

**INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT OF TAMIL WORKERS IN
KERALA - A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
MALAPPURAM DISTRICT**

Thesis submitted to the
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

for the award of the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN COMMERCE

by
MOHAMED KUTTY KAKKAKUNNAN

Under the supervision of
Dr. ABOOBACKER SIDHEEQUE K.T

Reader

**Department of Commerce and Management Studies
University of Calicut
Kerala
March 2007**

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UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
Department Of Commerce And Management Studies

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22 March '07

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis on **Income and Employment of Tamil workers in Kerala: A study with special refernce to Malappuram district** is a record of the bonafide work of **Sri. Mohamed Kutty Kakkakunnan**, Research Scholar, under my supervision and guidance. He is allowed to submit the same for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Commerce.

Further certified that **Sri. Mohamed Kutty Kakkakunnan** has not submitted this work to any other University for adjudication and award of any other degree.



Dr. Aboobacker Sidheeque. K.T.

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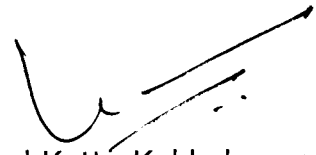
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DECLARATION

I, MOHAMED KUTTY KAKKAKUNNAN, do hereby declare that the thesis entitled **"INCOME AND EMPLOYMNET OF TAMIL WORKERS IN KERALA - A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MALAPPURAM DISTRICT"** is a bonafide record of the research work done by me and that no part of the thesis has been presented before for the award of any degree, diploma or any other similar title of recognition.

Place: C. U. Campus

Date:



Mohamed Kutty Kakkakunnan

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Tamil workers can be seen engaged in hard, difficult, ugly and hazardous jobs in every nook and corner of Kerala. They are an important source of manual labour in the state, which faces severe shortage of manual labourers in the midst of mass unemployment and highest wage rates among the states of India. Severe shortage of manual labourers and high wage rate in the midst of mass unemployment is considered as a paradoxical feature of the labour market of Kerala as well as that of the state economy.

Emigration, educational improvement, land re-distribution, job preferences, social and economic development of the backward and downtrodden communities and consequent withdrawal from the manual labour etc. have led to short supply in the manual labour market segment of Kerala. Along with this, improvement in economic activities and the construction boom has led to steep rise in the demand for manual and construction labourers. This has widened the imbalance between the labour supply and demand in the labour market of Kerala, led to scarcity of labourers and increased general wage level of manual labourers.

Not only the wage level of Kerala is the highest among the Indian states but the working conditions are also the most favourable to workers. Even casual labourers and unorganised sector workers enjoy fixed working time, good wages and freedom of exploitation of employers and intermediaries. Strong trade union movements, better education and consequent awareness of various rights, shortage of manual labourers, various laws and regulations, social security measures, social and political set up of Kerala etc., have created better working and living environments in Kerala. All these have made Kerala

a hot destination for in-migrants, even from distant states like Assam, West Bengal etc.

In addition to the above attractiveness of the labour market of Kerala, unemployment, underemployment and low wage rates in Tamil Nadu as well as proximity led to the mass in-migration of Tamil manual workers to Kerala. Their inflow has started even before independence to the plantations and estates of Kerala. However, large-scale in-migration as “replacement migration” has started only after the 1970s, the period that witnessed mass emigration of Keralites to the gulf countries. In the initial days, they came to Kerala as workers of contractors in railways, telecom and other large construction firms owned by persons other than Keralites. Gradually, contractors of Kerala began to recruit and engage them and later on when the labourers themselves became aware of the higher wage rates and employment opportunities in Kerala, they started independent in-migration and through networking this led to chain and mass migration.

Tamil workers provide cheaper manual labour to various activities in Kerala. They work in fields and farms, construction sites, quarries, factories and industrial firms, hotels, business as well as commercial firms as skilled and unskilled workers. Child labour is also common. In certain areas they outperform native workers and have monopoly over certain tasks. On account of their hardworking nature, readiness to undertake even second jobs, flexibility, easiness in controlling and managing etc. employers prefer them in certain areas.

Tamil workers have influenced wage rates and availability of work to native workers in certain areas. However, trade union movements of Kerala, known for their strength and sometimes for militancy and activism, which give utmost importance to protect members from all possible interventions of ‘outsiders’, are not against these Tamil workers. But, unions, native workers

and the general public accommodate them and render possible helps also. This shows the importance of Tamil workers in the labour market of Kerala. It can be rightly said that, up to an extent the Tamil workers have made good of the deficit of manual labourers in Kerala, other wise the general level wage rates will be much more.

Migration exerts far-reaching consequences upon the socio-economic, demographic, political and cultural spheres of the origin and destination. It has its impact upon the migrant's financial and economic conditions, his health and mental conditions as well as his social and cultural relationships also. It is a means to mutual 'gives and takes' and helps to integrate economies and societies with different cultural and social views and values. Labour migration undertaken with economic motives leads to changes in the employment patterns of pre-migration, acquisition of new skills and abilities and vertical mobility of labour as well as increase in the incomes, earnings and savings of migrants. Increase in incomes and earnings leads to improved standard of living of the migrant and at least of his dependants and also to human development. Thus, a study of income and employment pattern is a study of human development.

The present study deals with the income and employment pattern of Tamil workers in Kerala; their socio-economic conditions and inter-relationship with other players in the labour market as well as the economic impact of migration. It is based on the experiences of Tamil workers in Malappuram, the district that possesses almost all characteristics of the labour market conditions of Kerala. A study on Tamil workers in the district can provide a comprehensive idea about the various aspects of employment and working conditions of Tamil workers and their socio-cultural relationship with natives of the state as a whole.

Importance of the Study

Shortage of manual labourers is a major problem faced by the state. Farmers, contractors, businessmen, industrialists and other categories of employers find it difficult to carry on activities and complete their operations in time due to scarcity of manual workers. In addition to the scarcity of manual workers, the wage rate of Kerala is also the highest among the Indian states. Further the manual labourers and casual workers are also organised and have become formal in their working conditions with fixed working time, uniform wage rates, and other benefits. Many employers find it difficult to employ native workers; several farmers, industrialists and other businessmen have suspended their activities due to scarcity of labourers and high labour cost. Emergence of Tamil labourers in to the labour market of Kerala was a solace to the manual labour deficit market and they supply cheaper labour force in the labour market.

Tamil workers engage in almost all activities as engaged by native workers. They perform various agricultural operations. They are a source of semi-skilled and unskilled labourers in construction sector and to some extent skilled labour also. They undertake various activities at lower wage rates irrespective of nature or status of the work. They are ready to undertake dangerous, hazardous, hard, difficult and filthy occupations, which are rejected by natives. In this way they help and contribute to the economic development of the state by providing the required labour force and thus have an important position in the economy of the state. A study about the Tamil workers of the state is, thus, a study of the labour market and the economic conditions of the state.

Further, in a developing economy the role of migration cannot be underestimated. It is a mechanism through which the short-term supply and demand for labour in a labour market is counterbalanced and helps in

manpower planning. Moreover, migrants are agents of changes. They can make changes in the wage rates, employment patterns, employer-employee relationships, living and working conditions, trade union attitudes and policies, government policies, population and demographic factors and so on both in the area of origin as well as that of the destination. They contribute much to the economic and social development of the destination even if they may be looked down by the natives.

A lot of studies have been made in connection with different kinds of migrations in Kerala, including peasant migration, gulf emigration and return emigration. But, a migration stream started even before independence, having much importance in the economy and society of Kerala, remained neglected for long. No serious studies have been made so far and the Tamils remained sidelined in the society. Many of them live in exceptionally deprived and unhygienic conditions in Kerala. The study, thus, gives importance to a section of workers who actually strive for the betterment of Kerala and its economy; tries to highlight various facts about the Tamil workers in the state as well as their impact on the labour market of Kerala. The study is also useful in understanding the specific features of the labour market of the state of Kerala at macro level and that of Malappuram district at micro level.

The Problem

Tamil workers have an important place in the labour market and contribute much (though primary motive is to earn more wages and increase their earnings) to the economic development of the state by providing labour force to various economic activities, which otherwise will be impossible due to scarcity of workers. Even though Tamil workers are an important source of labour, have started their mission long ago and have played an important role in making up the present face of the state and economy by providing labour force, they have got little recognition and consideration in the state and also they are

neglected by the academic community in studying their conditions and contributions. Thus several facts like their socio-economic profile, reasons for their mission, employment and income patterns, working and living conditions in the state, relationship with employer, native employees and general public, consequences of their migration upon themselves and upon different segments of the labour markets of the states as well as its economy, perceptions of employers and trade union leaders etc. remain undisclosed.

Considering their importance in the economy and labour market of the state, it is essential to have a detailed idea about them and impact of their mission upon themselves and upon the state and its economy. Thus there exists a wide gap in the world of literature; and the present study is an attempt to fill the gap and to provide a comprehensive idea about their socio-economic profiles, working and living conditions, income and employment patterns, economic impact of migration and impact of their presence upon the labour market of Kerala.

Scope and Coverage

A study of income and employment pattern is a study about human development. Income, the major determining factor of standard of living and human development, depends upon the employment patterns and economic activities undertaken by different persons. It deals with labour market and labour market conditions, which depend up on several socio-economical, political, demographic, and psychological factors. These factors are inter-related and deal with a wide range of disciplines and areas of studies like general economics, labour economics, demography, sociology, anthropology, personal management, psychology, politics etc., and thus the scope of the study is wide and covers a wider range of disciplines.

The present study is about Tamil workers working in Kerala. Thus, spatially it covers the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. In this study wages, income, employment pattern, working and living conditions of Tamil workers are analysed by comparing with that of their nativity and with that of local workers. It also evaluates the impacts of their migration upon themselves and on different sectors and sections of the labour market of Kerala. The study, thereby, focuses on the labour markets of Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

The study concentrates on Tamil workers working in Malappuram district. It is the most populous and backward district in Kerala and has sent the largest number of emigrants to gulf from the state. Majority of these emigrants were unskilled or semi-skilled manual labourers. The district has almost all characteristics of an emigrant economy, such as low work force participation rates, large and conspicuous houses, large scale consumption etc. This educationally backward district, characterised by agricultural and rural manual workers, is recently in the path of development due to emigration and remittances. It faces severe shortage of manual labourers, has the highest general wage rates in Kerala and possesses almost all other characteristics of the manual labour market of the state. Therefore, the district can represent the entire state and its labour market. Thus the scope and coverage of the study is very wide.

Objectives of the Study

On the basis of the problems stated above, the following objectives have been set for the study.

1. To examine the socio-economic and demographic profile of Tamil workers in Kerala.
2. To study the reasons behind their migration to Kerala, especially to Malappuram district.
3. To study their income and employment pattern in Kerala.

4. To study their saving and remittance patterns and utilisation of remittances.
5. To ascertain the extent of discrimination, if any, against Tamil workers.
6. To analyse the changes in assets and liabilities before and after migration, to ascertain whether migration has led to economic betterment of migrants.
7. To analyse and evaluate impacts of their presence upon local workers, employers and trade unions.
8. To suggest possible measures for improvement of the standard of living as well as working conditions of Tamil workers in the district.

Hypotheses

1. In-migration helps Tamil workers to get employment for more days than in their place of origin.
2. The Tamil worker's monthly average net wages income from the district is more than their expected monthly average earnings in their nativity, if they perform the same or similar kind of work in their nativity without migrating to the district.
3. In-migration has led to considerable economic and financial improvement of Tamil workers

METHODOLOGY

This study is designed as a descriptive one and makes use of relevant information collected from both primary and secondary sources.

Primary Data

The core group of the study is the Tamil workers working in the district of Malappuram. In addition to the Tamil workers it also deals with the local workers, employers and trade union leaders of the district. Primary data

required for the study is collected from the sample respondents selected as per the sample frame mentioned below.

Sample Frame

(a) Tamil Workers

Even though it is difficult to see a village without Tamil workers in Malappuram district, there is no authentic record showing their exact number or other details such as employment patterns, areas of residence etc. Thus accurate data in connection with the interstate migration or migrants is not available except the one collected during the decadal census conducted throughout India. During the census, information is collected from households about their place of birth and place of last residence of each individual. On the basis of this information the Census Department publishes "Migration Tables" which is a treasure of valuable information in migration studies. However, data in connection with migration is at present available only up to the district level. Thus, such a study, which deals with interstate migration, has to depend on Census data, which are collected and published, sometimes earlier.

Data collection for this study was carried out in the years 2004 and 2005. Since Migration Tables (D Series) of the Census 2001, were not published either during planning period of the study or during its inception, it became essential to depend Migrations Tables of 1991. Thus sample frame is constructed on the basis of the census data of 1991. As per the Census 1991, there were 7080 interstate migrant workers in Malappuram district (7080 persons, 6140 males and 920 females). These include Tamil workers as well as workers from other states also. Since the study is an in-depth one, which makes it difficult to collect data from each and every Tamil worker, and keeping in view the time and cost constraints, it was decided to collect data from a representative sample of the migrants. Accordingly, 17 per cent of migrants

was taken as the number of samples, and rounded off to the nearest hundred. Thus a sample of 1200 Tamil workers was considered for the study. Of these 156 are females, the number determined on the basis of sex ratio of in-migrants as per the census and the rest are males.

The number of Tamil workers varies from village to village depending upon the infrastructure development, availability of accommodation facilities as well as employment opportunities, approach of locals towards them etc. Since the number of Tamil workers is not evenly distributed in the villages, it is not feasible to conduct a sample survey at the village level, without knowing the exact number of the respondents and to take village as the basis for collection of data. It was observed that, as far as the district is concerned development blocks are the smallest administrative denominations, which are more or less equal in respect of infrastructure development and other facilities, and also seemed good for comparative studies in interstate in-migration. Thus it was decided to take a development block as a sample unit. As on 2004, there were such 14 development blocks in this district. Since these blocks are more or less homogenous in all respects, and thus are representative of each other, for the purpose of convenience it was further decided to select 7 blocks randomly out of these 14 blocks through the lottery method (a block wise map of the district is given in Appendix I and names of the blocks selected for the study are given in Appendix II). From each block 172 Tamil workers were interviewed from 10 different locations through pre-tested structured interview schedules, giving importance to the concentration of Tamil workers on the basis of observation, and their willingness to co-operate with the study. But for the purpose of easiness in further mathematical treatments the sample was limited to 1200. Accidental sampling was employed for collecting data from Tamil workers.

(b) Native Workers

In order to study the perceptions of local workers towards Tamil workers and their inter-relationship, a sample of 60 local workers from each of the 7 blocks (420 native workers) mentioned above. The sample of native workers included 25 construction workers, 20 agricultural labourers, five workers engaged in different kinds of manufacturing activities, and 10 workers from different service sectors, thus totalling 60 from each block. The proportion of the number of local workers is based on observation that higher proportion of Tamil workers is engaged in construction, then in agriculture and so on.

(c) Employers

In order to evaluate the perceptions of employers, a sample of 30 employers of different categories, from each of the seven blocks (totalling 210) were taken on the basis of discussion with the natives. However, five large contractors are taken from different part of the district, without considering the area or blocks.

(d) Trade Union Leaders

It was decided to evaluate the perceptions of trade union leaders at the bottom level. In the early stages itself, it was felt that majority of the trade unions, even strong at the district level, had no properly working units at the bottom level. They are for the namesake, remain in papers and the leaders were local politicians who were mainly interested in positions rather than in workers problems. Thus, the decision to collect data from leaders at the bottom level was changed and it was decided to collect data from leaders in the district, who take active parts in trade union activities rather than politics. Trade union leaders of construction wings, agricultural wings, and general unions were only considered for the study. 50 leaders of important trade unions whose presence is strongly felt in the district and who are interested in these matters were

selected on the basis of asking members and leaders of unions, to mention names of other leaders who can provide more information in this respect. In short, 'Snowball Sampling' was employed for collecting data from trade union leaders.

Secondary Data

Secondary data used in this study have been collected from different sources. Both published and unpublished data of government as well as non-government organisations have been widely used in this study. Following are the important sources of secondary data.

