving birth to female headed households in villages with uncertain money order from the migrated male spouse. (Choithani 2020) has pointed that his studies have pointed out that women-headed households where men were absent due to migration were more vulnerable to food insecurity than households headed by men, according to a study on migration and food security in rural Bihar. Thus, left behind wife practically fend for herself and the dependents in the absence of the husband and more often live a difficult and miserable life. So, it is natural that if situation allows movement with the family is more welcome. If the accompanying wife finds some work for families earning, it is even better. In this context table 23 provides very useful and important information.

Table 24: **Occupation of Migrants Wives**

(source: Field work data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Daily wage	45	81.8	91.8	91.8
	Housewife	1	1.8	2.0	93.9
	Agri at Native Place	2	3.6	4.1	98.0
	Old	1	1.8	2.0	100.0
	Total	49	89.1	100.0	
Missing	9	6	10.9		
Total		55	100.0		

It is evident from the table 26 that in 89.1 percent of the cases, the wife was accompanying the migrant worker in the village. 2 respondents which is almost

negligible had left their wives at the native place to look after the agriculture. Only one migrants' wife worked as housewife and did not go out to earn a daily wage and one was old enough not able to work. But for almost 82 percent of migrants, their wives engage as daily casual wage worker. If we only consider the valid responses (from whom the response was received) then the percent even climbs higher to 91.8. Clearly, migration in Daslana did not only facilitated the migration with the family which is much better that not moving with them, it also given the opportunity to the moving family so that wives too can contribute to the income and wellbeing of the family. However, that contribution in monetary terms comes at a very moderate level (See table 25).

Table 25: **Monthly Earning of wives of Migrants**

	Rs./ Month	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1500	20	36.4	43.5	43.5
	2000	25	45.5	54.3	97.8
	3000	1	1.8	2.2	100.0
	Total	46	83.6	100.0	
Missing	9	9	16.4		
Total		55	100.0		
Mean = 1804, Median and Mode = 2000					

Analysis of the work done by the wives of the informant show that their women are doubly burdened with looking after the daily chores of the household and contributing as earner in the family (see table 24) as 92 percent of the wives worked as agricultural daily wage earners which depends on the vagaries of season and work availability. It was found that only one woman stayed at home and worked as housewife. Only in four percent cases wives were not accompanying their husband in the emigrated village and looking after the agriculture of the family at the native place. Still the earning of wives was found to be miniscule as compared to their husbands for the reasons of unequal wages, opportunities (to work as *Gwal*) and uncertainties of daily wage employment. Wives reported to be earning only about rupees 21648 as annual earning at rate of mean monthly wage of rupees 1804/-(table 25).

It was found that 36 % of migrants had migrated to the village prior to their marriage. Some of them had come to repay the family loan and some for saving for their marriage. 64 percent of the respondents had migrated after the marriage which included most of such people who had incurred loan due to their marriage. A look into the wives' time of migration reveals that in 62 % of cases wives had accompanied the husband while shifting to this village and 27 % wives joined their spouse later. Only 7.3 % respondents were not married yet and only in two cases wives were back at native place taking care of family farm (see table 26 below).

Table 26: **Wife's time of Migration**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	With Husband	34	61.8	61.8	61.8
	After when Husband settled	15	27.3	27.3	89.1
	Still at native place	2	3.6	3.6	92.7
	Not Married yet	4	7.3	7.3	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

Migrants though have been staying in the village for many years (see table 9 in chapter 4). The span of stay for some of them even up to 50 years. There were only 12.73 percent of the respondents whose stay was less than 5 years in the village. The mean year of stay of migrants in the village in 16 years. This means that that those who are able to get work as *Gwal* and though their contract is annual, they are still able to manage longer duration of association with their employers. While it is indicative of no better option for them to exercise, it could also mean that in the given situation they value this association and find it beneficial.

As we see that average years of stay of *Gwals* in the village is more than 15 years. In some cases, the father of the *Gwal*, who also earlier worked or working as a *Gwal* is also living in the same village. Though this number is small. At present fathers of only 7.5% respondents are residing in the village and for the rest they are residing in the native village. It also means that in some of the cases, their fathers already worked in the village as *Gwal* but returned back to the native place after getting old (retirement) or after son joining her work.

Table 27: **Migrants' Fathers place of livelihood**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Same migrated village	3	5.5	7.5	7.5
	Native Village	37	67.3	92.5	100.0
	Total	40	72.7	100.0	
Missing	9	15	27.3		
Total		55	100.0		

Table 28: **Migrants' Mother's place of stay**

	Village of Stay	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Same migrated village	3	5.5	6.7	6.7
	Native Village	42	76.4	93.3	100.0
	Total	45	81.8	100.0	
Missing	9	10	18.2		
Total		55	100.0		

Thus, we see that, in some of the cases it is generational stay and connection with the village. It generally seen in the process of migration, that in particular preference of migrants for a particular area or place, the role of the experiences of the acquaintances, relatives or family members who have already worked or working plays important encouragement. It is also comforting that known people

are present in the new unknown place which gives psychological support that you are not completely alone. It also plays an important role, particularly in the study village that the arrangement of *Hali* involves payment of advance. No employer would give advance which is normally in thousands of rupees to an unknown stranger until and unless a reliable person introduces him and vouches for his whereabouts, background and integrity. In this situation the presence of your community or a family member or relative is very important and we very clearly see that happening in the study village.

Table 29: **Migrants' Father's Year of Stay in the Migrated Village**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10	2	3.6	28.6	28.6
	15	4	7.3	57.1	85.7
	25	1	1.8	14.3	100.0
	Total	7	12.7	100.0	
Missing	9	48	87.3		
Total		55	100.0		

Table 30: Migrants' Brother's place of livelihood

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Same migrated village	7	12.7	16.7	16.7
	Native Village	35	63.6	83.3	100.0
	Total	42	76.4	100.0	
Missing	9	13	23.6		
Total		55	100.0		

Skills are important aspects for getting work. Sometimes skill match and sometime skills needs to be learnt and improved. It was found the 69 percent of the migrants did not have to acquire or learn any new skill. 18 percent of *Gwals* learnt driving after coming to the village and become *Gwal* driver which gave them better bargaining power in remuneration negotiation. It was found that about 13 percent of migrants had no skill set with them when they came and learnt

everything here. It shows that in most of the cases there is skill match in the work they can do and the kind of jobs required and some even willing to learn for better reward.

Table 31: Types of Employment taken by *Gwals* in the village at different point of time

(Source: Fieldwork data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Beldari	1	1.8	1.8
	Daily wage	9	16.4	16.4
	Daily wage, *Gwal*	28	50.9	50.9
	Daily wage, *Gwal*, Herd Keeper	4	7.3	7.3
	Daily wage, *Gwal* driver	3	5.4	5.4
	Daily wage, Construction Worker	1	1.8	1.8
	Gwal	2	3.6	3.6
	Gwal Driver	7	12.7	12.7
	Total	55	100.0	100.0

When all the migrants presented with the questions that what kind of work they have done so far, it revealed interesting information. Except one, everybody has worked as *Gwal* for some time during their stay. When they are not working as *Gwal*, they take up other assignments such as casual worker and Beldari (see table 31 above).

It is evident from table 31 that becoming a *Gwal* is most preferred occupation of the migrants. About 75 percent of the *Gwals* have had this occupation at some point of time during their stay. Given the current number of *Gwals* being 35 (See the table 10 in chapter 4), about 57 percent are engaged as *Gwals* but 32.7 percent of the current migrants who are working as daily wagers, were *Gwals* too at some point of time.

Table 32: **Years of working as *Gwal* in the village**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	5	9.1	11.9	11.9
	1	1	1.8	2.4	14.3
	2	2	3.6	4.8	19.0
	3	5	9.1	11.9	31.0
	4	3	5.5	7.1	38.1
	5	5	9.1	11.9	50.0
	6	1	1.8	2.4	52.4
	7	4	7.3	9.5	61.9
	8	1	1.8	2.4	64.3
	11	1	1.8	2.4	66.7
	12	1	1.8	2.4	69.0
	13	1	1.8	2.4	71.4
	14	1	1.8	2.4	73.8
	15	2	3.6	4.8	78.6
	16	1	1.8	2.4	81.0
	20	3	5.5	7.1	88.1
	22	1	1.8	2.4	90.5
	25	3	5.5	7.1	97.6
	30	1	1.8	2.4	100.0
	Total	42	76.4	100.0	
Missing	9	13	23.6		
Total		55	100.0		

It means that for some reason the contract could not be sustained and the relationship strained and ties were severed. It may also mean that though the occupation of *Gwal* is most favoured still it may not work out always and there are points of contention in the relationship. It will be further become clear with the data on the number of employers they have worked so far as a *Gwal* in table 33 given below:

Table 33: **Number of Landlords worked as *Gwal***

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	10	18.2	21.3	21.3
	2	13	23.6	27.7	48.9
	3	6	10.9	12.8	61.7
	4	7	12.7	14.9	76.6
	5	6	10.9	12.8	89.4
	6	2	3.6	4.3	93.6
	7	3	5.5	6.4	100.0
	Total	47	85.5	100.0	
Missing	9	8	14.5		
Total		55	100.0		

It shows that 67.3 percent of all migrants have worked for more than one landlord. Some have even worked for more than 5 landlords whose are about 20 percent. Thus, it indicates that *Gwal*-Malik relationship is not all that stable and dissatisfaction form either side leads to severity of the relationship.

Table 34: **Labour Payment Schedule**

		f	%	Valid %	Cum. %
Valid	Full Advance	3	5.5	5.6	5.6
	Part Adv & Part deferred	37	67.3	68.5	74.1
	Just after compltn	13	23.6	24.1	98.1
	awhile after work	1	1.8	1.9	100.0
	Total	54	98.2	100.0	
Missing	9	1	1.8		
Total		55	100.0		

Effort was made to find out the payment schedule for the migrants in the village. Only 5.6 percent of the respondents said that they get full payment in advance for 68.5 percent of the workers, the payment term was a combination of part advanced and part deferred. 24.1 percent migrants said that they get paid on work-to-work basis just after completion of the work. Very likely, these people belong to the category of daily wage earners. Though negligible, but one

respondent also said that sometimes payment is received after a while of the completion of the work.

We have already talked about the severing of the relationship between Maaliks and Gwaals and most often this happens due to the dispute either over the quality of work or payment. 21.8 percent of the respondents accepted that in past they have faced disputes over payment while 78.2 percent did not report any such dispute. It was also found that very few of the *Gwals*, whose percentage is about 11 percent had to leave the work due to the dispute over the payment. For 89 percent of the cases, leaving the work due to non-payment or dispute over payment was not an issue.

Table 35: Ever Faced dispute over Payment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	21.8	21.8	21.8
	No	43	78.2	78.2	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

Though the relationship or contract of *Gwal* is for entire year, there are days when there is no work with the employer and labour is free. What does the labour do in those free days? Probing in this aspect reveals into unspoken form of the bondage. To ascertain this, two kinds of questions were asked to the migrants. Does the employer send you to work to a friend or relative on the free days? And second that if there are free days, can you take up another assignment and earn extra on those days?

It revealed that during the free days, it depends on the employer if he sends or offer the services of the *Hali* to somebody else. If he does, the *Hali* has no choice but to abide by. *Hali* cannot charge or ask for the payment as extra for this work. But, normally employer does not send or lend the *Hali* to others. It was found that only in 10 percent of the cases, the employers had sent their *Halis* to

other in the past. About 90 percent expressed that so far, they have not been sent to work for the others.

Table 36: During free days services lent to others by Employers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	4	7.3	10.3	10.3
	No	35	63.6	89.7	100.0
	Total	39	70.9	100.0	
Missing	9	16	29.1		
Total		55	100.0		

Halis also accepted that on the free days when there is not work with the employer, we just hang around if there are any errands are to be done, but we cannot take up any separate work for extra payment. Almost everybody accepted that they do not and have never taken extra work on free days.

Table 37: During free days the migrants earn as free Labour

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	1.8	2.5	2.5
	No	39	70.9	97.5	100.0
	Total	40	72.7	100.0	
Missing	9	15	27.3		
Total		55	100.0		

Thus, it clearly shows that though the *Hali*/*Gwal* relationship is not as hard or vicious as reported in various other studies and it is somewhat relaxed and facilitating and mutually benefitting. The relationship is valued by the *Gwals* given their precarious economic conditions. Still, it seems the relationship is somewhat binding, downgrading and causes lack of agency on the part of *Halis*.

Even in voluntary relationships, quasi-contractual labour is "potentially coercive and exploitative," according to the report, and compelling reciprocal obligations have significant restricting implications for migrants, but they remain

in force and practise because no better alternatives exist. The study also backs up previous research in the field, which found that:

(i) The “free labour” is found to be poorer than the *Halis*.
(ii) In terms of Lodhas as key providers of *Gwals* in the project sector, and Dablas as *Hali* providers in Gujarat, there are striking parallels. Saharias in Baran and Damor in the Udaipur-Banswara district are two other *Hali*-producing communities in Rajasthan.
(iii) The inability to repay and finish a loan, whether due to debt or circumstance, induces and perpetuates willing slavery.
(iv) ‘Landlords purposefully enforced labour enslavement by loaning.'
(v) The *Gwal* system articulately demonstrates the failure and limited efficacy of ‘The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' in eradicating bonded labour in India and Rajasthan.
(vi) The disadvantaged caste communities are stuck in *Hali* or *Gwal* situations due to a lack of better work opportunities and an exploitative money lending scheme.

The research village Daslana is a test case, and the findings may very well portray a similar image of *Halis* and *Gwals* in other villages in the district, indicating that landed peasants like Dhakads and other landlords with large landholdings are very likely to obtain such services to ensure year-round agricultural labour availability. According to the findings of the research –

a) Migrants find it comforting to get employed in their known terrain of expertise and prefer to have certainty of employment to service the loan taken at the native place and maintain their daily needs, and therefore consider it useful to get into contractual labour like situation like *Gwal*.
b) The emulation of friends and relatives, as well as a lack of other job opportunities, contribute to the concentration of a specific caste community in the village.
c) Though this type of employer-employee partnership is stable and favoured, it has a restricting effect on other facets of labourers' social

and economic lives, such as social status, services, privileges, government benefits, and self-esteem.

d) It also has an effect on their children's education and growth, limiting their opportunities for advancement.

e) This type of emigration situation has a disproportionately negative effect on women, who must bear many pressures, toil hard, and are paid less.

f) After 30-40 years of working as *Hali*, migrants maintain relations with their native place and try to keep it alive. They finally want to return to their native place. They are, however, stressed and conflicted about preserving the tie and keeping it alive.

g) The next generation of *Gwals* and migrants has a sex ratio that is extremely unfavourable. It's something that needs to be looked at more.

h) Even after a year of working under the scheme, they appear to be in very poor financial shape as a result of the relentless and unending servicing of the loan at their native place.

It's also worth noting that similar studies must be repeated in other villages in the region to confirm the findings and ascertain the cause of such a high rate of insistent loan taking among the migrating group. It necessitates further investigation into changes in the content and context of native links that have been preserved in the past but have changed over time.

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Chapter 6

Data Analysis and Research Findings

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Data Analysis and Research Findings

The current study intended to investigate into some key research questions meet the research objectives as outlined in Research Methodology chapter. The major questions of this research have been:

1. Is the contractual labour in the village, known as *Hali* or *Gwal*, a disguised form of bondage?

2. How does the occurrence of *Hali* or *Gwal* differ from other types of contractual or unfree labour in other parts of the world in terms of basic and general characteristics?

3. Is migration a scapegoat for native underdevelopment, resulting in the migrant's enslavement?

4. How migration and bondage have influenced the lives of migrants in both positive and negative ways.

5. How permanent and temporary is migration, and how does it affect migrants' native ties?

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 have partly delved into these issues. It is intended to complement and treat these questions holistically with the analysis of remaining aspects of migration and bondage in the study village in this chapter.

Data gathered shows that almost all migrants unequivocally accept that migrating to the village has been beneficial to them. Land is even today the most valuable possession in the villages. Nobody likes to sell it until and unless it becomes inevitable and there is no other way out. If there is any surplus income saved, people like to invest in land for the creation of family asset. When migrants were asked whether any one of them have been able to purchase any piece of land at the native place from the savings of income earned in the village, it was found

that none of them has been able to do so. Only a miniscule and may a fortunate few (7.3%) were able to by some land in the destination village, that too only make homestead to live. Only 5 persons who were able to by some land at Daslana had following details to share:

Table 38: **Land bought at Destination Village (size in bigha)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0.029	1	1.8	20.0	20.0
	0.032	1	1.8	20.0	40.0
	0.039	1	1.8	20.0	60.0
	0.041	1	1.8	20.0	80.0
	0.067	1	1.8	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	9.1	100.0	
Missing	9	50	90.9		
Total		55	100.0		

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

Those who were able to buy the land, it was lesser than a bigha. A very small size not sufficient to sustain the living of the family. It was purchase make house or hutment. Even in those purchases, it was found that only three transactions were done on clear titles. Two of the purchases were informal transactions of encroached land. The amount spent on the purchase of land ranged from minimum of Rs. 17000/- to Rs.2.5 lakh.

Obviously, the purchases with clear titles were expensive and costed much compared to the purchases of encroached lands. The purchase of land supports the view that rest of the migrants were not able to save enough so that they are able to buy any extra piece of land at either at the native place or in the destination village. These people either spent on the loan repayment, marriage saving or livelihood expenses.

Table 39: **Amount Spent by migrants on Land purchase in Daslana (Rs.)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	17000	1	1.8	20.0	20.0
	20000	1	1.8	20.0	40.0
	68000	1	1.8	20.0	60.0
	100000	1	1.8	20.0	80.0
	250000	1	1.8	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	9.1	100.0	
Missing	9	50	90.9		
Total		55	100.0		

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

Table 40: **Amount of loan repaid at native place from the earnings in the destination village**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20000	2	3.6	4.3	4.3
	25000	1	1.8	2.2	6.5
	30000	1	1.8	2.2	8.7
	50000	4	7.3	8.7	17.4
	60000	2	3.6	4.3	21.7
	80000	2	3.6	4.3	26.1
	100000	9	16.4	19.6	45.7
	120000	1	1.8	2.2	47.8
	150000	11	20.0	23.9	71.7
	200000	7	12.7	15.2	87.0
	255000	2	3.6	4.3	91.3
	300000	2	3.6	4.3	95.7
	500000	1	1.8	2.2	97.8
	600000	1	1.8	2.2	100.0
	Total	46	83.6	100.0	
Missing	9	9	16.4		
Total		55	100.0		

So, the question arises, what happened with the earnings in the rest of the cases. It has been discussed that about 71 percent of migrants families were indebted at the native places and most of their earnings went into serving that loan. The table above presents the picture of amount of loan repaid by the migrants at their native places. It also indicated the very murky business of money lending that some of the migrants have repaid Rs. 5 to 6 lakhs of amount which would not have been more than a lakh in any case and they are still paying. One can imagine how this high-rate compounding interests on informal loans from moneylenders in the villages put the borrower in the never-ending debt trap.

Table 41: **Outstanding Loan at present (Rs.)**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	12	21.8	22.6	22.6
	5000	1	1.8	1.9	24.5
	10000	2	3.6	3.8	28.3
	15000	1	1.8	1.9	30.2
	20000	2	3.6	3.8	34.0
	30000	5	9.1	9.4	43.4
	35000	1	1.8	1.9	45.3
	40000	3	5.5	5.7	50.9
	60000	1	1.8	1.9	52.8
	75000	3	5.5	5.7	58.5
	100000	2	3.6	3.8	62.3
	106000	1	1.8	1.9	64.2
	150000	7	12.7	13.2	77.4
	190000	1	1.8	1.9	79.2
	200000	7	12.7	13.2	92.5
	250000	2	3.6	3.8	96.2
	310000	2	3.6	3.8	100.0
	Total	53	96.4	100.0	
Missing	9	2	3.6		
Total		55	100.0		

It was necessary to see the occasion or the purposes for which the loans were taken at the native place. There are host of reasons as seen in the following table:

Table 42: Occasions of Loans taken by the migrants

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Brother's Marriage	1	1.8	2.1	2.1
	Brother's Marriage & court case	3	5.5	6.4	8.5
	House purchase	1	1.8	2.1	10.6
	Livelihood Expenses	7	12.7	14.9	25.5
	Sickness	1	1.8	2.1	27.7
	Sickness, Livelihood Expenses	1	1.8	2.1	29.8
	Land Mortgage	1	1.8	2.1	31.9
	Self-Marriage	10	18.2	21.3	53.2
	Self-Marriage, Loan taken by father	2	3.6	4.3	57.4
	Self and Sister Marriage	1	1.8	2.1	59.6
	Self & Brother's daughter Marriage	1	1.8	2.1	61.7
	Self-Marriage, Death in family	2	3.6	4.3	66.0
	Self-Marriage, Livelihood Expenses	3	5.5	6.4	72.3
	Self-Marriage, Grand Parent Death	2	3.6	4.3	76.6
	Self-Marriage, Land	1	1.8	2.1	78.7
	Self and Brother's Marriage	2	3.6	4.3	83.0
	Brother & Sister Marriage	1	1.8	2.1	85.1
	Daughter's marriage	2	3.6	4.3	89.4
	Son's Marriage	4	7.3	8.5	97.9
	Purchase of Plot	1	1.8	2.1	100.0
	Total	47	85.5	100.0	
Missing	9	8	14.5		
Total		55	100.0		

It shows that main reason behind taking the loan was either self-marriage or marriage of the relatives including brother, son, daughter and relatives (Table 42 & 43). In some cases, loans taken by father was also being shouldered by the migrants. In few cases loans were also incurred to meet out livelihood expenses.

Table 43**: Loan for self-marriage at native place (Rs.)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<= 0	16	29.1	33.3	33.3
	1 - 40000	7	12.7	14.6	47.9
	40001 - 80000	7	12.7	14.6	62.5
	80001 - 120000	4	7.3	8.3	70.8
	120001 - 160000	8	14.5	16.7	87.5
	160001 - 200000	4	7.3	8.3	95.8
	200001+	2	3.6	4.2	100.0
	Total	48	87.3	100.0	
Missing	9	7	12.7		
Total		55	100.0		

Table 44: **Loan for reasons other than Marriage (Binned)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<= 0	18	32.7	35.3	35.3
	1 - 40000	12	21.8	23.5	58.8
	40001 - 80000	8	14.5	15.7	74.5
	80001 - 120000	3	5.5	5.9	80.4
	120001 - 160000	6	10.9	11.8	92.2
	160001 - 200000	3	5.5	5.9	98.0
	200001+	1	1.8	2.0	100.0
	Total	51	92.7	100.0	
Missing	9	4	7.3		
Total		55	100.0		

Table 45: **Loan for self-marriage (Binned) * Loan for other reasons (Binned) Crosstabulation (Rs.)** (Source: Fieldwork Data)

			Loan for other reasons (Binned)						
			<= 0	1 - 40000	40001 - 80000	80001-120000	12000-160000	200001 +	Total
Rs Loan for self marriage (Binned)	<= 0	Count	7	7	1	1	0	0	16
		% Within Loan for self-marriage (Binned)	43.8%	43.8%	6.2%	6.2%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	1 - 40000	Count	2	1	1	1	2	0	7
		% Within Loan for self-marriage (Binned)	28.6%	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	28.6%	.0%	100.0%
	40001 - 80000	Count	2	3	1	1	0	0	7
		% Within Loan for self-marriage (Binned)	28.6%	42.9%	14.3%	14.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	80001 - 120000	Count	2	0	2	0	0	0	4
		% Within Loan for self-marriage (Binned)	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	120001 - 160000	Count	4	0	2	0	2	0	8
		% Within Loan for self-marriage (Binned)	50.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	100.0%
	160001 - 200000	Count	1	0	1	0	2	0	4
		% Within Loan for self-marriage (Binned)	25.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
	200001+	Count	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
		% Within Loan for self-marriage (Binned)	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count	18	12	8	3	6	1	48
		% Within Loan for self-marriage (Binned)	37.5%	25.0%	16.7%	6.2%	12.5%	2.1%	100.0%

Most of these loans were taken at the native place to meet out the expenses there. As is evident from table 43 and Table 44, marriage of self and other as well as other reasons are equally important. It becomes all the more apparent when we cross tabulate the incidence of marriage loans against non-marriage loans (Table 45). Tables show that in almost 65-66 % cases, migrants' families had taken loan for marriage as well as non-marriage reasons at their native places.

The primary reason for these migrant workers' expulsion from their native villages was a loan taken out by them, their parent, or a close relative. They had to leave because the loan could not be serviced and repaid in their hometown due to a lack of work opportunities. It was discovered that in many cases (about 50%), after paying the loan for many years, they are unable to repay it. The loan period in the native land is extremely long due to the high rate of interest which said to be exorbitant about 24 percent per year or more. They are scarcely able to satisfy interest demands and the principal remains unpaid, drawing additional interest. It appears to be the primary reason why migrant farm workers tend to enter into quasi-contractual bonds of servitude in the emigrated village.

