

## **Chapter 6**

### **Living Conditions of Labours at Alang Ship Breaking Yard**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The living conditions of the workers at Alang ship breaking yard are analysed in this chapter. The analysis includes housing characteristics, household ownership, availability of public services such as piped water, electricity, sewage disposal etc, at Alang ship breaking yard. In addition, migrant's linkages in terms of remittances and visit to native place are also analysed in this chapter based on the survey findings of the fieldwork.

Urbanization and migration is a process that involves the development of human settlements. A human settlement is more than housing; it is the physical interactions of the people living in communities. Urbanization is a process that involves increases in population size, population density and share of non-agricultural occupations (Salam and Sibandze, 2003: 31-32).

The process of migration affects both developed and developing countries. In developed countries it is less problematic as compared to developing countries. In the former, urbanization was accompanied by industrialization and economic growth while in the latter, rural-urban migration has played a significant role. People are migrating to cities for commerce, employment and education and this began from colonial period. This creates pressure on housing utilities, land, infrastructure and urban environment.

The push factors and pull factors determine the extent of migration. The living conditions in the rural areas and non-availability of work, forces people to migrate out of desperation. When people migrate out of desperation they do not take into consideration the conditions awaiting at the new place of work or living. In that sense, they take a heavy risk. In many cases it is the individual, largely male who migrate first in search of

work. Then the relatives, friends and other family members follow. This pattern has been observed by various studies conducted in India.

The living standards of individuals are governed by the levels and the extent to which income is available to them for the availment and procurement of basic necessities required for living. On the other hand, the causes and consequences of inequalities of the living standard of different groups of individuals are the result of differences in the pattern of income distribution among them. This chapter highlights the various aspects of living conditions of workers at Alang ship breaking yard.

This chapter consists of six sections. First section introduced the chapter. The living conditions of workers employed in various industries done by scholars are discussed in second section. Third section analyses the living conditions of workers employed at Alang ship breaking yard. This section analyses variables such as housing and amenities, water facility, sanitation, ownership of entertainment items, health facilities and also native habits of the respondents. Income and expenditure pattern of the respondents are analysed in fourth section. This section analysed variables such as minimum wage, expenditure pattern etc. To analyse the expenditure pattern of the respondent's regression analysis is made use of. In fifth section saving and remittance of the respondents are analysed. In this section variables analysed are decision to remit, amount of remittances, channels of remittances and saving of the respondents. Regression analysis is used to examine the saving and remittances of the respondents. Linkages with native place, visit to native place and duration of stay are analysed in sixth section. The last section of the chapter outlines the conclusions.

## **6.2 Living Conditions of Workers Employed in Various Industries: A Survey**

In every year hundreds of thousands of labour migrate from rural areas to cities in search of employment opportunities. But after arriving at destination the labours live in harsh conditions. It ultimately affects their health conditions and creates serious

problems too. In the following part, the survey conducted by various researchers is discussed to present a broad picture of the workers living conditions in different industries.

M.S. Sidhu and et al. conducted a study on migrant vegetable sellers in Ludhiana city and found that most of the sellers are adult male and were living alone (without family) in rented accommodation. These sellers were living in the group of 5-6 persons in a single room. The migrants were living in underdeveloped colonies all over the city where there were no sewerage and drinking water facilities. Such an unhygienic living conditions creates number of health problems for the residents. According to the researchers, State Government as well as Municipal Corporation of Ludhiana has become indifferent to such civic problems (Sidhu, Rangi and Kaur, 2003: 302).

Uma Rani and H.S. Sylendra conducted a study on seasonal migration in a village of Gujarat and come to the conclusion that migrant labours who were involved in construction work live near the construction site or in open space or road side, without ample facilities of water and sanitation. They use open space as toilets and drink the water fetched whenever available nearby and they are exposed to open air during all the seasons with no roof. The living conditions of these migrant labours are quite harsh compared to their living conditions in the native village (Rani and Sylendra, 2003: 352-354).

Hayani (2003) examined the conditions of waste pickers and collectors in Delhi city and found that the living conditions were quite different in terms of housing. Most of the pickers (94 percent) were living in squatters of mud, brick, tin and bamboo (locally called *jhuggi-jhopadis* or Kacha). In contrast, most of the collectors were living in permanent houses made of brick and cement (called Pacca), which were built on the land they owned or rented. Author observed that such difference clearly indicates the higher income variation and wealth position of collectors relative to pickers (Hayani, 2003: 6-7).

The study conducted on Child Labour in Diamond Industry of Surat examined that labours were staying at the place of work. Most of the workers lived alone and migrated to Surat in last five years. They also found that it was difficult to get rented room for single person. Therefore, labours were staying in workshops. Living in a workshop is advantageous from the point of view of rent. This practices violates Inter-State Migrant Workmen's Act, 1979 which provides that employer or contractor should provide separate residential accommodation to inter-state migrant labours (Desai and Raj, 2001: 102-103).

The living conditions of women in Brick Kiln were unsatisfactory in terms of the accommodation. These workers were not provided with proper facilities of drinking water, sanitation, health and education. The living conditions for these workers can be classified into three types: pacca house, kachcha house and huts at their place of destination. The study also revealed that there was a distinct lack of basic facilities like light, water, kitchen arrangement, toilets and washing facilities etc. It is evident from the study that the availability of these facilities was far from satisfactory. The facilities provided to the workers in the kilns were not good enough both qualitatively as well as quantitatively (Singh, 2003: 7-9).

People migrate from rural areas to cities as a survival strategy. Those people in the rural areas who can no longer cope the hardships posed by poverty are forced to move into city with the hope of getting employment. However, after arrival in the city the poor migrants are exposed to more hardships. They settle in areas, which have poor living conditions such as lack of water supply and sanitation and other basic facilities. They do get employment in the informal sector (Salam and Sibandze, 2003: 38-40).

According to Mudava (2000: 3-4) more than half of the Mozambican urban population live in unsanitary and unhealthy conditions are putting huge strain on the country's health system. The problem brought about by unplanned rapid urbanization in southern Africa has given rise to problems such as over-crowding, poor sanitation,

pollution and exposure to mosquitoes. These conditions create serious diseases like cholera and malaria.

A study conducted by Andhra Pradesh Rural Livelihood Programme (APRLP) on four villages in Mahaboobnagar and Anantapur district found that most of the people migrated to cities to earn their livelihood. The study also examined that 39 percent of the households were in debt due to expenditure on health. As a result of unhygienic living conditions at the destination, they usually fall victim to all sorts of chronic diseases like diarrhea, T.B, Jaundice and malaria. The study also found that these health problems faced by workers were due to poor food, poor living and working conditions (Andhra Pradesh Livelihood Projects, 2003:10-12).

The studies conducted by various researchers lead us to certain broad observations. Most of the rural-urban migrations are in search of employment out of desperation. The migration is the result of unemployment and poverty at their village. However, the conditions in the urban environment and at new working place are not satisfactory. One of the major reasons for people to migrate to new environment is the availability of work but they have to pay a heavy price in terms of their health and health of family members as the living conditions are not favorable. As some studies have indicated that the first migrants are male members of the family followed by relatives, friends and other family members.

After discussing the living conditions of migrant labours employed in various urban activities and industries, the subsequent section examines the living conditions of labours at Alang ship breaking yard. The main focus in this section is to assess which types of facilities provided by employers and access of such facilities by the labours.

### **6.3 Living Conditions of Labours Employed at Alang Ship Breaking Yard**

The living condition is one of the important aspects of workers life. In Alang ship breaking yard, most of the workers live in small shanty's adjacent to the plots and are in continuous exposure to various toxic substances round the clock. Workers make their shanty which is locally known as Kholis made of wood and iron sheets or plastics. The house is shared between 10 to 15 workers. Some large Kholis i.e. collective dormitories also exist, which is shared on rental basis by 50 to 100 workers and are maintained by other people. A third type of accommodation is the one in which workers stay and pay on monthly rental.

On the basis of the study conducted for Ghana, Asiama suggested that two people per room indicate crowding and overcrowding occurs when there are two or more people per room (Asiama, 1990: 560-586). However it is observed in the present study that workers live in groups in rented accommodation as well as in dormitories. The size of the groups is 10 or more unless they are staying with family members.

In Alang some workers are provided with material to built the Kholis which usually consists of wood and iron sheets from the ship. Few employers also provide residential facilities to their workers but these facilities are reserved for the labour contractors and managers only. In Alang houses do not have enough amenities such as running water, drainage, sewage facility and electricity. Some of the workers purchase electricity connection from nearby shopkeepers and others used electricity illegally for few hours a day. As such no toilet facility is available in any of these houses except in few rented houses. Water is the serious problem in Alang and workers either have to purchase from nearby villages or use water from cement water tanks built in between plots and tanks outside plots built by GMB. These tanks are never maintained and pose a health risk to the workers. The doctors at Red Cross hospital reported that the rate of diarrhea is high due to unhygienic living conditions and contaminated water.

The employers, contractors and Government seems to violate the Inter-State Migrant Workmen's Act, 1979 which imposes the obligation on the employers or the contractor to provide drinking water, water, sanitation and washing facilities in addition to rest room and residential accommodation to the workers. A detailed analysis of these aspects is presented in the following sub-sections.

### **6.3.1 Housing and Basic Amenities**

In this section main focus is on the housing and various amenities available to workers at Alang ship breaking yard.

#### **Housing Characteristics**

Housing is one of the important requirements of civilized life of human being. Housing ranks next in importance to food and clothing as a basic human need. Housing is necessary for the protection from natural elements like scorching sun, unbeatable cold, stormy wind, rain and also from wild animals. Housing as a device of material culture is one of the devices to overcome threats against physical security of life and serves as an important purpose like feeding the family members, working, sleeping, child rearing, entertaining, leisure and many more activities (Ambedkar, 2000: 1).

Housing has a significant value in human society because it is a place where man's birth, growth and death take place. It is a place where his physical personality is transformed into social being. Housing is considered a place where all human beings fulfill their basic needs of life. Quality of house will influence the health, efficiency and social well being of people.

The concentration of most of the economic activities in towns or in urban areas leads to the migration of workforce from rural to urban areas in search of employment opportunities for their livelihood. Most of the migrants due to their low income are unable to rent good houses or built their house in Government/private lands and put up

hutments. The sharp upsurge in urban population is also reflected in the rapid growth of slum population. They live in places that are overcrowded, unhygienic and lack sanitation facilities (Sundari, 2003: 1-13). Therefore, the quality of house means a more comfortable dwelling (individual space for each member of the household and with bathroom and kitchen) and the availability of appropriate facilities such as water, electricity, sewage and sanitation.

Chan's study on "Housing for the urban migrants in Guangzhou, China" classified the shelter of migrants into eight different types (Chan, 2004: 12-17). However, in the present study it has been observed that the workers at Alang live in one of the four forms of accommodation listed below. The categories are (i) Shared housing (ii) Spontaneous living (iii) Rented housing, and (iv) Collective dormitories.

(i) Shared Housing

When a migrant first arrives at the destination, usually stays with his friends and in relatives home. This kind of housing is for a shorter period, it is a temporary nature.

(ii) Spontaneous Living

Living in open area, Government/private land, abandoned house, constructed shed and self-constructed living is known as spontaneous living. It refers to those who have no future plan on their living place is common for migrants around the world. Migrants often live in this kind of houses and are considered as poor living condition. People living in this kind of shelter are considered as occupying the Government/private land illegally.

(iii) Rented Housing

Living in rented housing includes the living in public or private housing, business housing or collective housing etc. It is the common shelter for most of the migrants and who live for a long period of time. Though the



living conditions of rental housing are better than the spontaneous housing, still it is below the standard. Many migrants live in small houses in order to save money.

(iv) Collective Dormitory

Most of the factories provide dormitories for their workers. Some private enterprises built dormitories for migrants but provide on rental basis. As enterprises usually follow the minimum requirements, dormitory has no spare space. So when the friends and relatives of workers come, few of them stay in dormitories. The living conditions of workers can be bad in dormitories.