1. Census Reports
2. Economic Reviews, Government of Kerala
3. National Human Development Report 2001
4. Tamil Nadu Human Development Report 2003
5. Human Development Report Kerala 2005
6. Tamil Nadu Development Report 2005
7. Statistics for Planning, Government of Kerala
8. Ministries of Labour, Government of India, Government of Kerala and Government of Tamil Nadu
9. Man Power Profile, India Year Book 2004
10. Indian Labour Journal 2005
11. District Hand Books of Kerala – Malappuram 2003
12. Directorate of Labour, Thiruvananthapuram
13. District Labour Office, Malappuram

In addition to the above sources, many books, magazines, newspapers, reports etc. are sources of valuable secondary information for the study.

Data Collection Tools

For the purpose of collecting primary data, structured interview schedules are used. Separate schedules were prepared for Tamil workers, native workers, employers and trade union leaders. On the basis of pilot studies, required modifications were made before finally executing the schedule among the sample respondents. Interview schedules executed among the Tamil workers contained questions which can chalk out information related to their socio-economic and democratic profiles, wages, income and employment patterns before and after migration, changes in the asset and liability structures, trade union attachment etc. Schedules executed among the local workers contained questions regarding availability of employment, unemployment situations, wage rates etc. Questions related to availability of workers, wage rates of different categories of workers, capacity and skill level of local and Tamil workers, reasons for discriminations, if any, and the possible impact of absence of Tamil workers etc., were contained in the schedule executed among the employers. Schedule executed among the trade union leaders mainly contained questions related to the membership of Tamil workers, trade union activities among the Tamil workers and approaches of trade unions towards Tamil workers and their in-migration. All these schedules contained certain questions to evaluate the social relationships of Tamil workers and other groups.

Analysis of Data

For analytical purposes, the study has made use of various mathematical and statistical tools as well as techniques. Being a descriptive one, and since the simple statistical tools like percentages, ratios, averages, standard deviation etc., are proved to be sufficient to attain the objectives of the study, such tools have been extensively used for analysis. Further, for studying interdependence of different variables the study has also used chi-square tests and ANOVA as and where needed. Similarly, charts, graphs, diagrams etc are also used to make the presentation more clear. For analytical purpose “Microsoft Excel, Statistica” software programme has been made use of.

Limitations of the Study

- Collection of primary data from Tamil workers was a difficult task. Many of them were suspicious and fearful about the objectives and the outcomes of the results of providing accurate information.

- Language was another barrier. Even though there were persons to interpret the schedules in their own language, the differences in understanding may have affected their disclosure of facts and ultimately the findings of the study.

- It has taken more than one year for collecting data from Tamil workers. The time lag in the data collection from the first person and the last person may affect certain figures and lead to wrong comparison.

- For the best evaluation of the impact of in-migration, a comparative study of the in-migrants with that of non-migrants in their own nativity should be made.

- In India no offices keep data or records in connection with interstate movements. Thus detailed information about interstate migration or interstate migrants is not available, which compels to depend on the migration tables of the census for secondary data. But it would take a lot of time for publishing the Census data, especially those concerned with migration. Thus sample frame for the study is designed on the basis of Migration Tables of 1991 Census.

- In addition to these specific limitations, the study suffers from most of the limitations inherent in the social survey type of research.

Presentation of the Study

For the purpose of presentation, the study is divided in to nine chapters, such as: -

Chapter 1. Introduction: This chapter introduces the subject of the study, explains objectives, hypothesis, scope, coverage and importance, methodology and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2. Review of Literature: In order to have a theoretical and conceptual base to the work, this chapter provides a review of relevant available literature on the subject.

Chapter 3. Labour Markets of Kerala and Tamil Nadu - A Comparison: Since it is from Tamil Nadu the workers come to Kerala for employment purposes, the chapter compares and provides in a nutshell the different labour market features of these two states, including wage rates.

Chapter 4. Malappuram: The District of Destination: This chapter presents the basic information about the area of study and deals with various socio-economic, demographic as well as labour market features of the district.

Chapter 5. Tamil Workers in Malappuram District – A Socio-Demographic Profile: In this chapter various socio-demographic aspects; reasons for migration, living conditions of Tamil workers are discussed.

Chapter 6. Impact of In-migration upon Employment Income and Other Economic Aspects: Information in connection with their present employment, wages, income, savings, remittances, impact on assets and liabilities and other information related with employment, income etc are presented in this chapter.

Chapter 7. Tamil workers and Their Trade Union Involvement: This chapter deals with the workers' attachment with trade unions, their nativity, and their future plans.

Chapter 8. Tamil workers and Other Co-players in the Labour Market: Evaluation of the perceptions of various groups in the labour market was one of the objectives of the study and this chapter highlights evaluation of local workers, employers and trade union leaders about Tamil workers and their impact upon the labour market.

Chapter 9. Summary, Findings and Suggestions: This chapter is the abridged form of the work contains findings, suggestions and areas for further study as well as provides a glimpse into the study.

**INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT OF TAMIL WORKERS IN
KERALA - A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
MALAPPURAM DISTRICT**

Thesis submitted to the
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN COMMERCE

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Migration is an essential condition for the existence of human life and thus it existed in the past throughout human life, exists in the present, and will continue in the future also, in one or other form, overcoming all the barriers, whether it be natural or artificial created to curb or control it. It is an important phenomenon touching almost all aspects of life – social, economical, political, cultural, health and hygiene. Thus, several studies have been made and vast literatures exist in this area. This chapter deals with review of earlier studies and literatures related with the topic, so as to provide it with a firm basis. The reviews are arranged in six parts on the basis of studies made at (i) International Level (ii) National Level (iii) Tamil Nadu state level (iv) Kerala state level (v) Inter-state studies dealing with the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu and (vi) Malappuram District level.

International Level Studies

Kannan, C.T. (1978)¹, conducted a study of cultural adaptation of young people and their parents of Asian immigrants of Britain and found that cultural integration existed among the first generation immigrants; cultural assimilation in the case of second-generation immigrants and their children but complete neglect of their tradition and culture in the case of third generation immigrants and the younger people. Thus, according to him, migration leads to cultural assimilation.

Shekhar Mukherjee (1981)² presented a brief analysis of historical forces and constraints, which have created underdevelopment, spatial disarticulation and spatial organisation in South and South East Asia. According to him migration is the result of economic inequality and creates negative effect upon the origin through labour drain. Thus in order to reduce inequality, migration and its

negative effects, he recommended for integration of demographic, social and economic planning within the framework of the regional planning.

Ralph R. Sell's (1983)³ study based on U.S. Annual Housing Survey 1973-78 found that the number of migrants in search of job has declined while migration due to job related transfers has increased – i.e. a reduction in the market direct mobility, however, both forms of migration exist among all income, education and age groups.

Adams, R.H. (1992)⁴, studied the effects of external as well as internal remittances on income distribution, asset accumulation and inequality in rural areas of Pakistan. The study found that internal remittances were mainly received by lower income groups and were mainly used for day-to-day requirements. Thus, the effect of internal remittance on overall income inequality was very much limited. But, external remittances were mainly received by upper income groups and it played an important role in income inequality.

Beret Helene Vandemb (1995)⁵ explained the role of women in migration, the importance of family ties, the contextual causes of migration and the characteristics of migration flows based on narratives, through the story of “Amma”. According to him narratives based on stories of individuals explain individual behaviour in relation to the structural forces and has an important place in the study of Third World Migration.

Ashok Swain's (1996)⁶ study dealt with mass migration from the developing countries to the developed countries due to environmental catastrophes; the hostile attitude of receiving countries and the resultant conflicts in the developing countries. According to him the major reason for such migration is the environmental exploiters in the developing countries and such mass migration has become a threat to the peace and security of many developing

nations. Thus, according to him, efforts should be taken to control environmental deconstruction, giving adherence to sustainable development, which can reduce migration and for that purpose development planning should be undertaken after incorporating migration, external assistance and population planning.

Jisuk Chun (1996)⁷, in his study of the causal relationship between migration and employment changes, causes and consequences of migration, found that both employment and migration affect each other, but the effect of employment on net migration is stronger than that of the vice versa. According to him, economic factors like employment and investment opportunities are the most important determinants of migration and migration is a means of achieving economic efficiency and equality.

Bruce New Bold, K. (1997)⁸, analysed major migration streams, migration rates, and net migration for blacks and whites in U.S, to study the primary, return and onward interstate migration pattern for each category. He found that the migration pattern of blacks resembles to that of the whites, but return migration was higher among blacks, and their onward migration rates were also lower.

Prabhat Patnaik and Chandra Sekhar's (1998)⁹ study deals with international migration in the contest of liberalisation. According to them, if there is a labour scarcity, advanced countries allow immigrants from backward countries; while in times of recessions they turn against migrants propagating that immigrants steal jobs, creating a feeling of frustration among the immigrants. They argue that, liberalisation denies migrants even the solace of imagining that there is a "home country" where their role, contribution, or money they send are being appreciated and where they would be welcomed back as valued citizens.

UNAIDS and IOM's (1998)¹⁰ combined study revealed that separation from family and social, cultural norms; isolation/loneliness, more sexual freedom, and inadequate financial resources make migrants more vulnerable to adopting high risk sexual behaviour, along with the living and working conditions of poverty, powerlessness and social instability make them more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. The study found that there are chances of infection on migration, transit, and on return; illegal and undocumented migrants have the least access to health and other medical facilities.

Brockerhoof and Biddlecom (1999)¹¹, through a similar study conducted in Kenya argued that migrants in rural and urban areas are more likely to practice unsafe sex or high-risk sex, and the belief that migration can contribute to increase in the incidence and spread of HIV/AIDS has led to imposition of some travel restriction on the infected.

Edward Taylor, J. (1999)¹², studied the determinants and impact of remittances on migrant sending areas. He found that inflows of remittances in to the sending economies are large but its influence is overlooked. Further, the economic environments that encourage out-migration also limit the potentials for migrant remittances to stimulate development in sending areas. According to him migration is not a panacea or a substitute for good economic policies.

Chin, K.L (1999)¹³, in his study dealing with the illegal emigration and emigrants of Chinese in to the United States observed that, even though globalisation has led to free movement of goods, but it has not lifted the constraints on the mobility of labour, especially from less developed countries, and this has led to a new type of business – smuggling of migrants. The study recommended to the Chinese Government to allow freedom to its citizens to travel abroad.

Nadeem Ilahi (1999)¹⁴, in his study of job preferences of Pakistani international return migrants, found that those having higher savings opted for

self-employment and others opted wage-employment, and age or retirement from local labour market does not appear to influence their choices. According to him international migration and return help in the development of small businesses with the capital mobilised through the accumulation of over-seas savings.

Nasra M Shah and Indu Menon (1999)¹⁵ studied the process of arranging sponsorship works and getting visas in Kuwait and found that social network of friends and relatives has an important role in this migration process.

Christian Dustmann (1999)¹⁶ examined acquisition of language fluency of the host labour market found that the migrants who plan to remain longer in the host country try to acquire fluency than who plan to remain for a short period.

Insan Tunali (2000)¹⁷ studied the linkage between migration and earnings to examine the implication of rationality in migration. According to him, based on the data collected from internal migrants in Turkey, both migrants and non-migrants chose the option in which they had comparative advantage; but the estimated gain from migration is negative for a major part of migrants and minority realised very high returns, thus migration decisions are a risky undertaking or a lottery.

Janet Dobson and John Still Well (2000)¹⁸ explained the magnitude and geography of internal and international child migration in Britain in 1990s. They criticised for neglecting the problems of child migrants by researchers and requested to focus more attention and research on the relationship between child migration and school systems.

Assaf Razin and Efraim Sadka (2000)¹⁹ studied impact of unskilled migration in a welfare state and found that if the economy has a good access to

international capital markets; migration is beneficial to all income and all age groups.

John Stillwell et. al (2000)²⁰, in their study of inter-provincial migration of Spain found an increasing trend in short distance migration and a declining trend in long distance migration. Further, they found that majority of migrants were in the working age group and the peak migration probability was persons aged 26. According to them internal migration has helped to reshape the nation's population distribution.

Elmar Honekopp and Hienz Werner (2000)²¹, through the use of migration determinants and analysing the previous experiences of member countries of European Union tried to forecast the migration pattern that may result from the forthcoming eastward enlargement and the effect on the labour market of the Union. According to them the major reason for migration is the economic imbalance and since the disparity between member countries is negligible, the fear of large-scale migration is wrong. But inequality that exists between some of the member-countries may encourage migration.

Maritsa V Poros (2001)²², on the basis of life histories of Gujarati Indian migrants in New York and London, studied the importance and role of specific configuration net work ties in migration flows and occupational pattern; found that network ties like organisational and community relationships, interpersonal ties like friendship etc have an important role in migration and availability of employment at the destination.

Mansell, Ralph, Prothereo (2001)²³, on the basis of the data of earlier studies in different countries, including two studies conducted in India – one in Rameswaram of Tamil Nadu, explained how the movement of people in different forms and quantities influence in transmission of malaria, spreading it; infection and exposing non-immune people to the risk of infection, as well

as complicating the measures for control of malaria, taken in this respect by the sending and receiving regions.

Bell, M, Blake et. al (2002)²⁴, compared the internal migrations in Australia and Britain in the early 1980s and 1990s, and found that the Australians have higher propensity to migrate; migration distance in Australia is longer than that of Britain and frictional effect of distance on migration is lower. But migration effectiveness is higher in Britain than in Australia and migration in Australia generates greater re-distribution of population because of higher intensity.

Carlos R Azzoni et. al (2002)²⁵ analysed wage inequality in different regions of Brazil and found that cost of living index, education, region, experience as well as race contributed for wage differences.

Adappa Sathyanarayana (2002)²⁶ presented an analysis of the pattern of mobility of Tamil and Telugu speaking manual and unskilled labourers to Malay and Burma during the 19th and 20th centuries. According to him there existed both free and unfree migration situations during this period and it is difficult to differentiate between free or unfree because, different types and streams of migrations co-existed depending upon the strategies of employers, government, and labourers themselves, and the migrants were free or unfree. He argued that this migration provided an opportunity for upward social mobility that was denied to the lower castes and communities in their native land.

Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah (2002)²⁷ examined the relationship between migration and economic development in Sri Lanka as well as the socio-economic context in which migration and development took place. According to him, remittances from migrants to the Sri Lankan economy is an important part of foreign exchange earnings and remittances have played and will play an important role in household development and local economies in labour sending regions.

Nicholas Walter et. al (2002)²⁸ studied the relationship between the social context and the occupational injury of the undocumented day labourers' (illegal migrants from Mexico and Central America in San Francisco) and how this social context influences their experience of disability. According to the study the day labourers' work in the destination is in dangerous settings due to factors like lack of training, inadequate safety equipment etc. Moreover, economic pressures increased the risk of work injury. According to him, this increased risk and consequent work injury has severe emotional, social and economic ramifications upon migrants. Despite high incidence of work injuries and prevalence of work related health conditions, these day labourers are reluctant to use health services due to the anxiety regarding immigration status, communication barriers and economic pressures.

De Haan et. al (2002)²⁹, study shows that, even though, the migration pattern in the West African region is mainly caused by environmental factors, social norms determined the persons to be migrated and the persons to be benefited. Similarly, household and kinship network structure provided migrants independence to move by retaining them in the net work.

Clare Waddington (2003)³⁰, on the basis of previous literatures concluded that most of the migrations are undertaken for a more secured livelihood, and have led to reduction in poverty and inequality as well as for educational improvement of children of migrants. According to him remittance is a major source of income to the migrant households for their daily requirements as well as for accumulation. But, sometimes migration, which is due to vulnerability, may further increase vulnerability.

Carlota Sole et. al (2003)³¹ conducted a study on discrimination against immigrant workers and analysed the various factors that perpetuated racial discrimination in Spanish labour market. The study found that there exist

negative discrimination against non-European Union immigrants in terms of access to job, working conditions, wages, behaviour etc., and the conditions of immigrants are very vulnerable. The study also disclosed that the claims of employers, trade union leaders and that of the government also, that there is no discrimination against immigrants, are false. According to him, native workers consider migrants as competitors in the labour market as well as intruders and, thus, they are against the immigrants.

Timothy J. Haton and Jeffrey G. Williamson (2003)³² examined the size and features of migration within and out of Africa. According to them, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, differences in wage rates and population pressure were the major reasons for out migration to Europe in nineteenth centuries.

Krishna C. Poudel et. al (2003)³³, attempted to measure HIV and syphilis infection as well as to assess the behavioural risk factors responsible for infection among migrant-returnees and non-migrants in far Western Nepal. The study found that, migrant returnees from Mumbai were engaging in pre-or extra marital sex and sex with multiple partners, including sex workers. This causes for high incidence of HIV and syphilis among the male migrant returnees in the study area.