Table 46: **Sizes of house made by Migrants in Daslana (Sq.ft.)**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	500	1	1.8	20.0	20.0
	560	1	1.8	20.0	40.0
	680	1	1.8	20.0	60.0
	720	1	1.8	20.0	80.0
	800	1	1.8	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	9.1	100.0	
Missing	9	50	90.9		
Total		55	100.0		

Only in very few cases, only 5 loans were taken here to either buy plot or purchase a house. Migrants also expressed that apart from loan taken at the native place, sometimes they also have to take loan in the destination village to meet out the eventualities. 43 percent of respondents said that they have also incurred loan

in the destination village even when they are working as *Gwal*. 91 percent of the migrants said that they do not own a house in the destination village and live on rented accommodation. Only 5 of the respondents were able to make their own houses and even two of them had made houses on encroached land after paying for it. Freehold or clear title land is very expensive and very few of them could afford it.

The size of houses made by them were very small. The lowest house size was 500 sq.ft and the biggest was of the size of 800 sq.ft (Table 47). The range of cost of house buying in the destination village for the sizes of land shown above was Rs. 68000-200000. When asked, if they were able to make or renovate the native house at all through the earning in the destination village, 63 percent of the migrants' answer was negative. However, 37 percent of migrants informed that they were able to make or renovate the native house. Overall, the size of houses made at the native place was also very small. Many had made a house on land size of 150 sq.ft to 400 sq.ft. There were very few migrants who made a house on 1000 sq.ft land or more (table 47).

Table 47: **Sizes of house made in native village (sq.ft)**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	150	1	1.8	6.7	6.7
	300	1	1.8	6.7	13.3
	400	3	5.5	20.0	33.3
	450	2	3.6	13.3	46.7
	720	3	5.5	20.0	66.7
	800	1	1.8	6.7	73.3
	1200	3	5.5	20.0	93.3
	3000	1	1.8	6.7	100.0
	Total	15	27.3	100.0	
Missing	9	40	72.7		
Total		55	100.0		

In view of other forms of asset creation at native place, migrants were asked whether they have purchased any vehicle at the native place, 83.6 percent of the respondents answered in negative. Only 16.4 percent of the migrants were able to some kind of vehicle – a bicycle or a second-hand motor cycle at their native place for commuting. None of them said to have bought tractor or any heavy motorized vehicle at the native place. 45.5 percent of the respondents also accepted that they are saving for the marriage either for themselves (only 4) or for the marriage of their relatives (son, daughter, brother etc.). It is also noteworthy that 58.1 percent of the respondents were making expenses on the education of their children while 41.9 percent of them did not make any expenses:

Table 48: **Migrants' Expenditure on children education (Rs/month)**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	3	5.5	8.6	8.6
	200	2	3.6	5.7	14.3
	250	2	3.6	5.7	20.0
	300	3	5.5	8.6	28.6
	500	1	1.8	2.9	31.4
	600	2	3.6	5.7	37.1
	700	1	1.8	2.9	40.0
	800	1	1.8	2.9	42.9
	1000	2	3.6	5.7	48.6
	1200	6	10.9	17.1	65.7
	1500	1	1.8	2.9	68.6
	2500	3	5.5	8.6	77.1
	3000	1	1.8	2.9	80.0
	4000	2	3.6	5.7	85.7
	4200	2	3.6	5.7	91.4
	5000	2	3.6	5.7	97.1
	8000	1	1.8	2.9	100.0
	Total	35	63.6	100.0	
Missing	9	20	36.4		
Total		55	100.0		

While 38.2 percent of the migrants were not teaching their children in any of the schools, 41.8 percent availed of the government institutions and 20 percent sent their children to private institutions. Families whose children were going to the Government schools accepted that their children have been getting help in the form of meal and dress. No such facilities were received by the children going to private schools.

Table 49: **Mid-Day Meal and Other supports received by Migrants Children from Schools**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Meal	5	9.1	13.9	13.9
	Dress	1	1.8	2.8	16.7
	All or more than one	17	30.9	47.2	63.9
	Nothing	13	23.6	36.1	100.0
	Total	36	65.5	100.0	
Missing	9	19	34.5		
Total		55	100.0		

When one migrates in anticipation of something, loses many things in the process. Identity and inherited social repute and prestige are some of the losses. One has to start afresh at new place and build upon it. The new circumstances may promote some and limit as well. Many identities and government document and schemes are very important in this regard.

Ration Card is one of them. A ration card is a document issued by the State Government which serves primarily as document to procure ration items from Public Distribution Shops where price-controlled items are made available. It's also used to prove citizenship. It may also reveal a person's financial situation. It's a voluntary document that's widely recognized as evidence of identity and can be used to access a variety of government benefits. Ration cards are divided into

several categories based on an individual's earning ability. Different states have different programmes, but they are all dependent on a person's annual salary.

It was found that only 72 percent of the respondent's families had the ration card. There were 28 percent families who did not have ration card yet how ever some of them (14.5 % of total respondents) had applied for it recently. It seems that they were aware to some extent about the importance of the document but still there were people about 13 percent who for various regions were not able to apply for it.

Prior to the implementation of the NFSA, state governments issued three types of ration cards: APL, BPL, and Antyodaya (AAY) ration cards, which were differentiated by different colours chosen by the concerned state government. According to the NFSA 2013, the APL and BPL groups have been reclassified into two groups: non-priority and priority. As a result, the NFSA prioritises the needs of households, taking into account not only their income but also other social imbalances in society.

It was also found that only 36.2 % of those who had or applied for the ration card, had the ration card of the destination village, where they were actually living. 63.8% of migrants' ration card belonged to their native place which means that they hardly used it for ration purposes and only kept as documentary and identity proof. Further probing revealed that those who had or applied for it, 53.3 % belonged to APL (Above Poverty Line) category and 46.7 % belonged to BPL (Below Poverty line). Given the existing definition and qualifications of BPL, almost all of them would qualify for it, but as the migrants pointed out, for lack of documentary proof, local political support and administrative arbitrariness or lower-level corruption many of the deserving migrants were deprived of this benefit.

Their position also puts them in many disadvantageous positions as far as taking benefit of the many poor related government schemes are concerned. India Housing, AntyodayaAwasyojna or Pradhan Mantri Avasyojna is the one. On June 25, 2015, the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana – Urban (PMAY-U), a flagship

Mission of the Government of India, was launched by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (MoHUA).

By 2022, when the country celebrates 75 years of independence, the Mission aims to resolve the urban housing shortage among the EWS/LIG and MIG groups, including slum dwellers, by ensuring a pucca house for all eligible urban households. The Mission provides Central Assistance to implementing agencies through States/Union Territories (UTs) and Central Nodal Agencies (CNAs) in order to provide houses to all qualified families/beneficiaries in response to a validated demand for about 1.12 million houses.

According to PMAY(U) guidelines, the size of a house for the Economically Weaker Section (EWS) may be up to 30 square metres of carpet area, but States/UTs have the flexibility to increase the size of houses with central approval. When inquired with the migrants, it was found that only 20 percent of them were able to take benefit of the Government Housing scheme. Rest 80 percent were not able to avail the benefit though they were most needy. It was also found that only 3 of the migrants could get the benefit here in the destination village because they could procure land in the village. Rest of the migrants got disqualified for not having any piece of land in their name.

Table 50: **Migrant Beneficiaries of Government Housing (*avasyojna*) Scheme**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Here	3	5.5	5.5	5.5
	Native village	8	14.5	14.5	20.0
	Nowhere	44	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

Similarly, government provides free medicine through its government hospitals. Since October 2, 2011, the 'MukhyamantriNishulkDavaYojna'

(MNDY) has been in effect across the state in Rajasthan, distributing free of charge the most widely used drugs to all patients visiting government hospitals.

Very few of them seem to have taken benefit of the scheme. For a number of reasons, they prefer to go to local private practitioner. It was found that only about 7 percent of the migrants had taken the benefit of free medicine scheme of the government anytime during their stay.

Table 51: **Usage of free medicine benefit**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	4	7.3	7.3	7.3
	No	51	92.7	92.7	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

What we see the use and benefits of above two schemes like Government Housing and free medicine reaching out to the migrants, are indicative of other host of government schemes meant to ameliorate the conditions of the poor and the downtrodden of the society. It is very likely that the intended benefits of these important and very useful schemes do not reach to them due to their condition.

UID Aadhar is another important document. It is amply known in the public domain that an Aadhaar card is a unique number issued to every citizen in India and is a centralized and universal identification number. The Aadhar card is a biometric document that stores an individual's personal details in a government database, and is fast becoming the government's base for public welfare and citizen services.The Aadhar card is a general-purpose card. It is a widely accepted government-issued card that can be used for a variety of purposes without the need to register or apply for a different card for any of these services. It entitles the holder to all government subsidies to which he or she is entitled.

The government has so far implemented schemes that link the Aadhar card to a bank account and an LPG connection, allowing people to receive their

subsidies, LPG or other, directly into their bank accounts. Now a days, it is also being used as KYC, identification and verification for opening the bank account.

Thus, given the versatility and importance of the card, it was intended to find its use and existence among the migrants. It was found that 84.6 % of the migrants had their Aadhar card made. Still there were 15.4 % such migrants were not able to make it or apply for it as their necessary documents were at the native place and they were not able to manage time to go to native place and spend time to apply for it.

Table 52: **Place of UID Aadhar card**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Destination Village	25	45.5	46.3	46.3
	Native Village	20	36.4	37.0	83.3
	No where	9	16.4	16.7	100.0
	Total	54	98.2	100.0	
Missing	10	1	1.8		
Total		55	100.0		

It was also found that those who had their Aadhar card made, the 46.3 percent of their Aadhar card was made at the native place and 37 percent respondents' card was made the village of current stay. 16.7 percent respondents as stated earlier were still out of the system.

Linking with the banking system has also become important these days. As most of the subsidies and scheme benefits are being passed on to the beneficiary through this channel. It also means that those persons who are not having bank account are very likely out of the purview of the government scheme benefits or they never felt the need to get one as they never benefited from it. Link to the banking system is also necessary for using the formal channels of credit system

approved by the government. One cannot get any kind of loan from the bank and cooperatives if he or she has no back account.

It was found that majority of the respondents (62.3%) did not have any bank account opened yet. Neither were they aware of the benefits of saving through the bank account. They were also not involved in any local savings or thrift groups.

Table 53: **Operation of Bank Accounts by Migrants**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	36.4	37.7	37.7
	No	33	60.0	62.3	100.0
	Total	53	96.4	100.0	
Missing	9	2	3.6		
Total		55	100.0		

The village Anganbadi runs women's small savings and thrift groups. Thrift groups does not only provide interest on their savings but also provides loan when needed and can help them not getting into another bout of debt trap. It can give them access to flexible, hassle-free loans, allowing them to solve their family's food and income shortages.

It is believed that women's engagement in SHGs and savings improved their self-confidence and self-esteem as a result of their increased self-reliance. Even the reserved and soft-spoken women learned to express themselves by speaking and making requests. Women are said to know more about saving and business management, as well as how to diversify into more profitable goods. They also developed new social and leadership abilities.

It was found that only 10 percent of respondents' wives were associated with it and making some kind of saving. 90 percent of their women were out of anganbadi saving habits and benefits being promoted by the government. It was

also found that 3 out of the 5 women who were attached to the savings group had taken benefit of the saving in form of loan.

Table 54: **Savings through Anganbadi women savings group by Migrant wives**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	45	81.8	90.0	90.0
	Yes	5	9.1	10.0	100.0
	Total	50	90.9	100.0	
Missing	9	5	9.1		
Total		55	100.0		

Social esteem and Prestige

It has been discussed in chapter 4 that migration as well as bondage brings about *Jati-Avarohan* in other word a kind of down ward caste mobility for them. This issue was further explored. Respondents were asked to evaluate whether their familial prestige both at the native place and the destination village has been enhanced or reduced after coming to this village and working as a *Hali* or migrant agricultural worker. In their own evaluation and introspection, they felt that for 31 % of the respondents there was status quo, 25.5 % respondents thought that status of their families has improved and but a large section of them i.e. 43.6 percent thought that their familial status has witnessed a downfall.

Table 55: **Assessment of Family Prestige in Daslana**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Grown	14	25.5	25.5	25.5
	Declined	24	43.6	43.6	69.1
	No Change	17	30.9	30.9	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

Similarly, the inquiries were made about their impressions about the increase or decrease in their caste status in the destination village. Every caste has its own self-perception, though mutually contesting and contradictory sometimes, that where do they stand in the caste hierarchy and how do they compare themselves vis-à-vis others. Almost similar perception what they had about their family emerged with regard to their caste prestige too. About 25 % respondents believed that there is no change in their caste status, 27.3 percent thought that their status caste has improved while majority of the respondents (47.3 %) expressed that their caste prestige has dwindled.

Table 56: Migrants perception about their Caste in the Migrated Village

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Lower	26	47.3	47.3	47.3
	Higher	15	27.3	27.3	74.5
	No Change	14	25.5	25.5	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

In order to ascertain the respondents' perceptions regarding fall in the familial and caste status, some objective measures were rope into for the purpose of verification of the claim. These measures were: a) practice of untouchability, b) commensal or food segregation c) cultural participation and d) social acceptance. We know that untouchability is physical, social and cultural distancing of a caste from the other where in a sense of lowliness or impurity is directed against the lower caste who is at the receiving end of it. It also translates into segregation of food and water and utensils from the lower castes. It can go up to a very pernicious and dehumanizing extent and has been rendered punishable as per Indian constitution and law.

Over the period of time, with changes in law, improvement in education, growing importance of lower castes and awareness the practice of untouchability has been weakening still it is prevalent in some form or the other. Hierarchy and

untouchability also translate into practice of rites and rituals and it restricts the participation of other castes into it. Apart from this, the migrant is always thought to be the one who is from outside. The community does not easily accept it as its own. Their loyalty and commitment are always at question. Therefore, a) practice of untouchability, b) commensal or food segregation c) cultural participation and d) social acceptance were thought to be give good measures of social distance and acceptance faced by the migrants in the village.

Table 57: **Perceptions of Untouchability faced by Migrants in the study village**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	43	78.2	78.2	78.2
	No	12	21.8	21.8	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows and supports the views about down fall in the caste and family practice that 78.2 percent of the migrants, majority of them even being belonging to intermediary castes, have faced or face untouchability in the form of social, physical and cultural forms. 94.5 percent of the respondents accepted that the face commensal segregation in the village from the upper castes which means that food and water is not shared with them and they cannot eat sitting together with the upper castes.

Table 58: **Commensal Segregation faced by Migrants**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	52	94.5	94.5	94.5
	No	3	5.5	5.5	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

It was asked whether they get invitations from the other castes in the village on the occasion of marriage parties or other cultural feasts. 67.3 percent said that

that they get occasional invitations but there were 32.7 percent respondents who said that they never get an invitation. Did they ever organized any cultural or familial event here in the village accompanied with community feast and invited others to participate? 45.5 % said that they never had such celebration here but the 54.5 who accepted that they have had such occasions in the family here and invited the village too but upper caste participation was limited and restricted. Similarly, 75.5 percent of migrants thought that they are treated as outsider and not the one amongst them even though they have been living here for years.

Table 59: **Whether considered outsider in the study village**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	41	74.5	74.5	74.5
	No	14	25.5	25.5	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

The Issue of Double Debt

Migrants' condition is such and their savings are so poor that in emergency situations they have to resort to taking credits or loans even in the destination village. This credit is over and above the loan they have taken at their native place. The major sources from whom they take credit are a) their employer, b) the local moneylender and c) their native acquaintances living in the village.

Most often, for the majority of the cases, usually, the employer is the provider of the loan for any exigencies. This loan by the employer is beyond the agreed amount for compensation as a *Gwal*. For the loan given, the employer charges the prevailing rate of interest usually as the local moneylender charges and the amount so created or accumulated is adjusted with interest against the future payments to the *Gwal*.

Table 60: **Migrants' Sources of Emergency credit in Daslana**

(Source: Fieldwork data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Employer	37	67.3	68.5	68.5
	Local Moneylender	8	14.5	14.8	83.3
	Nat Vill friends here	6	10.9	11.1	94.4
	Nobody	3	5.5	5.6	100.0
	Total	54	98.2	100.0	
Missing	9	1	1.8		
Total		55	100.0		

It was found that in 68.5 percent of the cases, *Gwals* were able to get these loans from their employers. Usually, these loans are not very big and beyond their earning capabilities, so, they do not culminate into "Debt Trap as seen at their native places. In some cases (about 15 percent) migrants had to get the loan from the local moneylender and only in 11 percent of the cases that help came from the natives residing in the village. It is noteworthy that only 5.6 percent of the respondents had not taken any loan from anybody in the study village.

Table 61: **Rate of Interest per annum (compounded) Charged to Migrants**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	24	34	61.8	89.5	89.5
	36	2	3.6	5.3	94.7
	60	2	3.6	5.3	100.0
	Total	38	69.1	100.0	
Missing	9	17	30.9		
Total		55	100.0		

The prevailing rate of interest for the loans taken are really exorbitant. Most often, the going rate is 24 percent per annum but in few cases, it can even go up to 60 percent as well i.e. Rupees five for every 100 rupees per month. 89.5 percent

of the respondents who have taken loan said that presently they are paying at 24 percent interest. However, there were few respondents (5.3 percent each) who said that they are paying 36 percent and 60 percent each.

Visits to the Native Place

Migrants are not permanently uprooted from their native place. They do maintain relationship and ties with the native place. They keep their links alive. They have their relatives, parents, brothers and members of the joint family and homestead there (table 64). 93 percent of the reported cases, the father of the migrant was residing in the native village and only 7 percent of the cases were staying in the emigrated village.

Table 62**: Number of visits to native place made by migrants in a year**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	4	7.3	7.4	7.4
	1	10	18.2	18.5	25.9
	2	20	36.4	37.0	63.0
	3	14	25.5	25.9	88.9
	4	5	9.1	9.3	98.1
	5	1	1.8	1.9	100.0
	Total	54	98.2	100.0	
Missing	10	1	1.8		
Total		55	100.0		

It is also clear that the father of some of the migrants have returned back to their native places after having worked in the emigrated villages. Similarly, most of the mothers of the respondents except a few were found to be living in the native place only. This kind of arrangement does have impact on care of the aged particularly when the migrant son is only child of the parent. Apart from aged parents, there are other dependent relatives also in the native place. Kinds of dependent relatives are mapped in the table 64 below. A small patch of

agricultural land is also there in some cases. There are social relations and obligations to which need to be maintained with the kins. The non-dependent relatives in the native place too at times require the migrants to meet-out cultural and social expectations. So, whenever, the need arises and if it is compelling, they have to visit their native places.

There were only 7.4 percent of the respondents who said that they do not visit their native places because there is nothing left there to visit to. But in rest of the cases, almost everybody accepted that they have to visit at least once in a year and in some cases sometimes 4 to 5 times too. But usually, for majority of the cases, two to three times of visit to the native place is the usual fare.

Table 63: **Dependent Relatives in native village**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		f	%	Valid %	Cum.%
Valid	Brother	1	1.8	1.8	1.8
	Father, Mother, Sister	2	3.6	3.6	5.5
	Father, Brother	2	3.6	3.6	9.1
	Father, Mother	12	21.8	21.8	30.9
	Father, Mother, Brother	6	10.9	10.9	41.8
	Mother	4	7.3	7.3	49.1
	Mother, Sister-in-law	2	3.6	3.6	52.7
	None	23	41.8	41.8	94.5
	Son	1	1.8	1.8	96.4
	Wife, son, daughter	1	1.8	1.8	98.2
	Wife, daughter	1	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

Since whenever you visit the native place, you miss on the daily wage or get payment cuts if you are working as a *Gwal*. So, if work demands, the duration of the stay back at the native place can go up to 20 to 30 days but in most of the cases an effort is made to finish the work and come back to the destination village to resume the work. The reasons for which they have to visit the native place are agriculture, death of a family member or a relative, marriage of a family member

or a relative, sickness of a near one, Celebrating Raksha Bandhan or Rasoi by a relative etcetera.

Many the respondents expressed that during the visit to their native place, their employer deducts payments for the days of absence and it can be from Rupees 150 per day to Rupees 400 per day depending on the annual agreement for compensation or payment for working as *Gwal* (Table 64).

Table 64**: Rate of Pay deduction/day (Rs) for absence**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	150	5	9.1	15.2	15.2
	200	12	21.8	36.4	51.5
	250	1	1.8	3.0	54.5
	300	12	21.8	36.4	90.9
	400	3	5.5	9.1	100.0
	Total	33	60.0	100.0	
Missing	9	22	40.0		
Total		55	100.0		

Exercise of Electoral Franchise

In the case of migrants, though living in the area for so many years (mean stay being more than 16 years) do not exercise their voting rights as many of them do not have their names in the local voter list. Many also complained that as they stay in the rented accommodation, they are not even being allowed to make their Aadhar card as they cannot produce the requisite documents.

Table 65**: Place where the Respondents Name in the Voter List exists**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Here	16	29.1	30.2	30.2
	Native Place	26	47.3	49.1	79.2
	Both places	7	12.7	13.2	92.5
	Nowhere	4	7.3	7.5	100.0
	Total	53	96.4	100.0	
Missing	Not Known	2	3.6		
Total		55	100.0		

Table 66 shows only about 16 people have names in the local voter list and 49 percent of them have their names in the native voter list and they do not go to vote at the cost of their wage and lack of leave.

Table 66**: Migrants' Wife's Name in the Voter List**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Migrated Vill.	15	27.3	30.6	30.6
	Native Place	24	43.6	49.0	79.6
	Both places	6	10.9	12.2	91.8
	Nowhere	4	7.3	8.2	100.0
	Total	49	89.1	100.0	
Missing	Missing	6	10.9		
Total		55	100.0		

Even those who have their names here take little interest in the election as they themselves neither see any permanent stake in the local politics neither the aspirant or the representatives treat them of any significant consequence because them being an outsider and population in transit. Same is true for the wives of the respondents who also have non-attempted and inconsequential participation in electoral choices and negotiations (table – 67).

State of familial wellbeing

State of familial wellbeing depends on familial assets and liabilities. To a large extent we have already talked about the precarious economic conditions of the migrating families both at their native places as well as in the village of their migration. The quality and state of familial life also to a great extent depends on the level of education in the family because it empowers, makes you aware, helps you understand the situation, equips you with better skills to negotiate as well as earn and live better. It is a known wisdom that when a man is educated, only one person in the family is educated but when a woman is educated, the whole family is educated. In other words, the impact of education of women in the family is tremendous on the lives and choices of the family.

Mahatma Gandhi, highlighting the importance of women's education once said, "Men and women are of equal rank. They are peerless pair being supplementary to each other, each helps the other. Without one, the existence of the other is not possible, so if anything impairs the status of either of them it will result in the equal ruin of both of them." Talking about the impediments of education, he wrote in Harijan that "a more potent cause of woman illiteracy is the status of inferiority with which an immemorial tradition has unjustly branded her. Man has converted her into a domestic drudge and an instrument of his pleasure, instead of regarding her as his helpmate and 'better-half. The result is semi-paralysis of our society."

It is also important to note that lack of education is an indicator of social and economic deprivation. The more deprived you are in terms of caste, class, gender and region; more less educated you will be. We have discussed already the educational level of migrant males which is dismal. As expected, the educational levels of their wives could not be better. Same was supported by the data which was collated about the migrants' wives' education (table 68). It was found that 96 % of migrants' wife were illiterate which was comparatively more dismal than the educational status of their counterparts.

Table 67: **Educational Levels of Migrants' Wives**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	48	87.3	96.0	96.0
	Primary	1	1.8	2.0	98.0
	Middle	1	1.8	2.0	100.0
	Total	50	90.9	100.0	
Missing	9	5	9.1		
Total		55	100.0		

If we see the pattern of education of Migrants children, the asymmetrical gender aspect of education is clearly visible here too. Though this asymmetry cannot be entirely attributed to the *Hali* and migrant situation of the parent because there is gender inequity in education in society in general, the impact of the financial and familial situation in prioritizing the education of children along the gender line cannot be denied as predisposed social biases are very likely to get reinforced.

Table 68**: Migrants' Children Education by Age and Gender**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

			Educational Level of Children							
Gender	Child. Age		Illiterate	Primary	Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Grad. &more	NA	Total
Male	Child Age (Binned)	0-10yrs	2	12	0	0	0	0	9	23
		10-20yrs	1	6	7	10	2	3		29
		20-30 year	3	0	2	0	0	4		9
		>30years	0	1	0	0	0	0		1
		Total	6	19	9	10	2	7	9	62
Female	Child Age (Binned)	0-10yrs	2	4	0	0			10	16
		10-20yrs	5	7	6	2	2			22
		20-30yrs	3							3
		Total	10	11	6	2	2		10	41

A careful review of table 69 shows that there is not only skewed sex ratio along all age groups as the overall sex ratio for the group alarmingly stands out to be 683 (which should be treated very low from all standards), the educational opportunity or availability for girl children is lower. Not only there are more illiterates among girls, the education beyond secondary and above is acutely low or restricted among them too. For example, whereas there are 7 boys who have completed or in the process of attaining graduate education or more, we find there is none so amongst the girls.

The state of familial wellbeing is also reflected by the ownership and quality of residence and amenities available with it. We have already talked about the locality of their residence which is peripheral and in lower caste hamlets. This fact draws out attention that even after the prolonged productive years of stay of the migrants in the emigrated village, it was found that very few of them only 18 percent were able to make a hutment for them as the land is very costly and they cannot afford it. Some have of them have also made it on the government land.