Housing plays an important role in the life of the workers at the place of destination. According to Anderi, migrants bring with them many of the behavioral patterns associated with rural life. After arrival to the place of destination without financial resources, migrants immediately face the problem of shelter. Thus there are two problems in the place of destination viz housing and employment, without solving these problems migrants cannot stay for long in the place of destination (Anderi, 1973: 91-92).

Before discussing the various types of housing in which labours are living at Alang ship breaking yard, it is important to throw light on the marital status and their pattern of living which influence on the housing characteristics of the respondents. The marital status of population refers to the proportion of single, married, widowed and divorced persons.

In the present study it is found (table 6.1) that 71 percent of the respondents are married and remaining 29 percent are unmarried. It is evident from the table that majority of respondents from Orissa i.e. 67.6 percent are unmarried. It is also found that married preferred to live in rented houses and majority of the unmarried respondents live in dormitories or spontaneous houses. Official accommodation is not provided to workers at Alang and for rented houses rent is high. Due to high rent and problem of

accommodation respondents are living alone at site. Another reason for staying alone is that most of the respondents own some piece agriculture land or property at their native place, therefore to look after the lands and take care of some old family members female members are said to be are staying back in villages. Only 5 respondents out of 300 stay in Alang with their families and rest live alone.

Table 6.1 Distribution of Respondents According to their Martial Status

Martial Status	Uttar Pradesh	Bihar	Orissa	Jharkhand	Gujarat	Total
Married	75.22 (85)	93.55 (29)	32.43 (24)	90.28 (65)	100.00(10)	71.00(213)
Unmarried	24.78 (28)	6.45 (2)	67.67 (50)	9.72 (7)	--	29.00 (87)
Total	100.00(113)	100.00(31)	100.00(74)	100.00(72)	100.00(10)	100.0(300)

Source: Field Survey 2004.

Note: \* Figures in bracket are in percentage.

After arriving to the destination migrants face the problem of housing. This is due to inadequate resources to meet the cost of living. In addition factors such as caste and food habits also have bearing on their getting accommodation. For example, gujaratis being vegetarian prefer to live with the migrant who are also vegetarian. But many of the respondents from eastern states of India are non-vegetarian; hence prefer to live with their native state people or like minded groups.

Migrants have reported to be facing difficulty in getting suitable accommodation in the place of destination and this is the next most important problem after employment. Migrants from low socio-economic status are said to face a greater difficulty. Migrants arrive in the place of destination in the hope of maximizing earning and saving a part of the earning to be send to near and dear. Therefore, they always look for cheaper or rent-free accommodation.

In Alang ship breaking yard neither Gujarat Maritime Board (GMB) nor employers provide residential accommodation to labours. To provide suitable accommodation with proper infrastructure facilities to labours, GMB has acquired land of 242813 Sqm (GMB, 2002). But till date GMB not started construction of the housing colony for labours. On the other hand, employer provides residential accommodation to labour contractors and managers but not to labours. Therefore, labours have to make their own arrangements for accommodation.

In the present study, out of 300 respondents, 103 (34.3 percent) are living in rent free accommodation (table 6.2). They are living in the spontaneous houses which are built in the Government/private land. It appears that more migrants are on the look for rent free accommodation to minimize their living expenses. A considerable proportion of respondents live in rented private houses in nearby village. 39 percent of respondents live in rented houses belonging to private landlords. Further 26 percent of the respondents live in collective dormitories in which they are paying rent for living as well as for minimal facilities. In some dormitories there is a facility of common mess. These dormitories are owned by the people from different states. For instance, numbers of dormitories in existence are owned by the non Gujarati personnel. During survey it was found that in one of the dormitories only Oriya labours are staying and is owned by a person from Orissa.

Table: 6.2 Type of Accommodation of the Respondents

Type of accommodation	U.P	Bihar	Orissa	Jharkhand	Other	Total
Spontaneous House	45.13(51)	29.03(9)	10.82(8)	37.50(27)	80.00(8)	34.33(103)
Rented House	32.74(37)	41.94(13)	41.89(31)	47.22(34)	20.00(2)	39.00(117)
Dormitory	22.12(25)	29.03(9)	47.29(35)	15.28(11)	--	26.67(80)
Total	100.00(113)	100.00(31)	100.00(74)	100.00(72)	100.00(10)	100.00(300)

Source: Field Survey

Note: Figures in the bracket are number of respondents.

Another significant fact found from the analysis is that majority of unmarried respondents (44.8 percent) are living in dormitories (table 6.3). The reason being that these respondents take their food in common mess which will minimize their living expenses. However, 41.8 percent married respondents are living in rented houses and prepare their own food. Only 5 respondents are living with family and remaining 295 respondents are living alone at the site.

Table 6.3. Type of Accommodation and Marital Status of the respondents.

Type of Accommodation	Marital Status		Total
	Married	Unmarried	
Spontaneous Living	39.97 ( 83)	22.99 (20)	34.33 (103)
Rented House	41.78 (89)	32.18 (28)	39.00 (117)
Dormitory	19.25 (41)	44.83 (39)	26.77 (80)
Total	100.00 (213)	100.00 (87)	100.0 (300)

Source: Field Survey 2004

Note: Figures in bracket are number of respondents.

The vast majority of respondents prefer to live in clusters. Migrants from the same village, district or state tend to live together. The majority of respondents from Orissa (47.3 percent) live in dormitories because of their common language and non-fluency in Hindi. Respondents from Uttar Pradesh prefer to stay in rented houses in groups of two or three to reduce the expenses of rent and expenses on other facilities. Migrants living together feel that it is easy to keep the social contacts and traditions of the village and at the same time this pattern helps new migrants to learn and acquire behavioral pattern that prevail in the new environment.

Before analyzing the cost of housing at Alang, it is important to throw some light on the mode of payment. The majority of respondents pay rent on monthly basis and in cash only. The respondents living in rented accommodation pay on an average Rs. 174.36 per month and those respondents staying in dormitories pay rent on an average Rs. 102.63 per month. Total average monthly of the respondents is Rs. 161.09 (table 6.4).

The labour who stays in spontaneous houses accounts for a large proportion. 164 out of 300 respondents who live in spontaneous housing do not have any rent.

It is found from the data that respondents from Orissa pays higher rent on an average Rs. 162.86. It is evident from the data that those respondents living in dormitories reported that they are paying rent separately because they do not take food in common mess whereas those respondents not paying rent separately but is included in food expenditure (bill). However, respondents who are living in spontaneous houses are saving on rent as compared to respondents living in rented or in dormitories.

Table: 6.4 Average Monthly Rents of the Respondents

Type of accommodation	U.P.	Bihar	Orissa	Jharkhand	Other	Total
Spontaneous House	No Rent	No Rent	No Rent	No Rent	No Rent	No Rent
Rented House	175.68(37)	180.77(13)	182.25(31)	164.71(34)	150.00(2)	174.36(117)
Dormitory	106.25(8)	--	100.0(10)	100.00(1)	--	102.63(19)
Total	158.61(45)	180.77(13)	162.19(41)	162.86(35)	150.00(2)	161.09(136)

Source: field Survey

Note: Figures in the bracket are number of respondents.

### Civic Amenities

The fast pace of industrialization in many developing countries including India attract rural poor people to towns and cities and as a result rural-urban migration increase. The poor migrants live in overcrowded areas under dangerous living conditions on account of abysmal and slushy surroundings. These urban areas are growing with rural families in the periphery; while against the rich people enjoy lavish lifestyle in the same city. In many fields such as the environment, infrastructure, provision of basic civic amenities such as drinking water and sanitation facilities and in general livability in the cities lags far behind that of developed world (Deogaokar, 2003: 117-118).

Human health status is very closely linked to environmental quality, as the most of the diseases are related to the status of living environment of human beings. Both the developed and developing countries are facing the problem of environmental pollution, sourced in air, polluted ambient air, water, sanitation or land which causes various types of human diseases. Smoky indoor air, polluted ambient air, poor sanitation and contaminated water play important role in causing ill health. Rural migrants are very much affected with changing environment in the place of destination (Nair et al, 2003: 15-16).

The provision of water supply and sanitation facilities in India is not only inadequate but also of poor quality causing various health hazards. Drinking water and sanitation are important components of the demand for urban environment goods by the people. These goods have direct impact on the health status of people and therefore form major ingredient of the human development of the population and hence labour force.

Drinking water and sanitation are considered as a joint public good because of its interrelation with health status. Health is a basic component of human development; hence health becomes fundamental along with clean water supply and sanitation (Logan, 1960). The lack of these services and their quality contributes to large number of diseases like diarrhea, typhoid, amoebiasis which are mainly water born diseases. In developing countries more than 80 percent of diseases results from a combination of poor hygiene, contaminated water and poor sanitation. In this regard, it has been pointed out that the number of water taps per 1000 persons will become a better indicator of health than the number of hospital beds (Mahler, 1984: 10-11).

In the present study it is observed that most of the labours have migrated from backward states viz Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Jharkhand. Extreme poverty and unemployment has compelled them to migrate to ship breaking yards of Alang. After arriving at Alang these migrant labours live in poor housing and sanitary conditions and little attention is paid to their health concerns. Bad housing conditions have evil consequences such as sickness and diseases. Better housing is necessary not only for

raising the level of living but also to increase the productivity of labours. Housing in the broad sense includes all civic amenities such as water, electricity, sanitation etc.

Against this background, an attempt is made in subsequent sub-sections to analyse the condition of civic amenities prevailing and used by respondents at Alang ship breaking yard.

### **Water Facility**

Water is essential for agriculture, industry and even for human existence. Therefore every production activity requires water in sufficient quantity but also of good quality. Without fresh water of adequate quality and quantity it is not possible for proper existence of human beings. Water pollution and wasteful use of water affect the development projects and make water treatment essential in order to produce safe drinking water for human and for industrial consumption.

It is found that in the Gulf of Khambat there is limited availability of drinking water. The ground water in the coastal segment of the Gulf is saline and the supply of sweet drinking water is limited. In Alang ship breaking yard inadequate supply of water is serious problem. The major supplier of drinking water at workplace is GMB. In each plot, GMB built cement water tank and each tank has 1 to 2 taps. In each plot 5000 liter of water is supplied by GMB everyday using mobile water tankers. It is reported that these cement tanks are not cleaned properly and regularly maintained. Workers use the unhygienic water for drinking purpose which affects the health of labours. GMB also built 3 water tanks for domestic and drinking purpose of labours at their place of living. They have a capacity of 2000 liters and are filled once in a day using mobile tankers. However, these tanks are not well maintained. Therefore labours have to purchase extra water from nearby villages for various purposes. Employers and contractors are not providing any water facility for labour at workplace as well as at living place which is contrary to Inter-State Migrant Workmen's Act 1979 which states that the contractor and employers have to provide water for drinking and for other purposes.

Some of the studies highlighted that migrant labours are in better position than non-migrants. S. Sundari study on quality of life of migrant households in urban slum found that about 53 percent of the households had access to tap drinking water. Nearly one-third of the households got their drinking water from tube well or hand pumps and less than 1 percent got their drinking water from wells (Sundari.S, 2003: 5-6).

On the other hand it is stated that hundred of millions of poor people have no other alternative but to use contaminated water or for which the quality is not guaranteed. Very few would have access to piped water into their houses and more would have collected water from nearby standpipe (Salam and Sibandze, 2003: 38). In the present study it is found that workers are using contaminated water for drinking purpose which ultimately affects their health condition. The doctors of Red Cross hospital are of the opinion that large number of diseases among the workers at Alang is due to use of unhygienic and contaminated water.