Ashish Bose (2003)³⁴ has explained the various difficulties faced by the international migrant women workers in their host countries, especially that of sex exploitation and the role of NGOs in rehabilitating these victims.

Sruti Chaganti (2004)³⁵, based on previous literatures argued that, both inter-state and international labour migration (especially illegal) from the third world leads to the creation of cheap labour economies in the first world, leading to depression in wage rates through out the world. According to her, the attitudes of trade unions towards migrants help employers to exploit these docile labourers.

Eric R Jensen, and Dennis A. Ahlburg's (2004)³⁶ study on the impact of migration on fertility found that employments after migration had considerable impact on fertility and lead to decline fertility, but the impact of unpaid job on fertility was lower.

Ivan Wolffers et. al (2004)³⁷, study on working conditions, access to health care and factors affecting vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, found that the laws and regulations of the destination and availability of a commercial sex sector, determined the sexual behaviour of migrants. Further, the sexual freedom on account of migration and “migrant identity” developed in the destination makes them more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS.

Lois Labrianidin et. al (2004)³⁸ conducted cost benefit analysis of Albanian immigrants in Greece, and compared with the outflow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from Greece to Albania. According to them both inflow of immigrants and outflow of FDI are the two sides of the same coin, reflecting the search of cheaper labour. According to them both migration and FDI constitute potentially positive developments, which turn either into a blessing or a curse for the society as well as to the economy.

Cindy Fan, C. (2005)³⁹, by analysing the inter-provincial migration data from China's 1990 and 2000 censuses claimed that migration is an important and effective factor of population re-distribution and it depends upon regional development. According to him until recently, migration had little role to play in China, but regional divergence in economic development during 1990s led to an increase in inter-provincial migration, especially from the relatively poor central and western provinces to the rapidly growing eastern regions.

Michael A. Quinn (2005)⁴⁰ studied remittances, consumption and saving patterns of Mexican migrants in United States and found that the migrants'

remittances and savings behaviour is responsive to the relative rate of returns on the savings of migrants as well as that of households at the home i.e., migrants remit more and save less when the households' rate of return on savings rises or the migrants returns falls.

Selvaraj Velayuthan and Amanda Wise (2005)⁴¹, based on the case study of migrants in Singapore from Soorapallam village of Tamil Nadu, argued that the “Musugentha Vellalars” a prominent migrant caste, migrated after 1950s, still follow the customs, traditions and rituals as they followed in their home village and may continue this translocal village relation for more generations.

Seong Woo Lee, Dowell Myers et. al (2005)⁴², analysed the determinants and consequences of international migration by comparing the residential well being of Korean International migrants in U.S.A., with that of their hypothetical well-being if they had not migrated. The study found that international migration has created better opportunities for house ownership than staying in Korea does especially for women.

National Level Studies

Gore, M.S. (1970)⁴³, observed that Hindi speaking migrant workers in Mumbai received a wide variety of help from their friends and relatives, which in turn, and indicated that the entire process of this migration was much more family-village based.

Lakshmana Rao, G. (1973)⁴⁴ studied political and trade union attachment of migrant workers and found that migrants have to face new social and occupational environment at destination, including with new friends and neighbours. They have to undertake new occupation hitherto unknown to them but, friends and relatives help the new one in getting job and accommodation

facilities. Similarly, depending upon his occupation and friendship, he has to join a labour union or professional or trade association.

Gosal, G.S and Krishnan, G. (1975)⁴⁵, examined the magnitude, patterns of migration, identified the areas of in and out-migration, and predicted the future migration trends on the basis of census data. According to them labour mobility in India was limited on account of various socio-economic and cultural reasons, but due to economic and educational development people are becoming more mobile, while increase in the native labour force and the “son of soil argument” create hindrances to such movements. The study found that the areas of origin to be the areas of low per capita agricultural productivity due to high population density, small size of holdings and over dependence on agriculture. According to them, the coastal tract of Tamil Nadu is one of such region, and considered the Tamils as one of the Indian communities having the enterprising spirit to migrate. The study provides a geographical perspective of migration in India.

Oberoi A.S. and Manmohan Singh, H.K (1983)⁴⁶, examined the functions of migration in the transformation of rural and urban economies and the effect of migration on production and productivity, technological change, population growth, employment and unemployment, and income distribution between and within rural and urban areas of Punjab. It was found that out migration from rural areas was higher than that of in-migration and return migration. This migration, dominated by upper caste and educated individuals, has resulted in the depletion of human capital as well as increase in population of lower castes in the rural areas but it is compensated by inflow of remittances. However, emigration has not adversely affected the adoption of high yielding varieties technology.

Sidhu A.S. et. al (1984)⁴⁷, study in four districts of Punjab found that majority of migrants belonged to the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and a small

percentage from Nepal, who were migrated due to poverty, unemployment and low wages. These migrants were in the age group of below forty, low castes, barely educated, indebted and from large families. According to them, majority of locals believe that influx of migrants has created bad economic and working conditions, depression in wages and employment opportunities

Indermit Gill (1984)⁴⁸ examined the causes and patterns of in-migration, method of recruitment etc. to Jallander district of Punjab from Champaran in Bihar. He found that wage difference was the major attraction for in-migration. Emigration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers from Jallandar has resulted in short supply of native labour, and large inflow remittances created further demand for construction workers, which led to the mass in-migration. Petty contractors recruited migrants. According to him the major reason for in-migration is the existence of labour surplus region and absence of serious barriers to mobility.

Fernandes Walter and Geeta Menon's (1987)⁴⁹ study focused on the impact of tribal male migration on their women at home in Ganjan District of Orissa and found that women of these male migrants stayed at home due to social obligations and on return of the male migrants who become "modern" desert their wives leading to instability in married life and family relations. But, according to them changes have taken place and now and the entire family participates in migration.

Raju, B.K.R (1987)⁵⁰, analysed the socio-economic background, migratory process and adjustmental problems of migrants from Godavary district of Andhra Pradesh to the Tungabhadra Project area in the state of Karnataka. He found that the migration is for economic betterment and selective; economic motivation and kinship played an important role in migration. According to him, migration has also led to certain social vices like alcohol drinking, gambling etc.

Gupta, A.K. (1988)⁵¹ studied the socio-economic characteristics of migrants in different district of Punjab and found that majority of migrants are middle caste Hindus, illiterates and indebted agricultural workers possessing some land; migrated for better employment, wages, security and food, and belonged the states of Utter Pradesh and Bihar. According to him there exists discrimination in wage payment, food, behaviour and work allotment between the local and migrant labourers. Further, migration has caused for discontent among the locals on account of reduction in wages and employment opportunities as well as social tension between locals and in-migrant workers. Similarly social interactions and participations between the host and guest were also limited.

Arjun Patel's (1988)⁵² study dealt with the conditions of migrant workers in Gujarat and claimed that the migrant labour gets absorbed in the secondary labour market only with low wages, without job security and promotional opportunities. The study found that the working conditions of migrants are very bad, they have no fixed working time and they are not allowed entry into the primary labour markets.

Kamaljit Singh's (1990)⁵³ study of migrants in Patiala district of Punjab has found that internal migration has a significant role in economic development and has contributed much in modernisation of agriculture; but it has led to increase child labour in low-paid informal sector. According to him remittance formed a major source of livelihood to the migrant households. He requested both the central and state governments to frame appropriate policies, which would take a long view of migration and integrate it as an important component of development strategy.

Jagdish Singh (1991)⁵⁴, based on previous literatures on migration and urbanisation, examined the various problems of migration up on the destination and living conditions. According to him overcrowding in cities on account of

migration can be reduced through creation of employment opportunities in the village itself to the surplus labour force of the village as well as integrating the cities with rural areas with good transport and communication system.

Manjit Singh's (1995)⁵⁵ study shows that the main reason for migration of rural labourers from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh is the uneven development in agriculture. He claims that people will migrate from less developed to comparatively developed areas.

Bora, R.S. (1996)⁵⁶ studied the causes and consequences of out migration from the hilly regions of Uttar Pradesh, and found that both push and pull factors were responsible for out-migration, but push factors are stronger than that of the pull factors. According to him out-migration of relatively younger male members has adversely affected the economy at the household as well as at the regional level and various developmental programmes carried out in these regions have not resulted in limiting out migration.

Mehta, G.S. (1996)⁵⁷, examined the pattern of employment and earning structure of migrants and non-migrants in different types of establishments, economic sectors and occupations in Kanpur city. He found that employment, earnings and status of migrants are better than that of non-migrants; migrants are more or less concentrated on highly remunerative jobs and are more active, more resourceful than non-migrants, which helped them to earn more. Further, total earnings of migrants through out their working career is much higher than the non-migrants.

Amithabh Kundu and Shalini Gupta (1996)⁵⁸, assessed migration pattern and mobility of people in different parts of India on the basis of census data 1961-81 and found that labour mobility after independence has declined. According to them, this decline can be due to the various developmental

measures adopted by respective state governments as well as development of cities in their own states.

Manjit Singh (1997)⁵⁹ explained the methods of recruitment, systems of wage payment and maltreatment of the Bihar migrants in Punjab. According to him, these migrants are recruited like indentured labourers and are treated as bonded labourers, who get meagre amount as wages, which is very lower than that of the minimum wages. Various laws like The Inter-state Migrants Workmen Act 1979, The Bonded Labour (Abolition) Act 1976, The Minimum Wages Act 1948, The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986 etc., are violated in the case of these migrants. According to him uneven development between these states is the major reason for migration.

Kishor, C. Samal et. al (1998)⁶⁰, analysed the role played by geographical distance between origin and destination in migration and migrants' link with their nativity in the case of migrants working in informal sector (i.e. establishment and non-establishment, rickshaw pulling and construction) of Rourkela and Bhubaneswar. According to them migrants maintain link with nativity through visits and remittances; there is an inverse relationship between distance and frequency of visit and a negative relationship between distance and length of stay.

Yadava, K.N.S and Surendra Yadava (1998)⁶¹ studied the effect of migration on development of households in villages around Varanasi city in Uttar Pradesh. The study found that commutation and migration has its own beneficial effects in raising the socio-economic status of rural households, and migrants lead a better quality of life than those of non-migrants or non-commuters of this region.

Topal, Y.S. et. al (1999)⁶² found that unemployment, lack of alternative sources of livelihood, insufficient cultivable land, poor farm productivity and

inaccessible infra-structure facilities; support of kith and kin, access to modernity and the better quality life etc are the causes of out-migration from different villages of Kinaur hills. According to the study, migration has helped to maintain sustainability in the study area but has led to decline on traditional/indigenous practices, scarcity of labourers, disappearance of the traditional institutions that have the elements of sustainability and emergence of market economy characterised by uncertainty and risks.

Joshi, S.C. (1999)⁶³ has made a sociological analysis of various facets of migration including problems of adjustment and maintenance of cultural identity of Kumaoni migrants in Delhi. According to him majority of migrants belongs to the middle age group, married, high-caste Brahmins, concentrated mainly in lower strata employment (class iv); migrated mainly on account of “call by friends and relatives” in addition to financial crisis and unemployment. The study found that migrants were satisfied with their job and high-level interaction among the migrants but low-level interaction with locals as well as deviant behaviour among majority of the migrants. According to him migrants maintain strong social and kin networks at the destination and migration leads to changes in the receiving society as well as in the society of origin.

Ben Rogaly (1999)⁶⁴ studied the inter-relationship between growth in agricultural output and changes in agrarian structure - considering seasonal migration of agricultural workers as an element of the structure. The study found that seasonal migration has led to changes in the structure of social and economic relations that are determined and based on caste, class and religious factors.

Krishan Chand (2000)⁶⁵ focused his study on the problems and prospects of migratory labour in relation to the trade union movement, with special reference to sugar industry in Punjab. Migrant labourers, local workers, trade union leaders and management personnel came under the purview of this study

and found that majority of the migrants belonged to the age group of 10-30 years, migrated due to economic problems and low income from different states including Kerala. According to him there is no any discrimination towards migrants; the conception of local workers and migrant workers about trade unions was more or less the same, but locals participated actively in union activities than that of migrant workers. Further, migrants have resulted in the reduction of employment opportunities and wage levels of locals, but there exist good relationship between the migrants and local workers.

Neela Mukherjee (2001)⁶⁶ explained the reasons for migration and difficulties faced by the poor, landless women who migrated from different district of West Bengal to Delhi. Loss of employment in the traditional sector forced them to migrate to Delhi where they are engaged in household works. Little earnings, worry about dear and near in the nativity, high travelling expenses are the important problems faced by these women. According to her the socio-economic development process of West Bengal has not been broad-based for productive absorption of the growing labour force and for creating sustainable livelihood opportunities for the landless, which compelled them to migrate.

Ben Rogaly, et. al (2001)⁶⁷ conducted a study on seasonal migrants in South West Bengal to ascertain the socio-economic changes due to migration and found that migration has led to reduce seasonal shortage of workers, exerted indirect pressure on local labourers to comply with working conditions. According to them migration has led to women empowerment, removal of untouchability as well as workers have got independence from rajahs (land lords). At the same time it has led to conspicuous consumption, loss of various helps and benefits which they got from government agencies as well as emergence of various problem on the education of their children

Kanchan Chopra et. al (2001)⁶⁸ evaluated the influence of environmental degradation and delineation of common property rights on distress migration

from rural areas. On the basis of data collected from different villages in Udaipur district, they found that environmental degradation and delineation of common property rights lead to distress migration. The study recommend for proper intervention of NGOs and the government itself, to create common property rights/resources in order to reduce distress migration from rural areas.

De Haan's (2002)⁶⁹ study is a historical perspective of migration from Bihar and observed that earlier migration from this area was not due to underdevelopment, but actually development contributed to out-migrate and the remittances helped to maintain high population density, reinforcing high out-migration and high population density each other. Similarly, earlier migrations were not distressed ones, but were a family strategy of “serving” elsewhere and both rich and poor undertook migration during this period.

Mosses, et. al (2002)⁷⁰, study on the tribal ‘bhil’ migrants of Western India found that poorer families are more likely to migrate altogether; where as individual adults will migrate from richer households and send remittances to support their family. The study highlighted vulnerable condition and exploitation of migrants in the host region.

Priya Deshingkar and Start, D. (2003)⁷¹, observed that even though millions of poor labourers migrate seasonally or circulate for the best part of the year, the Indian policies to protect them are inadequate. Thus migrants are not entitled to livelihood support system and formal welfare schemes implemented by government. Similarly, they do not receive full wages and women and children are the most affected by lack of access to basic facilities. But, according to them the accumulative strategies of sugar cane cutters, earth workers and agricultural labourers from Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh migrants have been able to save enough to invest in agriculture and their children's education.

Neetha, N. (2004)⁷² highlighted the primary role and functions of women in migration and survival of their family. The study on domestic workers in Delhi found the existence of wide social networks among them. According to her Tamil Nadu has an important place in sending women to household works in Delhi. Districts like Virudhunagar, Thiruvannamalai, Thirunelveli etc are the main catchments.

Roy Burman, J.J. and Rajib Das (2004)⁷³, observed that many of the migrants from within Maharashtra, have set up well-established associations in Mumbai, which save them from the feeling alienation in the destination. Initially these associations were formed on village based voluntary associations and later on they have developed in to supra-village level. Similarly, caste/community based organisations have started to set up new self-help groups, try to expand their social status and undertake various welfare programmes in their villages.

Prabhu Ghatte (2005)⁷⁴ analysed the relative features of different methods of sending remittance facilities used by Oriyan migrants in the Gandhidham area of Gujarat and claimed that if the number of migrants from a particular area of origin reaches a critical minimum in a particular destination, it is feasible to form a Micro-Finance Institution (MFI) to provide remittance services sustainably by establishing presence in both areas.

Thelma Paris, et. al (2005)⁷⁵, evaluated the consequences of male out migration on the livelihood of rice-farming households in the place of origin and on women left behind in three districts Uttar Pradesh. The study found that out-migration has increased income of households, remittances form a major part of the village income, which is used mainly for daily requirements and to purchase agricultural inputs and also for construction of houses. According to them male out-migration has led to empowerment of female in the village but

lack of their technical know-how in the field of agriculture along with scarcity of labourers has adversely affected agriculture.