Table 69**: Ownership of Present Residence of *Gwals***

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Self-Made	10	18.2	18.2	18.2
	Landlord	15	27.3	27.3	45.5
	Rented	30	54.5	54.5	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

27 percent of the migrants who are also working as *Gwals* were residing in the accommodation provided by the landlords. And more than half of the migrants were living in the self-rented accommodation. Due to the lack of paper and documentation these families do not get their ration card or BPL card made and also consequentially do not become eligible for any government scheme such as Indira AwasYojna (Table 69).

Figure 1: Typical Houses of Gwal/Migrants

It is evident from the data classified in table 72 and 73, that the living condition and household facilities of these migrants are woefully low. Normally there are one room kachcha or semi-pucca arrangement with no covered space for bathing and toilets.

Table 70: **Number of rooms in the rented/ self-made houses of Migrants**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

	Rooms	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	49	89.1	89.1	89.1
	2	5	9.1	9.1	98.2
	5	1	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

There are only one rooms for 89 percent respondents which used for every purpose – sleeping, cooking and storage. Even if the members in the family are more than two, they share the same room for sleeping. In non-rainy seasons, cooking is generally done in open within the compound.

Table 71: **House Rent (Rs/month) paid by the migrants**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	19	34.5	37.3	37.3
	400	8	14.5	15.7	52.9
	500	3	5.5	5.9	58.8
	550	1	1.8	2.0	60.8
	600	8	14.5	15.7	76.5
	650	1	1.8	2.0	78.4
	700	4	7.3	7.8	86.3
	750	5	9.1	9.8	96.1
	800	2	3.6	3.9	100.0
	Total	51	92.7	100.0	
Missing	9	4	7.3		
Total		55	100.0		

Migrants, residing in rented accommodation have to pay a rent in the range of rupees 400 to 800 (table 71). 62.7 percent of the migrants were living in the rented accommodation which was borne by them. 19 out of 51 families who were in the rented accommodation but did not paid a rent it was borne by the employer. As could be seen from table 72, there is non-covered toilet facility available to migrant families. Bathing and defecation, both, are left to be done in open.

Table 72: **Availability of Covered Toilet Facility at residence**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	4	7.3	7.3	7.3
	No	51	92.7	92.7	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

Water is an important resource for running the household. Its arrangement and use take significant time of family members particularly women. Health and hygiene of the family lot more depend on its availability and quality (Seth and Dubey 2013). It was found that only four families were those who had a water tap

connection in the vicinity of the house. About 93 percent of the families depended on public water sources in the village which was away from the homestead. 67.3 % of the families used the public Handpumps as the source of water and 25.5 % used the electric tube wells. Only in two cases there was covered bathroom for the family members to use (Table 73). 76.4 % families had made some temporary arrangements i.e. view blocking with thatched partitions wall or covered with old used linen for bathing space while 20 % of the families admitted to be bathing in open.

Table 73: **Water Source Types used by migrants in Daslana**

(Source: Fieldwork Data)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Hand pump	37	67.3	67.3	67.3
	Elect Tube well	14	25.5	25.5	92.7
	Water Tap	4	7.3	7.3	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

The source of water for household use which were used by the migrants were largely installed by the government in the village. 76 % families used these sources only. 17 % families used the sources owned by the landlord while 7 % were dependent on their neighbors. However, it was found that barring one instance, all the migrant families did not have to pay any money for the use of water except that they had to fetch and store water which took considerable time of the household.

Familial Wellbeing and Endowments at Native Place

It was also found that about 86 percent (table 75, 78 and also table 48 given above) of the migrants has a house slightly in better condition and bit more specious than the present one in their native place but was occupied and used by

the parents and kins. However, in 74.5 % of cases the house construction was kachcha (semi-permanent kind) – thatched and sometimes partly bricked.

Table 74: **House in Native Village**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	47	85.5	85.5	85.5
	No	8	14.5	14.5	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

Table 75: **House Type at Native village**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Kaccha	35	63.6	74.5	74.5
	Pucca	12	21.8	25.5	100.0
	Total	47	85.5	100.0	
Missing	9	8	14.5		
Total		55	100.0		

If we analyze the ownership of native houses, we find that in 30 percent cases, it is still jointly held and in 70 percent cases singly held and maintained by the migrant due to separation with the family of orientation.

Table 76: **Ownership of House in Native Village**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Joint	14	25.5	29.8	29.8
	Separate	33	60.0	70.2	100.0
	Total	47	85.5	100.0	
Missing	9	8	14.5		
Total		55	100.0		

Table 77: **Number of rooms in the Native House**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	15	27.3	33.3	33.3
	2	19	34.5	42.2	75.6
	3	6	10.9	13.3	88.9
	4	5	9.1	11.1	100.0
	Total	45	81.8	100.0	
Missing	9	10	18.2		
Total		55	100.0		

The analysis of the inherited joint and individual land (table 79) shows that the average land holding size is of the migrants (97%) is less than 6 bighas of land and even after so many years of stay and work as *Gwal* not many were able to add any additional land to their inherited property (table 78).

Table 78: **Self-acquired land in Nat village (Bigha)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	48	87.3	87.3	87.3
	0.07	1	1.8	1.8	89.1
	0.086	1	1.8	1.8	90.9
	2	1	1.8	1.8	92.7
	5	4	7.3	7.3	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

As the monsoon fed agriculture on the native land is the mainstay of population in the village of origin and post retirement the migrants tend to get back there to stay and live; it was found that the size of land added from the savings of income during migration speaks volumes about their precarious economic situation at the native pace too (table 79).

Table 79: **Inherited Joint land in Native village (Bigha) (Binned) * Inherited Individual land in Native village (Bigha) (Binned) Crosstabulation**

			Inherited Indiv land in Nat vill Bigha (Binned)		
			<= 6.0	18.8+	Total
Inherited Joint land in Nat vill Bigha (Binned)	<= 6.0	Count	47	1	48
		% within Inherited Joint land in Nat vill Bigha (Binned)	97.9%	2.1%	100.0%
	6.1 - 12.3	Count	4	0	4
		% within Inherited Joint land in Nat vill Bigha (Binned)	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	12.4 - 18.7	Count	1	0	1
		% within Inherited Joint land in Nat vill Bigha (Binned)	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	18.8+	Count	1	0	1
		% within Inherited Joint land in Nat vill Bigha (Binned)	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count	53	1	54
		% within Inherited Joint land in Nat vill Bigha (Binned)	98.1%	1.9%	100.0%

Table 80: **Use of Native land**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Self-Agriculture	9	16.4	19.1	19.1
	Agri by other family member	25	45.5	53.2	72.3
	Given on contract/ *munafa* (Share cropping)	13	23.6	27.7	100.0
	Total	47	85.5	100.0	
Missing	9	8	14.5		
Total		55	100.0		

Table 81: **Native Land Earning (Rs./Year)**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2000	1	1.8	2.4	2.4
	4000	3	5.5	7.3	9.7
	5000	5	9.1	12.2	21.9
	8000	1	1.8	2.4	24.3
	10000	7	12.7	17.1	41.4
	20000	6	10.9	14.6	56
	30000	2	3.6	4.9	60.9
	40000	2	3.6	4.9	65.8
	60000	1	1.8	2.4	68.2
	Kept by father	2	3.6	4.9	73.1
	fly expenses	9	16.4	22.0	95.1
	Loan Repay	2	3.6	4.9	100
	Total	41	74.5	100.0	
Missing	9	14	25.5		
Total		55	100.0		

Table 82: **Share of domestic Animals at native village**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	30	54.5	56.6	56.6
	1	8	14.5	15.1	71.7
	2	4	7.3	7.5	79.2
	3	5	9.1	9.4	88.7
	4	4	7.3	7.5	96.2
	5	2	3.6	3.8	100.0
	Total	53	96.4	100.0	
Missing	9	2	3.6		
Total		55	100.0		

Table 83: **Vehicle Possession at Native House**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No Vehicle	45	81.8	81.8	81.8
	Cycle	3	5.5	5.5	87.3
	Bike	4	7.3	7.3	94.5
	Jugad	3	5.5	5.5	100.0
	Total	55	100.0	100.0	

Thus, the aforesaid descriptions and analysis present the poor economic conditions of the migrants, possessions, improvements and struggles at native as well as destination village. These enable us to substantively and sufficiently conclude that the poor economic condition and loans for marriage coupled with other necessities and inability to repay the loan and sustain the livelihood at native place forces the working members of the family to migrate. The links and past associations with the destination village attracts the migrant in the village and motivates them to get into *Gwal* or *Hali* relationship with the landlords. In spite of

the legal provisions warranting otherwise, both *Halis* and masters get into quasi contract of annual labour which continues for years as *Gwals* have little or no other better avenues available.

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Chapter – 7

Conclusion

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Conclusion

The present study "Rural Migration for Bondage: A Sociological Study of Hali System in a Rajasthani Village" is the study of *Halis* or *Gwals* as a form of unfree labour found in a village of Rajasthan. While unfree labour in rural areas of India is most often local and is trapped in bondage with the creditor due to unserviceable debt. The unfree labour studied here is a bit at variance as they are migrant labourers who are primarily driven out of their native places due to loan at their native place and after migration, they try to take another loan to repay and service the previous one and therefore opt to become Hali and willingly accept a form of bondage with their employers.

Therefore, the current study, which is part of a larger sociological discipline called Diaspora and Migration Studies, focuses on a unique and fascinating case of agricultural labourers travelling between villages, rather than the well-studied topic of non-agricultural labour migration from rural to urban or unorganized industrial settings. In the first instance, this study is notable since it adds to relatively lesser sociological studies in India on inter-village agricultural labour mobility, and very likely the first of its sort in this part of Rajasthan. Hence the study tries to record the social history and livelihood situation of migrant agricultural labourers in Daslana, a village on the fringes of Kota's municipal limit in Rajasthan.

Hali and *Gwals* are both peasant occupational phrases with unique semiotics. It is a situation in which the signifier has not altered or evolved as much as the signified. *Gwals* are a kind of long-term partnerships that are maintained on the basis of mutual consent and trust, with no hostility or contention and it involves an agreed amount for annual payment to the *Gwal* of which part is paid in advance and part is deferred and released in installments later.

The chapter two of the thesis on ‘Theoretical Constructs and Review of Literature’ provides the larger context to this study. As the case of *Halis* involves three broader characteristics being Migration, Agricultural Labour and Bondage, this chapter aptly explores the important studies in these domains and tries to establish linkages within them to reflect on the situation of *Halis* of the studied village.

It is stated that ‘Internal’, ‘External’, and ‘Forced’ migrations are the three basic types of migration. In India, within Internal migration, the most common type of labour movement has been from rural to urban or rural to industrial settings as urban and industrial areas have attracted a bigger proportion of the rural workforce than any other source of opportunity, development, and jobs. But the studied case of migration represents rural to rural migration which is not much widespread and has been only limited to areas flourishing due to green revolution in India in post independent India. In this sense too, the studied case of migration is significant as it happens in a non-green revolution area but has agricultural growth potential to some extent.

Migration studies have witnessed several paradigmatic changes (Bass & Yeoh 2019). It has moved from neo-classical emphasis to tans-nationalist phase to ‘Neo-Mobility Paradigm’. The "New mobilities paradigm" was propounded by Sheller and Urry (2006). They claimed that the world has never been as mobile as it is now. They also emphasised that the mobility systems' complexity is exacerbated by the multiple fixities or "moorings" that make them up. This paradigm promotes the view that institutions that control or encourage migration are riddled with il/legalities based on socio-political and cultural ideals of connection and what the nation-state is intended to represent. As a result, migration relies on the influence of discourses, behaviors, and infrastructure that both aid and hinder, stop and prohibit mobility. The study, therefore, found it appropriate to explore into the various ‘fixities’ and ‘moorings’ which influence the movement of these *Halis*.

The rural economy, which is essentially agricultural in nature, is reliant on agricultural labour, which is primarily constituted by landless labourers and

marginal farmers. Prior to the advent of the British rule in India, the “self-sustaining and self-perpetuating” nature of Indian villages was a distinctive feature of the Indian economy and it succeedingly waned in colonial period. It also gave birth to marginalization of farmers and creation of landless agricultural labour which have continuously grown in British period and in post independent India. According to figures from the Government of India, the overall number of agricultural workers in India increased from 234.1 million (127.3 million cultivators and 106.8 million agricultural labourers) in 2001 to 263.1 million (118.8 million cultivators and 144.3 million agricultural labourers) in 2011 (Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare 2020).

The problem has aggravated because it has been noted that land reform measures established by various state governments have largely failed to provide adequate relief to agricultural wage labourers who are already economically marginalized. It is a major developmental problem that rural Indian continue to produce the near-inexhaustible pool of cheap labour. It is also noted that agricultural labourers are largely provided from the lower castes of the local social hierarchy, as well as tribal groups in some locations and significant part of this workforce is constituted by women and children in lieu of comparatively very low wages (Kuo-Chun 1957).

Traditionally village economy had developed economic links between caste groups in the village, which still impact ties between agricultural labourers and landlords. Families from the servant and artisan castes are connected by formalized, hereditary rights and obligations to undertake their economic and ceremonial specialty for each other, as well as for some upper caste families. It is known as the Jajmani system or Patron-client relationship which represents the connection between the traditional employer, the jajman, and the traditional servant, the purjan. With the advent of modernization and monetization of economy, it has weakened over the time but has not completely vanished and still exists in rural areas in different shades.

According to Eisenstadt and Roniger (1980), the patron-client relationship is a "paradoxical collection of characteristics that combine discrepancy and

asymmetry of authority in mutual solidarity." It has the ability to be manipulative and exploitative in voluntary interactions and legally obligatory contractual commitments. While preserving 'useful and productive' dyadic relationships, the patron client system may be exceedingly severe, especially to those at the bottom. According to Stein (1984), such a relationship may be functional in the short term and on a surface level of analysis, but it is unstable in the "long run and at a deeper level of analysis."

The attachment of labour with the employer and the consequent unfreedom is caused by Jajmani system as well as Debt. The problem of the arrangement is that more often such attached agricultural labourers are subjected to many sorts of mistreatment and exploitation by their employers. Landowner-employers demand a wide range of specialized services, which can often equate to forced labour. In addition to performing numerous agricultural activities for little to no compensation, attached labourers are also requested to run errands for their bosses' domestic tasks or attend ritual rites. Wives and children of employers are frequently viewed as a source of free labour for manual labour. The worst form of it has been Begaar where rural workers toil in deplorable conditions.

Kuo-Chun, in 1957, pointed out that as per the findings of Agricultural Labour Survey conducted by the Indian government, approximately 45 percent of agricultural labour families were in debt, with the average debt per family being about Rs. 105. Along with debt, the unemployment of agricultural labour during many months in a year with no other avenues for sustenance forces them to get engaged as unfree labour. Wadia and Merchant (1945) have referred their existence in Indian rural society as ‘agrarian surfs’ who toiled in conditions akin to slavery. Global Slavery Index, India has the fourth-highest number of slaves, with 19 million people enslaved in some kind of debt bondage. The worst part about slavery due to debt was that the debt was never paid off, and it was even handed down to future generations. Many studies have time and again suggested that bonded labour in agriculture in India is most common and prevalent in almost all parts of the country.

Because of the caste system and its relationship to social stratification, Sarah Knight (2012) feels that debt slavery is more acceptable. Dalits, in particular, have limited access to education, health care, and housing, requiring them to borrow money and work as slaves. Moreover, Jan Bremen has opined that slavery due to debt in agriculture is preferred over avoidance since it ensured survival during off-peak seasons.

According to Article 23 of the Indian Constitution, forced labour is prohibited. In 1976, the Indian government passed the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act. Due to lax enforcement, the threat has not been totally eradicated and continues to persist in Indian culture in some manner, both veiled and obvious. It has been also indicated that in post legal prohibition period, rural workers whose debts were cleared and liberated had to migrate due to a lack of effective rehabilitation and employment, and such migrant labourers had to get into new debt bonds, such as agro-industry or construction contracts, after being freed from rural bondages. Attempts made by ILO, UN, Indian Government measures and welfare schemes, Human Rights Commission and various non-government agencies have given voice to the problem and have partially succeeded in restricting the menace but the desired results are yet to come.

Gwal or *Halis* are interchangeable occupation terms used for migrants agricultural labourers in the study village which a form of long term contractual unfree labour employed with landed peasants in the village. In this village, the *Gwal*labour pool is largely drawn from a certain area and caste and their contracts are based on an annual remuneration that is mutually agreed upon (often in cash and kind, sometimes only in cash). Certain bonded labour qualities, such as advance payment and employer-employee fixity, are included in this contract.

Bremen has also described the Hali (attached labour) system in south Gujarat. After the bondage law was passed, there were around 171000 bonded *Halis* in southern Gujarat. The Hali system is mentioned by Raychaudhuri et al. (1983) as a type of bonded labour in Gujrat. They characterize *Halis* as a local serving caste who worked as indeterminate or hereditary agricultural servants for a landlord. They were mainly from a low caste or tribal origin who took out a debt

to marry and became *Halis*. *Halis* became effectively enslaved for the rest of their life as their debt grew. The Hali system is mentioned by Raychaudhuri et al. (1983) as a sort of bonded labour in Gujrat. They characterise*Halis* as a local serving caste who worked as indeterminate or hereditary agricultural servants for a landlord.

Shri Krishan (2005:83) while discussing about Dabla*Halis* in South Gujrat mentions that all *Halis* are not bonded labouers. He mentions many forms of *Halis* and says that only Bandhela Hali is bonded while Chhuttahali is not. According to Chaudhuri (2008), the caste system's coercive role in creating a reserve army of agricultural labour at the disposal of the landowning castes is linked to the caste system's coercive role in sustaining labour in slavery.

Bhasin (2005), Sivkumar (2010) and Bisht & Naqvi (2013) have documented the plight of *Halis* as bonded labourers in other parts of Rajasthan. They have pointed out the highly exploitative nature of Hali system in some of the cases. They link the existence of hali to the debt whose terms are so onerous that they never end, and they continue even after the person's death, when his son or family is responsible for repaying it.

Studies suggest that despite a variety of legislation and state initiatives, the Hali issue exists in India, although it is weakening. It's also worth noting that in the provided field of analysis, the term Hali is a dynamic phrase and the term *Gwal* is interchangeably used for Hali. While it existed in general under India's agricultural social structure, the substance and context of it varied depending on the location and time.

ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of the United Nations (UN) of 1948, ratification of ILO labour convention by India in 1951, The UN Supplementary Convention on the "Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery" (1956) and Article 23 of the Indian Constitution are some of the important steps towards eradication of the problem. Major milestone in this direction came in the form of 'Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act' in 1976. It

abolished all forms of bonded labour and made them free of the obligation to repay any debt which forced the labour in bondage. But it has been noted that due to weak enforcement of the law, the problem still persists.

According to the act, it is the duty of the District Magistrate and the officers he appoints to investigate if, since the commencement of this Act, any bonded labour system or other form of forced labour is being enforced by, or on behalf of, any person resident within the local limits of his jurisdiction, and if, as a result of such investigation, any person is found to be enforcing the bonded labour system. The Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act contains no ambiguities or euphemisms when it comes to 'contractual' and 'bonded' labourers. According to the Act, a "bonded labour system" is a system of forced or partially compelled labour in which a debtor enters, has entered, or is presumed to have entered. Though the act is well meaning and intended to eliminate the menace but Arvind N Das (1976) has found in one of his studies in Palamau that only about 40% of the government officers responsible to enforce the law had read or even glanced at the Act.

On the basis of these studies and their outcomes over the issue, the problem of *Halis* in the study village was contextualized and undergiven problems were felt to be addressed in the study. Daslana's migration is unique in the sense that it has its own characteristics, types, and repercussions for the villages of origin and destination. As a result, it is vital to comprehend the many features of this persistent rural-to-rural or, to be more precise, village-to-village movement of agricultural labour in this study. In this perspective, it is interesting to look into:

- What are the characteristics, causes and consequences of the migration in the study village *Daslana*?
- Whether migrants' ties with the native place is severed or alive?
- Whether the migration is permanent, temporary or imbued with the qualities of 'permanent temporariness' (Seller 2019)?
- What are the pulls and pressures for this migration?
- In the view of 'new mobility paradigm' (Seller and Urry 2006), what are the 'fixities' and 'moorings' of this internal migration?

In the rural areas of India, the hali system is widely existing. It still remains in its traditional form in some locations, while it has evolved, adapted, and changed features at others. Studies conducted after the 1976 ‘Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act' discovered its existence and classified it as a kind of slavery. It has been stated that even if it is mutually agreed upon and not forced, it is still prohibited. Thus, the instance of *Hali* or *Gwal* in the study village seem to be another such example and therefore its study holds significance. Hence it is was thought necessary to find out:

- Whether the case of the village-to-village migration in the study village aid to the existence and continuance of a form of bonded labour?
- Whether *Hali* or *Gwal* System involves certain kind of labour contract or agreement between the employer and the migrant labourers as a long-term commitment?
- Is the agreement between employer and employee is forced or mutual?
- What freedom, relaxation and compensations are available to the labour in bondage?
- What are the reasons which are responsible for the labourers to get into such arrangements? Do they find it compelling, binding, limiting or facilitating?
- Is the practice of such kind of labour in a way a circumvention of existing bonded labour rules? And finally
- How the poverty and rural indebtedness work in tandem to compel the poor for out-migration and long-term bondage?

Chapter 3 focuses on methodology, methods, objectives and detailed introduction of the field. It also puts forth guiding questions of the research. In view of the problems of research and situations in the field, best tools of data collection were determined. On the basis of focus group discussions and purposive sampling the list of *Halis* in the village was determined and a census

was done. Structured Interview with the help of tested and improved interview schedule was done. It is vital for the researcher to have a rapport with the field, the locals, and the informants. It is critical not just for the research's ethical considerations, but also for building confidence among the informants by ensuring their anonymity, secrecy, and voluntary involvement in the study.

The researcher and the people got along smoothly. People were taken into confidence right away that the information acquired would only be used for research and related reporting, and that it would not be utilized for any legal or administrative purposes, and that anonymity and confidentiality would be rigorously safeguarded. Their employers' oral approval was also obtained, ensuring that the employer-employee relationship was not stressed in any way as a result of the research. In this chapter the basic terms like *Gwal*, Hali, Employer, peasant, agricultural worker, marginal faremer, contractual labour, native place and migrants etc. used in this research are also defined and operationalized

This project's research area is the village of Daslana, which is located on the outskirts of Kota's municipal boundaries in Rajasthan. It is located in the Ladpura Tehsil and was incorporated into the Kota municipal "notified urban area" in 2005. It is located within the municipal area's "peripheral control belt" and has yet to enter the city's planning zone. It's about 13 kilometres from the city centre, on the eastern side of a watercourse named Chandraloi. It is a medium-sized community with approximately 274 homes and a population of approximately 2500 people that is mostly dependent on agriculture.

The village is predominantly OBC, with Dhakads as the dominant caste. Dhakads are the village's principal employers, as they are typically a farming caste. In terms of scale and land size, landholding is primarily concentrated among the intermediate castes such as Dhakars and Malis. The other major OBC caste in the area is the Lodha, who are numerous but do not own any land in the village and primarily work as migrant *Gwals*. Lodhas and other migrants have made a semi-permanent move to the village. Some come for the agricultural season alone, while others have lived here for the past 20-25 years. At the time of

the study there were 58 *Gwals* in the village, mostly employed by Dhakad families but also a few Mali and Brahmin households.

In this research methodology chapter, the basic questions of the research are also established which are:

1. Whether the contractual labour found as *Hali* or *Gwal* in the village is a disguised form of bondage?
2. What specific and general traits are exhibited by the incidence of *Hali* or *Gwal* as compared to the forms of contractual or unfree labour found in other parts of the country?
3. Is migration a scapegoat from native underdevelopment and it lands the migrant into disguised bondage?
4. How migration and bondage have positively and negatively affected the lives of the migrants.
5. How permanent and transient is the migration and how does it affect the native ties of the migrants?

Chapter 4 discusses the practice of Hali in the village as it operates. What are the ends of *Halis* and employers which are met in this arrangement are explored along with its tangible impact of the lives of *Halis* in the village?

The need of *Halis* in the village is assessed. It is found that landholding is predominantly concentrated among the intermediary castes, such as Dhakars and Malis, in terms of magnitude and land size. Larger landholdings, defined as family land holdings of more than 7 bighas to 30 bighas, were predominantly held by Malavs, with just a few Malis and Meghwals joining this league. Agriculture being labor-intensive occupation that necessitates a variety of operations to be completed on time as the season dictates. Regularity and availability of labour are critical in this regard and this demand is reasonably fulfilled by the migrants in the village who are pushed from their native places due their own compulsions and needs. There was sufficient supply of migrant agricultural workers in the village

which was about 58 in which some were employed as *Gwals* and some were still working as daily wage workers and waiting to be absorbed as *Gwal*.

Gwals or *Halis* are main migrant agricultural labourers in the village, and everyone except the Lodhas and Gosain belongs to the lower castes. Even though Lodhas are an intermediary caste that falls under the OBC category, their social position, living conditions, and social engagement are no different than the lower castes of the village.