It is found from the data that 30 respondents reported that they are paying for and purchasing water and remaining 270 respondents are using water from the tanks built by GMB. The use of this unhygienic water, cause many types of diseases among workers. Respondents living in dormitories are also paying water charges including rent and food expenditure to the owner of the dormitories, therefore not reported separately. Only 10.68 percent respondents lived in spontaneous houses reported that they are paying for water whereas 16.24 percent of respondents living in rented houses bought water for drinking and for other purposes. The average expenditure on water of the respondents living in spontaneous houses is more (Rs. 140.91) as compared to those living in rented houses (Rs. 128.34). Those staying in dormitories reported that do not have to pay for water separately but is included in their monthly bill.



Table: 6.5. Average Monthly Expenditure on Water

Type of Accommodation	Total number of workers	Number of worker spending on water	Number of workers in percentage	Average Expenditure on Water per month
Spontaneous house	103	11	10.68	140.91
Rented house	117	19	16.24	128.34
Dormitory	80	--	--	--
Total	300	30	10.00	132.95

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the quantity and quality of water available to workers at Alang ship breaking yard is inadequate. In Alang, GMB provide water but these facilities are not enough for the workers. Workers make their own arrangement for daily requirement of water and that employer does not take any responsibility.

### Sanitation

The lack of sanitation is one of the greatest problems faced by the poor and migrant labours living in overcrowded cheap rental accommodation or in illegally built houses in urban and rural areas. The accumulation of wastewater in densely settled urban areas has led to increase in health problems in many cities. In addition to this sanitation can influence health which depends on factors such as personal hygiene and levels of water supply. In the following paragraph the focus is on the one of the aspect of sanitation provided by authorities and employers at Alang ship breaking yard.

According to GMB, 12 toilet blocks each with 5 toilets are built in the yard employing 30,000 labours. These toilets have unsafe structure and as they do not have proper ventilation, doors, roofs and even the seats are not stable and unhygienic. Workers reported that these toilets are not cleaned properly. Owners of the yard do not provide any toilet facilities for their workers but is provided by GMB (GMB, 2002). All these blocks together have 60 toilets. However these are inadequate for the workers at Alang who would be more than 30,000 at any period of time. In addition people conducting business

of various types staying outside the yard and are likely to use the same toilets. This shows the inadequacy of facility.

Many workers also reported that outside the yard there are 13 toilet blocks each with 6 toilets are built by a private agency and a social institute named National Sanitation Improvement Foundation (NASA). Out of 13 toilet blocks, 5 are built by private agency which charges Rs. 1 for using toilet whereas other two toilets are run by social institute providing service free of charge. Therefore, workers prefer to use the facilities provided to them free of charge rather than those that charge. Workers living in rented houses outside Alang have access to toilet facility. There are problems that exist in the use of toilet facilities due to limited toilets which are to be shared between many workers. Some workers reported that if they have to wait for the use the toilet facility than they have to lose their day's wage because after 8 AM yard gate is closed for everyone ship breaking including workers. These toilets are built far way from the residence of the workers i.e. 2-3 Kms which limit the use of the facility by workers at night. Therefore, workers tend to use open field to relieve themselves. The toilet facility is well available at workplace but not near the place of living of the workers.

### **Use of Domestic Fuel**

Electricity is the source of domestic fuel for lighting purpose at the shanty's in Alang ship breaking yard. 187 (62.3 percent) of the respondents have access to electricity facility and remaining 113 (37.7 percent) respondents rely on other sources domestic fuel such as kerosene. Workers living in rented houses pay electricity charges along with their monthly rent.

About 37.7 percent of respondents reported that they are using kerosene for domestic fuel. Workers living in dormitories have reported that in some of the dormitories there is no electricity facility and have to use kerosene for lighting. Those workers used electricity facility in dormitories have to pay charges however no fans are provided.

**Table: 6.6. Electricity Facility Used by Respondents in Different Type of Accommodation.**

Type of Accommodation	Electricity Used		Total
	Yes	No	
Spontaneous House	31.06 (32)	68.93 (71)	100.00 (103)
Rented House	100.00 (117)	--	100.00 (117)
Dormitory	47.50 (38)	52.50 (42)	100.00 (80)
Total	62.33 (187)	37.77 (113)	100.00 (300)

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

Note: Figures in the bracket are number of respondents.

Workers also reported that they have to purchase electricity from nearby shopkeeper and pay charges which vary between Rs. 200-500 per month. Through this arrangement, they get lighting facility for a few hours every night. Other group of workers reported that they are using the electricity facility through illegal connection. Since many of these people do not have high wages and permanent jobs, restrict their use of electricity for only lighting purpose and do not use fans and very few electrical appliances.

### **Ownership of Durable Items for Entertainment**

The concept of modern housing includes durable items such as T.V, Radio, Bicycle etc. In the present study respondents possess some durable items but the value of these items are low. This could be because most of the respondents do not stay with families and intent to minimize their monthly expenses so that more could be sent to families staying at native place.

It is found that respondents possess some durable items such as T.V and Radio. About 34.7 percent of migrant labours living in all three type of accommodation possess T.V and Radio, which are important mode of entertainment. Most of the respondents are staying alone, which is the main reason of possessing some electronic entertainment goods. Out of 300 about 86 (i.e. 28.6%) respondents do not have any durable goods

because their main motive of migration to Alang is to support their family member in their native place.

Table: 6.7. Ownership of Durable Items by Respondent in Alang

Ownership of durable Items	Spontaneous House	Rented House	Dormitory	Total
Radio	28.16 (29)	14.53 (17)	70.00 (56)	34.33 (103)
T.V.	5.83 (6)	1.71 (2)	--	2.67 (8)
T.V & Radio	33.98 (35)	58.97 (69)	--	34.67 (104)
Nothing	32.04 (33)	24.79 (29)	30.00 (24)	28.67 (86)
Total	100.00 (103)	100.00 (117)	100.00 (80)	100.00 (300)

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

### 6.3.2 Health Facility

The workers at Alang ship breaking yard have certain distinct characteristics such as belong to poorest parts of the country, are generally illiterate or have little education and have low skill levels. Despite this, workers at Alang are being neither provided with adequate training nor with proper equipment to work in the yard. In spite of low education and low skill these workers toil to eke out their living thus facing various hazards. These affect the health of labour working in these yards. In this regard International Labour Organisation considered that ship breaking industry as one of the toughest and most dangerous occupations in the world which require special medical facilities.

To cope with hazardous and toxic substances, harsh nature of work and unhygienic living conditions requires special medical facilities. But the picture is different in Alang as the medical facilities are extremely poor. There are two types hospitals in Alang. One of them being private clinics, which charge higher fee for treatment. Therefore, workers do not prefer to go there and go only if the condition of the patient is serious. There is no doubt that these private clinics run with good profits because illness and accidents are very common at Alang.

Another hospital is established and run by Red Cross society. The hospital was started with the aim of providing service to the workers. In the initial years there was only one doctor and it remained open during day time. But at present there are 5 doctors who work in shifts. This hospital is open for all 24 hours. It provides good services to the patients. On an average 100 workers are treated per day. However this hospital has no facility of pathological laboratory (Upadhyay, 2005).

There are more than 25 dispensaries run without qualified doctors (medical practitioners) in and around Alang. Many of these unqualified doctors are from the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. The majority of the workers is illiterate and cannot discriminate between qualified doctors and unqualified practitioners. These illiterate migrants trust unqualified doctors because they are from their native place. The unqualified medical practitioners at these private dispensaries not only provide medication but are also reported to be conducting surgeries. Some of the respondents have reported cases of amputations being performed by these unqualified medical practitioners.

Many migrant workers faced the problems of malaria and other viral fever which is linked to contaminated water. It is found that workers do not boil the drinking water. Dysentery and water-borne diseases are largely found among migrant workers. According to a physician in Alang, who treat the workers, reported that the rate of diarrhea is very high due to the use of contaminated water.

Another main problem faced by these migrant workers during monsoon is water logging. It is found that, the respondents were lived in spontaneous houses have experienced water logging in their area during monsoon and as most of these houses are found below the street level. Due to water logging and lack of waste water disposal most of the workers are facing the problems of malaria. According to doctors in Alang who treat workers, two categories of problems are faced by these workers: (i) occupational diseases such as those linked to accidents which are not fatal, minor injuries, cuts, burns, respiratory problems etc; (ii) those related to living conditions viz, malnutrition, malaria,

viral fever, diarrhea, skin diseases etc. The workers have to work in rainy season which entails an increase of fever at that time of the year. Another noticeable thing is that alcohol is prohibited throughout Gujarat; it is available largely in Alang. The quality of alcohol is poor which causing liver problems to workers.

In Alang ship breaking yard, most of the migrants are poor people, living in inadequate and makeshift housing facilities on the site or in its immediate vicinity. There is lack of basic minimum requirements like community sanitation, medical or recreation facilities or even safe drinking water. Day and night workers inhale the toxic fumes in the yard and in their living spaces which are near the yard. These migrant workers are prone to diseases. These diseases are contacted over the years by the workers while working or living at Alang. It is a matter of great concern because the impact on their health is very serious. There are no studies conducted by authorities to determine the health status of the 30,000 workers working inside the yard and many more who are living outside the yard.

In short, it is concluded that the health facilities for more than 30000 labours at Alang ship breaking yard are inadequate and neither employers nor Government authorities are taking any action to improve the medical facilities at Alang.

### **6.3.3 Nativity and Habits**

When migrants settle in a new area they may face several difficulties during initial adjustment process. There is assimilation of issues sometimes complete, sometimes partial. In the present study workers are facing various adjustment problems. Before discussing the concept of nativity, it is important to define the word adjustment and which types of adjustment problems are faced by the workers at Alang ship breaking yard.

According Beijer in a Multilingual Demography, the adjustment refers to “the process by which migrants adjust themselves to the place of migration. The problem of adjustment is now a central problem for sociologist. But in recent times the problem of assimilation of migrants received comparatively little attention. The adjustment to place

of migration, often in unfamiliar environment is indeed a problematic task for the rural newcomers who come from an environment which is different in many respects from the environment in the place of migration (Beijer, 1963: 180-181).

The unfamiliar environment creates problems of adjustment. The process of becoming assimilated into place of migration and industrial environment, into a new social climate, can lead to many adjustment difficulties. Many migrants feel lonely because they miss their houses and their neighborhoods because of the changed environment to which they were not used to earlier (Beijer, 1963: 182).

In the changed and new society, several problems of adjustment are bound to take place. Rural migrants often remain alienated from place of migration, outside the scope of their immediate economic interests and fail to fully utilize public facilities such as banks, school and public health centers. They do not feel that they are entirely at home in the place of migration and this insecurity is liable to be expressed in the form of anxiety regarding new customs. On the other hand, the economic, social and ritual reciprocity are frequently maintained with rural kin and in some cases geographical mobility may be inhabited by kinship obligations or regional attachments (Anderi, 1973: 11-14).

Rural migrants at Alang ship breaking yard face several problems of adjustment. Their problems are of a varied nature: the problem of language, customs, problem of housing, recreational and social ceremonies etc. The problem of language is particularly among the Oriya labours who come directly from village. But other migrant labours from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand do not face the problem of language because they use Hindi language in their day-to-day life. In the beginning, Oriya labours speak their mother tongue. This is the reason that they live in dormitories and in clusters. Gradually, they start speaking local language or Hindi and mix up with non-Oriya labours. Thus this problem is short lived. The customs and various festival occasions of their place of origin bring into their mind the memories of their homeland. But gradually the intensity of their feeling decreases with the increase in the period of their stay at the Alang. The migrant labours do not have great contact with the local people and do not follow local customs.

Alang is like an island of migrant labour whose main purpose is to earn for themselves and their families located at far off places waiting for monthly remittances. This fact alienates them from the city culture and compels them to establish their own sub-culture entity and their own cultural associations at Alang itself.