Tamil Nadu State Level Studies

Kamble, N.D (1982)⁷⁶, attempted to study the volume, duration of stay, employment pattern and age, educational and occupational aspects of intra-state migration and migrants in Madras city. He found that the major part of Tamil migrants was working at lower strata while outsiders keep higher-level positions.

Narayanan Nair, K. et. al (1984)⁷⁷, examined the educational level, employment and land holding pattern of Kadathucherry village in Kanyakumari district of Tamil Nadu and found that this Harijan village has attained universal literacy, agricultural is their main livelihood, with limited opportunities in other sectors, unemployment is a problem which has been overcome by out-migration.

Leela Kasturi (1990)⁷⁸ conducted a detailed study of Tamil migrant workers dwelling in the city of Delhi. According to her Tamilians are the largest single group of South Indian living in the Delhi slums and are more popular as domestic servants in resident areas. The study found that most of the migrants are from the districts of Salem and Madurai, migrated with economic motives, accompanied by their husbands or parents or immediate relatives and migration has improved their economic conditions and has also changed their life styles, but they still follow their caste culture and values.

Ravindra K. Jain (1993)⁷⁹ explained the method of recruitment, the pathetic conditions and the reasons for empty-handed return of the indentured Tamil labour migrants, who were recruited by the *kanganis* during 1840-1938. According to him most of these workers were landless agricultural workers (serfs) belonging to backward untouchable castes. They were subject to severe

exploitations by the Brahmins or high castes *kanganis*, who acted as agents of control of Tamil labourers both on work and off-work situations. Low wages, scarcity of food and other essential items etc, resulted in a vicious cycle of poverty along with exploitation, bad living conditions in the camp, they were forced to return without much savings.

Girija, P.L.T (1995)⁸⁰, analysed the socio-economic background, method of recruitment, working and living conditions, exploitations and occupational hazards of women construction workers in Madras city. The study found that, the method of recruitment varied according to the sizes of activity carried on. Labour contractors, *maistries*, sub-contractors etc. were the agents of recruitment. Wage rates of migrant workers as well as workers attached to contractors were very low and they provided 'forced labour', who were more or less bonded labourers without fixed working time or rest or overtime payment and their. Living conditions of these migrant workers is very bad, lived in the site itself and have to suffer very much in the rainy season. According to her, most of these migrant workers belong to backward communities and are illiterate. Strict supervision and sexual harassment by *maistries* and even outsiders are common.

Madhukar Pai, et. al (1997)⁸¹, by analysing conditions a group of migrants in Vellore district of Tamil Nadu examined the role played by migrants in transmission of Malaria. The study raised some of the social and ethical issues in the health care of migrants and highlighted the need to consider migrants as vulnerable, high-risk people with unique need of health care. The study deals with the social and human problems connected with migration.

Meena Gopal's (2001)⁸² study shows that low wage rates in Tamil Nadu have led to the in-migration of *beedi* industries in to the state. The study further reveals that, even though these low paid female *beedi* workers are severely

exploited, it has helped them to improve their status within their homes and society.

Sundari, S. (2005)⁸³ studied the trends, patterns and nature, factors that led to migration and earnings of female migrant workers in Tamil Nadu and found that unemployment due to drought in the area of origin and favourable employment opportunities that existed in the destination are the major reasons for migration. According to her migration has led to increase self-employment and regular salaried jobs for women and to avoid hunger and starvation deaths.

Kerala State Level Studies

Michael Tharakan, P.K. (1976)⁸⁴ has made an analysis of the causes and consequences of migration that has taken place in Kerala during 1930-60. According to him a large number of peasants, especially belonging to Syrian Catholic community has migrated from Travancore region to various hilly parts of Malabar. The study found that increase in the pressure of cultivable land due to increase in population, commercial development of agriculture in Travancore and availability of plenty of land in Malabar were the reasons for the migration.

Raju Kurien (1978)⁸⁵ analysed the consequences and pattern of *Malayali* migration into gulf. According to him high man-land ratio, population density, industrial backwardness, unemployment and educational improvement were the major reasons of emigration. The study revealed majority of emigrants were unskilled and less educated and their income and employment pattern in destination depended on their education. Further, remittances have improved income and living standards, changed consumption pattern of dependents, led to increase in price level, bank deposits and regional inequality. According to him, remittances instead of using for productive purposes are used for

acquiring land and construction of buildings, which has led to increase prices of land and wages.

Vinod Kamble (1983)⁸⁶ analysed gross and net volume of migration, type and direction, educational level and employment pattern of migrants of Kerala. According to him, employment is the main reason for migration and migration has led to economic development of the state. He is also of the opinion that major part of remittances was utilised for conspicuous consumption, which has led to increase in general price level. In his view Keralites are more dynamic, courageous to take risk of migrating to elsewhere and adjusting to the new environment, which seems to be lacking in the most of the states in India.

Joseph, K.V. (1988)⁸⁷ studied the intra-state and inter-state migration pattern of Keralites and the consequences upon the state's economy. He examined the peasant migration that took during the period before and after the formation of Kerala state that came to an end, changing the pattern of migration to industrial and urban areas. According to him population pressure on land coupled with unemployment was the main reason for peasant migration and migrants included skilled, unskilled and professionally qualified persons. On the basis of the study he claimed that an independent peasantry with absolute rights in land is a pre-condition for growth.

Kannan, K.P. (1988)⁸⁸ studied the different stages in proletarian class formation of different categories of rural workers of Kerala through the examination of various conditions and positions before and after the class formation and the impact of collective action. He claimed that labour organisations and unions have led to improve the socio-economic conditions of workers, but at the same time, it has led to changes in employer-employee relationship and crop pattern; reduction of employment opportunities in the state and import of workers from Tamil Nadu.

Lekshmidharan, E.N. (1988)⁸⁹ conducted an analytical study of trade union movement in Kerala after 1947 and examined the industrial backwardness of Kerala with reference to labour militancy. He observed that labour militancy is only a factor and there exist several equally responsible factors for industrial backwardness; multiplicity of unions and political attachment along with their objectionable methods for securing maximum economic benefit to their members has deteriorated the standards of trade union.

Gopinathan Nair, P.R. (1989)⁹⁰ examined the relative importance of gulf migration in the economy of Kerala and found that the migration of labour and foreign remittances neither has helped in the growth process of the state economy nor has lead to increase production activities. But it has led to the development of construction and tertiary sector including banking, insurance as well as private non-banking institutions. According to him migration had very little impact upon the overall labour market conditions and in the reduction of unemployment. But, at the same time withdrawal of semi-skilled, skilled construction workers has created short supply of labourers and increased construction activities has created high demand for labourers leading to an increase in wage rates and in-migration of workers from Tamil Nadu. In order to take advantage of the foreign currency and channelise to economic activities, he recommended, incorporating planning activities with remittances and rehabilitation of returnees.

Shaji K. Francis (1990)⁹¹, based on Kuttanad region of Kerala, analysed the special nature of the Kerala labour market - coexistence of severe shortage of labourers and rampant unemployment. According to him the raising up of the reserve price of a section of labourers due to rise in educational level, improvement in living conditions, reduction in poverty and inequality, redistribution of land, demographic factors etc., are the reasons for such a situation. But the most important is the reduction in the work participation of

youth, especially educated, who wish to remain idle than to work in paddy fields. This notional shortage of labourers has led to seasonal migration of labourers from neighbouring areas and mechanisation of farming operations. He also found that labour militancy has considerably declined in the region.

Leela Gulati's (1993)⁹² study is related with impact of male migration from Kerala upon their female folk. According to her, even though male migration has created serious problems and difficulties upon women, it has led to their empowerment and they have succeeded in family administration, both in economic and non-economic aspects. She maintains that if proper education was also given to these women, better result could have been achieved.

Thomas Isaac, T.M. (1993)⁹³, studied the economic consequences of large-scale return migration from Kuwait due to the Gulf War. According to him majority of *Malayali* emigrants in Kuwait were relatively better skilled and more matured than that of actual belief. A substantial part of their savings were kept in Kuwait itself and most of these accumulated savings were lost on account of the crisis. Similarly, majority of these returnees face severe economic as well as social problems, unemployment; and were waiting to re-migrate either to Kuwait or any other country.

Solucis Santhapparaj, A. (1994)⁹⁴, studied reasons and patterns of *Malayali* migration to Tamil Nadu on the basis of census data of 1981 and found that the major reasons for migration of Keralites into Tamil Nadu are (a) employment (b) education (c) marriage and (d) family move. Further he found that there is a decreasing trend in migration due to marriage and an increasing trend in migration due to family move.

Jamal Mohammed (1994)⁹⁵ analysed the social and political contributions made by the Gujarati Community to Kerala. According to him these Gujaratis have played an important role in the socio-economic and cultural scenario of

Kerala in the earlier days. They were a prominent class in sea trade and have paid a large amount to the exchequer of the then ruling kings. But on account of the growth of indigenous entrepreneurial class their importance has declined recently.

Anandhy, A. (1994)⁹⁶, in her study of migrants from Nalloor village of Tamil Nadu to brick kilns of Kerala found that prior work experience, low wages at nativity, advance payment received from employers and high wages in Kerala along with favourable working conditions created by trade unions etc., were the various factors that led to seasonal migration. According to her the living conditions of these migrants were miserable and they faced discriminations by the employers.

Saradmoni's (1995)⁹⁷ study dealt with the migrant women workers from Kerala in the fish processing industries at Gujarat. It highlighted the pathetic conditions and various hardships faced by these women and requested to take proper measure to absorb these migrant women workers either in fishing or some allied industries in Kerala itself and/or to improve the living and working conditions of Kerala women working in Gujarat.

Nambiar, A.C.K's (1995)⁹⁸ study also dealt with gulf emigration and return emigration of Keralites, the difficulties faced by them, their socio-economic and political conditions and changes therein, skill acquisition, problems faced by returnees, their rehabilitation etc. According to him there exist discrimination by employers, exploitation by middlemen and severe threat of evacuation on account of supply of cheap labour from other countries.

Gayathri Balagopal (1996)⁹⁹, examined the patterns of intra-state migration of Kerala on the basis of census data of 1961-1981 and found that in short distance internal migration females dominated, while in rural-to-urban migration streams males dominated. Further, social factors were the major

reason for the female migration and economic factors were major reason for the male migration. According to her, even though migrants are better educated, they are low skilled and their professional education enabled them only to get employment in low-skilled professions and services

Jeena, T.S. (1997)¹⁰⁰, analysed the socio-economic characteristics of inter-district migrants and the impact of migration upon agriculture as well as on deforestation. According to her people with less resource, endowments and technical skills migrated for economic betterment to other areas, where land is plenty with less constraint in operating. The study found that in the initial stages, migration was slow but it gained momentum gradually and has led to deforestation as well as changes in the cropping pattern of Kerala.

Thomas Isaac, T.M (1997)¹⁰¹, studied the consequences of out-migration upon the domestic employment situation, impact of remittances upon the economy, problems and prospects of re-integration of returned migrants and implications in the distribution of assets and income. According to him unemployment is the major reason of out-migration; education provided ability to tap employment opportunities outside the state and emigration has resulted in reduction of unemployment, labour shortage, increases of general wage rates and price levels as well as changes in consumption habits and has adversely affected agriculture. But gulf war, supply of labour from other Southeast Asian countries etc. has affected Keralite emigrants adversely.

Shekhar, T.V. (1998)¹⁰², analysed the issues related to gulf emigration and return emigration in the context of the sending community. He found that most of the returnees had no special plans about their future career and this has led to waste of time and money. Thus, according to him, proper guidance to the returnees is essential to utilise their limited savings for productive purposes as well as to help them to enter the labour market.

Zachariah, K.C. et. al (1999)¹⁰³, studied the causes and consequences of migration and return migration and observed that migration is the single most dynamic factor that has contributed much to the socio-economic development of the state. According to them various demographic factors, stagnation in agriculture, accelerated development in the growing economic and employment opportunities in metropolitan as well as in gulf countries were the major reasons for migration. The study shows that Malappuram district has sent the large number of migrants and rehabilitation of return emigrants in the district is a serious problem. The study also found that some return migrants have entered in to the labour market on the basis of skills and experiences acquired on emigration in the form of self-employment, labourers in non-agricultural sectors and in private sector.

Prakash, B.A. (2000)¹⁰⁴, discussed the various socio-economic consequences of return emigration from Gulf countries in the state of Kerala. According to him lack of employment opportunities in gulf is the major reason for return along with minor reasons such as reduction in wage rates, strict enforcement of immigration laws and health problems. Further he stated that the economy is experiencing severe economic recession due to large-scale return.

Ajith Kumar, C.S's (2000)¹⁰⁵ study found that, high educational qualification, satisfactory house-hold income, opposition from parents to do manual work, trying to find self employment or to migrate to gulf etc were the major reasons for the paradoxical situation of Kerala labour market i.e. high rate of unemployment and severe labour shortage.

Joseph, K.V. (2001)¹⁰⁶, claimed that migration from Kerala is of recent origin and before the 20th century, simple mode of life and deep-rooted caste structure hindered spatial and occupational mobility of Keralites. But, economic and educational development transformed Keralites into high mobile people and

within less than hundred years, Keralites have set foot on almost all parts of the world.

Shobhana Warriar, M.V. (2001)¹⁰⁷, studied the work environment, working conditions and the various problems faced by the migrant women workers in fish processing industry in different parts of India. The study found that majority of women migrants belong to the age group of 14-28, from fishing or agricultural labour families of Thiruvananthapuram, Ernakulam and Alappuzha districts of Kerala. These migrant women were recruited through agents or contractors, face serious problems such as long hours of work without rest and in bad working environment and at low wages as well as exploitation and sexual harassment by the management, contractors/agents, and also fellow workmen. The study also highlighted the experience of a group of workers who have demanded and agitated for reduction in working hours - were compulsorily sent away from the factory to Kerala.

Prakash, B.A. et. al (2002)¹⁰⁸, observed that better educational status, vocational training, knowledge of working languages in the cities and help as well as support received from their friends and relatives helped Keralites in getting employment in formal sectors in Delhi. According to the study, high cost of living was the major problem faced by the migrants and they are ready to live in Delhi by facing this and other problems.

Susantha. K. Banerjee et. al (2002)¹⁰⁹, study shows that emigration and remittances have led to improve the nutritional standards of children, utilisation of health services and reduction in the child mortality as well as improving standard of living of emigrant households. But its extent depends upon the duration of stay, nature of job and educational qualification of emigrants.

Kannan, K. P. et. al (2002)¹¹⁰, observed that remittances have an important place in Kerala economy; in the nineties remittances exceeded the government

expenditure, value added in manufacturing and even value added in industrial sector as a whole.

Pushpangadan, K. (2003)¹¹¹, analysed the growth of Kerala economy and sources of income contributed for the growth, which has linkages with foreign remittances. According to him during the period of 80's and 90's Kerala economy has accelerated its growth rate; the growth has taken place in the service sectors, which has linkage with migration and remittances and consequent increase of marginal propensity to consume among the migrant families.

Zachariah, K.C. et. al, (2003)¹¹² conducted an extensive study on different aspects of internal and international migrations from Kerala as well as return emigration in to Kerala; impact of these in the socio-economic and demographic factors of the state. According to them, Malappuram district has sent the largest number of emigrants among other districts, while Alappuzha district has sent maximum out-migrants, and Thrissur district received largest return migrants. The study found that migration has affected demographic trends of the state, led to the reduction of unemployment and poverty. Further it has led to scarcity of certain kinds of labourers and escalation of wages, increase in the educational standards as well improvement in the standard of living. The study also found that emigration of husbands had created problems among the gulf wives in the form of loneliness, increased responsibilities, adverse effect on children's education, increased anxiety etc.

Zachariah, K.C and Irudayarajan, S (2004)¹¹³, studied about women emigration to gulf countries from Kerala. Their study shows an increasing trend in the number of unmarried women migrating to gulf countries. Most of these emigrants were unemployed, possessing good educational qualification and their main purpose of emigration was employment as well as earning. Their study observed a shining future for female emigration to the gulf

countries from Kerala, who possess sufficient qualification and are able to compete in the labour market with the males from Kerala as well as from other developing countries.