It was found that –

1. The majority of the migrant population, known as Lodha, hails from Rajasthan's Jhalawar district's Aklera and Manoharthana tehsils.
2. Apart from needs of Migrants and employers, social network play important role in getting into hali arrangement as trust is a significant part of the deal.
3. Migrants are almost evenly distributed among all earning or active age groups which ranges between 20-70 years.
4. The average length of stay for *Gwal* migrants in Daslana is 16 years, with some ever reporting to be staying for 20-25 years.
5. Approximately 37% of migrants are employed as daily wage workers while they wait to be accepted as *Gwal*. The remaining 63 percent of migrants work as *Gwals* or *Gwal*-drivers or have worked as *Gwals* in the past.
6. The bulk of migrant respondents were found to be illiterate (about 61 percent). Their wives were found to be illiterate in 96 percent of cases.
7. They have the impression that they are outsiders, and they are not fairly and totally observed and integrated into the community life of the village.
8. The vast bulk of the migrant families resided on the village outskirts.
9. Earnings of *Gwals* vary depending on a migrant's work history, experience, and negotiation abilities. There is no one-size-fits-all answer, and each situation is different. *Gwals* often earn a lump sum

payment ranging from Rs.30,000 to Rs.60,000, as well as 4-6 quintals of food grain a year and a place to live with their family.

10. Daslana's Hali system is not as severe as the system of Hali described elsewhere. It is an accepted servitude as Bremen would say and an re-enactment of traditional patron-client relationship as Scott would like to point out but there is a significant drop in the social status of OBC migrant *Halis*, which tend to become like lower castes and it can be termed as 'Jati-Avarohan' comparable to 'de-Sanskritization' arising out of economic and social conditions originating from migration and bondage.

As analyzed and discussed in chapter 5, internal migration in the country has been growing. The rate of growth in so-called inter-district migrants (inside the same state) went from 30% to 58 percent during the 1991 and 2001 censuses which means that not only are people migrating throughout states, but also within districts. 14.4 million people moved for work or employment, while 53.3 million people moved from rural-to-rural areas in India during 2001 census. Rajasthan was placed seventh among the top ten states for intra-state movement by last residence (duration 0 to 9 years), with 3,285,585 people migrating from rural to rural, accounting for 69.7% of total migration (Census of India 2001).

It is stated that migration is becoming more widespread due to regional development differences. People migrate to more prosperous areas to enhance their living situations. The analysis of data gathered on *Halis* in the study village reveal that low productivity of native agriculture, lack of agricultural resources and unavailability of transparent and low interest credit facility become main reasons of migration for the studies *Gwals* as they get indebted and have no better and regular source for sustenance of livelihood. The migration data reveal that the migration of *Gwals* from their homeland lands to settlements like Daslana is fraught with "fixities" and "moorings".

The migrants endure developmental stagnation, poverty, and rural unemployment in their native lands, forcing them to leave in order to pay off

personal or familial debts. In such a case, one must earn enough to pay off the loan and service the high interest rate, or else whatever little land one has that was given as collateral will be lost. It forces workers to reach an agreement in which they have some assurance about their earnings for the year and are not subjected to everyday uncertainty.

Migrating to the village results into annual cash payments for these *Gwals* in the locality ranging from Rs.30000 to Rs.60000, according to the findings. Those who are new, inexperienced, and unskilled may even accept Rs.30,000 per year. It's also explained by the fact that roughly 37% of migrants working as daily wage labourers are waiting to be integrated into the *Gwal* system. Those who are fortunate enough to have some expertise, such as the ability to operate a tractor and other agricultural power tools, may receive Rs. 60000/-.

Gwal's average annual income is Rs. 43055/-, which equates to Rs. 120 per day for unskilled labour. Tractor driving is a skilled work. A *Gwal* driver earning Rs. 60000 per year, thus, earns Rs. 167 per day, well below the minimum wage rate standards in effect since 2014. *Gwals* earning Rs.30000 annum have a daily pay of Rs.83 only.

Loan repayment, Landlessness, Lack of Irrigation and infrastructural facilities, Lack of employment and Loans particularly for marriage requiring arrangement of bride price are found to be major causes of outmigration of *Gwals* from their native places. Behind prime motives for moving to the study village, the possibility of getting a chance to work as a *Gwal* was the first choice of the migrants in 92.5 % of the respondents. It was also found that reasons like Possibility of Wife's Employment (87.3%), Possibility of better child education (54.5%), Presence of Natives in the village (43.6%), Destination near Kota (38.2 %) and Offseason Employment (38.2%) were other motives which helped migrant in making the choice of Daslana.

It was also found that –

1. About 68 percent of the migrants had loan at their native place.

2. In 86.5 percent of the cases, the migrant worker's wife also migrated in the village with him.
3. Wives of the migrants were doubly burdened by having to take care of domestic responsibilities while also contributing financially to the family. Despite this, wives' earnings were determined to be insignificant in comparison to their husbands due to unequal pay, opportunities (to work as *Gwal*), and the uncertainty of daily wage employment.
4. 64 percent of the respondents had migrated after their marriage, including the majority of those who had taken out a loan as a result of their marriage.
5. Local network or connection played valuable role in getting employment as *Gwal*. It was found that there was inter-generational stay and connection with the village in few cases.
6. 69 percent of migrants were not required to learn or acquire any new skills. After arriving in the village, 18% of *Gwals* learned to drive and became *Gwal* drivers, giving them more bargaining leverage in compensation negotiations.
7. *Gwal* is the most preferred occupation among migrants. Approximately 75% of the *Gwals* have worked in this capacity at some point throughout their tenure.
8. Sixty-seven percent of all migrants have worked for multiple landlords meaning therby that *Gwal* relationships got severed too and there have been points of contentions.The *Gwal*-Malik relationship is though stable but not always so and discontent on either side causes the discontinuance of relationship.
9. Only 5.6 percent of respondents claimed that they got complete payment in advance, while 68.5 percent said they get a combination of part-advanced and part-deferred payments.
10. During the fee days of the year, *Gwals* could not take any other job for extra income.

Remaining aspects of *Gwal* life is analyzed in chapter six entitled 'Data Analysis and Research Findings'. These findings strengthen and support the findings of chapter four and five. Data gathered on *Halis* demonstrates that almost all migrants unequivocally acknowledge that migrating to the village has been beneficial to them in the sense that it help them sustain and meet out native needs such as repaying the loan but apart from this there is no tangible positive change in their lives. It becomes clear further with the following findings:

1. Land being the most valuable possession, none of them was able to purchase land at their native places out of the savings from the migration earnings. Only a few and fortunate minority (7.3 percent) were able to purchase land in the village of migration which they could only use as a homestead.
2. The inability to invest in land for most of the migrants show that they were unable to accumulate enough money to purchase more land, either native place or the destination village. These people used the earnings either to pay off debts or save for a wedding, or to cover living expenses.
3. Data reveals that 71 percent of migrant families were in debt in their native lands, and the majority of their earnings went to repaying that debt.
4. The main reasons behind taking the loan were either self-marriage or marriage of the relatives including brother, son, daughter or other relatives.
5. It was found that after paying the debt for several years, many of them (approximately 50%) are unable to square it off. Due to the high rate of interest, which is considered to be exorbitant at around 24 percent per year or more, the loan duration is exceptionally long. They are barely able to keep up with interest payments, and the principal stays unpaid, attracting even more interest.
6. Sometimes, migrants are also required to take loan in the destination village to meet out the eventualities. Thus, they become victim of double debt trap.

7. Ninety-one percent of migrants indicated they do not own a home in the target village and depended on rented housing.
8. 37 percent of migrants said they could build or modify a home in their native place. In general, the size of the houses built in the native village was likewise quite modest.
9. There was non or very little assess creation or augmentation was done by the migrants at their native villages.
10. About half of the migrants were incurring expenses on the children education but patter of education remained son favouring.
11. Only 72 percent of the respondent's families had the ration card and 63 percent of them had it at the native place. It means that significant number of the migrants did not have local ration cards which they could use.
12. Their situation also puts them in a number of disadvantaged positions when it comes to taking advantage of the numerous government programmes aimed at the poor. Only 3 of the migrants who could muster some land at destination village could take benefit of government housing scheme for the poor. Even at the native place the number beneficiaries were only 8.
13. UID Aadhar is another important document. 84.6 percent of migrants had their Aadhar cards created, according to the findings. Still, 15.4 percent of such migrants were unable to make it or apply for it because their required documents were in their home country and they were unable to schedule time to travel to their home country and apply for it.
14. The majority of responders (62.3 percent) had not yet opened a bank account. They were also unaware of the advantages of saving in a bank account. They also didn't belong to any local savings or thrift organisations.
15. Only ten percent of respondents' wives were involved local Anganbadi SHG and were saving in some way.

16. According to their own assessment and reflection, there was a status quo for 31% of respondents, 25.5 percent believed that the status of their families had improved, and 43.6 percent said that their familial status had declined.
17. Similarly, about 25% of respondents stated that their caste status had not changed, 27.3 percent believed that it had improved, and the majority of respondents (47.3 percent) said that their caste prestige had fallen.
18. Evaluation of some objective assessment criteria like a) practice of untouchability, b) commensal or food segregation c) cultural participation and d) social acceptance, it was observed that their caste, familial and social statuses have fallen.
19. Migrants are not evicted from their homes permanently. They keep in touch with their families and maintain ties to their homeland. They maintain their connections. Their relatives, parents, brothers, and other members of the joint family and homestead are present there. Everyone agreed that they needed to go at least once a year, and in some cases, four or five times.
20. Many of them do not utilise their voting rights since their names are not on the local voter list.
21. When we look at the educational patterns of migrant children, the unequal gender aspect of education is plainly obvious. Though there is gender imbalance in education in society in general, this imbalance cannot be totally attributable to the parent's Hali and migrant position, the significance of the financial and familial position in prioritising the education of children along the gender line cannot be disregarded, as predisposed social biases are extremely likely to be reinforced.
22. A closer examination of data reveals that not only is the sex ratio migrants' children skewed throughout all age groups, but that the overall sex ratio for the group dangerously stands out at 683 (which should be viewed as extremely low by all criteria), and that the

educational opportunity or availability for female children is also lower. Not only are there more illiterates among girls, but their access to education after high school is also severely limited.

23. The locality of their residence is peripheral and in lower caste hamlets. Their homestead also lacks basic amenities like toilets, covered bathrooms and nearer water source.

The foregoing findings sufficiently answer the research questions raised. As a closing remark it can be listed briefly that -

i) Migrants find it comforting to get employed in their known terrain of expertise and prefer to have certainty of employment to service the loan taken at the native place and maintain their daily needs, and therefore consider it useful to get into contractual labour like situation like *Gwal*.

j) The emulation of friends and relatives, as well as a lack of other job opportunities, contribute to the concentration of a specific caste community in the village.

k) Though this type of employer-employee partnership is stable and favoured, it has a restricting effect on other facets of labourers' social and economic lives, such as social status, services, privileges, government benefits, and self-esteem.

l) It also has an effect on their children's education and growth, limiting their opportunities for advancement.

m) This type of emigration situation has a disproportionately negative effect on women, who must bear many pressures, toil hard, and are paid less.

n) After 30-40 years of working as hali, migrants maintain relations with their home country and try to keep it alive. They finally want to return to their home country. They are, however, stressed and conflicted about preserving the tie and keeping it alive.

o) The next generation of *Gwals* and migrants has a sex ratio that is extremely unfavourable. It's something that needs to be looked at more.
p) Even after a year of working under the scheme, they appear to be in very poor financial shape as a result of the relentless and unending servicing of the loan at their native place.

In contrast to prior studies that mostly focus on non-agricultural migrants, the current study is significant since it shows a cross-section of and interplay between migration and attached labour in agriculture and rural situations. It adds to the small number of studies on migratory agricultural workers that are already accessible. It has also provided significant information on the areas where policy adjustments and effective rehabilitation programmes may be required. The study also contributes to the discipline by filling a gap in the literature regarding migratory agricultural workers and their debt attachment into long-term debtor-creditor relationships in this part of Rajasthan. It also seeks to present the many and various perspectives on the term Hali or *Gwal* in a meaningful way, situating it within the Bondage system and concerning discourse.

However, the research is limited to the cases of a single village. Similar cases have been discovered and are known to exist in other villages in the Kota region. To confirm the findings of the study, a follow-up investigation in other communities would be required. The drivers of outmigration have been identified as a loan at home combined with fewer prospects for productive employment. The study was unable to examine into the origins and recurrence of the loan, as well as the availability or non-availability of other formal and favourable sources of more rational and just lending. This aspect of the research should be investigated further.

The study did find that migrants continue and value their ties to their native land, but it did not delve into detail about how the significance of those ties have changed over time. The qualitative alterations in the ties must be investigated further.

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Summary

Summary

The current study, titled “Rural Migration for Bondage: A Sociological Study of *Hali* System in a Rajasthani Village”, focuses on the convergence between migration, agricultural labour and labour bondage in the system or practice of *Hali* (alternatively known locally as *Gwal*) in a Rajasthani village. It is an outcome of a Ph.D. fieldwork conducted in the village Daslana (Kota) which was conducted during 2016 – 19.

The reason which encouraged this study was the interface with the fact that there was an arrangement of long-term implicit contract with the migrant *Gwals* in the study village, which is maintained under veiled understanding, mutual consent and trust, and without much hostility or conflict. The terms *Gwal* and *Hali* have a wide range of meanings and historical significance. However, in the context of this study, both categories are interchangeable because they are similar in content, work conditions and have a special connotation to conceal the modified structure of quasi-contractual or bonded labour that exists without any dispute or malice on either side.

The study tries to sociologically map the social background and livelihood status of migrated agricultural labourers in Daslana (Kota, Rajasthan), who are commonly referred to as *Hali* or *Gwal*. It is an example of a favoured type of relocation of agricultural workers. Therefore, in view of the existing literature on the subject, the problems of the research were identified as:

- Does the study village's case of village-to-village migration relate to the existence and continuation of bonded labour?
- Is there any form of long-term labour contract or agreement between the employer and the migrant labourers in the present *Hali* or *Gwal* systems?
- Is the agreement between the employer and the employee binding or voluntary?

- What kind of freedom, leisure, and remuneration are accessible to bonded labourers?
- What are the factors that lead to the labourers entering into such arrangements? Is it compelling, binding, limiting, or facilitating to them?
- Is the prevalence of *Hali* in the village a way of getting around existing bonded labour laws? and
- Finally, how do poverty and rural debt combine to force the poor into out-migration and long-term servitude?

To systematically look into these issues and document the findings, the entire thesis is divided into following main parts:

1. Introduction
2. Theoretical Constructs and Review of Literature
3. Research Methodology
4. Practice of *Hali* in Daslana
5. Migration Bondage: Causes and Effects
6. Data Analysis and Research findings
7. Conclusion

A host of literature suggests that the debt bondage has many forms and names and it is prevalent in every part of India even today. It points out that "self-sustaining and self-perpetuating" character of bonded labour system existed in pre and post-independence periods in Indian villages. Main reason of the labour bondage is debt taken by the marginal farmers and landless labourers who are generally from the lower strata of the society and their inability to repay the debt due to extreme poverty, perilous financial conditions and high interest rate of the loan.

There are many researches on different types and variants of forced labour, which are described in the literature review portion of the study. However, the current case has its own unique characteristics, which justifies the need for specific as well as comparative investigations. The study confirms Jen Bremen's notion that 'servitude is preferred rather than avoided in labour bondage because it

maintained subsistence during non-peak seasons', since it observes that if the *Gwal* system is a sort of servitude at all, it must have an element of preference.

The research also looks into the numerous 'fixities' and 'moorings' that determine how these *Halis* migrate and how their relocation is restricted and facilitated. This emphasis finds its roots in "New Mobilities Paradigm" proposed by Sheller and Urry in 2006 which expressed that human society has never been more mobile than it is now and there are many "fixities" or "moorings" that make the system of migration complex.

Literature affirms that British rule in India gave rise to farmer's marginalisation and the formation of landless agricultural labour, both of which have continued to expand in both British and post-independence India. The total number of agricultural workers in India increased from 234.1 million (127.3 million cultivators and 106.8 million agricultural labourers) in 2001 to 263.1 million (118.8 million cultivators and 144.3 million agricultural labourers) in 2011. The problem of labour bondage got worse as state governments' land reform initiatives have generally failed to provide significant and required assistance to agricultural wage labourers who have been already economically marginalised.

With careful examination of the needs of research and evaluation of available resources, the appropriate research methodology was laid out. As a most suitable technique of primary data collection on the subject; focus group discussions, purposive sampling and census method were employed. Structured interviews with the help of tested interview schedule were carried out at the convenience and minimal disturbance to the informants and the community.

Objectives of the research is clearly explained as it gives broader framework to the research and keep the efforts toed the required direction. The objectives of this research are:

i. Put and enunciate the varied perceptions, meanings and practice of *Hali* into a cohesive perspective.

ii. Locate the given instance of *Hali* into the wider debate of the system of *Hali* in India.

iii. Delineate the dyadic relationship between the *Hali* and the master within the context of village economy, caste structure and its tangible implications on the *Halis*.

iv. Examine the factors responsible for inducement of migration and acceptance of *Hali* relationship.

v. Understand the nature of native ties of the migrant *Halis*.

There was a good rapport with the community during the field visits and data collection interactions. People were reassured in the beginning itself that the information gathered would be used solely for research and related reporting, that it would not be utilised for any legal or administrative purposes, and that anonymity and confidentiality of the informants and employers would be strictly protected. Their employers' oral consent was also acquired, assuring so that the research did not put any strain on the employer-employee relationship. Important terminologies utilised in this study, such as *Gwal*, *Hali*, employer, peasant, agricultural worker, marginal farmer, contractual labour, native place and migrants etc were defined and operationalized in the beginning of the research.

The study village Daslana is located on the eastern periphery of Kota and its majority of the population is OBC, with Dhakads being the most dominant caste. Dhakads, who are traditionally a farming caste, are the main employers of *Halis*in the village. Landholding in the village is predominantly concentrated among the intermediary castes, such as Dhakars and Malis, in terms of magnitude and land size. The Lodha, who are numerous but do not own any property in the village studied and largely work as migratory *Gwals*, are the other main OBC caste of the village. Lodhas and other migrants have settled in the village on a semi-permanent basis. Some of them come just for the agricultural season, while others have lived here for 20-25 years. There were 58 migrant agricultural workers in the village at

the time of the research and majority of them who worked as *Gwals* or *Halis* were largely employed by Dhakad families.

Agriculture is a difficult and labour-intensive occupation that necessitates a variety of operations to be completed on time as the season dictates. Regularity and availability of labour are critical in this regard. It is understood that a yield drop of roughly 1.50 quintals per acre arises with a one-week delay in harvest. Other crops and farm operations, such as hoeing, watering, harvesting, threshing, and selling, must be finished on time or the yield and farm income would suffer. Therefore, having attached labour is very useful for landed peasantry.

With the growth of modernization of agricultural and increased use of modern implements such as tractor, harvester, tube well etc. a skilled handyman is very useful for affordable farming families. Considerations such as a) round-the-clock availability of a person to assist in farm activities, b) timely completion of agricultural activities to avoid non-availability of the workforce during peak season, c) assisting in the rearing of milch and draft animals, d) a source of social status enhancement, and e) availability of a skilled person to operate the tractor or other agricultural machinery if a family owns a tractor or equipment that can be utilised for commercial or other purpose in addition to serving familial agricultural needs; a well-off peasant, primarily dhakars of the village, get to contract someone as a *Gwal* or *Hali* in Daslana.

The Lodha caste has a significant presence in the village. These are not the village's native residents. They all primarily hail from the Manoharthana or Iklera tehsils in neighbouring district Jhalawar. The Lodhas are an OBC caste who work as migrant agricultural labour in the village. Apart from Lodhas, there are other few castes such as Bheels, Thakur Bheels and Meghwals who also work as migrant *Gwals* in the village but their number is lesser as compared to Lodhas. These migrants having debts and little livelihood opportunity at their native places are forced to leave the native village and choose to get engaged as *Gwals* so that there is definitive income round the year even if it is lesser than what they can earn on daily wage basis because daily wage work is not guaranteed for the entire

year. As a contractual labour they are able to meet out their sustenance and repaying needs.

Gwal or *Halis* are agricultural occupational terms whose actual or operational meaning is different from the literal one. They are basically contractual agricultural labour engaged by the landed peasant families in the study village. *Halis* also exist most past of India and there have been studies by many scholars that it is a form of bondage of labour and it has different names in different regions. But, its incidence in the study village marks certain variation and differences which have been attempted to be comprehensively studied in the present research. For the purpose of this study, Gwal or Hali actually means–

a. A quasi-contractual agricultural labour doing a host of familial agricultural activities and errands through out the contract which is normally a year while the same terms are likely to be followed for many successive years to come.
b. A disguised and adapted form of bonded labour as it involves advance payment and employer-employee fixity.
c. An arrangement based on a mutually agreed annual emolument (often in cash and kind or sometimes only in cash) between the engaged *Gwal* and the employer landlord.
d. Their emoluments are based on the *Gwal*'s skills, the size of the employer's agricultural land and animal herd and the kind(s) of work expected from the *Gwal*.
e. The amount and quantity of staples obtained by different *Gwals* vary from case to case.
f. A portion of the negotiated emolument are provided to the *Gwal* up front and the rest is deferred
g. Both *Hali* and *Gwal* terms are interchangeable and bear the same operational meaning.

In the given background and the given framework, the current research explores into the following research questions:

1. Whether the contractual labour found as *Hali* or *Gwal* in the village is a disguised form of bondage?

2. What specific and general traits are exhibited by the incidence of *Hali* or *Gwal* as compared to the forms of contractual or unfree labour found in other parts of the country?

3. Is migration a scapegoat from native underdevelopment and it lands the migrant into disguised bondage?

4. How migration and bondage have positively and negatively affected the lives of the migrants.

5. How permanent and transient is the migration and how does it affect the native ties of the migrants?

The detailed data collected on the various aspects of *Gwal* life and occupation relating to both the villages: the destination village as well as native village, and their analysis entail the following important findings:

- The majority of the migrant population, known as Lodha, hails from Rajasthan's Jhalawar district's Iklera and Manoharthana tehsils.
- Apart from the needs of Migrants and employers, social network plays important role in getting into *Hali* arrangement as trust is a significant part of the deal.
- Migrants are almost evenly distributed among all earning or active age groups which ranges between 20-70 years.
- The average length of stay for *Gwal* migrants in Daslana is 16 years, with some even reporting to be staying for 20-25 years.
- Approximately 37% of migrants are employed as daily wage workers while they wait to be accepted as *Gwal*. The remaining 63 percent of migrants work as *Gwals* or *Gwal*-drivers or have worked as *Gwals* in the past.

It was found that the bulk of migrant respondents were illiterate (about 61 percent). Their wives were illiterate too in 96 percent of the cases. They get the impression and treatment in the village that they are outsiders, and they are not fairly and totally absorbed and integrated into the community life of the village.

The vast bulk of the migrant families resided on the village outskirts. Earnings of *Gwals* were found to be varying depending on a migrant's work skill and experience and negotiation abilities. There was no one-size-fits-all answer, and each one's situation was different in this regard. *Gwals* often earned a lump sum payment ranging from Rs.30,000 to Rs.60,000, as well as 4-6 quintals of food grain a year and a place to live with their family.

Daslana's*Hali* system is not as severe as the system of *Hali* described elsewhere. It is an accepted servitude as Bremen would say and a re-enactment of traditional patron-client relationship as Scott would like to point out but there is a significant drop in the social status of OBC migrant *Halis*, which tends to become like lower castes and it can be termed as 'Jati-Avarohan' comparable to the process of 'de-sanskritization' arising out of economic and social conditions originating from migration and bondage.

Rajasthan is among the top ten states for intra-state movement by last residence as per Indian census. Migration is more widespread due to regional development differences. The migration data reveal that the migration of *Gwals* from their homeland to settlements like Daslana is fraught with "fixities" and "moorings":

- The migrants endure developmental stagnation, poverty, and rural unemployment in their native lands.
- The pressure to earn enough to pay off the loan and service the high interest rate, or else whatever little land one has that was given as collateral will be lost, works as main catalyst for outmigration of these migrants.
- Cash payments for these *Gwals* in the locality range between Rs.30000 to Rs.60000. The average annual income is Rs. 43055/-,

which equates to Rs. 120 per day for unskilled labour. Tractor driving is a skilled work. A *Gwal* driver earning Rs. 60000 per year, thus, earns Rs. 167 per day. These payments are much below the minimum wage rate standards in effect since 2014. *Gwals,* earning Rs.30000 annum, have a meagre daily pay of Rs.83 only.

Loan repayment, Landlessness, Lack of Irrigation and infrastructural facilities, Lack of employment and Loans particularly for marriage requiring arrangement of bride price are found to be major causes of outmigration of *Gwals* from their native places. Behind prime motives for moving to the study village, the possibility of getting a chance to work as a *Gwal* was the first choice of the migrants.

The analysis of data shows that About 68 percent of the migrants were burdened with loan at their native place. In 86.5 percent of the cases, the migrant workers' wives also migrated in the village with their husbands. Wives of the migrants were doubly burdened by having to take care of domestic responsibilities while also contributing financially to the family. Despite this, wives' earnings were determined to be insignificant in comparison to their husbands due to unequal pay, opportunities (to work as *Gwal*), and the uncertainty of daily wage employment.