Another important thing is that most of the migrants from the rural regions do not bring their families with them. This is so because of two important reasons. Firstly, most of the migrants at Alang ship breaking yard are not in economically sound position to keep their families with them. Secondly, the migrants own some property in the village and for the care and maintenance of the property; it becomes necessary for them to keep their families in the village. Alang itself being a small village does not have proper infrastructure such as housing, schools, hospitals and none of these have developed on sufficient scale so that migrants can bring their families. Only 5 out of 300 respondents in the current study, stay with their families. This family separation creates several of problems, for example, a single individual finds it difficult to get a house, and he suffers from emotional strain. The frequency of his visits to native place which increase expenses and in some cases leads them to debt.

As pointed out earlier that the respondents who migrate to Alang ship breaking yard from a different environment face the problem of adjustment. Though this is an individual and personal phenomenon and which varies from person to person, the problem of adaptability to place of migration is greater for the newcomers and less educated. However there are several factors which unite and bind them together which create nativism among the migrants.

Various authors, academicians and researchers have defined the term nativity in different ways. According to Dictionary of the Social Science, the movement of societies toward the reaffirmation of native culture in reaction to the stress of acculturation (Gould and Kalb, 1964: 45) whereas International Encyclopedia defines the term nativism as not the social movements but the attitude in a society of rejection of alien persons or culture (Sills, 1968: 75).



Nativism is aggressive or non-aggressive effort of members of the society to produce for its own use a synthesis of some of its own cultural features and those of the organized effort of a people to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of their culture (Reading, 1977: 137-138). Many sociologists have defined the concept of nativity in terms of caste, state, tradition and culture. A sociological study conducted by Upreti on migrant labours defines the nativity in terms of marriage. It was found that marriages of Kumaonis take place with the people from the Kumaon region, wherever they are living (Upreti, 1981: 64-71).

After discussing the term nativity, which is an important aspect in the present study. Workers at Alang have unity in diversity which binds them together. Besides, differences of regional background, religion and caste the common dialects, customs and practices and common culture motivate them to keep themselves closer to each other at Alang. Labours from each state and region try to maintain their identity and individuality. Most of the Oriya migrants develop a general tendency to unite themselves into a group or an association. They live in dormitories, which are shared between 50 to 100 labours from the same state. These migrants organize some of their own cultural activities under the auspices of their associations. The new entrant to Alang, who generally suffer from language problems and feels home sickness, get some relief and begin to realize that in their new environment they can retain something of their own culture.

Another significant thing is that most of the respondents from Uttar Pradesh and Jharkhand live together in rented houses. Workers from the same states or from the same village tend to live together. Living together makes it easy to keep the same social contact and also keep alive the traditions of the village.

Close contacts of the migrants among themselves in Alang keep them in constant touch with their native place and keep them informed about the happenings in the native village. Thus, a migrant who returns from their native place is surrounded by other migrants, mostly those who come from adjoining areas of their villages. Majority of the

respondents have some cultivable land at their native place. Hence are interested in the climate and conditions at their native towns and villages.

On the other hand, their customs, traditions and other sub-cultural characteristics motivate them to unite and form a separate identity and try to maintenance of separate sub-cultural traits by the migrant at Alang ship breaking yard. The maintenance of sub-culture groups is automatic and inevitable, but their coming in conflict with the culture of the place of migration would naturally result in a situation which will prevent their integration and problems of adjustment would be much more complex. Therefore, in short it is found that respondents at Alang retain their culture and traditions and they continue to be migrants even after a stay of a decade or more at Alang.

### **Food Habits**

In this section an attempt is made to analyse the various habits of the respondents after migrating to Alang ship breaking yard. The important variables analysed in this section are food habits and dress pattern. Rural people are much more attached to their tradition and culture than urban people. Majority of the migrants are from rural backgrounds, which influence their habits. With regard to food habits the daily meal of the respondents consisted of two items, usually roti (bread) and shak (vegetable), roti and dal or rice or dal. Migrants from different regions have different food habits. For instance, migrants from Orissa who live together in dormitories and take their meal in common mess have daily meal which consists of rice and dalma (lentil pulses). These migrants are from the eastern part of the country and they are rice eaters. Another group of migrants from Uttar Pradesh take their daily meal which consists of roti and shak because they prefer chappatis. These migrants are from northern part of the country. In the present study it is found that most of the gujarati families are vegetarian and they prefer to live with the migrant who are vegetarian. But many of the migrants from eastern states of India are non-vegetarians, hence live with their natives or like mined groups. After migrating to Alang food habits of the respondents changed but not significantly. For instance a study conducted on Mahadeokolis in Poona city found that rural people after migrating to Poona changed their food habits. Their daily meals in village consist of

rice and cooked split pulses or dal with chutney. The proportion of meat, fish and eggs in the diet of these people had increased (Gala, 1976: 114-115). But in Alang after migration of rural people the proportion of meat, fish and eggs declined day-by-day due to high cost of living. Most of the migrant labour take food in common mess which itself leads to common food habits.

Tea was the common beverage and tea drinking had become a regular habit among the rural migrants in Alang. They consumed two or three cups of tea every day and much more on some occasions. Workers while working in yards they get 15 minutes break and they consumed nearly two cups of tea at the same time. A cup of tea as a sign of hospitality was highly appreciated by them at residence. Majority of the rural migrant were fond of liquor, but they do not report due to fear. If liquor was difficult to obtain, they consumed bad quality of local liquor. Thus the consumption of tea, liquor and also tobacco had increased which is contrary to their traditional life.

Out of 300 migrant labours majority of them still cling to their old dress and language. Only the young have changed their dressing pattern. The fact, that new style dresses are popular among the younger or new entrant to Alang ship breaking yard. Generally, the eastern part of the country wears dhoti or lungi which suggests that they are wrapping their body with piece of cloth whereas the migrants from northern part wears pyjama. But after arriving in Alang their dressing style has not changed much but has changed to some extent. Workers wear trousers and shirt so that they can work comfortably in the yard. But some old migrants are still wearing dhoti or lungi or pyjama while working like at the place of living.

It is concluded from the discussion on food habits of the migrant labours at Alang ship breaking yard that these migrants follow their traditional culture to a great extent in terms of food and dressing style. There are some changes in their habits, but that is only limited to few young or new migrants.

## **6.4 Incomes and Expenditure**

Various studies have established the dominant role played by income in determining the standard of living and pattern of living of people. This is not surprising because apart from providing the purchasing power it also motivates consumer's behavior strongly. Other socio-psychological factors are associated with income and thus influence expenditure.

It is found from survey at Alang that workers receive monthly wages usually on the basis of a daily rate. The system of payment is on the basis of task or piece rate. The wages are higher in Alang ship breaking yard as compared to previous job of the respondents. In this section the income received by different categories of workers viz skilled and unskilled is analysed. An exercise is conducted to verify whether the Minimum Wages Act is being implemented in the proper earnest at Alang ship breaking yard or not. The expenditure pattern of the respondents is analysed in the subsequent sub-sections.

### **6.4.1 Income and Minimum Wages Act**

Category of work of the respondents and the wages earned by them is presented in table 6.8. The income of the labour varies with the occupation and skill level of the workers. The range of wages at Alang among the respondents is Rs. 1500 to Rs. 6500. In general the skilled workers are receiving higher wages than the unskilled workers. However not all the workers receive the same wage even within a category. The range of monthly wage for each category of worker is given in the table and the range is found to be high. This variation can be explained by the skill level and experience of individual labour to a great extent. It is also noticed that some labours are paid less than the minimum wages.

All occupations of the Alang workers are covered by the Gujarat State Government for the implementation of Minimum Wages Act. But it is observed that

some of the categories, wage rates especially for unskilled workers and for few skilled workers are below the Minimum Wages as mentioned in the Minimum Wages Act. According to data available on minimum wages fixed by Gujarat Government, the minimum wages were fixed in April 2002. Minimum wages are fixed by the Gujarat for various categories of workers. The minimum wages for unskilled/manual worker is Rs. 79 per day and for skilled workers it is fixed at Rs. 89 per day. It is found that workers at Alang work for 26 days per month on an average (Case I). When the minimum wages are adjusted per month (with 26 working days) they are Rs. 2054 and Rs. 2314 for unskilled and skilled labour respectively. The work performed at Alang ship breaking yard can be classified into 17 categories. Some of these are skilled categories of work and others are unskilled categories. The wages paid to labours depends not only on their skill, length of experience but also the category of work performed at Alang ship breaking yard. Out of the 17 categories 8 are skilled and the rest are unskilled categories. An attempt is made here to verify whether the payment to workers is based on minimum wages. Table 6.8 presents number of workers by category and their wages. The actual wages received are compared with minimum wages to verify whether labour is being exploited or not.

Out of 300 respondents only 18 have been working at Alang for less than 1 year (refer table 4.19). Another 38 percent of the respondents work for 6-10 years at Alang. This shows that most of the respondents have been working at Alang on a permanent basis. According to the rules the employer has to pay for all the days in a month to the permanent employees. Taking into account the minimum wages per day as declared by the Government of Gujarat, the minimum monthly wages for skilled workers would be Rs. 2670 and for unskilled workers it would be Rs. 2370. Taking these limits as the criteria for minimum wages in a month it is found that 102 of the respondents receive less than minimum wages (table 6.8, case II). Out of 17 categories of work, Cutter on the ground is receiving less than minimum wages in both the case (i.e. 26 days and 30 days). On the one hand skilled workers work for 8.65 hours per day getting wages less than minimum wage. On the other hand unskilled workers work for more hours of work i.e. 10.31 hours per day also receive wages less than minimum wages. Table 6.8 shows that in both the cases workers receive less than minimum wages.

Figure 1 shows that skilled workers receive wages less than the minimum wages. By taking criteria of 26 days per month it is found that 27 respondents out of 50 receive wages less than minimum wage. When 30 days per month criteria is applied than 77 respondents out of 102 receive wages less than minimum wages. This shows that in first case 54 percent and in second case 75 percent of respondents receive wages less than minimum wages. Figure 1 also shows that in both the cases cutter (on the ground) receive wage less than minimum wages as compared to other categories skilled of workers. In case of unskilled figure 2 show that by taking criteria of 26 days per month 23 respondents out of 50 receives wages below less than minimum wages. Similarly in case of 30 days per month criteria, 25 respondents out of 102 receive wages less than minimum wage. It is found that on an average 30 percent unskilled workers receive less than minimum wages. Figure 2 also shows that in case I, helper and in case II Bageri receive wages less than minimum wages as compared to other categories of unskilled workers.