Zachariah, K.C. et. al (2004)¹¹⁴, examined the wages, working conditions and future prospects of Indian emigrants in U.A.E. The study observed that emigration to U.A.E is in the nature of contract migration; the demand for labour, their wages, working conditions and also their return is determined by the labour market conditions as well as emigration policies of the U.A.E government. According to the study, the recent emigration policies are not so favourable to Indians, especially to the unskilled workers, who form majority. The study found that future demand would be for certain categories of skilled workers, technicians, heavy equipment operators and professionals.

Francis Thonippara (2005)¹¹⁵, discussed *Malayali* migration to Bangalore and their life styles in the city. According to him better employment and educational opportunities as well as health care facilities are the factors that attracted *Malayalees* in to the town. According to him *Malayalees* have a good base in this state; some of them have become political leaders and even some ministers also in this state.

Joseph, C.C. (2005)¹¹⁶, is also of the opinion that industrialisation, rise of computer and software companies as well as educational opportunities are the pulling factors that attracted *Malayalees* into Bangalore. He argues that the main reason for educational migration, which started during the 1980s, is the inadequate facilities for higher and technical education in Kerala, and a speciality of Kerala Model development, which did not provide sufficient employment opportunities.

Jancy George (2005)¹¹⁷, in her study stated that economic concerns and better prospects were the motivating factors that led to the migration of *Malayalees*

into Mysore and therefore they maintain close contact with nativity. Majority of them like to settle in the city and they maintain that there is no special need for an ethnic association.

Kerala and Tamil Nadu Inter-state Level Studies

Susan Lewandowski (1980)¹¹⁸ conducted a historical analysis of the socio-economic characteristics and conditions of Keralite migrants and their migration stream during the pre-and post independence periods, and the potential impact on the settlement pattern, educational opportunities and occupation of migrants in Tamil Nadu. According to her there existed good relationship between the Tamils and Malayalees because in-migration was not a threat to Tamils in any respects; the *anti-Malayali* riot during 1974 was purely politically motivated one. As per the study, the major reason for migration was for employment. According to her Madras Keralites, like the society from which they are migrated, were segmented into different castes and religious groups, each with their own clubs and associations, and had little contact with each other.

Anand, S. (1986)¹¹⁹ conducted a detailed study of Tamil construction workers in Thiruvananthapuram district, hailing from Reetapuram village of Kanyakumari District. The study found that, unemployment and low wages at the origin and high demand as well as higher wages at the destination were the push and pull factors behind migration. According to him 'jobber-cum-contractors' have an important role in this migration stream. They started their mission as unskilled workers and through acquiring skills has become 'jobber-cum-contractors'. They act as recruiting agents, supervisors, work with migrants and are responsible for wage payments to the migrants. Remittances of these migrants were more or less equal to "subsistence" and capital investment in terms of acquisition of land or building new homes was rare. Even though the migrants received wages at a higher rate than the minimum

wages, various benefits as per the Inter-state migrant Workmen Act, 1979 have not received by them.

Babu P. Ramesh, et. al (2000)¹²⁰, in their study attempted to analyse and compare the wage formation and revision aspects of certain major occupations, in the states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala. The study found that Kerala has made an exceptional development in the field of the protection of unorganised labour, and the condition of labour had undergone profound changes. Organisational mobilisation of labour and various interventional measures taken by the government are responsible for these changes.

Malappuram District Level Studies

Aboobacker Sidheeque, K.T (1992)¹²¹, conducted a study to ascertain the migratory pattern and to assess the impact of gulf money upon the economy of the district and the extent to which it has contributed to the changes in various areas as well as in the life styles of emigrant households. According to him migration intensity is the highest in this district and migration has led to improve educational and living standards and land possession among the migrants. Further, it has resulted in the reduction of agricultural activities as well as out put and shortage of agricultural workers. Similarly it has led to cultivate banking habits as well as increasing deposits among the households, construction boom and increase in wage rates, mobility of labour as well as in-migration of Tamil workers and also for changes in the consumption and spending patterns. But at the same time it could not make any improvement in the industrial sector.

Abdul Rasheed, C. (2001)¹²², has conducted a panchayat level study in the district with the object of analysing the socio-economic status of demigrants and to assess the impact of demigration. He found that gulf emigration has led to considerable improvement in the socio-economic and living standards as

well as spending habit of emigrant households. But, return has put a limit on the upward trend and in some cases, to the decay of the socio-economic conditions, living standards that they have already achieved and changes in the spending habits of the demigrant households. Further, according to him return emigration has led to unemployment also.

Thus, a large number of studies have been made at different levels with different objectives and purposes. But it can be seen that an important migration stream, which has several impacts and has helped the state of Kerala in its economic development by providing cheaper manual labour, remained neglected for long. No comprehensive study, dealing with different aspects of Tamil migration has been made so far, and the Tamil workers remained sidelined in the society. Sufficient information is not available about the various causes and consequences of migration of Tamil workers into the labour market of Kerala. Therefore, there exist a gap in the world of knowledge and the present study aims to fill in the gap. The present study deals in detail with income and employment pattern of Tamils working in the district, impact of their migration upon themselves and upon the labour market of the state.

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**INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT OF TAMIL WORKERS IN
KERALA - A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
MALAPPURAM DISTRICT**

Thesis submitted to the
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for the award of the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN COMMERCE

by
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CHAPTER III

LABOUR MARKETS OF KERALA AND TAMIL NADU – A COMPARISON

Chapter 3

LABOUR MARKETS OF KERALA AND TAMIL NADU – A COMPARISON

Labour market imperfections and operational differences lead to labour migration. Labour migration involves movement of workers from one place to another and consequent change in the residence of labourers for the purpose of employment. This movement can be due to 'push factors' prevailing in the labour market of origin and/or 'pull factors' prevailing in the labour market of destination. To understand the general factors responsible for labour migration, a comparative study of labour markets of the origin and that of the destination becomes imperative. Similarly, an analysis of the nature of occupational, industrial, and regional wage differentials existing in the labour markets and patterns of mobility and migration¹ would help to evaluate the comparative efficiencies and inefficiencies of the labour markets.

Kerala and Tamil Nadu – General and Economic Perspectives

Kerala and Tamil Nadu are the southern most neighbouring states of the Indian Union, which came into existence on 1st November 1956 as per the Re-organisation Act of 1956. Prior to the re-organisation some parts of Kerala belonged to Tamil Nadu and vice versa. Kerala has an area measuring 38,863 Square Kilometres which comprises 1.27 per cent of the total geographical area of the country, but accommodates 3.10 per cent of population, and is one of the smallest states which has its own special economic, social and cultural features, possessing a widely acclaimed, contradictory "Kerala Model". Tamil Nadu with an area of 1,30,000 square Kilometres, is the fourth largest state in the country and accommodates 6.07 per cent of its population.

Both these states are developed and stay ahead of the other states in Indian union, in one aspect or the other, and in majority of the cases these states are far above the national averages. They have achieved fairly good

success in controlling population growth, creating infrastructure and have a wide network of good transport and communication systems. Similarly, in the field of human resources development also these states are far ahead of the other states in India. However, in the matters of demography, social security, education, health etc., Kerala stands ahead of Tamil Nadu.

At the same time Tamil Nadu, when compared to Kerala is a highly industrialised state, having the largest number of factories in India². It has succeeded in attracting fairly good amount of Foreign Direct Investment, which has helped the state to build up better physical capital as well as to introduce modern technologies. But Kerala's industrial scenario is not so attractive. Investors shy to make investment in Kerala; sometimes, it may be because of the bad image of "a labour problem state", created in the earlier days; and has adversely affected industrial as well as economic development of the state. Therefore, Kerala remains one of the industrially backward states of Indian union. Thus, basically certain differences exist between the economies of these two states.

Labour Market – Meaning and Definition

A labour market can be defined as "an adjustment mechanism which balances the supply of and demand for labour."³ It is "a process by which supplies of a particular type of labour and demand for that type of labour balance or seek to obtain balance⁴, and represents "the interaction of demand and supplies of various categories of labour through which prices of these categories of labour, i.e. wage rates are determined"⁵.

A labour market can also be defined as "an area where the demand and supply forces of labour interact together and fix wages"⁶. Usually, in practice it signifies a location - small town, large city, whole region or even wider area⁷. Thus, labour markets can be national or international or even local or regional.

A local labour market is “a geographical area surrounding a central city or cities (a few miles apart) in which there is a concentration of labour demand and in which workers can change their jobs without changing their residences⁸.”

Labour market also stands for the buyers and sellers of labour who are in contact with each other for the purchase and sale of the workers services; through the relationship between them the price (wages) of a particular type of employment is determined⁹. Then, the common participants in a local labour market are (i) the workers and (ii) the employers¹⁰.

The main function of a labour market is to match workers and jobs and to fix remuneration in a manner that ensures the required quantity as well as quality of labour¹¹. An efficient and effective labour market is essential for the sustained development of an economy, which eliminates frictions in the allocation of labour force between different activities and ensures a fair remuneration to the work force. Thus, in a labour market study, various factors affecting the supply, demand and the wage rates are analysed.

Supply of Labour

Labour supply depends upon several factors such as population, age structure of population, migrations, efficiency of labour force, distribution of labour force by jobs, industry and local labour markets, labour mobility, policies adopted by the workers and imposed by the government, length and intensity of labour effort, and the ability of labour. Thus, the quantum of labour supply in a labour market is influenced by economic, demographic, social, and political as well as cultural factors. Various welfare measures as well as government policies also affect labour supply.

There are two concepts for interpreting labour supply¹². The first one is the classical concept, according to which, supply of labour depends upon population and working age. The second, the modern concept, is that labour

supply depends upon the labour force participation rate, working hours, the amount of effort the workers put while at work and the level of training and skills of workers. Thus, there are four dimensions of labour supply such as (i) The Population (ii) Labour Force Participation Rates (iii) Hours of Work and (iv) Quality of Labour Force¹³.

Demand for Labour

Demand for labour is derived demand. Labour demanded at a particular time in a particular labour market is affected and determined by the economic development, technological development, availability of capital and other factors of production, importance of different sectors in the economy, wage rate, and several other demographic, social, political and economic factors prevailing in that labour market at that time. It also depends upon input and output prices of the products produced with the help of labour, employers bargaining power including the monopoly and social interest¹⁴.

In a labour market study, demand for labour is taken as employment during a period of time¹⁵ and its trend is described in terms of the trends in the employment levels¹⁶. In this study also supply and demand of labour are taken more or less in the above meanings.

Population

Population is an important determinant of the total quantity of labour supply in a labour market. Population growth leads to an increase in supply of labour force. Population and migration are inter-dependent. Migration leads to changes in population of a region as well as population growth (increased supply of labour), without a corresponding growth rate in employment, leads to out-migration, especially, of young in the working age groups¹⁷. It is, therefore, necessary to provide some information on the demographic trends as a

background to the study of migration¹⁸. Table 3.1 shows the population growth of Kerala, Tamil Nadu as well as All-India from 1951 onwards.

Table 3.1
Population and Growth Rate of Population (millions)

Year	KERALA		TAMIL NADU		INDIA	
	Popu- lation	Growth Rate	Popu- lation	Growth Rate	Popu- lation	Growth Rate
1951	135.52	22.82	301.19	14.66	361.1	13.31
1961	169.04	24.76	336.87	11.85	439.2	21.64
1971	213.47	26.29	411.99	22.30	548.2	24.80
1981	254.54	19.24	484.09	17.50	683.2	24.66
1991	290.99	14.32	558.59	15.39	846.3	23.86
2001	318.39	9.42	621.11	11.40	1028.6	21.34

Source: Various Census Reports.

As Table 3.1 shows, within fifty years (1951-2001) the population of Kerala grew by 18.287 million persons or by 135 per cent, that of Tamil Nadu by 31.992 million persons or by 106 per cent. The growth rate at the national level was 185 per cent. But during the last two decades Kerala's growth rate of population was lower than that of Tamil Nadu as shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2

Table 3.2
Average Annual Growth Rate of Population

States/Union	1971 -81	1981-91	1991-01
Kerala	1.78	1.35	0.90
Tamil Nadu	1.63	1.44	1.07
All India	2.26	2.13	1.95

Source: National Human Development Report 2001, Page 266

As per Table 3.2, during 1971-2001 or within the last three decades, the average annual growth rate of population of Kerala fell down from 1.78 per cent to 0.9 per cent, that of Tamil Nadu from 1.63 per cent to 1.07 per cent and the national average from 2.26 per cent to 1.95 per cent; showing a steep fall in the growth rate of Kerala.

Thus, both the states have succeeded in achieving the slow growth rates of population. High growth of population is one of the major reasons for high unemployment rate in these states and also one of the reasons for mass out-migration. Since the slow growth has not begun to reflect in the labour force

on account of the age structure, and it would take time, labour supply still remains higher in these two states.

LABOUR FORCE

Labour force refers to the active population of a country, which comprises persons of either sex, who furnish the supply of labour available for the production of economic goods and services during a particular period and includes both employed as well as unemployed. It is that part of population which supplies or seeks to supply labour for production¹⁹, or the people of a country who are physically and mentally able to work. Generally, it is taken as the persons belonging to the age group of 15-59 years and includes both employed as well as unemployed. Thus, age structure of population plays an important role in the labour market of a country. It can be defined as “the ratio of economically active age group of 15-59 years in the total population”²⁰. Table 3.3 shows the percentage of age distribution of population or otherwise the labour force participation rates of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and All-India.

Table 3.3
Age Distribution of Population (Percentages)

Age Group	Kerala			Tamil Nadu			India		
	1981	1991	2001	1981	1991	2001	1981	1991	2001
0-14	35.00	29.77	27.00	35.00	30.90	27.00	42.06	37.76	37.30
15-59	57.50	61.43	63.00	58.59	61.40	66.00	51.97	55.57	55.60
60 and above	7.50	8.80	10.00	6.41	7.70	7.00	5.97	6.67	6.70

Source: Various Census Reports

From Table 3.3, it can be understood that the age structure of population and labour force participation rates of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and the All-India level show the same trend. The percentage of population below the age of 15 shows a declining trend, while the 60 + age group shows an increasing trend. The labour force participation rates also show an increasing trend. But the rate of increase is higher in Tamil Nadu. An increase in labour force participation is

good if it is accompanied by a similar or higher rate of increase in the employment growth, other wise it will lead to the growth of unemployment and mass out-migration.

The main reason for growth of labour force participation rate is the decline in the percentage of young age group. During the period under study, the percentage of population below 15 years of age had declined considerably in these states as well as at the national level. A constant decline in this percentage may lead to labour shortage in future. Similarly a constant increase in the percentage 60+ age group indicates ageing of population. The percentage of 60+ age group is higher in Kerala than that of Tamil Nadu as well as that at the national level, further it is increasing at higher rates. This trend also indicates that in the future there can be problems associated with ageing.

Quality of Labour Force

Labour force is a matter of quantity as well as quality and in recent years quality of labour force has become a matter of discussion²¹. Health, education, work experience, skill and training, loyalty towards work and employer, better work culture etc., are the important aspects of quality of work force. Some of them are innate but some others can be achieved and developed through proper education and training. Though there is no quantitative or scientific technique to test the quality of labour force, literacy rates, Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) and Human Development Index (HDI) etc., can be used as the determinants, because these measure the well being of human beings - the labour force. Thus, it is not the quantity of labour force that matters but the quality; and healthy, intelligent, hardworking and innovating human beings with daring²² are the need of the labour market.

Literacy Rate

After Health, the most important factor that determines the quality of labour force is the literacy and the education. But many experts have given more emphasis to education than health and nutritional standards²³. Literacy enhances the general level of understanding of human beings, which is essential for performing various activities and thus enhances the quality of human resources. Educated people are likely to be more productive than illiterates. Many studies²⁴ have shown that even elementary education can significantly improve productivity and general well being of the masses²⁵-health and longevity. Considering the role of education in determining the quality of labour force, every society gives utmost importance to increasing general literacy level educational attainment as well as training of citizens. Therefore, literacy rate can be considered for studying the quality of labour force. Table 3.4 shows the general literacy levels of the two states as well as that of at the national level.

Table 3.4
Literacy Rates in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and India

States/ India	1981			1991			2001		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
Kerala	81.56	87.74	75.65	89.81	93.62	86.13	90.92	94.20	87.86
Tamil Nadu	54.38	68.05	40.43	62.66	73.75	51.33	73.47	82.33	64.55
India	43.56	56.37	29.75	52.20	64.13	39.29	65.38	75.85	54.16

Source: Manpower Profile India Year Book 2004, p. 27.