64 percent of the respondents had migrated in the village after their marriage, including the majority of those who had taken out a loan as a result of their marriage. Local network or connection played valuable role in getting employment as *Gwal*in the destination village. It was also found that there was inter-generational stay and connection with the village in few cases.

It revealed that 69 percent of migrants were not required to learn or acquire any new skills for or during the employment in the migrated village. Though, after arriving in the village, 18% of *Gwals* learned to drive and became *Gwal* drivers, which gave them more bargaining leverage in compensation negotiations with their employers. Data about their past and present occupations as well as their preferences point out that *Gwal* is the most preferred occupation among migrants.

Approximately 75% of the *Gwals* had worked in this capacity at some point throughout their tenure. Further analysis of data on Gwals shows that-

- Sixty-seven percent of all migrants have worked for multiple landlords meaning therby that *Gwal* relationships got severed too at times and there have been points of contentions.The *Gwal*-Malik relationship is though stable but not always so and discontent on either side causes the discontinuance of relationship.
- Only 5.6 percent of respondents claimed they got complete payment in advance, while 68.5 percent said they get a combination of part-advanced and part-deferred payments.
- During the fee days of the year, *Gwals* could not take any other job for extra income.

According to data collected on *Halis*, practically all migrants agree that migrating to the village has been advantageous to them in the sense that it has helped them sustain and meet their native necessities, such as repaying the loan, but that there has been no other tangible positive impact in their life. The following findings elucidate this further:

- Land being the most valuable possession, none of them was able to purchase land at their native places out of the savings from the migration earning. Only a few and a fortunate minority (7.3 percent) were able to purchase land in the village of migration which they could only use as a homestead.

- The inability to invest in land for most of the migrants show that they were unable to accumulate enough money to purchase land, either at the native place or in the destination village. These people used the earnings either to pay off debts or save for a wedding, or to cover their living expenses.

- Data reveals that 71 percent of migrant families were in debt in their native lands, and the majority of their earnings went into repaying that debt.

- The main reasons behind taking the loan were either self-marriage or marriage of the relatives including brother, son, daughter or other relatives.
- It was found that after paying the debt for several years, many of them (approximately 50%) are unable to square it off yet. Due to the high rate of interest, which is considered to be exorbitant at around 24 percent per year or more, the loan duration is exceptionally long. They are barely able to keep up with interest payments, and the principal stays unpaid, attracting even more interest.

Migrants expressed that sometimes, migrants are also required to take loan in the destination village to meet out eventualities. Thus, they become victims of double debt trap. Ninety-one percent of migrants indicated that they do not own a house in the target village and depended on rented housing. 37 percent of migrants did say that they could build or modify their home in their native place. In general, the size of the houses built in the native village was likewise quite modest. There was no or very little asset creation or augmentation done by the migrants at their native villages.

About half of the migrants were incurring expenses on the children education but pattern of education remained son favouring. Only 72 percent of the respondent's families had the ration card and 63 percent of them had it at the native place. It meant that significant number of the migrants did not have local ration cards which they could use and for them it was only a piece of paper which could prove their identity and habitation in government records.

Migrants' situation also puts them in a number of disadvantaged positions when it comes to taking advantage of the numerous government programmes aimed at the poor. Only 3 of the migrants who could muster some land at

destination village could take benefit of government housing scheme meant for the poor. Even at the native place the number of beneficiaries were very small.

UID Aadhar is another important document. 84.6 percent of migrants had got their Aadhar cards created, according to the findings. Still, 15.4 percent of such migrants were unable to make it or apply for it because their required documents were in their native village and they were unable to find suitable time to travel to the place and apply for it.

The majority of responders (62.3 percent) had not yet opened a bank account. They were also unaware of the advantages of savings in a bank. They also did not even belong to any local savings or thrift organisations. Only ten percent of respondents' wives were involved in local Anganvadi SHG and were saving in a little way.

According to their own assessment and reflection, there was a status quo for 31% of respondents, 25.5 percent believed that the status of their families had improved, and 43.6 percent said that their familial status had declined. Similarly, about 25% of respondents stated that their caste status had not changed, 27.3 percent believed that it had improved, and the majority of respondents (47.3 percent) said that their caste prestige had fallen.

On evaluation of some objective assessment criteria like a) practice of untouchability, b) commensal or food segregation c) cultural participation and d) social acceptance; it was observed that their caste, familial and social statuses have fallen. Migrants are not evicted from their homes permanently. They keep in touch with their families and maintain ties to their homeland. They maintain their connections. Their relatives, parents, brothers, and other members of the joint family and parental homestead are present there. Everyone agreed that they needed to go at least once a year, and in some cases, four or five times to their native places.

Many of them do not utilise their voting rights since their names are not on the local voter list. It makes them politically inconsequential and deprives them of

any political support and hearing. When we look at the educational patterns of migrants' children, the unequal gender aspect of education is plainly obvious. As there is gender imbalance in education in society in general, this imbalance cannot be totally attributable to the parent's *Hali* and migrant position, the significance of the financial and familial position in prioritising the education of children along the gender line cannot be disregarded, as predisposed social biases are extremely likely to be reinforced.

A closer examination of data reveals that not only is the sex ratio of migrants' children is skewed throughout all age groups, the overall sex ratio for the group also dangerously stands out at 683 (which should be viewed as extremely low by all considerations). The educational opportunity or availability for female children is also lower. Not only that there are more illiterates among girls, their access to education after high school is severely limited too. The locality of their residence is peripheral and they reside in lower caste hamlets. Their homesteads also lack basic amenities like toilets, covered bathrooms and nearer water source.

The finding of this study also resonates with the previous studies on the subject that: -

- "Free labour" is found to be less well off than the *Halis.*
- Debt or circumstantial inability to repay and finish the debt causes and perpetuates willing bondage
- There are striking similarities in terms of *Lodhas*as main providers of *Gwals* in the project area as to Dablas as *Hali* providers in Gujarat. The other *Hali* providing groups in Rajasthan are Saharias in Baran and Damor in Udaipur-Banswara area.
- 'Landlords deliberately practiced enslavement of labour through loaning'.

- The lack of better employment opportunities and exploitative money lending system forces the vulnerable caste groups to get trapped into *Hali* or *Gwal* like situation.

The system of *Gwal* glaringly point out the inability and limited effectiveness of 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' to root out the problem of bonded labour in India and Rajasthan.

In view of the guiding research questions, the study affirms that forms of quasi contractual labour are 'potentially coercive and exploitative' even within voluntary relations since compelling mutual obligations have serious limiting consequences for the migrants. As a general and concluding remark, it can be said that -

- Migrants find it comforting to get employed in their known terrain of expertise and prefer to have certainty of employment to service the loan taken at the native place and maintain their daily needs, and therefore consider it useful to get into contractual labour like situation like *Gwal*.
- The emulation of friends and relatives, as well as a lack of other job opportunities, contribute to the concentration of a specific caste community in the village.
- Though this type of employer-employee partnership is stable and favoured, it has a restricting effect on other facets of labourers' social and economic lives, such as social status, services, privileges, government benefits, and self-esteem.
- It also has an effect on their children's education and growth, limiting their opportunities for advancement.
- This type of emigration situation has a disproportionately negative effect on women, who must bear many pressures, toil hard, and are paid less.

- After 30-40 years of working as *Hali*, migrants maintain relations with their village of origin and try to keep it alive. They finally want to return to their native place. They are, however, stressed and conflicted about preserving the tie and keeping it alive.

- The next generation of *Gwals* and migrants has a sex ratio that is extremely unfavourable. It's something that needs to be looked at more.

- Even after years of working under the scheme, they appear to be in very poor financial shape as a result of the relentless and unending servicing of the loan at their native place.

Present study is important because it significantly presents a cross-section of and interplay between migration and attached labour in agriculture and agrarian situation as against other studies which mostly focus on non-agricultural migrants. It adds to the little and scattered studies available on migrant agricultural workers. It has also sufficiently indicated on the areas where possible policy changes and effective rehabilitation plans are needed.

The study also contributes to the discipline as it fills the gap in terms of serious lack of study of migrant agricultural and their debt attachment into forced debtor-creditor long term relationship in this part of Rajasthan. It also tries to cogently present the myriad and varied perceptions about the Term *Hali* or *Gwal* meaningfully and locates it into the system and debate of Bondage.

The study is, however, only limited to the cases of only one village. It is found and known that similar cases exist in other villages of Kota region too. A further study on other villages would be necessary to validate the findings of the study. It has been determined that the loan at native place added with less gainful employment opportunities are the drivers of outmigration. A closure look into the causes and recurrence of the loan and availability or non-availability of the other formal and conducive sources of more rational and just credit facility could not be explored in the study. This dimension of the research is needed to be further explored.

Study, though, has found out that the existence of the ties with the native place are maintained and given importance by the migrants but how far the meanings of the ties have undergone a change over a period of time has not found adequate elaboration in the study. The qualitative changes in the ties are needed to be further explored.

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Appendix - 19.a Rural immigration and bondage RJS

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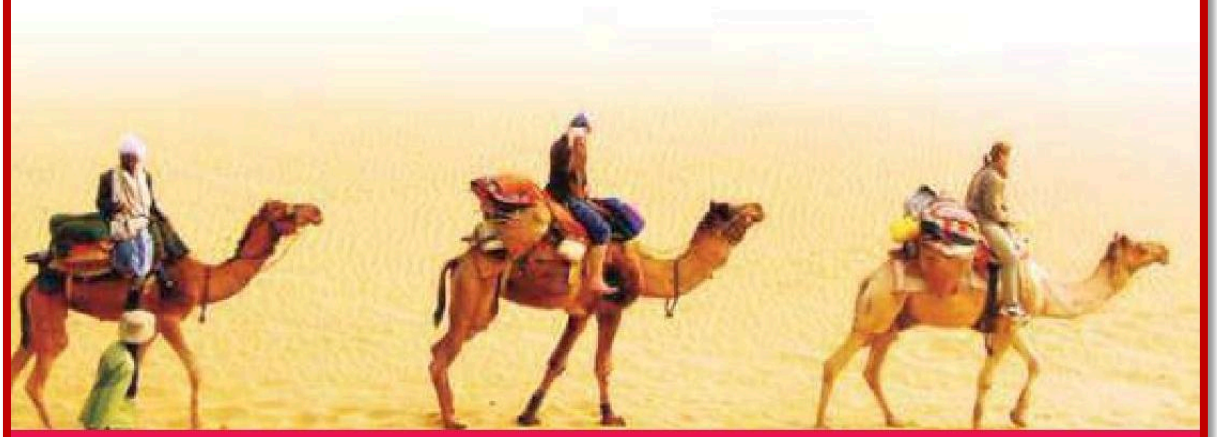

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BOOK REVIEWS

Rajasthan Journal of Sociology
2020, Vol. 12

Rural Immigration and Disguised Bondage: A Case of Gwals in a Hadoti Village

Tribhu Nath Dubey

Abstract: The study presents a slice of rural immigration which lands the immigrants in a relationship of quasi disguised bondage. Based on field data from a village in *Hadoti* region of Rajasthan, it shows how the term *Gwal* has acquired new meaning and forms a contractual social and economic relationship. Juxtaposing it with various forms of bonded labour, the paper tries to understand the causes and extent of this relationship. Its instance also underscores the ineffectiveness of acts pertaining to prohibition of bondage. Study is primarily based on primary data and supported by secondary sources.

Keywords: Village to Village Migration, Bonded Labour, Rural Indebtedness, Agricultural Contractual Labour, Diaspora Study

The dominant form of migration of workforce has been from rural to urban or rural to industrial settings. It is not to suggest that village to village migration has not existed earlier. History is full of exodus of human groups from one place to other for better living conditions, life opportunities, business prospects or as a safety measure from incessant wars and various forms of calamities. However, the modern era has witnessed that urban and industrial settings have acted as centres of opportunities, growth and employment and have been predominantly pulling rural workforce towards them as compared to any other sources. Another significant pursuit of rural emigration has been education which in terms of its coverage of rural classes, castes and numbers has been limited as compared to the emigration in pursuit of employment. It is also noteworthy that migration for education has largely been upper caste – upper class phenomena with slowly opening up for lower strata too with the advent of aspirations and economic security among them while migration for employment has been much more broad-based across castes and classes still more tilted towards lower strata of the society in terms of numbers. Having said that, the comparative stagnancy of rural life and development have subdued and checked rural to rural migration as compared to rural to urban migration. In this context this study illustrates an interesting instance of village-to-village migration encapsulating a

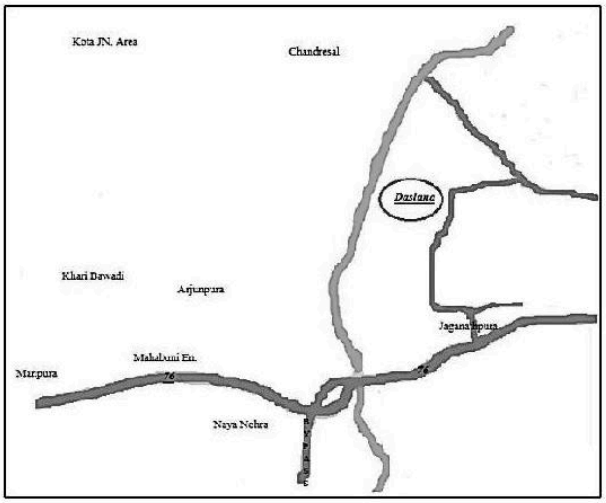

Figure 1: Location of Study Village Near Kota (Raj.)

variety of issues. These issues are the existence of quasi contract for labour bondage; circumvention of existing laws related to bonded labour; poverty and rural indebtedness causing emigration and resulting into long term bondage among others.

This study is based on primary data on contractual labour collected from a village Daslana which is situated at the periphery of municipal boundary of Kota city in Rajasthan (Figure 1). The village is situated on the eastern bank of a rivulet called Chandraloi (which is a tributary of River Chambal). It is on the north eastern periphery of Municipality of Kota at a distance of about 13 Kilometres from the city centre. *Daslana* was part of *Tathed* village panchayat until it was incorporated recently under Kota municipality limits in 2011. It now falls technically under ward 40 of the city municipality but practically is a rural setting entirely as inhabitants predominantly live on agriculture and agricultural labour (Figure 2). The village population is about 2500 with 1247 adult voters and about 400 children below the age of 14 (Dubey 2015).

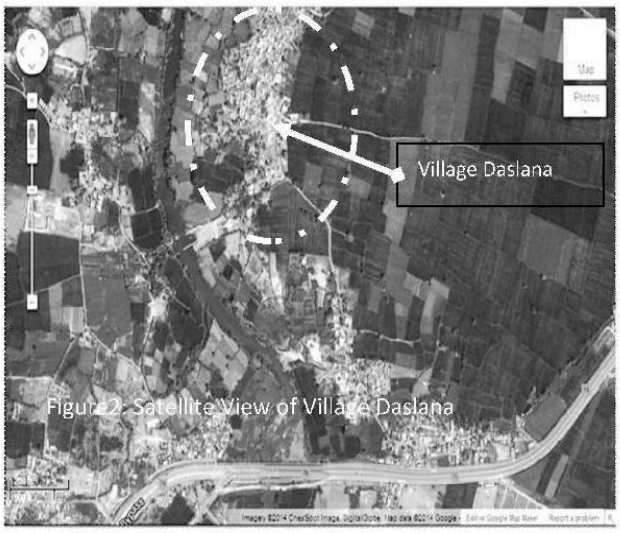

Figure 2: Satellite View of Village Daslana

Table1: Caste by Landholding pattern

Castes	Landholding in *Bigha*									
	landless	<2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	Total
Bheel	2									2
Dhakar	2		4	4		4	4	2	2	22
Dhobi	2			6						8
Gujar			4							4
Lodha	2									2
Mali		2	2		4		2			10
Meghwal	2					4				6
Mehra			2							2
Muslim	1									1
Nath	6									6
Teli	4									4
Total	21	2	12	10	4	8	6	2	2	67

Source: Project Field work in Daslana

The village is primarily an OBC majority village. 83 % of the total households belong to OBCs. The dominant caste of the village is *Dhakad*, also known as *Malav*, accounts for about 39% of total households. *Dhakads* are not only numerically highest but also economically well off, politically influential and control the majority of the agriclultural land of the village followed by *Malis* and Gujars. *Dhakad* is traditionally a farming caste. So are *Malis* but they also grow and sell flowers. *Gujars* primarily rear milch animals and earn livelihood mainly by selling the milk along with farming. Landholding data of a convenient sampling of 67 village members, working on the village farms on certain days during the field visits, is collated in table 1 above and it reveals that landholding in the village is mainly concentrated amongst the intermediary castes like *Dhakars* and *Malis*, both in terms of magnitude and land size. Few *Meghwals* (SC) also have 9-10 *Bighas* of land. But significant number of respondents (about fifty percent), composed of SCs, STs and few OBC castes like *Gujars*, *Lodhas*, *Naths* and *Telis*, have less than six *bighas of* family landholding and about sixty percent of them are landless. It was found that there were about 55 Gwals in the village working for different landlords, mainly Dhakars. Of these 55 Gwals, 50 (91 percent) were from Lodha Castes and rest nine percent were constituted by Bhils and saharia from adjacent district of Baran. To understand the socio-economic conditions of these Gwals, a census was conducted by the researcher and the present study primarily relies on the findings of the census.

The villagers of Daslana, particularly the landed ones, employ a system of contractual labor arrangement called *Gwal Keeping* mainly with the *Lodhas*. Discussions with the villagers revealed that there are about 50 plus *Gwals* in the village kept mainly by Dhakad families along with few *Mali* and *Brahmin* families as well. Women are not employed as *Gwals* as they have to manage daily family chores. Accompanying wives and women of *Gwals* and Lodhas along with *non-Gwal Lodhas* do not get annual job security and they work on daily wages in the fields as agricultural labour. (Seth & Dubey 2013, Dubey 2015). As mentioned, *Lodhas* – the main constituent of Gwals in the village Daslana, are also an OBC caste and they are present in the village in sizable number. However, they do not hold any land in the village. They are migrant agricultural labourers from *Eklera* and *Manohar thana* tehsils which fall in the neighboring district of Jhalawar. *Lodhas* do have agricultural land holding at their native village but due to high cost of agricultural inputs and lack of irrigation they have left cultivation on their land and migrated to villages such as *Daslana* where agriculture is still a mainstay due to availability of water as there are irrigation canals and relatively high ground water level due to happening to be in the command area of Chambal river valley project known as Command Area Development (CAD), Chambal, Kota (GoR 2011).

The migration of *Lodhas* to the village is of semi-permanent kind. Some stay here only during the agricultural season and some have settled permanently for last 20-25 years. They have migrated with their family. None of the *Lodhas*, older migrants or new, have been able to buy land as the land being fertile, irrigated and in the vicinity of city Kota, is very costly. The cost of land has escalated manifold after getting incorporated in the municipality. They are not able to make even a self-owned house for themselves even after prolonged years of stay and work in the village. All the migrants, having a family size of about 4 to 6 live in a rented one or two room set of *kachcha* houses settled mainly

on the village periphery. The going rate of such rented accommodation in the village is Rs. 300 to Rs.400 per month.

The term Gwal is used in the village and also perhaps in the area around to demarcate a category of people engaged in specific kind of occupation or services under some contractual arrangement with the employing/ patronizing agricultural families. Such permanently engaged agricultural labourers use the term Gwal as their own or familial occupation. Observation of activities and discussions with Gwals, their employers and knowledgeable persons of area, points that 'Gwal' is a form of quasi contractual form of bonded labour, found to be practiced in the study village for many years. There were quite a few live examples of practicing this kind of labour for more than 10 to 15 years and some even as old as 30-35 years.

It was found that person who is financially fragile or needy get engaged as *Gwal*. It was also alarming that the *Gwal* labour pool in this village draws heavily from a particular area and caste. It was noted that such engagements are based on an annual emolument (sometimes both in cash and kind and sometimes only in cash) mutually agreed between the engaged *Gwal* and the employer landlord based on the skills of the *Gwal*, the size of agricultural land and animal herd of the employer and kind(s) of work required from the *Gwal*. It was noted that there is no fixed amount and quantity of staples received by different *Gwal*s, rather it varied from case to case. It seemed that there is some implicit understanding shared by the employer and employee on which basis the emoluments are fixed and on which basis it varies from case to case without any malice or conflict. Another aspect of the terms of payment was that part of the agreed emolument is paid to the *Gwal* in advance and part is deferred. This arrangement assumes some characteristics of bonded labor such as advance payment and fixity of employer and employed but it cannot entirely be termed as bonded labour because the labourer squares off the payment after the completion of a year's work and also does not pay any interest on the amount of emoluments received in advance. Other family members of the *Gwal* are also not obliged to work with same employer for the same payment (Seth & Dubey, 2013). There is another term called *Hali* which has different literal meaning than *Gwal* but is interchangeably used in the study village as both the terms relate to interrelated and sometimes common functional requirements of an agricultural household as seen and practiced in the village concerned.

Gwal literally means the one who takes care of cows. He looks after the cows and primarily engages in taking the herd of milch animals for grazing. Hindu idol child Krishna is well revered as *Bal Gopal* or *Gwal bal* (child who takes care of cows). That is why *Yadavas* or *Ahir* caste which links its ancestry with lord *Krishna* and who basically engage themselves in animal husbandry and earn their livelihood through producing and selling milk, are also sometime referred as *Gwala* in some parts of northern India. However, in this part of Rajasthan, the caste which primarily engages in rearing milch animals to earn their livelihood are Gujars or Gochars and have somewhat different religious traditions and are not necessarily referred as *Gwal* or *Gwala*. Yadavs or Ahirs, here, are lesser or negligible in numbers. The Gujars or other caste persons who sell milk from door to door to urban households are also referred as *Gwalas* in this part of Rajasthan. Generally speaking, while *Gwal* means the one who takes care of milch

animal like cows and buffalos and *Gwala* means the one who sells milk. Hence *Gwala* and *Gwal* are two different terms. It is also noteworthy that it has done away with its association with any particular caste as found in northern India and refers to occupational engagements (Dubey 2015).

As there is not much literature available on the term *Gwal* or Hali regarding its origins. Discussions with many people who either have witnessed such practices in their lifetime or are acquainted with the history and society of Rajasthan point out that there could be finer historical and spatial differences and variations in the practice of *Gwal* and *Hali*. It points out that the practice of *Gwal* and Hali is prevalent in villages of Rajasthan since medieval period. However there seem to be a lot of ambivalence about the origin, nature and functions of these terms. According to some of the experts, it was pointed out that these terms basically originated in the feudal agrarian structure and it is related to a form of bonded labour. In this view, the well-off landed peasantry, particularly *Jagirdars* and bigger landlords needed people to work on their farms and look after their animals so the system of Hali and *Gwal* evolved. Hali was the one who was to perform all agricultural duties including ploughing, sowing, irrigating, guarding the crop, harvesting and also looking after the oxen which were used for ploughing if they were limited in number. If the number of cattle was more, a separate *Gwal* was employed to primarily look after them but he could perform other errands as well if free and if household situation required. Hali also seem to be derived from the Hindi term *Hal* which is an agricultural implement used to plough the field. It means thereby that a Hali is a person who works on the field with the ploughing implement Hal. The ploughing is not a yearlong activity. It is only required for preparing the field for plantation or sowing the crop seeds. Once the sowing is done, the family farm requires other kind of activities right up to harvesting the crop. As the person requiring the services of the *hali* and person who wants to get employed as Hali wanted some kind of regularity of relationship to ensure availability of workforce as well as employment, a system of some contractual understanding for the mutual benefit of both the parties evolved. The contractual understanding was either to share the crop produce in certain ratio or pay the Hali in cash proportionately. Historically speaking, the more common practice of exchange was barter, it is likely that sharing the crop produce would have been a more prevalent form initially and later on with the heightened use of currency as exchange, cash compensation would have gained occurrence. It was also stressed that in this form of association the other family members particularly the wife of the Hali also used to get employment with the employing family either at the homestead or at the farm. It was also expressed that generally children or adolescents were employed as *Gwals* because grazing the animals was not a labour intensive work. Hence non adult children of the Hali or other children were employed for the work as Gwals (Dubey 2015).

In some of the discussions, it was also expressed that needy families are given loan by the well to do families and in return towards the payment of principal amount and interest, family members were employed as *Hali* or *Gwal*. Well to do families require the round the clock availability of the labour, so they lure such needy families through loans and advances. In some of the cases if rates of interests are high then the given loan is never repaid and the association continues for many-many years. It is observed that generally there are longer period of associations between *Gwal* or *Hali* and the landlord.

However, it is also observed that Hali or *Gwals* are easily lured by other employers or smooth change of association is possible if dues are repaid. Some of the experts linked the origin of the system with the prevalence of Begar system in feudal society of Rajasthan. But some differentiated between the two as Begar system and system of *Hali* and *Gwal* as beggar system was based on *Petia* (full meal to an adult worker) for the whole day work while Hali and *Gwal* were compensated either in cash or kind. It was also expressed by some that Hali is driver while some opined the currently the term is also used for the share cropper (Dubey 2015). So there are different connotations and variations of term Hali and Gwals. However as is the case of Gwals in the present village of study, it can be said that circumstantially the meaning of *Gwal* has changed and evolved over time due to changes in livelihood and working conditions. So is the other term Hali. Hali and *Gwals* are both occupational terms associated with peasantry and their semiotics is interesting. It is a case where signifier has been maintained while signified has changed or evolved and both the terms Hali and Gwals are used interchangeably (Dubey 2015).

ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), ratified by India in 1951 which through its article 2(1) of the Convention defines forced labour as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily". Though Convention 29 on Forced Labour did not specifically refer to debt bondage, over time the ILO's Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations has stated repeatedly that 'debt bondage' is one form of 'forced labour' and is covered by the Convention's definition (Dubey 2015). Debt bondage is a specific form of forced labour, in which the element of compulsion is derived from debt. The UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956) defines debt bondage as "the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited or defined". Thus, bonded labour relationships are not purely economic contracts, even though employees may enter into them voluntarily because of economic necessity. Once employees enter into these relationships, they are characterized by multiple asymmetries and high exit costs, which were not a part of the contract, as understood by the employee, at the outset (Srivastava 2005).

In India, The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, defines the bonded labour system as the system of forced, or partly forced, labour under which a debtor enters, or has, or is presumed to have, entered, into an agreement with the creditor (Sivkumar 2010). The Courts in India have clarified that the 1976 Act is derived from Article 23(1) of the Constitution whose ambit is much wider than Article 4 of the UDHR, since "the Article strikes at forced labour in whatever form it may manifest itself, because it is violative of human dignity and is contrary to basic human values" (Supreme Court judgment in the Asiad case):

"Any factor which deprives a person of a choice of alternatives and compels him to adopt a particular course of action, may properly be regarded as 'force' and if labour

and service is compelled as a result of such 'force' it would be 'forced labour'. The word 'force' must be construed to include not only physical or legal force but also force arising from compulsion of economic circumstances which leaves no choice of economic circumstance to a person in want and compels him to provide labour or service even though the remuneration received for it is less than the minimum wage. Therefore, when a person provides labour or service to another for remuneration, which is less than the minimum wage, the labour or service provided by him clearly falls within the scope and ambit of the words 'forced labour'" (Dubey 2015).

Bremen has analysed the attached labour system as *Hali* in south Gujrat as system which is part of the caste system and it predates the colonial rule in India. The *Hali* relations between *Anavil Brahmins* and Dablas are not purely economic but part of a general pattern of caste relationship. The arrangement while serves as surety of labour availability in the peak seasons, it also somewhat propagated by the fact the 'ritually pure' castes are banned traditionally to directly participate in ploughing and cultivation. Another consideration that the numbers of attached labour enhances one's social status and prestige is also a reason for the prevalence of the practice (Chaudhuri 2008:119). According to Breman the servitude is preferred rather than avoided as it ensured subsistence during non-peak seasons. Breman (1996:214) points out that after the law against the bondage, there were about 171000 bonded *Halis* in southern Gujrat. In 1923, the ruler of Baroda had also banned bondage of labour but it had little effect. In 1947 the committee formed by the state of Bomaby recognized that the system of *hali* was based on bondage and recommended to the government that it should be abolished with certain improvement in the material condition of these *halis*.

Studies on the system of *hali* and attached labour emphasize that system of bonded labour in agriculture as a whole is an outcome of historically framed patron-client relationship since generations. Patron-client relationship is defined as a "special case of dyadic (two-person) ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which all individual of higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both. for a person of a lower status (client) who for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance, including personal services to the patron (Scott 1972a). Traditionally, thus, such a dyadic relationship is often viewed as being of the functional or beneficial character for the client (Scott 1972a, Breman1979, Gould 1964). However, in inter-caste relations, the jajmani system, with its vertical interdependency of groups and individuals based on the unequal distribution of resources, provides an appropriate context to discuss patron client relations, showing that people of disparate status, wealth and power are vertically integrated below patrons who in turn may be clients of patrons at a higher level. Scott (1972a) observes that the patron-client formation finds its "fullest elaboration" where there is a gap between a state's centre and periphery. This implies a situation of localized power and the organization of production and distribution based on local resources (Scott 1972a). Hence relations between patrons and clients are lopsided with unequal and often non-comparable reciprocities. Clients' expectations are limited to basic subsistence. Such dyadic ties embody certain structural features such as ties between families, mutual trust, confidence, mutual expectations, community support of values and the conception of a moral bond (Bailey 1966, Scott 1972a & b; Michie 1981).

The study of Gwals in village Daslana reveal that migrants labourers working as Gwals were almost equally spread over all earning or productive age groups with slight tilt in favour of 20-40 year age group (50.91 percent) as against 40-60 age group (43.64 percent). Only three respondents were in the age group of 60-70 years. The age spread indicates that migrants are forced to move out early in their productive life span and with age and deteriorating physical condition limiting their working capability their engagement is reduced or transferred to other known relative or family member. As indicated except a very few persons, older or retired *gwal*s move out from the employing village and return back to their native place. It will further be cleared with the years of stay and acquaintance through which they acquired this employment in the emigrated village. It was found that only about thirteen percent of the migrants were staying in the village for less than five years. The average age of stay of *gwal* migrant in Daslana is sixteen years and highest no of people (twelve) reported their stay for 20-25 years. Some have also reported their stay of more than forty years and going up to forty six years. They are mostly non-employed and ex-*gwal*s and have made a hut in the village and stay here only as there is not much to return to in their native village (Dubey 2015).

An analysis of the work profile and nature of employment of the migrants reveals that migrants residing as daily wage workers and waiting to be absorbed as *gwal* is only about 37 percent. Rest sixty three percent of the migrants are working as *Gwal* or *Gwal*-driver or they have retired as *Gwal*. It was also found that all male migrants almost stay for all the months during the year in the emigrated village and only occasionally visit their native places or relatives when somebody is sick or there is some celebration like marriage. Most often wives do this balancing act of both the places and their average stay during the year in the emigrated village is about 9-10 months as they shoulder the responsibility of looking after the native place by visiting there for few days at times during the year. They normally go the native village twice or thrice in the year as per the demand of the situation. Male as the main bread earner and fulfiller of the *Gwal* contract has little choice over his mobility and only visits his native place or relatives when it is utmost urgent and permitted by the employers.

Education is main source of empowerment and creator of better life chances and opportunities. Absence of it does not only limit one's negotiating capabilities but also hinders from rights awareness and exercise of entitlements. As far as the migrant respondents are concerned it was found that majority of them (about 61 percent) were illiterate. If you include the primary educated to this group, it almost becomes eighty one percent. There were only 5.5 percent of the respondents who were educated up to secondary education level. The alarmingly low level of educational attainment of the respondents is not only indicative of their lower negotiational capabilities as well as poor social and economic background. In such a situation they find themselves better placed to get into this kind of labour and employer relation as it provided them with some certainty of all-weather employment to sustain their living and meet out the demands and obligations at their native place. Educational level of wives of the migrants is even more deplorable. It was found that 96 percent of their wives were illiterate. It has serious implication for women in terms of life opportunities and gender equality where migration itself brings many more difficulties in lives. It further adds strain to the bleak future of education of the next generation of the family.

The lack of irrigation facility at the native place added with debt and poverty has forced Lodhas for outmigration, as they in spite of having ancestral agricultural land, cannot optimally cultivate their own and opt to work in another village as landless agricultural labour. The migration degrades them in the caste hierarchy of emigrated village and forces them to co-live with the castes lower to them in hierarchy. Both, men and women of these migrant families, seek employment in the village; men tend to get relatively secure employment in the form of annual labour contract (as *Gwal*) but women are only employed as casual daily wage agricultural labour. Women's chances for secure employment as their counterparts are hampered. One of the reasons for not being eligible to such labour contract is their gendered duty to manage the daily chores of the family which significantly include the allocation of time and energy for arranging water for the family (Seth & Dubey 2013).

When one migrates in anticipation of something, loses many things in the process. Identity and inherited social repute and prestige are some of the losses. One has to start afresh at new place and build upon it. The new circumstances may promote some and limit as well. In the case of migrants, though living in the area for so many years (mean stay being more than 16 years) do not exercise their voting rights as many of them do not have their names in the local voter list. Many also complained that as they stay in the rented accommodation, they are not even being allowed to make their Aadhar card as they cannot produce the requisite documents. Only about 16 percent Gwals had names in the local voter list and 49 percent of them have their names in the native voter list. However, they do not go to vote as its costs their wage and they do not get leave. Those having their names in the local voter list, also take little interest in the election as they themselves neither see any permanent stake in the local politics neither the aspirant or the representatives treat them of any significant consequence because they are taken as outsider and population in transit. Same is true for the wives of the respondents who also do not attempt to vote and have inconsequential participation in electoral choices and negotiations.

Table 2: Present state of loan at native place

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No loan	16	29.1	33.3	33.3
	Finished	8	14.5	16.7	50.0
	Contd.	24	43.6	50.0	100.0
	Total	48	87.3	100.0	
Missing	9	7	12.7		
Total		55	100.0		

The prime cause of out-throw of these migrant workers from their native villages was the loan taken by them, their father or close family member. As the loan could not be serviced and repaid from the native place due to the lack of ample employment opportunities they had to move out. It was found that in many of the cases (about 50 percent) in spite of paying it for many years, they are not able to repay the loan. The term

of the loan at the native place is very high and reported to be to the tune of 24 percent per annum. They are barely able to meet out the interest demands and principal remains unpaid which keeps on attracting interests. It seems to be the prime cause why these migrant agricultural workers prefer to get into quasi contractual relationship of bondage in the emigrated village.

Foregoing discussions entail that Well irrigated villages of south Rajasthan are agriculturally promising and require the availability of external labour. This causes migration of the people from such rural areas where agriculture and other avenues of employment is not that much promising but the familial needs fulfillment gives a fillip for out-migration. In this particular situation the arrangement of *gwal* or *hali* fits in well for both the employer and the employed. The term *gwal* or *hali* have varied meaning and historical roots. However, in this case both the terms are used interchangeably as they cohere in terms of content and terms of work and denote a specific connotation to disguise the modified arrangement of quasi contractual or bonded labour which pervades without much conflict or malice from the either side. It was found that in the study village, there was an arrangement of long-term implicit contract with the migrant *gwals* and is maintained under implicit understanding with mutual consent and trust and without much of a malice or conflict.

The study affirms that forms of quasi contractual labour are 'potentially coercive and exploitative' even within voluntary relations and compelling mutual obligations have serious limiting consequences for the migrants but they stay in force and practice as no better alternatives exist for the migrants. The study also resonates the previous studies of the researchers in the area that:-

a) "free labor" are found to be less well off than the *halis*.

b) debt or circumstantial inability to repay and finish the debt causes and perpetuates willing bondage

c) There are striking similarities in terms of *Lodhas* as main providers of *Gwal*s in the project area as to Dablas as *hali* providers in Gujarat. The other *hali* providing groups in Rajasthan are Saharias in Baran and Damor in Udaipur-Banswara area.

d) 'Landlords deliberately practiced enslavement of labour through loaning'.

e) The lack of better employment opportunities and exploitative money lending system forces the vulnerable caste groups to get trapped into *hali* or *Gwal* like situation.

f) The system of *gwal* glaringly point out the inability and limited effectiveness of 'The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976' to root out the problem of bonded labour in India and Rajasthan.

The study village Daslana is a test case and the possibility is that findings are very likely possible to portray the similar picture of *hali*s and gwals in the other villages of the area that landed peasants like Dhakads and other landlords with sizeable landholding are very likely to get such services to ensure the yearlong availability of agricultural labour. The study specifically finds that –

i) The precarious economic situation of farming communities coupled with need to loan and repay causes outmigration and migrants find it comforting to get employed in the known terrain of expertise and prefer to have certainty of employment to service the loan taken at the native place and maintain their daily need and therefore consider it useful to get into contractual labour like situation like gwal or *hali*.

ii) The concentration of particular caste group in the village is also caused due to the emulation of the acquaintances and relatives and lack of other avenues of employment.

iii) Though this kind of employer-employee relationship brings out stability and preferred but also has limiting impact on other aspects of social and economic lives of the labourers in terms of social status, amenities, rights, benefits of government schemes and self-esteem.

iv) It also impacts the education and development of their children and limits the possibility of progress for them.

v) The emigration situation of this kind has comparatively more adverse impact for the women as they have bear multiple burdens, toil hard and paid compensated less.

vi) Migrants maintain ties with their native place and try to keep it alive and eventually want to return to their native place after 30-40 years of woks as *hali*. However, they feel stressed and torn in maintaining the tie and keep it alive.

vii) The next generation of *Gwals* and migrants show a very adverse sex ratio for the next generation. It is something which need further probes.

viii) Even after the prolonged year of work under the arrangement, they seem to exhibit very poor economic condition due to constant and unending servicing of the loan at native place.

It is also worth pointing out that similar studies are required to be replicated in other villages of the area to validate the findings and determine the cause of such a large occurrence of insistent loan taking by the migrating community. It requires to further probe into changes in content and meaning of the native ties which have been so far maintained but have undergone changes over a long period of time.

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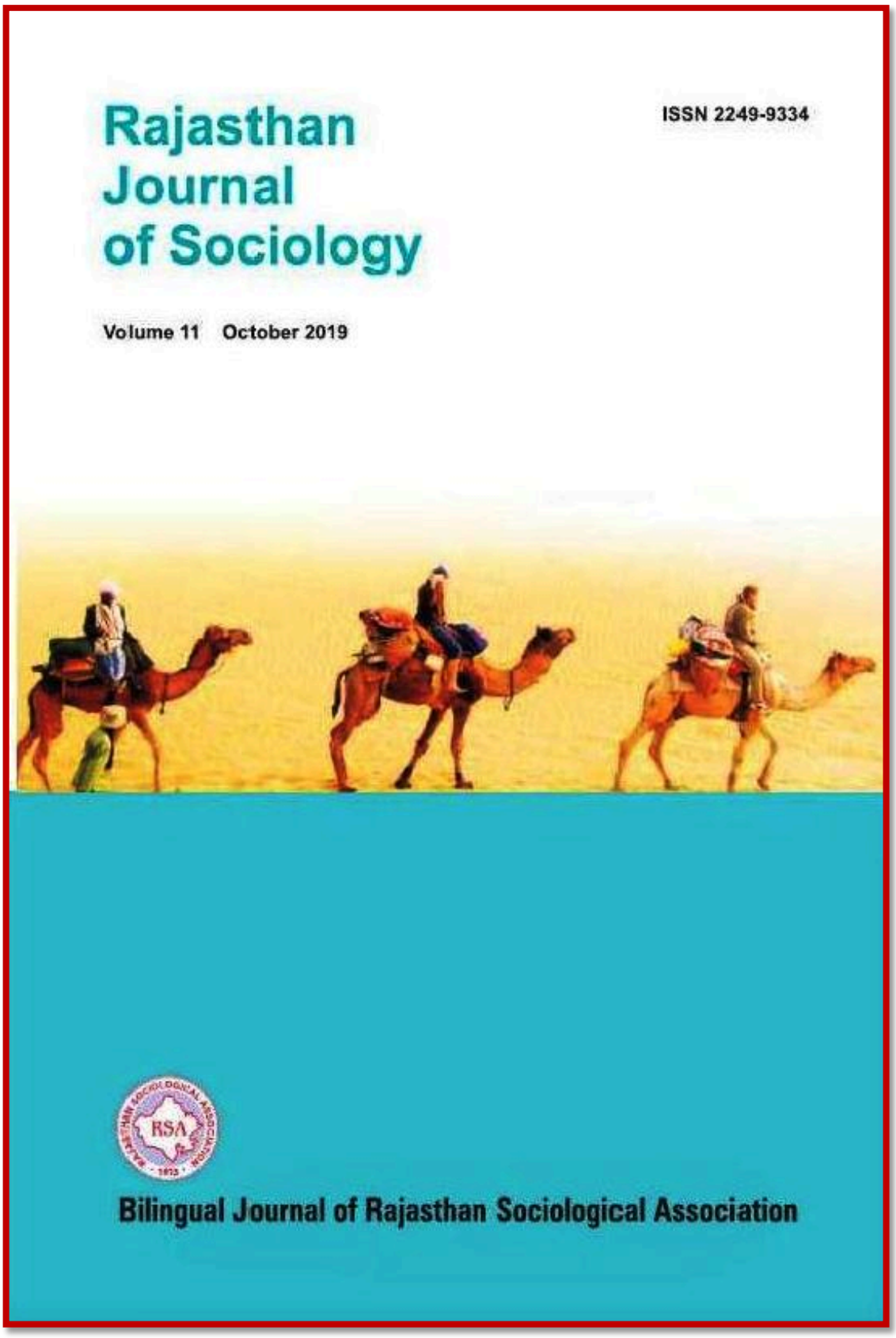
Appendix - 19.b Review article- Issues & themes in Contemporary Society RJS 2019



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BOOK-REVIEWS

OBITURY

B. K. Nagla, Vinay Kumar Srivastava (eds.): Issues and Themes in Contemporary Society.

Jaipur: Rawat Publication. 2019. 441pp. (Hardback). Rs.1595. ISBN 987-81-316-0993-4.

Reviewed by Tribhu Nath Dubey

Contemporary Society,world over, is mired with a number of newly emergent issues along with the baggage of unresolved and lingering issues of the past. Any serious sociological engagement will have to grapple with its enormity and complexity. And if the frame of reference is global, the difficulty and manageability of the scope becomes even more complex. This is the strength and weakness as well of this voluminous publication.

The book under review titled 'Issues and Themes in Contemporary Society' is an edited volume of essays in honour of Professor Ishwar Prasad Modi. Truly to the persona of Professor Modi i.e. with his rootedness in Indian sociology, he tried and spread his sociological concerns internationally; this volume while basing itself on the contemporancity of Indian society, includes a good number of contributions from foreign writers and tries to reflect somewhat a global glimpse of society todaywith instances from other countries too. As the title suggests, it is silent about its scope. It neither says global society nor itself pins to Indian society. Hence it subsumes Indian as well as Global.

The volume is edited by two well-known, established, much experienced and well-versed scholars of Indian Sociology – Professor B K Nagla who has vast and varied experience of teaching sociology at different locations in India and Professor Vinay Kumar Srivastava who is presently the director of Anthropological Survey of India with a distinction of having served as head of the department of Anthropology in University of Delhi and taught sociology and anthropology for more than four decades. Thus, as rich experience and serious engagement with the discipline would entail, the volume presents a good and varied collection of essays concerning Indian as well as other southern and northern societies.

There are 29 essays classified into three main categories:'Theoretical Perspective', 'Elements of Social Organization' and 'Change and Transformation'. Though the volume has contributions from several other foreign contributors who have discussed on a range of issues such as cooperation among sociologists of BRICS countries, ISA, Indian and Brazilian Sociology, Rise of Liberalism in Japan, Flooding in Manila, Migrant Workers in China; editors through their introduction of the book make us believe that the volume

is primarily about Indian society and they argue for the volume to be an important and timely contribution with respect to continued and lingering debate over tradition versus modernity concerning Indian Society.

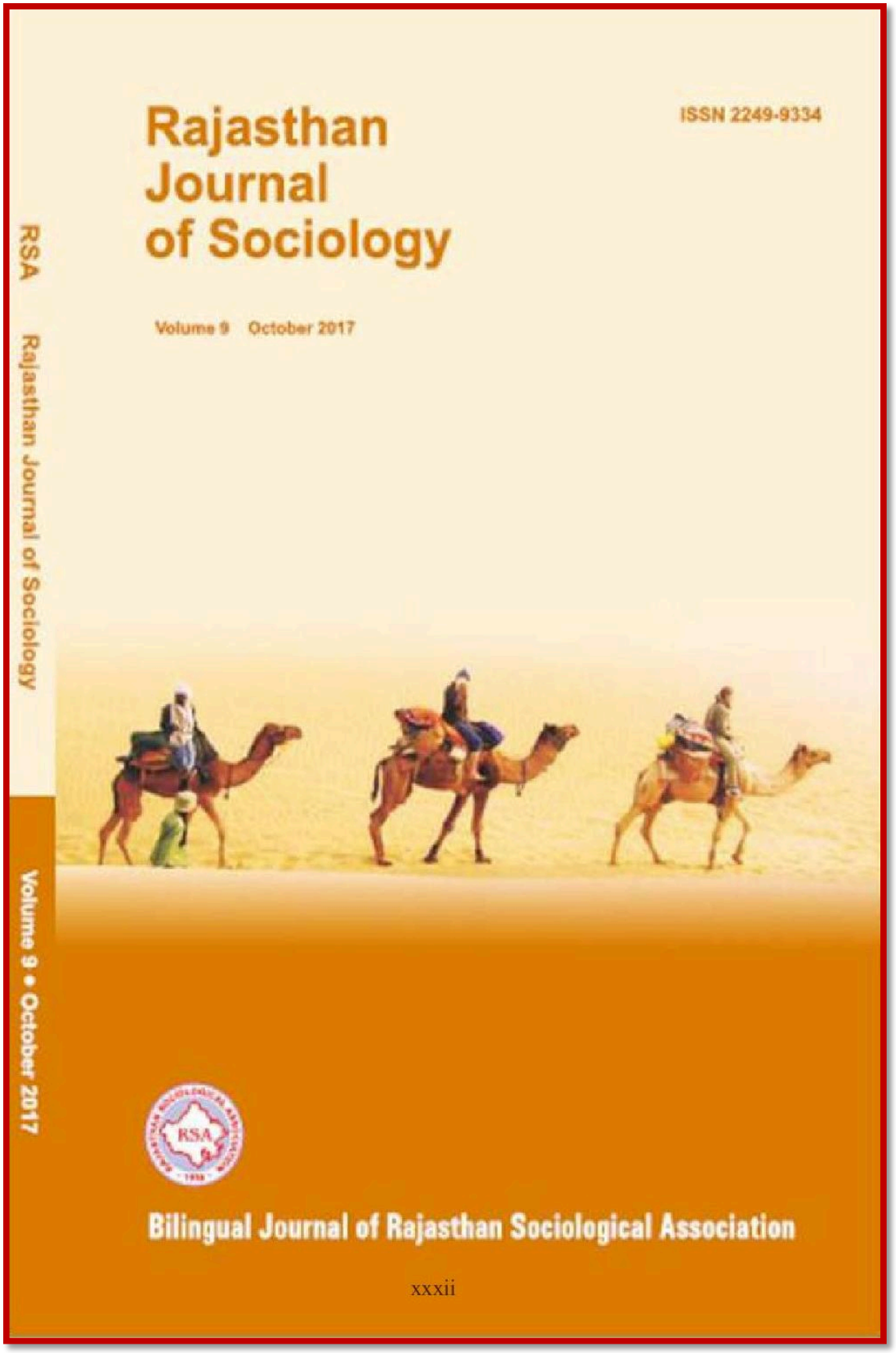
The rationale for the 'Theoretical Perspective' section which includes 7 essays out of which 5 contributors are foreigners, is to assess recent contributions in Marxist theory, Liberalism, urbanization, modernization and development. It also includes papers related to Inter-continental as well as BRICS nation sociological cooperation and role of Prof. Modi.

The second section is classified as 'Elements of Social Organization' consists of 10 essays.It highlights caste and tribe as two important components of Indian society and useful discussions in this regard can be found here. It also tries to discuss and understand state interventions and development programmes, the question of Dalits, tribal ethnicity in northern India in the context of modernization and development. This volume also legitimizes the case for other kinds of sociological data such as written, oral and fiction via-vis empirical and includes essays with interpretational approach which draws from narratives of novels, memoirs and cinematography.

Section third namely 'Change and transformation' has highest number of inclusion of papers. Twelve essays included in this part focus on Role of Social Media, Changes in the Family and Marriage System in India, Migrant workers, Issue of Justice, youth transition, Social Vulnerability, Higher Education Privatization, Religion and Youth, Naxalixm and Voluntarism in Sports. This section as well as entire volume tries to understand and elaborate upon social change in its various manifestations.

As it envisages, the given volume definitely 'covers a large ground' to understand and decipher 'complexity of the contemporary world' of which Indian society forms a major part in the given scheme of things in the volume. It can be said that the book is a welcome collection of essays and should be of interest to academics, researchers, policy makers and students of sociology.

Appendix - 19.c Violence against Women in Rajasthan



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Violence against Women in Rajasthan

Tribhu Nath Dubey

Abstract: Healthy gender demography is a precursor to a healthy society. It is also warranted towards inclusive and equitable development. The disparities and disadvantages concerning gender relation and demography need to be evaluated. With some fruitful efforts towards betterment from disadvantages and disparities in Rajasthan, the prevailing gender situation and crime against women are alarming. In the light of decadal and recent data the present paper tries to understand analytically and comparatively the occurrence and enumeration of violence towards women in Rajasthan in its various forms.

Keywords: crime against women, domestic violence, intimate partner violence, Rajasthan, dowry deaths, female infanticide, preference for son, under reporting of violence

Gender relations embedded in the structure of the society also reflect in its demography. A healthy and balanced society has its imprints on all parts of its population and would show favorable demographic indicators (Dyson and Moore,1983; Dasgupta, and Krishnen, 1996). The process of development and its equitable benefits are also hampered due to the demographic imbalances.