Table: 6.8. Category of work and wages received by Respondents

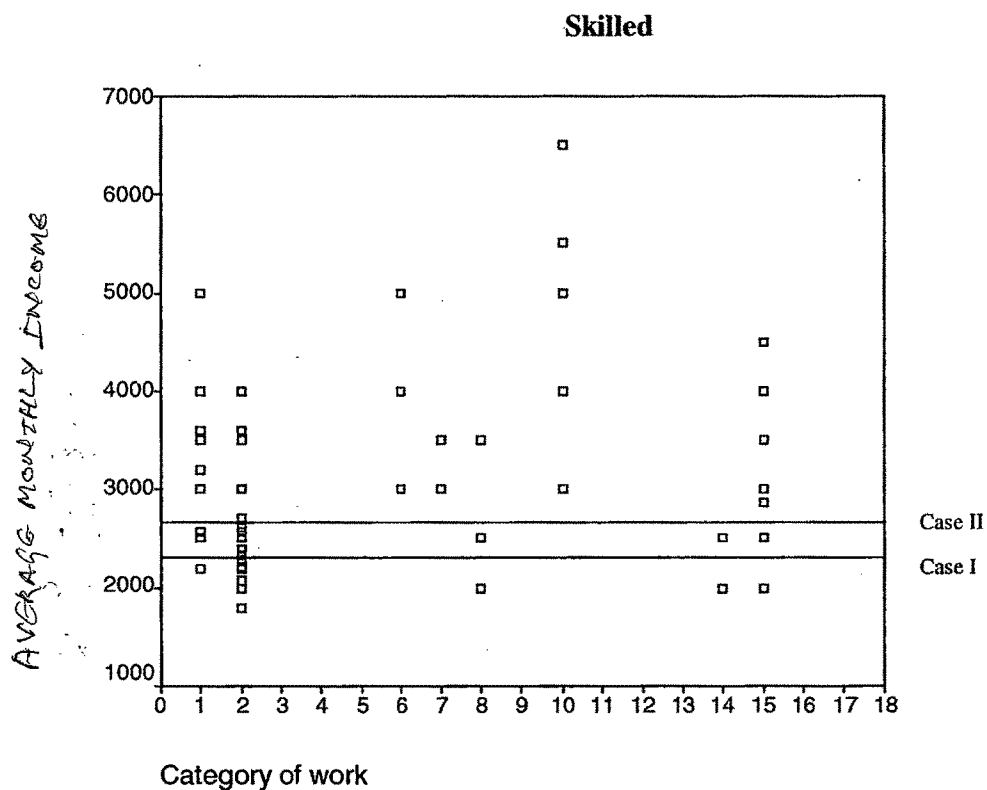
Category of Work	Present Occupation	Total Number of Workers	Less than Minimum Wages (in Average)		Total Average Wage	Range		Categories of Workers
			Case I	Case II		Minimum Reported	Maximum Reported	
1	Cutter(on the ship)	19	2	5	3550.00	2200	5000	Skilled
2	Cutter(on the ground)	84	20	57	2782.28	2000	4000	Skilled
3	Jodiwala	40	8	--	4373.81	3000	5000	Unskilled
4	Bageri	14	1	3	2572.42	2000	3600	Unskilled
5	Malpani	9	--	11	2576.76	2000	3200	Unskilled
6	Muqadam	16	--	2	2956.25	2000	3500	Skilled
7	Mistry	2	--	--	3125.72	2500	4000	Skilled
8	Engine Opener	7	2	1	2920.00	2080	3500	Skilled
9	Oil Remover	3	1	7	3031.62	2000	4000	Unskilled
10	Crane Operator	7	--	8	2522.71	1500	3800	Skilled
11	Plate Washing	7	--	1	2633.33	1800	3000	Unskilled
12	Helper	23	9	--	5333.33	3000	6500	Unskilled
13	Loader	54	3	2	2250.00	2000	2500	Unskilled
14	Wireman	2	1	--	3250.00	3000	3500	Skilled
15	Fitter	11	2	4	2347.78	2100	2600	Skilled
16	Cable Cutting	1	--	1	2000.00	2000	2000	Unskilled
17	Watchman	1	1	--	2600.00	2600	2600	Unskilled
	Total	300	50	102	2888.89(300)	1500	6500	
	Skilled	148	27	77				
	Unskilled	152	23	25				

Source: Field Survey, May 2004

Figure 6.1 Skilled labour and their wages

**Skilled Categories**

1. Cutter (on the ship)
2. Cutter (on the ground)
6. Muqadam
7. Mistry
8. Engine Opener
10. Crane Operator
14. Wireman
15. Fitter



Case I. Minimum Wage criteria for 26 days in a month is Rs. 2314

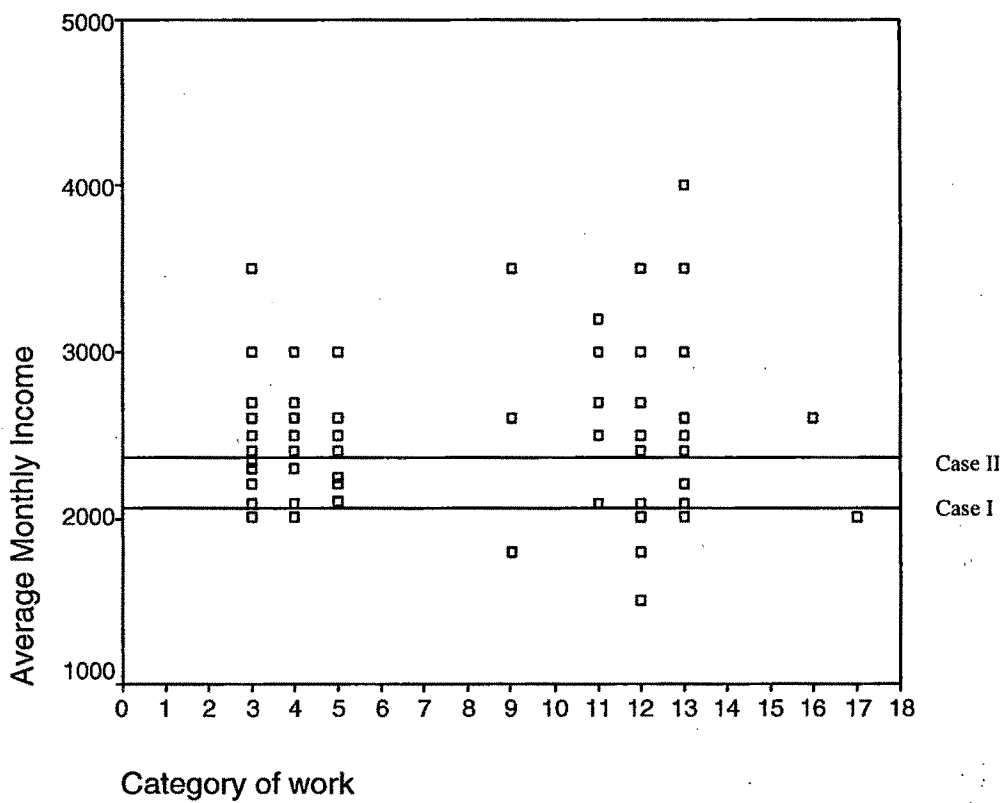
Case II. Minimum Wage criteria for 26 days in a month is Rs. 2670



### Unskilled

Figure 6.2 Unskilled labours and their wages

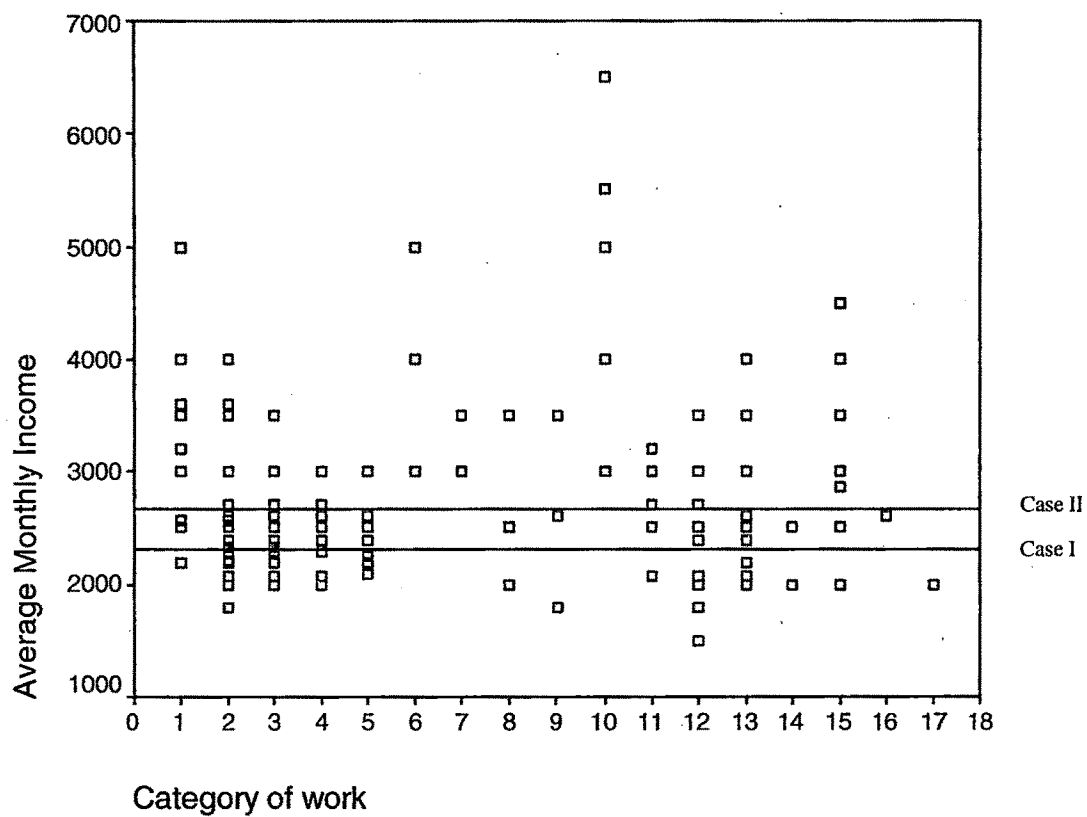
- |                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 3. Jodiwala       | 16. Cable Cutting |
| 4. Bageri         | 17. Watchmen      |
| 5. Malpani        |                   |
| 9. Oil Remover    |                   |
| 11. Plate Washing |                   |
| 12. Helper        |                   |
| 13. Loader        |                   |



Case I. Minimum Wage criteria for 26 days in a month is Rs. 2054  
 Case II. Minimum Wage criteria for 26 days in a month is Rs. 2370

## Total Sample

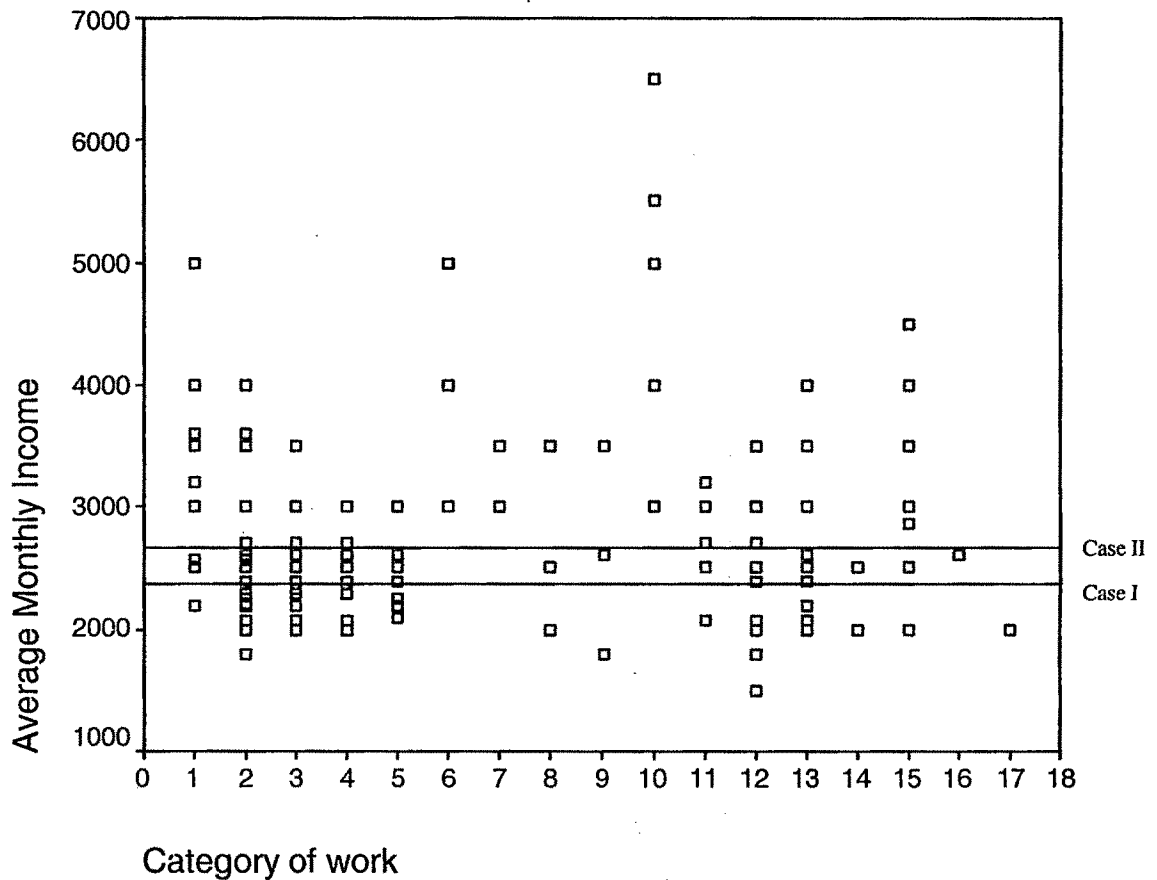
Figure 6.3a Category of work and respondents receiving wages below minimum wages (26 days)



Case I. Minimum Wage criteria for unskilled labour is Rs. 2054

Case II. Minimum Wage criteria for skilled labour is Rs. 2314

Figure 6.3b Category of work and respondents receiving wages below minimum wages (30 days)



Case I. Minimum Wage criteria for unskilled labour is Rs. 2370  
Case II. Minimum Wage criteria for skilled labour is Rs. 2670

#### 6.4.2 Expenditure Pattern

After discussing the income pattern of the migrant labours, now an attempt is made to examine the expenditure pattern of the respondents. The people's living conditions can be judge by the level of expenditure per month and pattern of expenditure. The primary need of living includes nutrition, clothing, housing, medical and education etc. Among the secondary needs component are comprise of leisure, security and

environment. However, the analysis in this section is confined to primary needs. Information regarding the expenditure of different respondents is collected and is analysed. The analysis given below presents the consumption expenditure of different groups working at Alang ship breaking yard.