From Table 3.4, it can be seen that the literacy rate of Kerala is much higher than that of the Tamil Nadu and that of the national level. Similarly, in the case of Kerala, wide gap between the literacy levels of males and females as in the case of Tamil Nadu and All India level cannot be observed. But, at the same time, Tamil Nadu is closely following Kerala in the matter of achieving literacy.

Work Force Participation Rates

Work force refers to the population that supplies labour for production²⁶. The relationship between work force and total population is known as Work participation ratio and shows the percentage relationship between persons actually employed and total population. It is an indicator of employment and unemployment conditions in an economy. A higher worker population ratio indicates that larger portion of population participates in economic activities, higher demand for labour as well as higher employment opportunities. It also indicates the enhanced ability of the economy to generate jobs²⁷. In developed countries work participation rates will be higher than that of developing countries.

Table 3.5
Work Participation Rates

States	1981			1991			2001		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
Kerala	44.9	16.6	30.5	47.6	15.9	31.4	50.0	15.0	32.0
Tamil Nadu	56.6	26.5	41.7	56.4	30.0	43.3	57.6	32.0	45.0
India	52.6	19.8	36.5	51.6	22.3	37.5	52.0	26.0	39.0

Source: 1. G.K.Moli, *Demographic Transition and Women's Empowerment in Kerala: New Evidence*, Samyukta: A Journal of Women's Studies, Vol. 4, No. 2, July 2004, p. 60

2. Figures of 2001, Census Report, Basic Population Data, T00-007, Primary Census Abstract, <http://www.censusindia.net>

Table 3.5 shows the work participation rates of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and that at the national level. It is clear from the table that the work participation ratio of Kerala is much lower than that of Tamil Nadu and also that of the national level. However, the growth rate of male work participation rate in Kerala is higher than that of Tamil Nadu. But female work participation rate of Kerala shows a declining trend, while that of Tamil Nadu shows an increasing trend. Thus the overall growth rate of work participation rate of Tamil Nadu is better than that of Kerala and the national level.

Thus the work participation rates of these states have improved during the period under study. But when compared to Tamil Nadu and also to the national level, Kerala's work participation rate is much lower and the female work participation rate is continuously declining. There are several reasons for such a trend, which will be discussed later on.

Work Participation Rates – Rural Urban Basis

Analysis of work participation rates on the basis of rural urban level is of very important in a study of migration, especially in studying migration streams and patterns. A comparative study of the rural-urban work participation rates of these states also shows marked differences. Table 3.6 shows work participation rates on the basis of urban rural classification.

Table 3.6
Work Participation Rates (Urban-Rural)

States	1981				1991				2001			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Kerala	45.2	17.7	43.4	11.8	47.9	16.9	46.8	13.0	50.2	15.9	50.8	13.5
Tamil Nadu	59.2	33.6	51.2	12.0	58.3	38.5	52.8	13.1	59.4	41.3	56.4	18.4
India	53.8	23.2	49.1	8.3	52.6	26.8	48.9	9.2	52.3	30.9	50.8	11.5

Source: Same as in Table 3.5

An analysis of Table 3.6 shows a general improvement in the work participation rates of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and at the National level during the period under study. The rates of Kerala are lower than that of Tamil Nadu as well as the national level average. But in the case of male work participation rates, the rate of growth in Kerala was higher than that of Tamil Nadu and All-India level. While female work Participation rate of Kerala was much lower than that of Tamil Nadu and All-India level. Similarly the rural female work participation rate of Kerala shows a declining trend over the period, but that of Tamil Nadu and that at the national level show an increasing trend. This shows that more and more women are withdrawing from the rural labour market of

Kerala. But the urban female work participation rate of Kerala is higher than that of national level and shows an increasing trend; but is lower than that of Tamil Nadu.

Further, it can also be said that the work participation rates of Tamil Nadu were always higher than that of the national level average. Against this the work participating rates of Kerala, except urban female work participation rate, were always lower than that of the national level average.

Reasons for Low Work Participation Rates

There are many reasons for the low work participation rates in Kerala. Slow growth of agriculture and industrial sectors, low female work participation rates, high female sex ratio, high proportion of children and aged in the population, neglect of technical education and consequent inability to supply the work force required by the labour market²⁸, delayed entry into the labour force due to the spread of schooling and longer periods spent on education, long waiting periods for jobs due to job preference, decline in agriculture and traditional industries, lack of generation of sufficient employment opportunities in non-agricultural sectors and the declining opportunities for migration²⁹ are some of the reasons for low work participation in Kerala.

Changes in crops and cropping patterns as well as shifts to low labour absorbing perennial crops³⁰ is a major reason for low female work participation ratio in Kerala. Similarly, decline of certain traditional industries like coir and migration of some other household and non-household industries like cashew³¹ and beedi to the neighbouring states have also led to reduction in the female work participation ratio in the state. Further, increase in the income of households due to high wage rates, increased male work participations, gulf remittances etc., have led to withdrawal of women from the labour market, especially from poor paid informal work to full-time domestic work. This

withdrawal, along with their preference for jobs in proximity to their home has led to decrease in the female work participation³² in Kerala. At the same time rapid growth of construction sector, transportation and other service sector activities provided more employment to men than women³³ resulting in increasing male work participation in the state.

Decline in child labour due to increased participation in educational activities, increase in unemployment and underemployment, decrease in female work participation ratios, increase in the casualisation of rural sector, significant increase in non-agricultural workers in rural sectors etc are the reasons for low work participation ratio in Tamil Nadu³⁴. But the major reason is the decline in employment in agricultural sector, and slow growth of employment in non-agricultural sectors³⁵. Significant decline in employment for women in agriculture, withdrawal of women from labour market due to improved standard of living and lack of higher education and skill required by modern urban labour market are the major reasons for reduction or low female work participation rates³⁶. Therefore, the reasons for changes in the work participation rates of these two states seem more or less to be the same.

Structural Composition of Labour Force

Structural composition of labour force refers to the distribution of labour force according to the industrial classification of economy, or distribution of work force among the different sectors of economy, viz., primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. As per the conventional economic theory, as an economy develops the relative importance of primary and secondary sectors decline and major part of population depending primary sector will be transferred to secondary sector and eventually to tertiary sector. Such a transfer is a reliable index of economic progress³⁷ and shows the occupational mobility of work force within the economy³⁸. Table 3.7 highlights the structural composition and occupational mobility of labour force of these two states.

Table 3.7
Industrial Distribution of Workers

Sectors	1971		1981		1991		2001	
	Kerala	Tamil Nadu	Kerala	Tamil Nadu	Kerala	Tamil Nadu	Kerala	Tamil Nadu
Primary Sector	56.0	64.7	53.2	63.9	47.24	61.8	36.97	50.3
Secondary Sector	17.0	15.0	19.4	17.0	18.34	16.11	26.61	23.6
Tertiary Sector	27.0	20.3	27.4	19.1	22.1	22.1	36.88	26.1

Source: Tamil Nadu-Tamil Nadu Development Report 2005, Page No. 72
Kerala-VariouS Census Reports

It is clear from Table 3.7 that, during the last three decades (1971-2001), the structural composition of labour force of these two states has changed much showing some of the labour market features of a developed economy. The percentage of labour force depending on primary sector has continuously declined while the shares of secondary and tertiary sectors have increased. But the speed of structural transformation of labour force is much faster in Kerala when compared to that of Tamil Nadu. The structural composition of work force of Kerala shows that, structural transformation has taken place in the economy of Kerala and now it is not an agrarian economy because 70 per cent³⁹ of income is derived from, as well as more than 50 per cent of work force is engaged in non-agricultural sectors (secondary and Tertiary sectors). But in the case of Tamil Nadu, more than 50 per cent of labour force still depends on agricultural and allied activities for livelihood. In Kerala tertiary sector is emerging as the highest source of employment as well as state income. A higher concentration of work force in primary sector, in which employment is seasonal in nature, will lead to large-scale seasonal out-migration.

Quality of Employment

Quality of employment can be studied on the basis of (a) availability of employment, (b) institutional aspect or nature of contract and (c) organisational set up, legal protections and other service benefits available.

(a) On the Basis of Availability of Employment**Main Workers**

As per Census of India, main workers are those people engaged in productive employment for more than six months in a year or are gainfully employed for more than 183 days in a year. Table 3.8 gives percentages of main, marginal and non-workers in the population of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and at the national level.

Table 3.8
Percentage of Main, Marginal and Non Workers
(Figures of 1991 in Brackets)

States	Main Workers			Marginal Workers			Non Workers		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
Kerala	42.00 (44.8)	11.00 (12.8)	26.00 (28.5)	8.00 (2.80)	5.00 (3.00)	6.00 (2.90)	50.00 (52.4)	85.00 (84.2)	68.00 (68.6)
Tamil Nadu	52.00 (56.1)	24.00 (25.1)	38.00 (40.8)	6.00 (0.30)	8.00 (4.80)	7.00 (2.50)	42.00 (43.6)	69.00 (70.1)	55.00 (56.7)
India	45.00 (50.9)	15.00 (15.9)	31.00 (34.4)	7.00 (0.60)	11.00 (6.30)	9.00 (3.40)	48.00 (48.4)	74.00 (77.7)	60.00 (62.5)

Source: 1991 figures CENSUS DATA ON LINE, Table 18,
2001 Figures, Statement 1, Census Reports in cite <http://censusindia.net>

From Table 3.8 it can be understood that, the percentage of main workers in Kerala according to 2001 census was (26 per cent) lower than that of Tamil Nadu (38 per cent) and that at the national level (31 per cent). Similarly significant differences existed between the participation rates of males and females of Kerala and Tamil Nadu as well as that of the national level. Further, the percentages of 2001 at all levels and in all categories were lower than that of 1991, which is a sign of marginalisation in the labour markets under study. Similarly, the percentage of main workers in Kerala is lower than that of Tamil Nadu as well as the national level.

Marginal Workers

Marginal workers are those workers who remain unemployed for more than six months in a year, or for more than 183 days. In other words workers who are not employed for the major part of the year but are intermittently engaged in some gainful activity are known as marginal workers. Table 3.8 shows that as per 2001 census, the percentage of marginal workers in Kerala was lower (6 per cent) than that of Tamil Nadu (7 per cent) and that at the national level (9 per cent). But the percentage of marginal workers among males in Kerala (8 per cent) is higher than that of Tamil Nadu (6 per cent) and that at the national level (7 per cent). While the percentage of marginal workers among females in Kerala (5 per cent) was lower than that of Tamil Nadu (8 per cent) and that of the national level (11 per cent).

When compared to the figures of 1991, an increase in these percentages can be seen at all levels as well as in all categories. This increasing trend along with the declining trend of main workers is a clear indication of the marginalisation trend in the labour market of these states. It is important to note that the percentage of combined marginal workers in Kerala was higher than that of Tamil Nadu as per the 1991 census. But the 2001 census reveals that the percentage of marginal workers in Tamil Nadu is higher than that of Kerala, which shows the faster rate of marginalisation taking place in the labour market of Tamil Nadu when compared to Kerala.

Non-Workers

Non-workers include children, unemployed as well as those unable to work. Table 3.8 shows the percentages of non-workers of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and All-India during 1991 and 2001. As per the 2001 census, the table shows that the percentage of non-workers in Kerala (68 per cent) was higher than that of Tamil Nadu (55 per cent) and that at the national level (60 per cent).

Similarly, the percentage of female non-workers in Kerala was (85 per cent) higher than that of Tamil Nadu (69 per cent) and that at the national level (74 per cent). The percentage of non-workers among males in Kerala (50 per cent) was also higher than that of Tamil Nadu (42 per cent) and that at the national level (48 per cent). When compared to the percentages of 1991, it can be seen that percentages of 2001 have declined, except in the case of female non-workers in Kerala. A decline in the percentages of non-workers can be due to the decrease in the child age group and/or employment growth on account of which more and more persons participate in economic activities. In the case of Kerala, Tamil Nadu as well as at the national level there is a clear decrease in the percentages of child age group (see Table 3.3), and thus a major reason for the decline in the percentage of non-workers is the reduction in the child age group. But increase in the percentage of female non-worker population in Kerala is a clear indication of increasing female unemployment.

Thus, it can be concluded that the percentage of main workers is higher in Tamil Nadu than that of Kerala and that at the national level while the percentage of Kerala is lower than that of the national level too. There is a decrease in the percentage of main workers as well as an increase in the percentages of marginal workers at all levels, which is an indication of marginalisation of labour force. Similarly, the percentages of non-workers have decreased, but a major reason for this decrease is the change in the age structure of population.

(b). On The Basis of Institutional Aspects

On the basis of institutional aspects, the NSSO has divided the work force in to three as (i) Self employed, (ii) Regular salaried/wage employed and (iii) Casual labourers⁴⁰.

Self-Employed: Persons who operate their own farm or non-farm enterprises or are engaged independently in a profession or trade on own-account or with one or a few partners are self-employed in household enterprises⁴¹. These persons have autonomy and independence for carrying out their economic activity and their remuneration depends upon the sales or profits of the goods or services produced or dealt with⁴². The following table (Table 3.9) shows the employment status of workers in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and at All-India level.

Table 3.9
Employment by Status

Category	Self Employment		Regular Employment		Casual Employment	
	1993-1994	1999-2000	1993-1994	1999-2000	1993-1994	1999-2000
ALL-INDIA						
Rural Male	57.7	55	8.5	8.8	33.8	36.2
Rural Female	58.6	57.3	2.7	3.1	38.7	39.6
Urban Male	41.7	41.5	42.2	41.7	16.1	16.8
Urban Female	44.8	45.3	29.2	33.3	26.0	21.4
KERALA						
Rural Male	40.8	38.1	12.3	13	46.9	48.9
Rural Female	55.0	53.0	9.7	15.0	35.3	32.0
Urban Male	37.5	37.4	26.8	28	35.7	34.6
Urban Female	45.8	50.9	26.6	31.9	27.6	17.2
TAMIL NADU						
Rural Male	41.4	35.8	12.5	15.3	46.1	48.9
Rural Female	41.9	38.0	5.2	6.9	52.9	55.1
Urban Male	34.5	33.0	40.3	45.4	25.2	21.6
Urban Female	34.5	39.4	40.3	40.7	25.2	19.9

Source: Employment and Unemployment Situation in India, 1999-00, Report No. 458(55/10/2)

Table 3.9 shows that, in the case of self-employment, both these states lag behind at the national level. Similarly, the percentages of self-employed in different categories during the year 1999-00 have declined when compared to the percentages of 1993-94, except in the case of urban females. In the case of urban females, the percentages of 1999-2000 are more than that of 1993-94 at all levels – in Kerala, Tamil Nadu as well at All-India level. Since, it is a

mixed category and thus need not be an indicator of higher quality of employment than casual labour⁴³.

Regular Salaried/Wage Employees: Persons working in others' farm or non-farm enterprises, both household and non-household, and getting, in return, salary or wages on a regular basis (and not on the basis of daily or periodic renewal of work contract) are the regular salaried/wage employees⁴⁴.

Table 3.9 given above shows that the percentage of regular employed in Kerala is comparatively lower than that of Tamil Nadu, except in the case of rural females. Further, in all cases the percentages of 1999-2000 are higher than that of 1993-94, which can be considered as an improvement in the labour markets. Similarly, the gender difference is not as wide in Kerala in the matter of urban regular employment as in the case of Tamil Nadu or in the case of national level.

Casual Wage Labour and Casualisation of Labour Market: "A person casually engaged in others' farm or non-farm enterprises (both household and non-household) and, in return, getting wage according to the terms of the daily or periodic work contract is a casual wage labourer"⁴⁵. They include workers who appear to be long-term workers of an employer but are bound by daily or periodic renewal of work contract. They are informal sector labourers whose terms and conditions of work are outside the purview of any regulatory body⁴⁶. The share of casual workers in the total work force is used to measure the incidence of casual labour in the work force. Increase in the incidence of casual labour within a labour market is known as casualisation.

Casualisation leads to job insecurity, frequent change in work place, higher exploitation, informal and contractual arrangements, intermittent work, poor working conditions; as a consequence high-income instability⁴⁷ and labourers may remain in abysmal poverty⁴⁸. It also reflects poor conditions

pertaining to the availability of employment opportunities and also reflects the under utilisation of human resources⁴⁹. Table 3.9 highlights the process and trend of casualisation in the labour market of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and the country as a whole.