For a society making efforts towards breaking away from the defamed club of 'BIMAROU' states, it needs to often look back. It also needs to evaluate the disparities and disadvantages concerning gender relation and demography. In Rajasthan there have been fruitful efforts towards amelioration from disadvantages and disparities. It has recorded encouraging success on some counts (Nanda et.al. 2015). However, the prevailing situation is far from satisfaction. The key demographic indicators pertaining to the existing gender relation in Rajasthan are rather alarming.

Baldwin(2012) has argued, 'India is the worst place to be in for women'. The social reality suggests that Rajasthan is a significant contributor to this national stigma. In this light, the present paper is an attempt to assess the occurrence and enumeration of violence towards women in Rajasthan.

The forms of violence inflicted upon female gender are numerous. These are structural and ecological part of the society (Kishor and Neitzel, 1996; Heise 1998; Geethadevi, Raghunandan & Shobha, 2000; ICRW, 2001; Ghosh, 2011). The underlying assumption of the paper is a broader view that "Violence against women is an act of emotional, physical and social aggression towards women amounting to abuse, exploitation, hurt and social and economic disadvantages". However it attempts to particularly focus and contexualise on physical and sexual crimes committed against women in Rajasthan since the dawn of 21st century.

This evaluative exercise employs the analytical and comparative tool. The analysis and discussion are mainly based on the reports and findings available in the public domain through the efforts of various government bodies such as National Crime Record Bureau, Rajasthan State Crime Record Bureau, UN bodies, NGOs, Newspaper reports and Individual scholarships. It aims to present the useful inputs for policy and administrative decisions.

Literacy and Gender Disparity

Table 1 *Literacy Rates in Rajasthan*

Literacy Rates	2001	2011
Male	70	79
Female	44	48
Combined	60	66

Source: Census 2011, Registrar General of India

Rajasthan is the eighth most populous state of India and contributes to 6% of the total population of the country with a population of about 7crore (Nanda 2015). It is a point of satisfaction that the sex ratio at birth in Rajasthan has bettered by 23% from 2006-08 to 2011-13. The UNFPA study found that the sex ratio at birth in Rajasthan during 2011-13 was at 893 which was still lower than 909 of the national average. Similarly between the census figures of 2001 & 2011, there is also a marked improvement of 6% in the overall rate of literacy but it happens to be much lower than the national average of 74%. There is also a favorable decadal change in female literacy of 4% but it still remains much lower than the national average of 65% in 2011 census (Table 1). It is also evident that gap between male and female literacy is not only wide but has also widened from 26% in 2001 to 31% in 2011. Female work participation rate in Rajasthan as per census 2011 is also low at 35%.

The gender disparity indicator was also revealed by National Family Health Survey-3 (NFHS-3) of 2005-06. The survey found that the percentage of ever-married women who had experienced spousal physical or sexual violence was at 46% in Rajasthan and it was higher than any other state in India except Bihar.

Table2 *Gender Indicators in Rajasthan*

Ever Married women experiencing physical or sexual Violence by spouse	46%
Women d esiring to have more children who had only daughters	67%
Women desiring to have more children who already had two sons	16%
Women (20-24 years) married before the age of 18	65%
Women (20-24 years) in Rural areas married before the age of 18	76%
Women (20-24 years) in Rural areas married before the age of 15	46%
Girls (15-17 Years) not attending school	77%
Girls (15 -17 Years) in Rural Areas not attending school	85%

Source: National Family Health Survey-3, 2005-06

Preference for son happens to be a major cause of sex selection by parents and female infanticide (Kishor 1993, Malhotra et.al. 1995, Jejeebhoy 1996, Prasad 1999). In Rajasthan there seem to be a perceptible preference for son among women as indicated by Table 2. 65% Women ages 20-24 years were married before the age of eighteen and 46% before the age of 15. Discontinuation from the school was also alarming as girls of ages 15-17 years only 15% in rural areas and 23% overall were attending school. These estimates are some important reflections upon the status of women in Rajasthan which adversely affect their position. It does not only reflect that how does our society treat our women but also partly responsible for crimes and exploitations committed against women as disempowerment increases the vulnerability.

Intimate Partner Violence and Son Preference

United Nation Population Fund (UNFPA) and International Centre for Research on

Women (ICRW) in its joint study of 1500 men and 500 women ages 18-49 across various districts on Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and masculinity in Rajasthan in 2015 was conducted (Nanda et al.2015). The influence of masculinity is socially and culturally constructed. It is reflected in the behaviors, roles and attributes generally associated with men, over perpetuation of son preference and intimate partner violence on women (Malhotra et.al. 1995, Karlekar 2008, Nanda et.al.2015,). The study by Nanda et.al. reported higher positive and equitable attitudes towards gender equality among men and women in Rajasthan as compared to other states (Table 3) and stressed that higher education and better economic status of the couple had a positive bearing on equitable gender attitudes and reduction in IPV. However the study pointed out to a significant inference that in terms of 'intimate partner violence' Rajasthan was the third highest state for lifetime IPV following Uttar Pradesh and Odisha. Sixty-six percent of men had perpetrated some form of violence such as of emotional, economic, physical and sexual in their lifetimes over their female partners while 50% of women in Rajasthan were found to have experienced some form of above said violence their lives. Though masculinity is understood to be a strong predictor of IPV, the study shows that there no significant relationship between masculinity and IPV in Rajasthan.

Table 3 *Son Preference, IPV and Masculinity across select States*

High	Uttar Pradesh
Son Preference, Intimate Partner violence and Masculinity	Orissa Madhya Pradesh Punjab and Haryana Maharashtra
Low	Rajasthan

Source: Nanda et al. (2015)

Notably various women centered empowering programmes have been running in Rajasthan such as the Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls and the Integrated Child Development Scheme, Self Help groups, Zila Mahila Sahayata Samiti and the Integrated Women's Empowerment etc. which may have worked towards the improvement of gender attitudes in the sample population by addressing the different dimensions of women empowerment needs through increased participation, exposure, awareness and decision making.

However there is long way forward to fully mitigate gender disparities and overcome rigid gender norms as statistics relating to gender equality and violence against women continue to be lower than other states and national averages. Evidently there is prevalence of

Table 4 *High Son Preferring Attitudes for Men and Women in Rajasthan*

Socio-Demographic Factors	Men (%)	Women (%)
Education		
Illiterate	20.6	32.4
1-5 standard	19.3	25.3
6-12 standard	14.5	24.7
13+ standard	5.5	12.5
p-value	**<0.001**	**<0.001**
Residence		
Rural	14.7	30.1
Urban	12.6	21.6
p-value	**0.400**	**0.006**
Wealth Index		
Low	18.6	31.8
Middle	13.6	31.1
High	11.1	19.0
p-value	**<0.001**	**0.004**
Masculinity Index (Gender Attitude and Relationship Control)		
Equitable	4.7	14.9
Moderate	13.8	36.1
Rigid	35.0	31.3
p-value	**<0.001**	**<0.001**

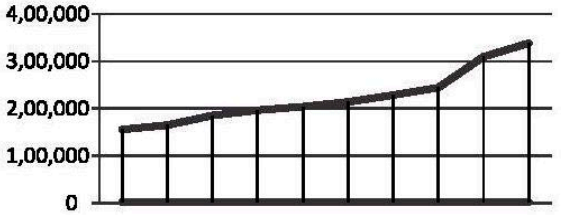
Source: Nanda et al. (2015)

high son preference among men and women as we go down the order along education and economic strata (Table 4) and both men and women possess higher discriminatory attitudes towards daughters/girls. The majority of men (84%) and women (80%) in Rajasthan consider it very important to have at least one son in their family due to 'the need to carry on the family name', 'provide support in their old age' and to 'perform last rites' as paramount reason in receding order. Contrarily 86% men and 49% women express ritual such as kanyadan/rakshabandhan/tika to the main reason to have daughters (Nanda et al. 2015). This is indicative of the possible increased focus on avoidance of daughters at any cost as opposed to ensuring sons resulting into the skewed sex ratio, foeticide and female infant mortality in the state.

Crimes against Women

It sets the background for the perpetuation of high number of crimes committed against women in Rajasthan as evident in previous decade and at present. According to National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB), Crime Against Women consists of crimes such as Rape, Attempt to Commit Rape, Kidnapping & Abduction of Women, Dowry Deaths, Assault on Women with intent to Outrage her Modesty, Insult to Modesty of Women, Cruelty by Husband or his Relatives, Importation of Girls from Foreign Country; and crimes registered under Abetment of Suicides of Women(Sec 306 IPC), Dowry Prohibition Act, Indecent Representation of Women (Prevention) Act, Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act and Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act. NCRB data (Chart 1) shows that crimes against women in India have more than doubled between last 10 years. With 188,928 cases in Rajasthan over the period of 2005-14, the state stands to be the fourth major state at all India level in terms of crime against women (Scroll 2015).

Chart 1: Reported Crime Against Women (2005-14)

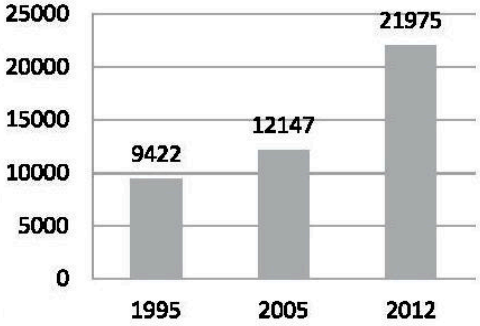


NCRB Data from 2005 to 2014 (Source- NCRB)

Position in Rajasthan

The Rajasthan State Crime Record Bureau (RSCRB) report 2014 provides that crimes against women has been rising unabated and it has more than doubled during 1995-2012 (chart 2). It is also noteworthy that as compared to the total number of crimes cognizable under IPC in Rajasthan the crimes against women has been growing more rapidly during the same period as its percentage contribution to total IPC crimes has also doubled to 12.85% from 6.35% (Chart 3).

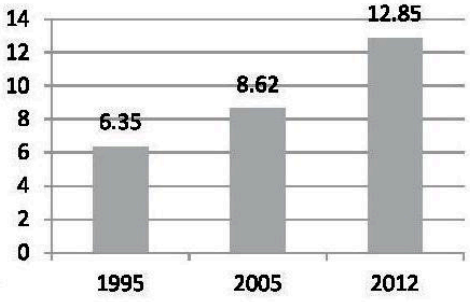
Chart 2: *Crimes reported against women in Rajasthan*



Source: RCRB 2014

The comparison of NCRB data from 2013 to 2015 also shows that Rajasthan has maintained its place amongst the worst performing states of India in terms of providing a safer place for women. Rajasthan has remained to be among the top 5 states on many counts such as total crimes committed against women, dowry deaths and Domestic violence and rate of crime. In 2014, Rajasthan also gained the notoriety of contributing 10% of total rapes in India as was the case of M.P. (Business Standard (2015). It is also noted that most of crimes that are committed against women, the highest part of it fall under the category of cruelty by husband and relatives just followed by assault on women to outrage their modesty. The younger women ages 18-30 years are the biggest victims of rape.

Chart 3: *Percent contribution of CAW to the total IPC Crimes in Rajsthan*



Source: RCRB 2014

Table 5 *Position of Rajasthan at national level on various counts of Crimes against Women*

Categories of Crimes	2013	2014	2015
All Crime against Women	3rd	3rd	4th
Rape	2nd	2nd	3rd
Dowry Deaths	4th	6th	5th
Rate of Crime	3rd	3rd	5th
Domestic Violence	2nd	-	4th

(Sources: ToI (2014), Indian Express (2015, 2016) & NCRB (2015)

As revealed by table 5, there is slight improvement in crimes committed against women in Rajasthan in 2015 as compared to previous two years at national level but the sheer magnitude of these crime remain a enormous cause of concern at 28165 total crimes committed which is still about 9% of the total crimes committed against women in India in 2015. Even the rate of crime (no. of crimes committed per 100000 population) in Rajasthan for 2015 is 81.5, about ten points below the halfway mark of rate of crime prevalent in Delhi –'the rape capital of India', is way above the national average of 53.9 (NCRB 2015).

Incidence of Crime against Women

The Police Department of Rajasthan (2016) on its official web site believes and propagates a very saddening view regarding rise of crimes against women in Rajasthan:

"Development along with its *progressive changes in personal life style and living standards* and *varied economic growth caused by urbanisation* and changes in social ethos contribute to a violent attitude and tendencies towards women which has resulted in an increase in crime against women." [italics added]

The rooted gender discrimination in the structure of patriarchy rather finds heightened expression when development provides enabling opportunities to women which in a way dents and questions the masculine supremacy. The semantics of the expression by police department of Rajasthan is noteworthy. It seems to advocate that if there is development, progressive changes in personal life style, improvement in living standard and urbanization bringing economic growth cause the rise of crime against women. Does it mean that development and urbanization is against women? Or life style changes such as freedom of decision making or unrestricted moving about, assertion of the self or sense or ease of

dressing by women is detrimental to their dignity and safety. Is it not a shame? It does not only communicate the dominant patriarchal view and attempts to shift the burden from law and order issue to something else and legitimizing its inevitability. A review of data regarding crime against women in Rajasthan from 2010 to 2014 (table 7) shows that 'cruelty by husband and relatives' is the highest occurring crime and it constitutes about fifty seven percent of total crimes (1.17lacs) committed against women during the period in Rajasthan. Second most occurring crime is 'assault on women with intent to outrage her modesty' (15.26%) closely followed by 'Kidnapping and abduction of women and Girls' (13.87%) and 'Rape' (10.58%).

Table 6 *Highest number of crimes committed against women and rate of crime at all India level in 2015*

S. No.	States and UTs	Cases Reported	States and UTs	Rate of total cognizable crime
1	Uttar Pradesh	35527	Delhi	184.3
2	West Bengal	33218	Assam	148.2
3	Maharashtra	31126	Telangana	83.1
4	Rajasthan	28165	Odisha	81.9
5	Madhya Pradesh	24135	Rajasthan	81.5
	ALL INDIA	327394		53.9

Source NCRB -2015

Table 7 *Crime Against Women in Rajasthan (2010-2014)*

S.No	Crime	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
1	Rape	1571	1800	2049	3285	3759	12464
2	Dowry Deaths	462	514	478	453	408	2315
3	Assault on Women with intent to outrage her modesty	2339	2447	2352	4829	5999	17966
4	Insult to the modesty of women	23	9	18	25	18	93
5	Cruelty by Husband & Rel.	11145	12218	13112	15094	15905	67474
6	Kidnapping and Abduction of Women and Girls	2477	2713	2697	4047	4421	16355
7	Dowry Prohibition Act	3	4	39	57	12	115
8	Indecent Representation of Women (P) Act	80	120	62	68	18	348
9	Immoral Traffic (P) Act	82	81	99	74	78	414
10	Importation of Girls	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Total	18182	19884	21106	27933	30618	117723

Source: RCRB-2014

Rajasthan State Crime Record Bureau 2014 data reveals that the state capital is most unsafe place for women to be (TOI 2014). Jaipur City along with Udaipur figure in almost all crime heads as high incidence police district (Table 8). The other districts showing highest crime incidence are Alwar, Sri Ganganagar, Ajmer, Bhilwara and Bharatpur. These are more population dense districts having greater rate of urbanization and industrialization. Thus providing improved opportunities for education, employment and aspiration among women challenging the traditional gender norms resulting into higher incidence and reporting and at the same time exposing the embedded patriarchal mindset of our society which has a long way to go to unlearn the hurling of violent and sexist behavior against if gender inequality or subjugation of the 'other sex' is challenged.

Conclusion

It is thus concluded that the analysis and comparison of decadal data at all India level from NCRB from 2001, complemented with data from three rounds of National family health surveys and Rajasthan state crime records bureau data spanning from 1995 present

somewhat improved yet very bleak and alarming picture of state of violence against women in Rajasthan. The plethora of issues ranging from Domestic Violence to Intimate Partner Violence to Dowry Deaths to Preference for son to Female infanticide have plagued the gender relation in the state and hamper the equitable spread of fruits of development. It calls for an arduous long way to go from being one of the "worst place to be" to "a better place to be" for women particularly on the front of intimate partner violence, persistence of son preference as well as comparative higher rate of growth of crime against women against IPC crimes in Rajasthan. The data compared above entails a possible hypothesis that more the prosperity and urbanized is the district, more would be the perpetration of severe violence against women. On the face of it, data seem to be supporting the hypothesis. There could be various reasons for this: some could be undesirable and some could be inevitable. While it requires better informed planning and administration of developmental policies in the state, a deeper sociological analysis of the phenomenon is all the more required in near future.

Table 8 *Districts of Rajasthan with Highest Incidence of Crime against Women -2014*

Crimes	Districts with Highest Incidence		Rajasthan Total
1. Rape	Alwar	299	3759
	Jaipur city	263	
	Udaipur	229	
2. Dowry deaths	Bharatpur,	36	408
	Alwar	33	
	Jaipur city	33	
3. Assault on Women with intent to outrage her modesty	Udaipur	479	5999
	Jaipur city	455	
	Pali	341	
4. Cruelty by husband and relatives	Jaipur city	1155	15905
	Bhilwara	965	
	Sri Ganganagar	923	
5. Kidnapping and abduction of Women and girls	Jaipur city	438	4421
	Udaipur	312	
	Alwar	247	
6. All Crimes	Jaipur City	2392	30618
	Udaipur	1765	
	Alwar,	1564	
	Sri Ganganagar	1402	
	Ajmer	1330	

Source: RCRB

Notes

There are various legislative measures intended to ensure equal rights and to counter various forms of violence and atrocities against women and to provide support services especially to working women. Although women may be victims of any of the crimes such as 'Murder', 'Robbery', 'Cheating', etc, the crimes, which are directed specially against women, are characterised as 'Crime Against Women'. These are broadly classified under two categories:-

a) The Crime identified Under the Indian Penal Code (IPC) : (i) Rape (Sec. 376 IPC), (ii) Kidnapping & Abduction for different purposes (Sec 363-373 IPC), (iii) Homicide for Dowry, Dowry Deaths or their attempts (Sec. 302 / 304 B IPC), (iv) Torture, both mental & physical (Sec. 498A IPC), (v) Molestation (Sec. 354 IPC), (vi) Sexual Harassment (Sec. 509 IPC) & (vii) Importation of girls (up to 21 years of age 366B IPC) (also referred as 'Eve-Teasing').

b) The crimes identified under the Special Law (SLL) : the provisions of various laws affecting women significantly are termed as special laws. Some such Acts which have special provisions to safeguard women and their interests are: (i) The Employees State Insurance Act 1948, (ii) The Plantation Labour Act1951, (iii) The Family Courts Act 1954, (iv) The Special Marriage Act 1955, (v) The Hindu Marriage Act 1955, (vi) The Hindu

Succession Act 1956, (vii) The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act 1956, (viii) The Maternity Benefit Act 1961 (Amendment in 1995), (ix) The Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, (x) The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act 1971, (xi) The Contract Labour (Regulation & Abolition) Act 1979, (xii) The Equal Remuneration Act 1976, (xiii) The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act 1979, (xiv) The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 1983 (xv) The Factories (Amendment) Act 1986, (xvi) The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act 1986 & (xvii) The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987.

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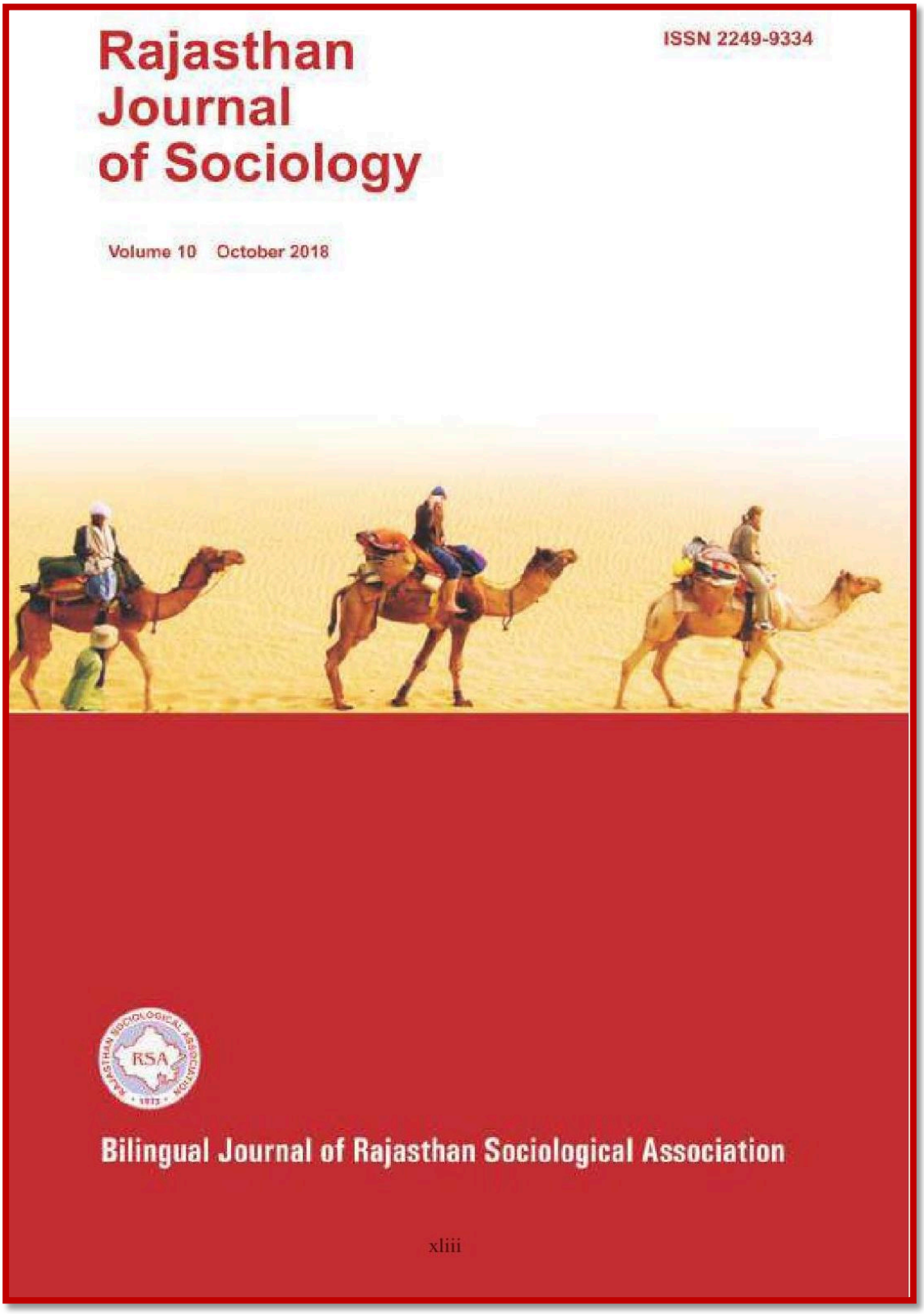
Appendix - 19.d Discussion article - Sociology in Rajasthan



Discussion on Sociology in Rajasthan

Book Reviews

There is an urgent requirement to introduce new courses on the basis of rational societal considerations. The current contents of the courses at under-graduate and post-graduate level are often irrelevant to the students of sociology in Rajasthan. Periodic revision of the course contents are the need of the hour through Board of Studies at University level. This is the main reason to the underdeveloped nature of Sociology in Rajasthan.

The main mode of teaching of Sociology in Rajasthan is either through class lecture or class notes. There is little emphasis on class seminars and class tutorials, field technique particularly at post-graduate level. Unfortunately seminar work has not been developed as an alternative method of teaching in Sociology in Rajasthan.

The contributions of Rajasthan Journal of Sociology of the Rajasthan Sociological Association (RSA) is significant to discuss various contemporary issues particularly related to culture, history and society of Rajasthan in their various nine volumes of the Journal. I must acknowledge the contributions of several sociologists worked or working in various colleges, Universities, Departments of Rajasthan particularly the writings of B.R. Chauhan, T.K.N. Unnithan, Yogendra Singh, A.K. Saran, N.K. Singhi, Prof. Ram Ahuja, K.L. Sharma, O.P. Sharma, S.L. Doshi, B.K. Nagla, C.L. Sharma, Mohan Advani, N.K. Bhargava, S.K. Lal, R.S. Srivastava, Motilal Gupta, Vriendra Prakash Sharma, M.S. Trivedi, P.C. Jain for their valuable contributions through their writings and research projects.

After this seminar, the little efforts have been made to review and discuss the status of Teaching and Research of Sociology in Rajasthan at University and college level. The contemporary issues are to be included in the course curriculum at Under-graduate and Post-graduate level. The research problems related to the changes that have taken place in family and marriage needs to be explored and to be examined by the research scholars. There is scarcity of literature on feudalism in Rajasthan except the writings of K.L. Sharma. The literature and research on various issues and problems related to Caste, Class, Politics, Social and protest movements are to be re-examined and studied by the scholars. The issues related to understand Sociology of Environment, Sociology of Crime and Deviance with reference to Rajasthan are to be studied by the research scholars from the new perspectives.

Sociology in Rajasthan - Relevant Issues

Tribhu Nath Dubey, Supriya Seth

Does there anything exist like Rajasthani Sociology as distinct disciplinary identity? In the sense that a sociology which focuses and employs Rajasthan specific analytical categories for the study of idiosyncratic societal and cultural aspects of the society. Like, as a discipline how do we sociologically imagine and construct Rajasthan which is distinct from imagining it geographically or politically? I am afraid. There is none. Should there be one? Why not? But we are wary of, if it will serve any greater disciplinary or societal good.