Table 6.9 presents the expenditure and income of the 300 respondents from whom detailed information has been collected. The 300 respondents have been categorized based on their expenditure pattern. More than 80 percent of the respondents spend less than Rs. 2000 per month. It can be seen from the table 6.9 that there are 12.7 percent of respondents having the per capita consumption expenditure per month less than or equal to Rs. 1000 whereas respondents enjoying the highest bracket of expenditure group viz Rs. 3001 and more is 0.7 percent. The high concentration of respondents is observed between the expenditure level of Rs. 1001-2000. That is to say that majority (80 percent) of the respondents are having monthly expenditure between Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000. Moreover, the modal value of their per capita expenditure falls in the expenditure group of Rs. 1501-2000 because approximately 60 percent of the respondents are clustered in this expenditure group, which is highest among all other expenditure groups. The table brings out one important fact that 72.7 percent of the respondents at Alang ship breaking yard are having the monthly expenditure of less than Rs. 1501, whereas only 27.3 percent of respondents are having the consumption expenditure of more than Rs. 1501 per month. The share of expenditure varies from one group to another. The average share of expenditure is 48 percent of the income. This is low but taking into consideration the fact that most of the respondents stay alone and save money, so as to send to native place, the finding is of significance. From the income earned by the respondents part of it is consumed at Alang. The rest of income is categorized as unspent income. The unspent income is 52 percent which is used for remittances as well as for saving purpose by the respondents. The workers at Alang control their expenditure so as to maximize their unspent income which is used for their families residing at their native place and for their future.

Table: 6.9. Expenditure Pattern of the Respondents

Expenditure Pattern	Number of Workers	Average Expenditure per Month	Average Income per Month	Share of Expenditure as a Proportion of Income (in %)	Unspent Income (in Percentage)
500-1000	38 (12.7)	948.95	2465.26	38.49	61.51
1001-1500	180 (60.0)	1270.39	2692.52	47.18	52.82
1501-2000	61 (20.3)	1706.23	3290.66	51.85	48.15
2001-2500	15 (5.0)	2246.67	3873.33	58.00	42.00
2501-3000	4 (1.3)	2787.50	4500.00	61.94	38.06
3001-3500	2 (0.7)	3325.00	5750.00	57.83	42.17
Total	300 (100.0)	1401.03	2888.89	48.50	51.50

Source: Filed Survey, May 2004.

Note: Figures in brackets are in Percentage.

Per capita expenditure on food and non-food items are calculated in absolute and in terms of percentage. While calculating the per capita expenditure value of food and non-food items provided by the respondents are considered. Food and non-food expenditure per capita per month is presented in table 6.10.

The total expenditure among the 300 respondents works out to be Rs. 42, 4,134.34. Table 6.10 brings out the significant fact that a major portion of the consumption expenditure is on food items. The expenditure on food items is as high as 71.09 percent. The NSSO estimates show that the proportion of expenditure on food is 60 percent in urban areas whereas the corresponding figure for rural areas is placed around 70 percent. It is also known that the proportion of expenditure on food declines with rise in income. That is to say that poor families spend higher proportion on food items than that spent by the better off families. But from the available figures in the table, the workers at Alang reveal that their standard is at par with their counterparts in rural areas. The expenditure on non-food items accounted for 28.91 percent out of which respondents spent 11.31 percent on travel whether to their native place to meet their kith and kin.

Expenditure on rent (5.27 percent), beverages (6.18 percent), entertainment (2.46 percent) and water (0.94 percent) are all significant items of expenditure.

Table 6.10 Expenditure Pattern of the respondent at Alang Ship Breaking Yard

Expenditure	Total Amount of Expenditure (in Rs)	Percentage of Expenditure
Food	301500.73	71.09
Rent	22350.09	5.27
Entertainment	10449.94	2.46
Water	4000.04	0.94
Beverages	26199.81	6.18
Travel	47979.82	11.31
Miscellaneous	11654.0	2.75
Total	424134.34	100.00

Source: Field Survey 2004

After discussing the expenditure of the workers on food and non-food items, now an attempt is made in this section to using various variables to fit an expenditure function. Various alternative regression models are fitted using both qualitative as well as quantitative variables. Though, many variables are included in the model but it is found that some variables do not explain any variations in expenditure significantly. Therefore, for analysis of expenditure pattern simple regression function have been fitted for the total sample and for different states. The following expenditure function is considered for explaining variation in expenditure

$$Y = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3$$

Where,

Y = Expenditure per month (Rs.)

X<sub>1</sub> = Marital Status of the respondents

X<sub>2</sub> = Income per month (Rs.)

X<sub>3</sub> = Dependent members in family

$$\text{Total Expenditure} = f(\text{Marital Status, Present Income, Dependent Members})$$

It is found from the table 6.11 that the expenditure function is best explained through the variable, present income of the respondents. In all models for different states present income, marital status and dependent member are the explanatory variable. The model for Uttar Pradesh explains 48 percent of variations in the dependent variable. The model is good fit as indicated by F-ratio. The coefficients of the variables have expected sign in the model. All the models in the table reveal that there is a tendency of the migrants to increase expenditure with the increase in income. Other two variables marital status and dependent members have negative sign which suggests that married are spending less as compared to unmarried and those who have more dependent members in their native place spend less as compared to those who have less number of dependent members. Only in case of migrant labours from Orissa more dependent members in their native place shows high expenditure but the coefficient is not significant. The model for Gujarat state does not explain variation significantly. This may be due to limited respondents in the survey.

From the regression model for all the respondents together, it is revealed that the marital status and dependent member are important variable in analysis but does not explain variations significantly. Therefore, the present income of the respondent is the most important variable which explains variation in expenditure significantly. The F-ratio for all the models is high and significant except Gujarat state. All three variables together explain variation in expenditure pattern at site and this can be seen by high R-square value of the models. It is concluded from the table that income is the significant variable which explains the expenditure pattern of the workers.

Table: 6.11. Total Expenditure of the Respondent at Site

Variables	Uttar Pradesh	Bihar	Orissa	Jharkhand	Gujarat	All States
Constant	344.089	-10.247	17.136	431.799	634.274	270.450
Present Income	0.386 (9.939)*	0.630 (11.504)*	0.437 (7.375)*	0.329 (7.793)*	0.438 (1.619)	0.403 (16.933)*
Marital Status <sup>a</sup>	37.168 (0.579)	427.846 (1.967)	-85.939 (-1.128)	-167.806 (1.531)	--	-46.200 (-1.017)
Dependent Member	-6.690 (-0.636)	-34.948 (-1.882)	21.397 (1.548)	1.818 (0.113)	-74.112 (-0.647)	-0.891 (-0.128)
N	113	31	74	72	10	300
R <sup>2</sup>	0.48	0.84	0.47	0.54	0.28	0.50
F	33.519*	46.092*	19.954*	26.487*	1.374	99.611*

\* Significant at 1%

\*\* Significant at 5%

\*\*\* Significant at 10%

Note: <sup>a</sup>Dummy Variable

Marital Status

Married = 1 and Unmarried = 0

## 6.5 Saving and Remittances

The major consequence of the process of migration is the transfer of cash or other resources to family members staying back in the village. Remittances therefore are referred as the money transferred to villages by migrants while they are away. Migrants often save some part of their income to remit to their place of origin which may be used to meet the current consumption needs of the remaining members of the households or for productive purposes provided that there is an opportunity for investment. Therefore, remittances may induce significant changes in socio-economic development of the families of migrants in their native place. In addition, they may alter the distribution of income both within and between the areas of origin and destination (Oberai and Singh, 1983: 297).



Most of the migrants continue to maintain link with their native place. These links are of various types. Some keep family members at the native place. These dependents need to be supported out of the remittances. These migrants also maintain link by paying frequent visit to attend social, religious or some ceremonies or festival at the place where their relatives are staying. Social and economic motives impel the workers to visit their native place. Most of the skilled workers prefer to remain in the place of migration for the principal reason that it provides employment opportunities (Goyal, 1971: 49).

A survey conducted by Johnson and Whitelaw on low and middle income earners in Nairobi, have found that in 1971 roughly 21 percent of urban wage bill was remitted to the rural areas. They have found that these remittances are income inelastic which implies that a given percentage increase in income leads to a small percentage increase in the amount of remittances (Johnson and Whitelaw, 1974) whereas Mohammad, Butcher and Gotsch found that 250 migrants of urban industrial areas in Punjab and Sind were remitting on an average 30 percent of their monthly income to their home areas in North West province of Pakistan (Mohammad, Butcher and Gotsch, 1993). In sixteen North Indian villages, the percentage of migrants sending remittances ranged from 27 percent to 30 percent for all the villages together, 57 percent of migrants sent the remittances. The amount of remittance ranged from 26 to 69 percent of migrants income (Connell et al, 1976: 92).

In economic terms the most important aspect in the process of migration is the flow of remitted money and goods that characterizes the migration stream. Such flows of wealth are very much important, not only to the families in rural areas but also to the migrants (Caldwell, 1969). Russell (1986) distinguished between three important components of remittance process (Russell, 1986: 677-696).

- The decision to remit
- The methods or channel used to remit
- The use that is made of remittances in the place of origin.

In the following section, the discussion is on these three elements. The analysis is based on the observations of respondents and the socio-economic conditions of the respondent's in their villages. In section 6.4 the income and expenditure pattern of the respondents have been analysed. It is found that the respondents spend 48.5 percent of their income and the rest 51.5 percent is categorized as unspent but only at Alang (Table 6.9). However this part of income is used by the respondents for remittances and for actual saving. Some part of the remittances could also be saved at the native place. However information pertaining to expenditure and savings at native place has not been collected. In this section the pattern of remittances and savings by the respondents is analysed.

#### **6.5.1 Remittances: The Decision to Remit**

Table 6.12 presents data socio-economic background of all migrants and of those who sent remittances during the survey period. It can be seen in the table that during the survey period nearly 97 percent of the respondents were involved in sending remittances. The decision to remit is closely related to the fact that whether respondents have migrated alone or as complete family. In Alang ship breaking yard, most of the respondents sending remittances have migrated alone (295 respondents out of 300). In the present study most of the respondents are the sole bread earners of the family. It is noticed that a significantly large proportion young migrants remit less than the older migrants. A number of studies have concluded that, it is to be expected that the percentage of those remitting declines with the years of stay in the place of migration. But in Alang ship breaking yard with the increase in years of stay the percentage of remittances does not decrease. The fact that young are sending remittances less in the initial years of migration and increases with the increase in their stay is explained by the fact that 295 out of 300 respondents are staying alone.