According to Table 3.9, the percentages of casual workers in rural male work force in Kerala and Tamil Nadu are more or less the same and show more or less the same trend of changes. But the percentage of rural female casual workers in Tamil Nadu is much more than that of Kerala. Similarly, this percentage of Kerala in 1999-2000, when compared to that of 1993-94 has declined, while in Tamil Nadu the rate has increased. Further, the percentage of urban casual male labour force is higher in Kerala. However the percentage of 1999-2000 is lower than that of 1993-94; but the rate of decline was higher in Tamil Nadu. Similarly, the percentage of urban casual female workers is higher in Kerala and the rate of decline was also higher in Kerala. A comparison with the national figures also reveals that the incidence of casual labour is higher in Kerala. Therefore, it can be concluded that except in the case of rural female labourers, the incidence of casual labour and casualisation is higher in Kerala when compared to that of Tamil Nadu.

Reasons for Casualisation

Casualisation is both a reason as well as an effect of unemployment. It is one of the methods adopted by the employers to reduce labour costs and also to escape from labour laws⁵⁰. Thus, the process of casualisation and informalisation is increasing in India, especially after liberalisation and consequent de-regularisation of labour market⁵¹.

Structural composition of labour force, increasing contractualisation, especially in public sector, increasing educational standards, high unemployment and trade union activism are some of the reasons, which have

either directly or indirectly led to high casualisation of labour market of Kerala. Even though casual labour is high in Kerala, its quality is also high due to higher wage rate, high degree of unionisation, stable working hours, various non-wage benefits and other social security measures. Hence it has attracted more men than women⁵².

Changes in the agrarian structure and cropping patterns, modernisation in agriculture and consequent decline in the demand for agricultural labour etc., are the reasons for casualisation in Tamil Nadu. Though casualisation leads to instability in employment and income, in Tamil Nadu, it has led to high degree of inter-sectoral mobility of labour. Majority of workers in construction, brick kilns and quarries were either petty landowners or agricultural workers⁵³.

Thus, it can be said that casualisation of labour force is the modern trend of labour markets and the major reason for casualisation of labour markets is the changes taking place in the socio-economic scenario of these states.

(c). On the Basis of Organisational Set up

Quality of employment can be studied through another angle - based on organisational set up, or the terms and conditions of work and nature of employer-employee relationship. Based on this, the employment can be divided into (i) organised sector employment and (ii) unorganised sector employment.

Organised Sector Employment: Organised sector employment includes employment in government services (both state and central government) and large industries (above ten workers), which are both in private and public sectors⁵⁴. In organised sector, there exists contractual relationship between the employer and employee and workers in this sector enjoy legal protections and institutional conditions that are favourable for collective action⁵⁵. Thus, employment in organised sector is considered as regular employment and is more attractive to the workers due to the regularity of income, social status and

work environment⁵⁶ and is considered as a better quality employment. Table 3.10 shows the percentage of work force engaged in organised sector employment in the states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and at the National level.

Table 3.10
Employment in Organised Sector

As on 31 st March	Public sector			Private sector			Total	
	No. of Persons In lakhs	Perce- ntage of total	Perce- ntage of work force	No. of Persons In lakhs	Perce- ntage of total	Perce- ntage of work force	No. of Persons In lakhs	Perce- ntage of work force
KERALA								
1981	4.99	49	6.4	5.18	51	6.6	10.17	13.07
1991	6.31	55	6.9	5.12	45	5.6	11.43	12.51
2001	6.45	51	6.3	5.97	49	5.8	12.42	12.20
TAMIL NADU								
1981	11.98	64	5.9	6.88	36	3.40	18.86	9.35
1991	15.79	69	6.5	7.10	31	3.10	22.89	9.45
2001	15.86	63	5.5	9.20	37	3.67	25.06	8.66
ALL-INDIA								
1981	154.84	68	6.21	73.95	32	2.97	228.79	9.18
1991	190.54	71	6.00	76.76	29	2.41	267.30	8.42
2001	191.38	69	4.77	86.52	31	2.16	277.90	6.93

Source: 1). Number of persons, Man Power Profile India Year Book 2004, Institute of Applied Manpower Research, Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi, p 168-169

2). Calculated on the basis of work participation rates and population of the corresponding years.

As per Table 3.10, the percentage of workforce engaged in organised sector employment in Kerala is higher than that of Tamil Nadu and that at the national level. In Kerala both private and public sectors have around equal shares in providing employment. But in Tamil Nadu more than 60 per cent of organised sector employment is in public sector, while at the national level it is around 70 per cent. The table shows an increasing trend in the number of workers engaged in organised sector in both the states, but at the same time the percentage of workforce engaged in the sector has declined considerably over the period. This indicates that employment in organised sector has not grown according to the growth in workforce. Further, the percentage of work force

engaged in the organised sector is decreasing, but the rate of decrease is higher at the national level, that too in the public sector employment. This indicates that organised sector (especially public sector) has been virtually frozen with few opportunities for new entrants in to the labour market⁵⁷.

During the period 1991-2001, (post reform period) there was a considerable increase in the number of persons engaged in organised private sector employment, which can be due to increased inflow of FDI. When compared to Kerala, growth of private sector employment was higher Tamil Nadu. It is important to note here that Tamil Nadu is one of the few states in India, which could attract large inflow of FDI⁵⁸. Similarly, experts are of the view that in a state like Tamil Nadu with flexible labour markets, economic reforms will lead to increase in labour demand⁵⁹. Thus even though the trend of organised sector employment over the period under study is more or less the same, a higher percentage of work force can be seen engaged in the organised sector in Kerala. But, majority of public enterprises in Kerala, though small in number, are either closed or are at the point of closure⁶⁰. Moreover, it has become an accepted policy of the governments, both at the states level as well as at the central level to limit or downsize the employees for the purpose of reducing government expenditure, fading the hope of future of employment opportunities as government employees.

Employment in Unorganised Sector

The labour relationship in this sector will be based on social relationship, sometimes beyond the control of government and political institutions. This sector is characterised with large reserves of cheap untapped labour, where workers have little or no chance for organising trade unions or for collective bargaining. The pattern of recruitment and working conditions, in this sector, are based on the prevailing social considerations such as gender, regional and caste preferences. On account of oversupply of unskilled labour,

dependent-clientalist pattern prevail in this sector. Since there is no legal protection and collective bargaining power or trade unions to assert their rights, regularity of employment and other working conditions in this sector depends upon the whims and fancies of employers. Severe exploitation of employees, payment of low wages often below the minimum wages fixed, child labour etc., are rampant in the unorganised sector. Thus absence of rights, state protection and prevalence of abysmally low wages are the features of the unorganised sector⁶¹. However, Kerala's unorganised sector is an exception to this on account of strong unions that protect interests of unorganised sector. Similarly, employees of unorganised sector receive more or less the same wages received by employees in the organised sector. Thus, in Kerala the quality of unorganised sector employment is also more or less equal to that of organised sector employment.

Unlike the organised sector, where most of the employment details are available and are published, in the case of unorganised sector data on the magnitude and composition of employment is available only through surveys that are periodically mounted⁶², making it difficult to get accurate and up-to-date data. Absence of data on the informal sector as a whole limits the possibilities of a study of the overall trends⁶³. Thus, generally, unorganised sector employment is considered as the residual of the organised sector in the total employment. Earlier discussion in connection with organised sector employment is sufficient to understand the trend and magnitude of employment in unorganised sector of the labour markets under study. Accordingly, it can be said that employment in organised sector is more or less frozen and a trend of informalisation of labour market prevails at all levels, especially, after economic reforms. Majority of workers (even more than 90 per cent) in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and also at the national level are in the unorganised sector, and thus, the quality of their employment is poor

WAGE RATES

Wage rate is an important labour market indicator and, study of wage structure occupies an important position in labour market analysis⁶⁴. Being the price of labour, in economics, it is determined by the interplay of demand and supply forces. However, in actual practice majority of labour market engagements are not based on market relations but are highly personal and the wage rate is not governed by demand and supply forces but by customs⁶⁵. It directly and indirectly determines the standard of living of workers⁶⁶. Wage rates of the origin as well as that at the destination are important determinants of labour migration.

Wage Rates of Kerala and Tamil Nadu – A Comparative Study

As said earlier, there can be regional and seasonal variations in wage rates and this difference is one of the major reasons for migration. A comparative study of wage rates will help us to understand labour market conditions. Table 3.11 shows the comparative wage rates of different categories of workers in Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Table 3.11
Average Daily Wages Rates for
Different Occupations in South Indian Rural Areas during September 2005

Occupations	Kerala		Tamil Nadu		All-India		Differences between Kerala's men's wages and that of		Karnataka		Andhra Pradesh	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Tamil Nadu	All India	Men	Women	Men	Women
Ploughing	225.4		117.1		75.0		108.3	150.4	60.1		66.0	
Sowing	189.4		76.9	45.5	45.8	39.2	112.5	143.6	54.3	36.5	53.6	37.4
Weeding		103.3		43.8	57.6	46.4	59.5*	56.9*	51.9	36.5	43.9	35.6
Transplanting		103.6	73.7	42.7	63.5	52.6	60.9*	51.0*	56.8	41.7	58.6	40.3
Harvesting		102.8	71.8	51.7	67.8	54.7	51.1*	48.1*	54.2	37.6	55.5	45.0
Well-digging	202.3		111.5		93.7		90.8	108.6	77.0			
Carpenter	203.0		127.0		115.2		76.0	87.8	99.2		82.0	
Black smiths	189.4		114.5		89.6		74.9	99.8	77.3		71.6	
Cobbler	N.A		54.0		65.0		NA	NA	64.6		53.8	
Mason	201.4		137.0		125.6		64.4	75.8	110.5		102.4	
Unskilled & Unspecified	148.5	118.8	76.6	52.8	62.4	47.0	71.9	86.1	47.3	34.0	51.5	37.5

Source: Indian Labour Journal, December 2005

- *Comparison is made between the wage rates of women.
- NA = Not available

As per the table (Table 3.11), daily wage rates of males engaged in ploughing in Kerala is (Rs.225.4) higher than that of Tamil Nadu (Rs.117.1), the difference in the wage rates is Rs. 103. Therefore, in order to earn one day's wages of his Keralite counterpart a worker in Tamil Nadu has to work approximately for two days. Similarly, a worker engaged in sowing in Kerala receives more than two days' wages of his counterpart in Tamil Nadu. Female workers engaged in various farming operations in Tamil Nadu have to work for more than two days to earn one day's wages earned by their counterparts in Kerala. Similar is the case of all other categories of workers. Similarly, a comparison of wage rates of other categories of workers of these two states shows that the wage rates of Kerala in most cases are two times and in certain cases three times, higher than that of Tamil Nadu.

Similarly, when the wage rates of Kerala are compared with the averages at the national level or with that of other states, the difference widens. This means that the wage rates of Kerala are more than that at the national level also. Further, when the wage rates of Tamil Nadu are compared with the average wage rates at the national level or with that of the other south Indian states, the wage rates of Tamil Nadu are higher. This shows that the wage rates of Tamil Nadu are also higher than that of the national averages and the other south Indian states.

Therefore, it can be mentioned that the wage rates of Kerala are very much higher than that of the wage rates of Tamil Nadu as well as other Indian states. Similarly, the wage rates of Tamil Nadu are higher than that of other south Indian states, except that of Kerala. Thus, in order to earn oneday's wages of a Keralite worker, his counterpart in other states has to work for two or more days.

Growth of Wage Rates – At Current Prices

The growth rate of average daily wage rate in agriculture was also the highest in Kerala during the 1990s. Table 3.12 and Figure 1 show the average daily wage rates and growth rates of daily wages of agricultural workers in different states of India from 1989-2003.

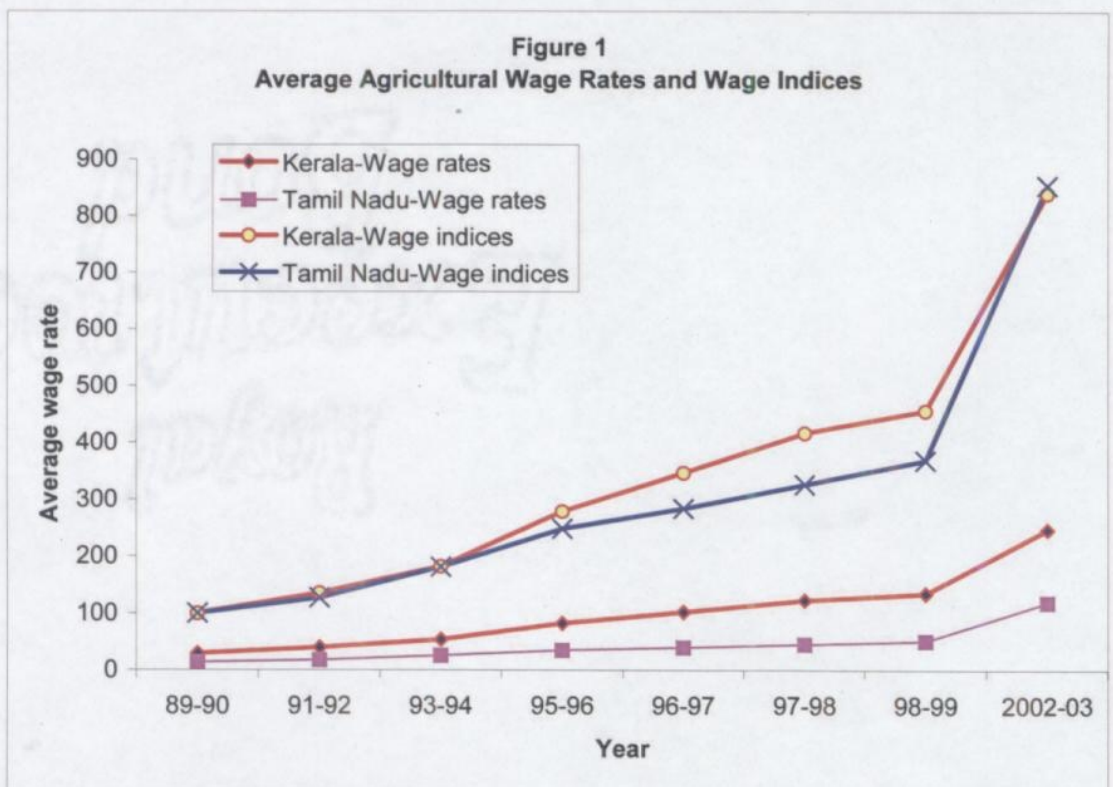
Table 3.12
Average Agricultural Daily Wage Rates (At Current Prices)

States	1989-1990	1998-1999	2002-2003
Andhra Pradesh	17.01	42.29	59.59
Assam	21.71	48.20	65.56
Bihar	17.04	39.32	55.27
Gujarat	17.17	58.17	66.68
Haryana	31.93	92.34	83.2
Himachal Pradesh	27.64	86.07	NA
Karnataka	15.02	38.15	58.41
Kerala	29.37	134.26	247.14
Madhya Pradesh	15.04	41.92	49.72
Maharashtra	17.58	46.26	60.11
Orissa	12.27	32.25	58.63
Punjab	31.70	76.41	NA
Rajasthan	22.01	55.25	86.11
Tamil Nadu	13.90	51.29	118.83
Uttar Pradesh	18.69	54.76	56.38
West Bengal	24.05	61.90	80.25
All-India Average	20.76	59.93	NA

Source: 1) Vijayamohan Pillai. N. Liberalisation of Rural Poverty: The Indian Experience, CDS Working Paper 356, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, March 2004, p. 32
2). 2002-03 figures. Brajesh Jha, 2005, Employment, Wages and Productivity in Indian Agriculture, Institute of Economics Growth, University of Delhi Enclave, North Campus, Delhi, 2005, p. 25

From Table 3.12 and Figure 1, it can be understood that the average daily wage rates of all the Indian states have increased, but the rates of increase were different. In the year 1989-90, the average agricultural wage rate in Kerala was (Rs. 29.37) less than that of Haryana (Rs. 31.93) and that of Punjab (Rs. 31.70) but higher than that of Tamil Nadu (Rs. 13.90), the national average (Rs. 20.76), and of all the other states. The wage rate of Kerala in 1989-90 was two

times higher than of Tamil Nadu. By 1998-99, the wage rate of Kerala rose to Rs. 134.26, showing a growth rate of 357 per cent over the decade. Similarly that of Tamil Nadu increased to Rs. 51.29 and growth rate was 269 per cent. However, the wage rate of Tamil Nadu was Rs. 83 less than that of Kerala. While, the wage rates of Hariyana and Punjab, which had higher wage rates than that of Kerala in 1989-90, increased to Rs. 97.34 and Rs. 76.41 respectively, showing an increase of Rs. 65.41 (205 per cent) in Hariyana and Rs. 34.71 (141 per cent) in Punjab. Similarly the All-India average increased to Rs. 59.93 showing an increase of 189 per cent during the period under study. This highlights that the growth rate of wages in Kerala was the highest (357 per cent) among the other Indian states, and is followed by Tamil Nadu (269 per cent).