For a non Rajasthani, coming to know it through tourism department imagery, one of the prominent images of Rajasthan which comes to his/her mind is the image of moustache man from Jaisalmer but on visiting the state one rather adjusts to the idea that people and society on contrary are same as found in other parts of India. Similarly sociology in Rajasthan has not created such distinct images or showcased identity for itself and should not create one either. Since, it has every possibility of becoming a misnomer.

What exists, rather, is more like a sociology within the geographical location and political jurisdiction of Rajasthan i.e. Sociology in Rajasthan which is like sociology in any other place but rooted and feeding on its society and culture. And, in doing that it serves the both ends. It endeavours to enrich general sociological inquiry as well as provides inevitable local flavour through studying local issues, customs, people and processes.

Having made this disclaimer, we find that there are certain social interactions, currents and phenomena which need more serious, deeper and possibly renewed sociological inquiry. We have stopped sort of further probing into agrarian relations in post village study era. If not wrong, after the study by B. R. Chauhan, K. L. Sharma and T. K. Oommen, there is hardly any credible work in this area.

With the long passage of modernization, urbanization and industrialization what has undergone the agrarian relations and what has entailed is something which should make all of very curious. This is particularly in a situation when there have been fast pace of urbanization, we still account for more than seventy percent rural population.

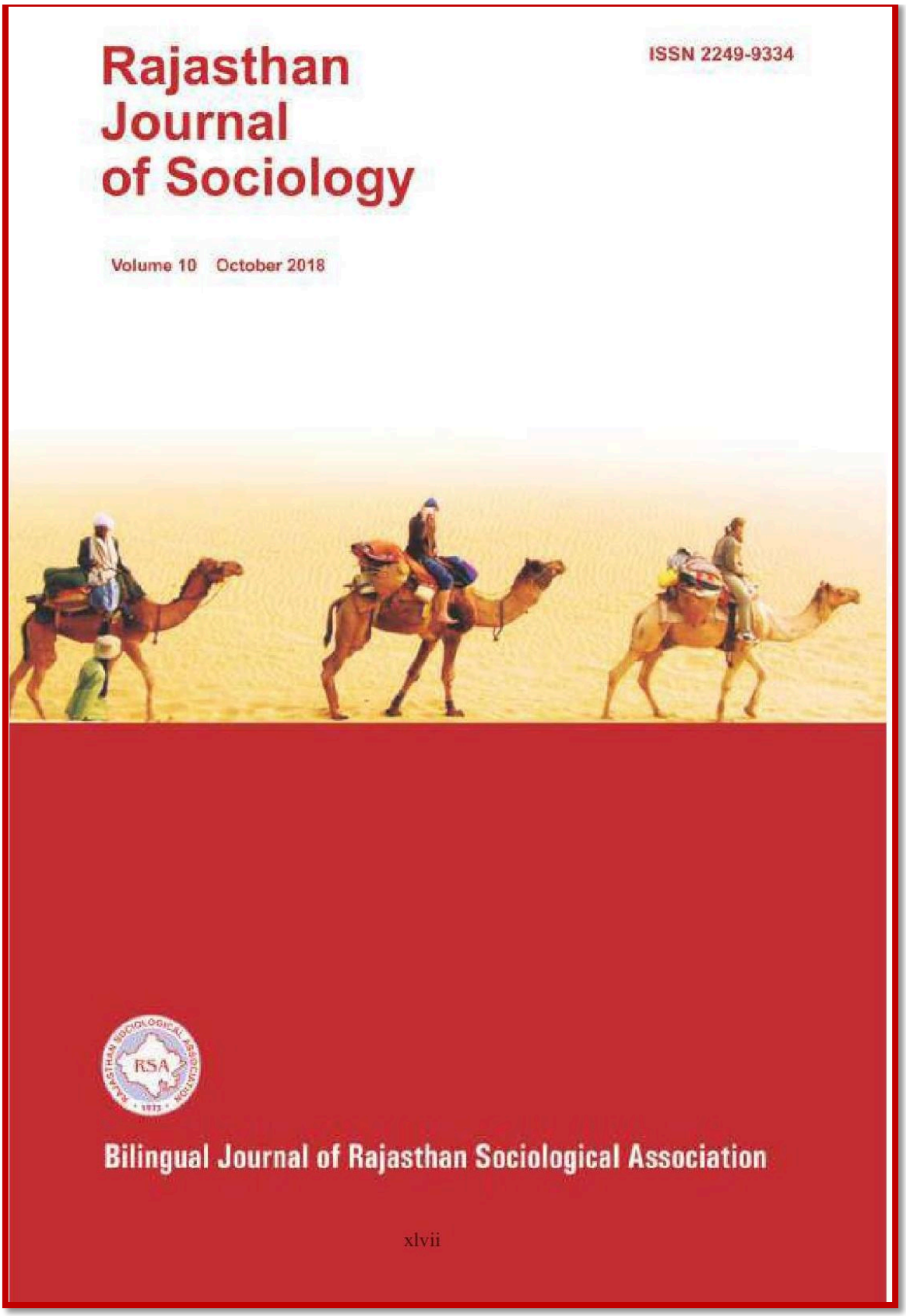
Within the broader domain of agrarian relations there are several cohering and auxiliary processes which also need our attention. Rural Migration, prevalence of adaptive Hali System and land alienation are vital and prominent amongst them. With branding of bonded labour or bandhua majdoori illegal, it has evolved and adapted to a newer form and is pan Rajasthan rural phenomena with regional variations. Study of this phenomenon is imbued with plethora of sociological possibilities.

In the same vein, Nata Pratha in Rajasthan is something which we have not given required attention. It is primarily attributed as a tribal characteristic and done away with. It is known to have been adopted and accepted by the lower echelon of the Hindu caste system from tribes. Whereas it is a representative case of tribe-non tribe social exchange and influence, and sociological site of tribalization; it has provided an escape route for matrimonial discord and a form of divorce in a traditional hindu worldview which does not allow divorce in the sacramental conception of marriage. Additionally, there are associated customs like *Jhagra* and it, at times, does not only become a source of conflict but, of late, also a source of marital instability. The money involved and propensity of the bride price beneficiary to trigger the elopement is noted to be at odds with the intended good of the custom and rather perceived as social menace. All of these make it a very complex social phenomenon but not having been explored with befitting serious sociological rigour.

One also encounters, sort of, prospering feudal-capitalist-political nexus in our society. It has serious implications. Its study along with politicization of caste and caste based political negotiations should also be on the sociological radar. Lot of grey literature is available on the implementation of various government schemes, child labour and gender disparity due to the work and deliberations of volag sector. These discussions seem to throw up much talked about conceptual categories and influence sociological studies and research areas. While these need sociological attention the terminologies and categories borrowed and used need to be sociologically calibrated.

Additionally, full-fledged study of tribal fair as social institution and conflict resolution tool; incidence, causes and effects of high women desertion; gender disparity and violence against women and particularly its higher incidence in more urbanized districts of Rajasthan; caste disparity and discrimination; forms, attributes and effects of new social and rural leaderships, evaluation of positive discrimination and technological impact on social life are some of the important areas of exploration for the Sociology in Rajasthan.

Appendix - 19.e Review article-Doing Theory



The scheme in the chapter Two has appeared as 'Mahatma Gandhi MGNREGA' many times on different pages (p. 23, 48). Further, casual use of terms and concepts and carelessness in tabulation work is evident at many places. The term 'data' has been used as singular in some explanations (e.g. p.22). As a technique of data collection pretested Schedule has been mentioned in chapter One (p.22) and Questionnaire in chapter Seven (p.128). In some places data presented in Table do not match with its text (e.g. Tables 4.1 and 4.8). Careful construction of bivariate tables, classificatory categories and presentation of data in both frequency and percentage could have made things more clear and comparable.

The difficulty in use of English language is very much seen in the recurrence of grammatical and spelling errors and incomplete sentences. 'Thus, no need to be done.'(p.93), 'respondents possessing more than card.'(p.96), 'Household small industries, besides the impact of agriculture of mechanization…' (p.133) are a few examples. Spelling errors like 'woith' (with) (p.v), 'will' (well), 'tep' (tap), (in Table 4.5), 'roll' (role) (p.93), 'there' (their) (p. 107,127) make reading a painful exercise. Proper editing could have eliminated such short comings. Nevertheless, in spite of these lapses, this book opens new areas for thorough research pertaining to different dimensions of MGNREGA and its impact on rural society.

Maitrayee Chaudhuri and Manish Thakur (eds.).
Doing Theory: Locations, Hierarchies and Disjunctions

Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2018, 378 pp. (Hardback)
Price Rs.975/-, ISBN: 9789352873647

Reviewed by Tribhu Nath Dubey

The book 'Doing Theory' is an ensemble of fifteen sociological probes traversing to question, problematize, locate and localize the making of social theory as nonwestern attempt from different vantage points of sociological and social anthropological footholds. In doing so they seek to commonly attempt to challenge 'the widely held public perception that sociology is nothing more than a statement of the obvious' and very importantly point out that 'theory matters and sociology bereft of theory ceases to be sociology'.

These fifteen academic expositions are preceded by an immaculate and elaborate introduction by the editors which orients the reader with the nuances and possibilities of different encounters of theorization and creates irresistible curiosity to jump to the chapters to gaze, feel, evaluate and admire. Admire because these theoretical persuasions are in a sense, attempts of a relatively new breed of Indian sociologists and social anthropologist except a few known and established names and gives a lot more comfort and confidence about the possibilities of debunking the theoretical hegemonies and pedigrees.

In doing so, the chapters of the volume put before us few significant understanding that:

a) No theory is ever entirely useless' nor they are 'sacrosanct and given'. Theories are 'made, critiqued, reconstituted, and deployed differentially and unequally'.

b) The institutional practice of the discipline exhibit fixed and unchanging character of established social theories and thinkers enthroned due to dominant social processes and conceptualizations.

c) The inextricable link between theory and method has become 'a miss in our dominant teaching and research'.

d) For a serious commitment to social science practice, the need for engagement with and commitment to social theory in inevitable as to question and go beyond commonsensical understanding of social reality.

e) Social theories and their persistent hegemony and 'cognitive visibility' of nonwestern theorization always have had specific historical and social context.

f) Theories emerge and travel in specific contexts as evidenced by the history of their 'varying influence' on the fields of the discipline.

g) Theories are important because some 'shape and legitimize hegemonic worldviews' upon us and some question and expose the limits of such hegemonies.

The book remarkably points out the important paradox of our time that 'social theory purportedly challenges the taken for granted' knowledge while the way social theory is done, i.e. researched and taught, reinforces commonsense knowledge. It questions the view which propagates and makes 'theories as irrelevant for the real world and stresses that this disjunction is unfortunate in the 'post truth' era of a 'commonsense theory about complex processes being the reigning ideology'.

Thus the present volume, in its attempt to bring forth and recognize 'the centrality of theory in understanding the social', structures the chapters around four important themes:

i. Theorizing the 'Indegenous', 'National', 'Local', and 'Postcolonial' in which the works of Manish Thakur, Upal Chakrabarti, Tanveen Fazal and Gyatri Nair respectively elaborate upon these theoretical categories.

ii. Disassembling Theory to understand Absences, Presences and Schisms. In this section Aardra Surendran highlights the varying influence of social theory in the context of 'renewal of industrial sociology in India' and Jesan Jayachandran explains the 'contexts, making and theorizing of Media in Indian Sociloggy'. Amites Mukhopadhyay as well as Sushree Panigrahi eloquently point out the 'rift between teaching theory and doing method in practice of sociology'.

iii. The 'disruption' of 'long held domain assumptions underlying sociology and social anthropology in Mahua Bandopadhyay's ethnographic details of prison life and sociality; 'theorizing sahajia experience' towards the 'ethnography of affect' by Sukanya Sarbadhikary and 'epistemological and ethical questions' about 'unequal knowing' by the researcher and the researched in the context of oral history form the base of discussion over 'Ethnography and Theory'.

iv. The fourth section of the book centres on the theme of 'Disjunctions, Travels and Effects' of Theory. It presents the views of Ratheesh Kumar on 'critical pedagogy and the subject matter of caste; prevalence of theoretic disjunction 'inside and outside classroom' anti caste awareness; a reflective piece by Maitrayee Chaudhuri, through 'reading theory backwards', on the way everyday discipline is taught and practiced and points out a 'given' idea of sociology which has 'laboured to focus' on the 'study of present' and in a sense ignores 'C. Wright Mills' emphasis on Sociological imagination to make sense of connections between biography and history'.

Thus, the present volume; in its attempt to pin-point the relevance to doing theory, in the classroom and research with fresh insights for 'indigenous theory' within Indian sociology and social anthropology and creating deeper awareness about the tension between the theory and commonsense and its urge to link the theory and research; is an important and compulsory reading for students, researchers and teachers of sociology. However due to the barrier of language, the book essentially communicates with the English speaking audience. The effects and dividends of the work will multiply if the book is made available in local language, particularly in Hindi.

B. S. Nagi and A. M. Khan: *Research Skill Development in Social Sciences, Communication and Management*

New Delhi: The Readers Paradise, 2017, 237, Rs. 695, 978-93-85958-87-8.

Reviewed by Gaurav Nahar, Jodhpur

Sound methodology is the first pre-requisite of any scientific study in social sciences.Quality in Research is a challenge. The authors of the book on research skills have taken up this issue and have deeply delineated common problems in the research process to help researchers, both Ph.D. students and research mentors. The introductory chapters have delineated common problems and ways of overcoming it.

The planning part of research which includes selection of area, title of research, research questions, research objectives and hypothesis has been dealt comprehensively to enrich knowledge, understanding and creative thinking of researchers for quality research. The blunders committed at planning stage affect subsequent stages of research. Therefore, understanding of every step is crucial to overcome of confusions which influence the quality of research. This has been elaborated to benefit the research scholars.The book has comprehensively dealt and explained how the common pitfalls in research process which could be prevented. It has clarified how the planning of research can be enriched.

Research skill demands considerable changes in the existing mode of research in the organizations of higher learning.The chapter 3, 4, 5 and 6 concentrate on hypothesis, design and qualitative research tools. Deliberations on these chapters with illustrations have amply simplified all the important concepts for the researchers. It would encourage researchers to carry out exercises and strengthen their research skills. Chapter 7, 8, 9 and 10 have focused on qualitative & quantitative research, its relevance & application; and how the reliability & validity could be established in both the cases. Texts in these chapters have also dealt with the prevailing myths about quantitative & qualitative research and how these two are complementary and supplementary in research.

The content analysis in 14th chapter is special to the researchers in media, communication and social research. In the quantitative research, major problems happen in sampling and data analysis and relationship between type of statistical tool & nature of data. This has been elaborated to overcome the confusion prevailing amongst researchers. Reading of these chapters (12, 13) would be highly beneficial to all the researchers. The last two chapters (14 & 15) are very crucial for quality research.

साक्षात्कार अनुसूची : ग्वाल/हाळी (गाँव – दसलाना) दि.

1. नाम:.....
2. लिंग: .स्त्री/पुरुष
3. जाति: .....
4. श्रेणी: sc /st /obc /gen
5. कहाँ से आए ?

   a)गाँव ..... b)तह. .....c)जिला .....

   d)मकान मलिक ..... जाति.....मोहल्ला .....

6.सेठ:.....

7.सेठ की जाति .....

8.यहाँ के परिवार के सदस्यों की जानकारी :

नाम	**मुखिया से सं.**	**लिंग**	**आयु**	**शिक्षा**	**वर्तमान काम**	**यहाँ कितने साल से**	**वर्ष में कितने माह यहाँ**	**बाकी महीने कहाँ**	**हाली / मजदूरी**		Vot. List	
									दर	**दिन**	Here	N Pl

9. वर्त.निवास : स्वयं का / मालिक के यहाँ/ किराये का

   a) यदि स्वयं का तो कब बनाया?.....

   b)साइज़:.....

   c)मूल्य.....

   d) किराया रु. : .....प्रति माह

   e) निवास का प्रकार: कच्चा / पक्का / अधपक्का

   f). निवास में कमरों की संख्या : .....

   g) टॉयलेट: हाँ/ना

h)स्नानघर : हाँ/ अस्थायी पर्दा करके/ ना

i)पानी का स्रोत : निवास में/ निवास के समीप / निवास से दूर

j)पानी स्रोत: स्वयंका/सेठका/पडोसीका/सरकारी

k)पानीखर्च: मुफ्त/किराया(रु.)...../माह

L)स्रोतप्रकार: हडपो/etw/नलची

10. मूल गाँव में आपका मकान

a) है/नहीं

b) कच्चा / पक्का / अधपक्का

c) अकेलेका/समलात

e) कमरों की संख्या :.....

f) आपके ऊपर आश्रित: माँ/पिता/भाई/बहन/अन्य .....

g) आपसे अलग-निराश्रित माँ/पिता/भाई/बहन/चाचा-ताऊ/अन्य

i) पैत्रिक जमीन: साझा.....बी. /खुद का.....बी.

j) आपकी खुद की कमाई से वहां खरीदी जमीन:..... बी.

k) वहां की जमीन पर: खुद खेती करते है/घरवाले खेती करते हैं/ मुनाफे से देते हैं/ पांती (बंटाई)देते हैं

L) जमीन से कमाई: .....

m) पैत्रिक गाँव में आपके हिस्से का पशु :.....वाहन.....

n) आपके विवाह का कर्ज (रु.)..... समाप्त/जारी

o) अन्य कर्जा .....

11. गाँव छोड़ कर यहाँ आने का कारण(1-6 प्राथमिक के आधार पर):

कर्ज/जमीन की कमी/सिंचाईकीकमी/ रोजगारकी कमी/विवाह के लिए पैसा हेतु/.....

12. आपके आने से पहले आपका जानने वाला यहाँ क्यों कौन काम करता था :.....

13. आपके यहाँ आनेकेफायदे(1-8 प्राथमिकता के आधार पर):

हाली का काम व एडवांस मिलना /

पत्नी को भी खेती मजदूरी का काम /

कर्ज चुकाने-कर्ज मिलने की सहूलियत /

बच्चों के पढाई किस सुविधा /

ऑफ़सीजन में कोटा नजदीक होने से काम मिलने की सम्भावना /

अपने देस के बहुत सारे लोग /

शहरके पास लेकिन गाँव जैसा माहौल /

मूल गाँव से नजदीक है /

अन्य .....

14. आपके गाँव के अधिकांश लोग काम के लिए कहाँ जाते हैं ?:

गाँव ...../शहर .....

15. हाली/मजदूरी का यही काम आपको दसलानाकेअलावा शहरसेदूर किसीऔर गाँवमें मिले तो किसेचुनोगे: दसलाना/ अन्य गाँव

16 यहाँ कब आये?

शादीके पहले/शादी के बाद

b) पत्नी कब आई: आपके साथ/ बाद में/गाँव में है/अभी शादी नहीं हुई/

17. यहाँ आने के बाद कोई नया काम सीखा .....

b.)कौन–कौन से काम अब तक किये.....

18. अब तक कितने वर्ष तक ग्वाल का काम किया .....

b) कितने लोगों के यहाँ.....

19. यहाँ आने के बाद

a) आपका जीवन-यापन/गुजारा ज्यादा ठीक हुआ या गाँव में ज्यादा ठीक था?

यहाँ /अपने गाँव में

b) यहाँ जमीन ली: ना/ हाँ.....बी.

c) ली गयी गयी जमीन: खातेदारी की/कब्जे की/सिवायचक d)साइज़:.....

e) रु.....

f) मूल गाँव में लिया कर्ज चुकाया: ना/हाँ

g) कितना.....

h) यहाँ लिया कर्ज चुकाया: हाँ /ना

i) वर्तमान कर्जा रु. .....

j) वर्तमान कर्ज का कारण:.....

k) यहाँ घर बनाया : ना/हाँ साइज़ ..... कमरे.....व्यय:.....

L) मूल गाँव में घर बनाया: ना/हाँ साइज़ ..... कमरे.....व्यय:.....

m) वाहन ख़रीदा: ना/हाँ .....

n) शादी पर खर्च किया : खुद की/ बेटे की/ भाई की/ अन्य .....

o) शादीकेलिए बचत करते है: खुद की/ बेटे की/ भाई की/ अन्य

p) बच्चों की शिक्षा पर खर्च पर वर्तमान व्यय रु. .....माह

r) यहाँ पांती/मुनाफे पर खेती करते हो? हाँ/ना

20 बच्चे आपके कहाँ पढ़ते हैं?

सरकारी स्कूलमें/ प्राइवेट स्कूल में

b)स्कूल से उन्हें क्या मिलता है: पोषाहार/वजीफा/ड्रेस/पुस्तक/अन्य

21. राशन कार्ड है: हाँ/ना/फॉर्मभरा

b)यहाँका/मूलगाँवका

c) APL /BPL

d) रा.गा.आवासयो. लाभलिया:यहाँ/ मूलगाँव/कहींनहीं

22. मुफ्त सरकारी दवा योजना का लाभ उठाते है: हाँ/ना

b) अन्य किसी सरकारी योजना का लाभ: .....

23. क्या आपका आधार कार्ड बना है? हाँ / ना

b) कहाँ बना : यहाँ / मूल गाँव में / अन्य कहीं

c)बैंक एकाउंट है : हाँ / ना

24. क्या आप वोट डालते हैं : यहाँ / मूल गाँव में / कहीं नहीं

25. क्या आपकी पत्नी/घर के लोग आंगनबाड़ी बचत समूह से जुड़े हैं : ना/ हाँ

बचत राशि ...../माह

26. क्या आपकी पत्नी/घरके लोगोंको आंगनबाड़ी से जानकारी/पोषाहार/दवाइयां आदि मिलते हैं: हाँ/ना .....

27. आपके गाँव में आपके परिवार की जो प्रतिष्ठा है उस हिसाब से आपकी प्रतिष्ठा:

यहाँ ज्यादा है/ कम है / कोई अंतर नहीं

28. आपके गाँवमें आपकी जातिकी प्रतिष्ठा और पूछके हिसाबसे इस गाँव में आपकी जातिका सम्मान: कमहै/ज्यादा है/ कोईफर्क नहीं

29 क्या आपके साथ यहाँ उंच-नीच, छुआछूत का भेदभाव होता है : हाँ /ना / कभी-कभी

30. क्या आपके यहाँ का कच्चा खाना कौन खा सकता है :

मेघवाल/बैरवा/भील/लोधा/माली/मालव/गुजर/ब्राह्मण

31 आप किसके यहाँ का कच्चा खाना खा सकते हो?

मेघवाल/बैरवा/भील/लोधा/माली/मालव/गुजर/ब्राह्मण

32. क्याआपने कभी यहाँ पर पक्केखाने की रशोई की: ना/ हाँ

तो कौनलोग आये? मेघवाल/बैरवा/भील/लोधा/माली/मालव/गुजर/ब्राह्मण

33. यहाँ जब दूसरी जाति के लोग शादी/त्यौहार/पूजा के समय भोज पर जब गाँव के लोगों को न्योतते हैं तब क्या आपको भी न्योतते हैं : ना/ हाँ

कौन: मेघवाल/बैरवा/भील/लोधा/मालव/गुजर/ब्राह्मण

34. क्या आपको यहाँ बाहरी आदमी माना जाता है : हाँ / ना

b) क्या मूल गाँव में भी यहाँ आने के बाद आपको बाहरी माना जाने लगा है : हाँ/ना

35. यहाँ आने के बाद आपके मूलगाँव में आपकी पूछ-प्रतिष्ठा: बढ़ी है / घटी है

36. मजदूरी आपको कब मिलती है :

पूरा अडवांस में/ कुछ एडवांस में और कुछ बाद में/ काम करने के बाद / काम करने थोड़े समय बाद

b) मजदूरी को लेकर कभी आपका विवाद हुआ: हाँ / ना,

c) मजदूरी को लेकर कभी आपने काम छोड़ा: हाँ /ना

37. क्या आप भविष्य/बुढ़ापे के लिए बचत कर पाते हैं ? हाँ/ना

38) दवा-दारू या इमर्जेसी के समय आप कर्जा-उधर किससे लेते हैं:

सेठ-मालिक से/ महाजन साहूकार से / यहाँ पर रहने वाले अपने मूलगाँव के साथियों से/ बैंक से / किसी से नहीं

b) अभी आपके ऊपर किसका कर्ज है .....

c)सूद दर @ .....

39. इस वर्ष आप अपने मूलगाँव कितनी..... बार .....दिनों के लिए

.....काम से गए

40. जब आप अपने मूलगांव जाते हैं तो आपकी मजदूरी कट जाती है :

ना / हाँ .....दर से

41. जब आपके सेठ के यहाँ काम नहीं होता है तो क्या वह दुसरे रिश्तेदार के यहाँ काम करने के लिए भेज देता है:

हाँ/ना/ कभी-कभी

42 अगर सेठ के यहाँ काम नहीं हो तो क्या आप फ्री मजदूरी करते हैं :

हाँ / ना

43. जब आपसे काम होना बंद हो जायेगा तब कहाँ रहोगे?

यहीं/मूल गाँव में

44. आपके कोई अन्य रिश्तेदार बूढ़े हो जाने के कारण अब गाँव चले गए हैं :

.....

उन्होंने यहाँ कितने वर्ष काम किया? .....