Distance as a variable which has a favourable affects on remittances; those who have migrated from outside the state constitute a much larger percentage of those who send remittances than migrated from within the state. In the present study most of respondents are migrated outside the state and the place of migration is far away from

their native place. The migrants from outside state remit large proportion, this is due to the higher initial cost of migration is associated with the process of migration and indebtedness to persons in the home areas, who might have financed such costs. Generally, the rural migrants are more likely to remit than the urban. This is because due to the relatively extended structure of family among rural people.

Education does not appear to be a neutral factor, the percentage of those who remit is as large among the uneducated migrants as among the educated migrants. The data on caste show that migrants from high castes are less likely to remit than low castes. Low castes migrants are more likely to have originated from low-income and from lower socio-economic background and would be having a greater need to support the families. Therefore, they constitute the largest percentage of those who remit among all the caste categories.

The analysis of data on nature of work reveals that skilled workers are less likely to remit as compared to manual workers, which underlines the need of the manual labour group to conserve saving to support their family in native place. Moreover, skilled workers having established themselves in the place of migration are less likely to return to their home and this reduces their incentive to remit. Thus, here the conclusion emerges from the analysis of the data on education and caste revealed that the relatively poorer have a comparatively greater involvement in sending remittances than the other categories. The data on land owned in their native place suggest that migrant from cultivating class which owned land before migration will have a greater degree of interest in sending remittances. More than 97 percent of the respondents remit money to native place which is very high and amount of remittances as proportion of income is also high.

Table: 6.12. Number of respondents sending remittances

Demographic Characteristics	Total Number of Respondents	Number of Respondents Remitting	Percentage
<b>Marital Status</b>			
Married	248	241	97.17
Unmarried	52	51	98.07
<b>Age (Years)</b>			
15-20	28	28	100.0
21-25	82	79	96.34
26-30	77	76	98.70
31-35	67	65	97.01
36-40	25	24	96.00
41-45	14	13	92.85
46-50	6	6	100.0
51-55	1	1	100.0
<b>Years of Migration (in Years)</b>			
1-5	85	85	100.0
6-10	114	112	98.24
11-15	65	64	98.46
16-20	29	28	96.55
21-25	6	6	100.0
<b>Family Size</b>			
1-5	84	78	92.85
6-10	164	162	98.78
11-15	37	37	100.0
16-20	9	9	100.0
21-25	4	4	100.0
<b>Caste</b>			
ST	11	11	100.0
SC	29	29	100.0
OBC	93	89	95.69
General	167	163	97.60
<b>Nature of Work</b>			
Manual	160	159	99.37
Skilled	140	133	95.00
<b>Land Ownership at Native Place</b>			
Land Owned	178	174	97.75
Landless	122	118	96.72
<b>Education</b>			
Illiterate	101	99	98.01
Literate	199	193	96.98

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

### 6.5.2 Amount of Remittances

The present study on migrant workers at Alang ship breaking yard reveals one fact very categorically that a fairly good proportion of 97.3 percent migrants are regularly remitting to their kith and kin at home. Table 6.13 presents data on the amount and proportion of income remitted by migrants of different age groups.

The average amount of remittances per month works out at Rs. 1111.19 The outflow of remittances is 38 percent of the income earned by respondents per month, but those who remit send more than 30 percent of their monthly income.

Table: 6.13. Average Amount of Remittance Send by Respondents of Different Age Group.

Age Group	Total number of Workers	Number of Workers Sending Remittances	Average amount of Remittances(per month)	Remittances as a proportion of Income (in %)
15-20	28	28	1100.00	37.75
21-25	82	79	1107.93	37.84
26-30	77	76	1109.74	38.16
31-35	67	65	1119.40	36.02
36-40	25	24	1300.00	43.14
41-45	14	13	1035.71	32.19
46-50	6	6	950.00	31.88
51-55	1	1	2000.00	44.44
Total	300	292	1111.19	38.46

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

The assessment of the data in respect of migrants who sent remittances yields a number of interesting observations. It can be seen in the table that age does not seem to affect the absolute amount remitted. However, the percentage income remitted consistently declines with the increase in age which is partly due to a rise in the level of income. It is expected that as the level of monthly income increases, the average amount of remitted per month per worker actually remitting would increase. This was not confirmed by the present study as respondents have reported to be having savings at

Alang. The proportion of remittances to income generally does not increase with the income. Migrants in the age group of 36-40 are remitting on an average Rs. 1300 per month which is more than the other age groups.

The earlier discussion in section 6.5.1 clearly shows that the decision to remit money appears to be closely linked with factors like demographic and socio-economic. A major deciding factor however is whether the migrant has his family living with him or in village. Most of the respondents at Alang are living alone and are regularly sending money to home village. Table 6.14 shows the frequency of sending money home.

The respondents migrate to Alang ship breaking yard to satisfy their own needs and the needs of their family back in native place. The main motive of most of the migrants is to save money and to send it home, whether they have their families at Alang or in the village. If the family is staying at Alang, there are other members in the village who might need their help as majority of migrants leave their villages because of economic reasons. The remittances sent by respondents are the only hope for the members of the family who stay behind in the village. That is the reason that a large number of respondents frequently and regularly send money to their family members in the village.

It was found from table 6.14 that 93.7 percent of the respondents send money every month to their family members, 2 percent send quarterly and 1.3 percent remit money once in every 3 months. Only one respondent in the sample send money home when it is demanded by their family members. It is important to be taken into consideration is that majority, 97.3 percent of the migrants send money home and that remaining 2.7 percent do not send any. The latter may support the family in some other ways.

Table: 6.14. Distribution of Respondents by their Frequency of Remit

Frequency of Remitting	Number of Workers remit	Percentage
Monthly	281	93.67
Quarterly	6	2.00
Half-Yearly	4	1.33
Yearly	1	0.33
Never	8	2.67
Total	300	100.00

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

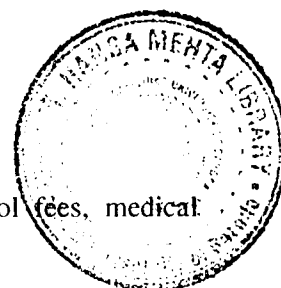
### 6.5.3 Channels of Remittances

Remittances can be formal or informal depending on the type of channel through which they are transferred. Formal remittances refers as remittances sent through official channels such as bank transfers, money transfer and money orders while informal remittances are those that are sent through unofficial channels such as private money couriers, through friends and relatives or delivered home by the migrants themselves. The channel for sending remittances depends on a number of factors, such as the existence of banking and other financial institutions, the speed, efficiency and security of the system as well as educational status of the sender and the recipient.

Remittances can be sent individually or collectively. As opposed to individually sent remittances, collective remittances are sent by groups of migrants usually as members of hometown. There are two types of remittance which migrants use to remit money or goods. There are (i) remittances in kind (ii) cash remittances.

Remittances in kind include foodstuffs such as maize-meal, sugar and cooking oil and consumer goods such as bicycles, radio, agricultural inputs and building materials. There are two important reasons for preferring this mechanism of remittances. The remittances of kind respond to the specific and immediate needs of their recipients. When migrants family in their native place is facing the shortage of basic commodities migrants opt for remittances in kind. The non-existence of banking facilities is another reason why most prefer to send non-cash remittances in the form of kind than cash remittances. Cash

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remittances are therefore sent for purpose such as payment of school fees, medical expenses, debt as well as for purchase of building material and livestock.

In the present study it is found that majority of the respondents who send money to their village while working at Alang ship breaking yard send it with one of their fellow villagers. This method is used by 46.3 percent of remitters (see Table 6.15). For workers it is easy to find someone who is visiting the village, for departures are continually taking place, viz every month. This is due to the nature of migrant groups who like to work and live together in groups hailing from same village or from same district. When these migrants decide to send money they can easily find someone who is trustworthy to send money. Relatives ranked second with 42.3 percent as carriers of remitters. These two medium of remittances comprise together 88.6 percent of the means of sending money to the village.

Sending money via the post office is the least frequently used medium for remitting money to the village. Only 8.7 percent remitting money used this method. This is due to the high illiteracy level of migrants and the tendency to depend less on postal communication between migrants and their village. Banks and financial institutions do not figure in the channels of remittances.

Table: 6.15. Distribution of Respondents by their Source of Remittance

Source of Remittances	Number of Workers
Friends	46.33 (139)
Relatives	42.33 (127)
Post Offices	8.67 (26)
Not Remitting	2.67 (8)
Total	100.00 (300)

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

Note: Figures in bracket are number of respondents.

Remittances are an important source of income for the migrant families lived in their native place. They are used mainly to provide family's basic needs such food, clothing, shelter, education and health care. The majority of respondents in Alang ship



breaking send remittances to fulfill their families' basic need and food as one of the uses of remittances. This indicates that most of the migrants family income is spend on food security situation in their native place.

#### **6.5.4 Saving of Workers at Alang**

During the survey, migrants were asked about the percent of income that saved per month. But it was found in the pre-test that migrants did not fully recognize the meaning of the term percent. Therefore, they were asked to give an estimate of the amount of money that they save per month on an average. This amount of money saved can is compared to the income per month in order to get the percent of income that migrant save per month. The amount of money that migrant saves at Alang per month ranges between zero and Rs 1000. The average monthly saving is Rs. 452.45. This average is nearly 15 percent of respondent's monthly income and is found to be lower than the monthly average saving of organized or unionized workers. Migrants recognize the value of saving while working at Alang but they think that they can save more money if the cost of living at Alang were not so high. Hence they tend to do all they can to minimize their living costs by living in poor houses and conditions by following fugal methods.

The standard of living of the individual migrant at Alang ship breaking yard can be seen among other factors, by their saving pattern. Migrants save money in the place of migration to take care of their future and of their near and dear. Table 6.16 presents the saving pattern of the respondents and their proportion in income.

It is found from the table 6.16 that on an average 14.12 percent of monthly income is saved by the respondents. It is found that the respondents in the age group of 45-50 are saving more (i.e. 19 percent) of their income. This is due to the fact that these respondents are relatively old migrants and most of them lived in rented houses. One observes that with increase in income of the respondents, saving increases.

Table: 6.16. Savings of the Respondents at Alang per Month in Different age groups.

Age Group	Total Number of Workers	Number of Workers Saved	Average Saving per month	Share of Saving as a Proportion of Income (in %)
15-20	28	19	431.58	14.54
21-25	82	56	465.79	15.91
26-30	77	52	390.57	13.43
31-35	65	49	427.55	13.76
36-40	25	14	416.57	13.82
41-45	14	12	400.00	12.44
46-50	6	4	587.00	19.69
51-55	1	1	500.00	11.11
Total	300	207	430.07	14.12

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

After discussing average saving of the migrant labours at Alang, it is important to throw some light on the factors which is responsible for the saving of the migrants. The attempt is made using regression analysis to fit saving function. The variables influencing saving are marital status, staying with family, ownership of house at destination, income etc. But the most important variable is earning power of the respondents. Therefore, the most significant variable is found to be respondent's monthly income to explain variation in saving. In order to have an exact association between respondent's income and saving, simple regression analysis by using ordinary least square (OLS) method are used to obtain saving function.

$$Y = \alpha + \beta_1 X + \beta_2 X_1$$

Y = Saving per Month (Rs.)

X = Respondents Income per Month (Rs.)

X<sub>1</sub> = Marital Status

Therefore following function is fitted.

$$\text{Saving} = f(\text{Present Income, Marital Status})$$

It is found from the Table 6.17 that the saving function is best explained through the variable present income of the respondents. In case of Uttar Pradesh, present income and marital status are the explanatory variables. This model explains 17 percent of variation in the dependent variable. The model is good fit as indicated by F-ratio. From all the models it is found that with the increase in income of the respondents, their saving of the respondent increases except Jharkhand state where income of the respondents is insignificant. But, the variable marital status is insignificant in all the models. This shows that married are saving more than unmarried but in case of migrants from Orissa most of them are unmarried who save which is shown by positive sign of the marital status coefficient. It is concluded from all the models that income is the significant variable which explains variation in savings. From the analysis it is found that the present income of the respondents is the important variable which explains the variation in expenditure and saving of the respondents.

Table: 6.17. Regression Result of Savings of the Respondent at Site

Variables	Uttar Pradesh	Bihar	Orissa	Jharkhand	Other	All States
Constant	-141.816	-709.702	-490.854	64.903	-469.792	-227.271
Present Income	0.148 (4.634)*	0.349 (8.954)*	0.265 (4.499)*	4.769 (1.648)	0.310 (1.875)***	0.175 (8.981)*
Marital Status <sup>a</sup>	9.398 (0.182)	-76.537 (0.590)	40.819 (0.568)	-29.559 (-0.372)	--	22.404 (0.609)
N	113	31	74	72	10	300
R <sup>2</sup>	0.17	0.76	0.22	0.05	0.31	0.21
F	10.988**	43.073*	10.230**	1.620	3.516***	40.479*

\* Significant at 1%

\*\* Significant at 5%

\*\*\* Significant at 10%

Note: <sup>a</sup>Dummy Variable

Marital Status

Married = 1 and Unmarried = 0

## **6.6 Linkages with Native Place**

The important aspect of process of migration is the extent to which contact is maintained with the community of origin. Migrants are expected to remain in contact with the family members living at their native place. These links may manifest either in the number of visits of migrant pays to his family and close relatives, the regularity with which the money is sent back to family living in the village.

Linkages to the migrants' native place is not just visiting the village of origin from time to time or sending oral or written messages to family. Links also consist of monetary, family and moral obligation which affected through social and family networks that have their base in the village. Fawcett has classified family and personal networks in migration content into three types (Fawcett, 1989: 671-680).

- Visible, which means cash remittances, gifts and written communications among member that flow in the both directions between origin and destination.
- Regular linkages, which refers to person-to-person obligations among relatives, whose expression also result in family or chain migration; and
- Relational linkages, which refers to linkages that are derived from comparing two places or their conditions.

Keeping in view these aspects of migration links, the present section aims to examine the pattern of respondents links with their native place and pace at which the changes in the magnitude and frequency of visits, duration of visits and other aspects of links to migrants native place.

### **6.6.1 Visit to the Village**

Most of the respondents have reported to be remitting money to their families at native place. The strongest contact which the migrants maintain with the native place is expressed through his visit. These are mostly arranged during holidays, festivals and

harvesting time. Sometimes migrants manage to take leave to attend social occasions in the village such as marriage, illness or funeral of close relatives.

In table 6.18 an attempt has been made to find out the proportion of those who visit the native place normally and frequency of visit during last one year from the period of survey. It can be noticed that more than 93 percent of the respondents reported to be visiting the native place.

Table: 6.18. Respondents visit to their Native Place

Do you visit home?	Number of workers	percentage
Yes	279	93.00
No	21	7.00
Total	300	100.00

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

Most of the respondents have come from far distance to Alang ship breaking yard. Considering this, 93 percent of respondents normally visit their native place show a pretty close contact that, rural migrants maintain with the people of their community of origin.

In the case of rest of 7 percent who do not visit their native it is quite likely that some of them may have joined job recently. For them getting leave and money for traveling expenditure would have not been possible. However, the proportion of negative response is so low that it can be concluded that rural migrants from different regions of India to Alang ship breaking yard maintain very close contact as far as visit is concerned.

Table 6.19 containing information regarding frequency of visiting native place show that nearly 50 percent of the respondents visit their native place once in a year, another 42.3 percent visit half-yearly and only 0.7 percent visited hometown every month. In comparison to few other studies in India these frequencies of visits appear to be very poor. For instance, a study of urban migration from the towns of Punjab and Haryana it is found that 35 to 78 percent of the migrants from different towns visited

their native place 6 times whereas 22 to 65 percent visited more than 6 times (Prem, 1976: 11-12). Similarly, another study on rural migrants in Bombay cotton mills found that 35 percent migrants visited their native place more than 6 times in a year (Patel, 1963: 68). However, the cause of lower frequency of visit is the long distance of the migrants' native place from place of work. Low income of the respondents which is discussed earlier section that nearly 101 respondents earn less than minimum wages which does not permit them to bear traveling expense of the frequent visits.

Table: 6.19. Frequency of Visit by Respondents to their Native Place

Frequency of Visit	Number of Workers	Percentage
Monthly	2	0.67
Half-Yearly	127	42.33
Yearly	150	50.00
Never	21	7.00
Total	300	100.00

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

The second variable which is important in the analysis of the migrants contact with the community of origin is sending money back home in the form of remittances. If the cost of migrants education, transportation, foregone labour, emotional and other can be viewed as one of the form of investment by family members remaining behind, therefore the money remitted act as a return to that investment. Thus in economic terms it is most significant aspect of rural migration. However, in section 6.3 it is seen that about 93 percent of respondents sent money back home regularly which shows that most of the respondents at Alang ship breaking yard are in close contact with their native place.

#### 6.6.2 Duration of Stay

Migrants visited their native place once in a year for various purposes and to spend some time with their family members and relatives. When migrant visited their native place they stayed for long time with their family. Table 6.20 presents that average duration of stay of respondents at their native place more than 30 days.

From the table 6.20 it is found that 30.93 percent migrants stay less than 30 days at their native place with their family with on an average 21days. This short duration of stay in their native place is due to no land ownership and fear of losing their job at Alang ship breaking yard. Another 67.01 percent of migrants stay for 38 days on an average at their native place which is during the harvesting period or illness of family members. Only 6 respondents stay for more than 70 days at their native place during last year from the period of survey which may be due to family problem or sickness in family.

In short it is found that majority of the respondents at Alang ship breaking yard retain close contact with their community of origin. Most of the migrants visited their native place in a year and more than 90 percent send money back home which shows their close contact with their family.

Table: 6.20. Duration of Stay of the Respondents in Days

Stay at native place (in days)	Number of workers visited native place	Average number of days stay
> 30	90 (30.93)	21.01
30-60	195 (67.01)	38.13
61-90	6 (2.06)	76.67
Total	291 (100.0)	32.62

Source: Field Survey, May 2004.

Note: Figures in bracket are percentage of respondents.

## 6.7 Conclusion

Living conditions of the migrants at Alang are unsatisfactory. Migrant labours are found to live together in groups of 5-10 in crowded and cheap places, rooms which are minimally equipped. Migrants from the same state or sometimes from same village tend to live together. Living together in this way undoubtedly represents an act of self-denial in order to increase the income left over (saving) to send back to home at native village. This living behaviour also makes it easy to maintain social contacts and traditions of the village, at the same time this practice weakens the mechanisms through which migrants acquire the new behavioural patterns that prevail in new environment. It is also a defense mechanism to keep their essentially rural mentality and identity and living together in kin-based and village of origin groups makes migrants feel safer than living alone.

Further, it is observed that at Alang a majority of the respondents live in rented houses (39 percent) followed by self-constructed or spontaneous houses (34 percent) built in public or private land while lowest proportion (26.7 percent) of respondents live in collective dormitories. The conditions of civic amenities available in the houses of the migrant labours are poor. Water supply at Alang is a serious concern and the workers either had to purchase from nearby villagers or use contaminated water from cement water tanks built in between plots at the yards or outside plot. The availability of potable water is limited. The lack of water facility prevents adequate washing and cleaning of clothes, house and cooking contributing to very poor sanitation. The average expenditure on water by respondents is RS. 132.95 Per month. Due to inadequate water supply, many workers report to fall sick and face eye and ear infections, skin problems etc.

Electricity is the source of domestic fuel for lighting purpose at the shanty's in Alang ship breaking yard. It is observed that 62.3 percent respondents are using the facility. This facility is mostly used by workers who live in rented houses and dormitories. Workers living in are forced to purchase electricity from nearby shopkeeper for a fee of RS. 200-500 per month and some workers are using illegally. This indicates that the way in which workers have access to facility is an indication of unequal distribution of the service.



Considering the ownership pattern of durable items with the sample respondents it is observed that majority of the labour own T.V and Radio (34.7 percent). Further, 28.6 percent migrants do not own any durable items. Workers do not have any high value durable goods because the main motive of migration to Alang is to support their family living at native place.

Workers reported to be receiving wages once a month on the basis of a daily rate. The wages of the workers are higher at Alang as compared to previous occupation of the respondents. All the occupation of Alang workers is covered by the Gujarat State Government for the implementation of Minimum Wage Act. But some wage rates especially of skilled workers and for few unskilled workers are below Minimum Wages as mentioned in the Minimum Wages Act. Taking 26 days per month wages as the criteria 50 out of 300 workers receive less than minimum wage. When 30 days per month is taken as the criteria 102 out of 300 workers received less than the prescribed minimum wages. This accounts for almost 33 percent of labour employed. The data shows that 54 percent of the skilled workers are getting wages below the Minimum Wages.

The average expenditure of the total respondents in a month is Rs. 1401.03. The high concentration of respondents is observed between the expenditure levels of Rs. 1501-2000. The share of expenditure in income is 48.50 percent for all respondents. It is found from the data majority of the expenditure on food i.e. 71.09 percent and 28.91 percent expenditure on non-food items. The regression analysis indicates that income of the respondent is a significant variable explaining the variations in expenditure pattern of respondents at Alang.

The data reveal that the propensity to send remittances was high among migrants from outside the state (97 percent). This implies that distance as a variable had a favorable effect on remittances which might be due to relatively high initial cost of migration associated with distance migration. The data shows that those who remit larger amount are the uneducated migrants as compared to educated migrants. The position is some what different with respect to caste. There was higher propensity to send

remittances among low caste migrants as compared to upper caste migrants. This is due to the fact that the low caste migrants are more likely to have originated from low-income and from lower socio-economic background.

Remittances of migrants back to the village are generally considered to support their family back in the areas of origin. As the remitted money can be employed in household use i.e. maintenance of family, in agricultural operation, in making house and planning trade etc. For the total migrants, money remitted on an average is Rs. 1111.19. Since the average income of the migrants is worked out to be Rs. 2888.89. When the remittances of migrants in the sample is analysed in relation to total income of the respondents, they were found to be contributing 38.46 percent of the total income. It is found that the majority of the respondents (93.7 percent) send remittances monthly which shows high monetary requirements at migrants' native place. The regression analysis indicates that income is the important variable in explaining variation in remittances. The study also found that in all age groups remittances increases with the increase in income. The channels through migrants send money to their native place are largely informal. It is found that 88.6 percent of respondents send money home through friends and relatives. Only 8.7 percent of respondents send money via post office or through other formal channels.

The study also shows that the amount of money that migrants save per month range from zero to Rs. 1000 at Alang. The average monthly saving of the respondents is Rs. 430.07. This average represents nearly 14.12 percent of migrant's monthly income and is almost lower than the monthly saving of an organised or unionized worker.

In the regression analysis it is found that income of the respondents is the important variable in explaining saving of the respondents. It is found that present income of the respondents is significant at 5 and 10 percent level. In the analysis marital status of the respondents shows that married are saving less as compared to unmarried. This is due the fact that married are remitting more to their native place.

The study found that migrants have close contact with their family members in the native place. It is found that 93 percent of respondents regularly visit their place of origin and most of migrants visit half-yearly (42.3 percent) or annually (50 percent). The frequency of visit is once in a year or twice in a year due to low wages and high traveling cost associated with visit. On average respondents stayed for 32 days at their place of origin to attend ceremonies, marriages and in harvesting period. The study found that migrants in Alang maintain close contact with their native place.

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