Source: Same as 3.12

But, when the agricultural wage rates 2002-03 is considered the picture will change. The agricultural daily wage rate of Kerala during the year 2002-03 was Rs. 247.14, while that of Tamil Nadu was only Rs. 118.3. During the period 1989-90 to 2002-03 the agricultural wage rate of Kerala increased by Rs. 217.77 or by 714.47 per cent while that of Tamil Nadu increased by Rs. 104.93 or by 754.89 per cent. Similarly, the wage index of Kerala (base year =1989-90) was 457 while that of Tamil Nadu was only 369. But the wage index in the year 2002-03 in Kerala (base year = 1989-90) was 841 while that of Tamil Nadu was 855 (Appendix III). This shows that in recent years the growth rate of wages in Tamil Nadu is higher than that of Kerala. Among other things, migration of Tamil workers to Kerala is a reason for this phenomenon.

Thus, even though the average daily wage rates of Tamil Nadu as well as the growth in terms of Rupees is only less than half that of Kerala; the growth rate of wages during the 1989-90 to 2002-03 period in Tamil Nadu is (754.89 per cent) higher than that of Kerala (714.47 per cent). Therefore, it can be concluded that the growth rate of wages in India during this period (1989-2003) was highest in Tamil Nadu and is followed by Kerala, just behind. Thus it can be said that, migration of Tamil labourers to Kerala has influenced the wage rates of Tamil Nadu.

Growth of Wage Rates - At Constant Prices

Table 3.13, given in the next page shows the growth rate of real wages among different states of India during 1989-1999.

Table 3.13**Wage Rate of the Agricultural Workers (At Constant Prices)**

States	89-90	98-99	Growth Rate (per cent per annum)
Andhra Pradesh	2.77	2.83	0.22
Assam	2.79	2.63	-0.65
Bihar	2.16	2.15	-0.04
Gujarat	2.59	3.67	3.96
Haryana	3.87	4.75	2.31
Himachal Pradesh	3.35	4.43	3.15
Karnataka	1.98	2.14	0.90
Kerala	3.47	6.71	7.60
Madhya Pradesh	1.90	2.32	2.23
Maharashtra	2.35	2.72	1.62
Orissa	1.59	1.84	1.63
Punjab	3.84	3.93	0.26
Rajasthan	2.83	3.10	1.01
Tamil Nadu	1.92	3.10	5.49
Uttar Pradesh	2.31	2.79	2.11
West Bengal	3.27	3.50	0.76
All-India (Average)	2.76	3.40	2.33

Source: page 35. Vijayamohan Pillai. N. (2004), Liberalisation of Rural Poverty: The Indian Experience, CDS Working Paper 356, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, March 2004,

From Table 3.13, it can be seen that the real wage rate of agricultural workers in Kerala in 1989-90 was Rs. 3.47, in Tamil Nadu it was Rs. 1.92 and the national average was Rs. 2.76. This shows that during 1989-90 the real wage rate in Kerala was higher than that of Tamil Nadu as well as the national average. The states of Haryana, and Punjab had higher real wage rates than that of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. They are agriculturally and economically more advanced states in India. The real wage rate of agricultural workers in Kerala has increased from Rs. 3.47 in 1989-90 to Rs. 6.71 in 1998-99, and that of Tamil Nadu from Rs. 1.92 to Rs. 3.10. The growth rate of wages during this period in Kerala was 93 per cent and that of Tamil Nadu was 61 per cent. However, it is also important to note that, the growth rate of wages of Haryana was only 22 per cent and that of Punjab was mere 2.3 per cent, while the

growth rate at the national was 23 per cent. Similarly, in the case of certain states the annual growth rate was negative.

Thus, the growth rate of real wages during the decade 1989-90 to 1998-99 was highest in Kerala, and is followed by Tamil Nadu. But the growth rate of real wage rates of Hariyana, Punjab and other Indian states were lower than that of these two states.

Agricultural Wage Indices of Some Selected States

In order to ascertain growth rate of wages, wage indices can also be used. The following table (Table 3.14) shows the agricultural wage indices of different states taking 1990-91 as the base year.

Table 3.14
Agricultural Wage Indices for Selected States: 1990-91 to 1998-99
(1990-91 Prices)

Year	Kerala	Tamil Nadu	Andhra Pradesh	Gujarat	Maharashtra	Punjab
1990-91	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1991-92	104.1	95.2	88.6	95.7	85.2	103.7
1992-93	114.2	107.8	90.0	103.3	85.8	108.1
1993-94	111.0	120.3	97.7	106.2	107.7	109.7
1994-95	116.8	121.5	100.4	107.6	107.0	108.4
1995-96	132.2	125.5	98.7	110.7	98.5	101.3
1996-97	151.4	135.9	100.1	116.3	106.7	100.9
1997-98	174.8	153.7	104.5	133.1	118.3	101.6
1998-99	183.7	158.1	99.6	151.0	107.8	98.5
Growth Rate	7.8	6.3	1.1	4.8	2.7	-0.5

Source: Page No. 63, Tamil Nadu Development Report 2005

It is apparent from Table 3.14 that, agricultural wage indices in Kerala grew by 83.7 points during 1990-91 to 1998-99 period, marking an annual growth rate of 7.8 per cent. During the same period the indices of Tamil Nadu grew by 58.1 points and the annual growth rate was 6.3 per cent. At the same time, wage indices of Andhra Pradesh, another south Indian state marked a decline and the annual growth rate during the period was only 1.1 per cent. Similarly in Maharashtra, one of the most industrialised states in India, the wage indices grew only by 7.8 points and the annual growth rate was 2.7 per

cent, while that of Gujarat, another industrialised and growing state in India, grew by 51 points marking an annual growth rate of 4.8 per cent. While in Punjab, another developed state, where the wage rate was one of the highest in India and more than that of Kerala, the indices declined and the annual growth rate was negative.

Reasons for High Growth Rate of Wages in Kerala

From the above discussion it can be understood that the wage rates as well as the growth rate of wages during the 1990s were the highest in Kerala, among the Indian states. In many cases the increase was higher than the cost of living index and there is no significant relationship between the wage rates of Kerala and productivity of labour in Kerala⁶⁷. At this juncture it is also important to note that Kerala is a state with high unemployment rates.

There are many reasons for this special feature of labour market of Kerala. The trade unions in Kerala are more broad based and well organised than those in Tamil Nadu and those at the national level⁶⁸. These well organised strong unions and the resultant collective bargaining power is one of the major reasons for high wage rate in Kerala. In other words strong unionisation, minimum wages and other legal enactments as well as other state interferences, various social security measures etc have created a “social floor” below which the wages in Kerala will not fall⁶⁹. Working at a wage lower than this “social wage” is perceived to be against social dignity and anti-social⁷⁰. Gulf emigration⁷¹ is another important reason, which has affected both demand and supply sides of labour market. Majority of emigrants were either skilled or unskilled manual workers, especially from the construction sector⁷², their withdrawal led to decrease in supply of such labourers. Further, the construction boom and allied infra-structural developmental activities due to gulf emigration and resultant remittances raised demand for construction as well as other skilled and unskilled manual workers⁷³. The increased demand

and short supply along with the job preferences due to which no replacement of workers withdrawn from the labour market, either due to old age or migration, is taking place⁷⁴ etc., have led to increase of wages in construction sector closely followed by other sectors also. Literacy and higher levels of education, better living standard, higher cost of living etc have also led to increase in the wage rates of manual workers when compared to their counterparts in other states. Similarly increased incomes and earnings of labour households through higher wages, remittances from abroad and the helping attitude of *Malayalees* towards friends and relative belonging to poor and weaker sections helped them to remain unemployed for days rather than working at lower wage rates. This has also led to increase in the wage rate of Kerala.

Thus trade unions, various rules and regulations, policies of state government, various social security measures and gulf remittances, job preference etc., have played a major role in increasing the wages and wage rates of Kerala at the highest level in India. But the increase in many cases was not justified by productivity.

The major reason for high growth rate of wages in Tamil Nadu is the migration from the rural agricultural areas to urban areas during the 1990s due to poor performance of agriculture, leading to scarcity of workers. Better performance of agriculture, later on aggravated this scarcity and led to the increase of wage rates⁷⁵. Moreover, Kerala being their immediate neighbouring state, where the wage rate is the highest in India, and there is an increased demand for and scarcity of manual labourers, has also influenced the wage rate of Tamil Nadu since they can migrate without any difficulty and without incurring much expenses. A lot of persons have migrated from Tamil Nadu to Kerala for employment purposes alone. Thus the influence of Kerala in increasing the wage rate of Tamil Nadu emerges as a matter of study.

The above analysis clearly shows that, the wage rate and the growth rate of wages in Kerala was much higher than that of Tamil Nadu and is the highest among the Indian states. High wage rate in Kerala and Tamil Nadu has adversely affected agriculture and significant decline in the employment in agriculture in these two states during the 1990s⁷⁶. High wage rate and consequent high labour cost in Kerala has adversely affected agricultural as well as industrial development in Kerala⁷⁷. Thus even though high wage rate improves the standard of living of workers and their households it can impair agricultural and industrial development and consequent economic development of the states.

CHILD LABOUR IN KERALA AND TAMIL NADU

Child labour is a universal phenomenon. It existed from immemorial past and still continues in almost all countries. But the intensity of its incidence varies from place to place and country to country. It increases the supply of labour and leads to depress adult wage rates⁷⁸. It is the result of poverty and low income consequent to the prevailing low wage rates, non-payment of minimum wages, and unemployment and underemployment situation in the labour market. Thus, both demand and supply conditions of labour market determine the incidence of child labour⁷⁹. Incidence of child labour shows underdevelopment and backwardness of the labour market as well as the social and economic backwardness of the community.

Incidence of Child Labour

Incidence of child labour varies with place and time according to the income and perceptions of parents, labour market conditions, policies of government and society, educational facilities etc. It is estimated that in the year 2004, about 218 million children are working in the world⁸⁰. Though the percentage of child workers is higher in certain other countries, the number of working children is the largest in India⁸¹. Among the Indian states Andhra

Pradesh has the first place, Tamil Nadu stands with the fifth and Kerala has the last place in incidence of child labour.

Table 3.15
State-wise Distribution of Working Children

States	1971	Perce tage	1981	Perce tage	1991	Perce tage	2001	Perce ntage
Andhra Pradesh	1627492	15.00	1951312	14.30	1661940	14.72	1363339	11.00
Karnataka	808719	7.50	1131530	8.30	976247	8.65	822615	6.00
Kerala	111801	1.00	92854	0.68	34800	0.30	26156	0.26
Tamil Nadu	713305	7.00	975055	7.14	578889	5.13	418801	3.00
All India	10753985	100.00	13640870	100.00	11285349	100.00	12666377	100.0

Source: Various Census Reports

Table 3.15 shows the number of child labourers and percentage share of south Indian states and at the national level as per various censuses. According to the table, as per 1971 census, there were 1,07,53,895 child workers in India. Of these, one per cent belonged to Kerala and seven per cent belonged to Tamil Nadu. The 1971 census disclosed that the incidence of child labour was the lowest in Kerala among Indian states. As per the 2001 census the number of working children in Kerala declined to 26,156 (0.26 per cent), that of Tamil Nadu to 418801 (3 per cent) but the number of working children at the national level increased to 1,26,66,377. Incidence of child labour as per 2001 census was also the lowest in Kerala.

Thus, during the three decades (1971-2001) under study the number of working children in Kerala declined from 1,11,801 to 26,156 or a fall of 77 per cent. In Tamil Nadu the number declined from 7,13,305 to 4,18,801 or a drop of 41 per cent. At the national level, during the period the number of child workers increased from 1,07,53,985 to 1,26,66,377 or an increase of 17.78 per cent. Therefore, it can be concluded that, not only the incidence of child labour is very low in Kerala when compared to that of Tamil Nadu and other

states in India, but also the rate of decline in child labour during the period 1971-2001 was the highest.

Reasons for Low Incidence of Child Labour in Kerala

There are various reasons for low incidence and faster decline of child labour in Kerala⁸². The socio-political environment, high wage rates and consequent higher income of parents, educational level of parents as well as their readiness to give better education to their children and better educational facilities in the state, existence of well-established strong trade unions and NGOs as well as legal enforcement systems etc have resulted in reduction of and low incidence of child labour in Kerala.

Even though child labour is lowest in Kerala, there exists child labour in almost all parts of the state. They can be seen as domestic servants, as workers and cleaning boys in tea-stalls, hotels, restaurants and road side hotels, shoe polishing, vending, news paper selling, helpers in automobile workshops and garages, rag picking etc. Similarly there is an increase in the number of child beggars also⁸³. A close observation of these child workers and beggars reveals the fact that many of them belong to the neighbouring states, especially Tamil Nadu. Further there exist commission agents, brokers and other intermediaries to recruit children from the neighbouring states to Kerala.

Reasons for Higher Incidence of Child Labour in Tamil Nadu

The incidence of child labour is very high in Tamil Nadu⁸⁴. Further, out of the 114 districts identified as the endemic in child labour in the country 12 were in the state of Tamil Nadu and it has fifth rank among Indian states in the matter of child labour⁸⁵. A survey (2003) conducted by the Government of Tamil Nadu on child labour revealed, among other things, the following facts shown in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16
Child Labour in Tamil Nadu

Age group	Male	Female	Total
Age >= 5 and Age < 9	4089	3457	7546
Age >= 9 and Age < 12	8889	7682	16571
Age >= 12 and Age <= 14	24813	20580	45393
Unspecified	9	2	11
Total	37800	31721	69521
Hazardous occupation	8185	7999	16184
Non-hazardous occupation	29615	23722	53337

Source: Child Labour Survey March 2003, <http://intra.tn.nic.in/childlabour/default.htm>

As per Table 3.16, there were 69,521 child labourers in Tamil Nadu in the year 2003. Out of these 54.37 per cent were boys and 45.63 per cent were girls. 11 per cent of them belonged to the age group less than 9 years, 24 per cent in the age group of 9-12 years and 65 per cent belonged to the age group of 12-14 years. Further, 23 per cent of them were engaged in hazardous occupations and 76 per cent were engaged in non-hazardous occupations. Thus it can be said that child labour exists at a higher rate in Tamil Nadu, when compared to that of Kerala.

Parental poverty, parental need for supplementary income, attitude of parents towards girl children as a burden, availability of good job opportunities⁸⁶, low wage rates, marginal difference between unskilled adult wage rate and child wage rate, especially in those activities where child labour is predominant⁸⁷, the attitude of parents to increase income of the family and to augment the material resources of the family⁸⁸ are the major reasons for high incidence of child labour in Tamil Nadu. In short, low wage rates, low income and the attitude of parents to increase income and resources of the family are the major reasons for child labour in Tamil Nadu.

However, there was a considerable fall in the incidence of child labour in Tamil Nadu in recent days. Various social sector programmes such as

nutrition, noon-meal programmes, free supply of uniforms and books, free bus passes, girl child development schemes, marriage assistance and other incentives for increasing enrolment, along with growth of per capita income and relatively better living standards⁸⁹ are the major reasons for decline in the child labour.

GROWTH OF EMPLOYMENT

Growth of employment is another important labour market indicator. It is an indicator of the economic growth also. Growth of employment is the result of growth or increase in the demand for labour. A comparative study of growth of employment with the growth of labour force helps to understand the various defects of the labour market and efficiency or otherwise inefficiency in the labour market operations.

Table 3.17
Growth of Employment in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

States	1983 to 1993-94			1993-94 to 1999-2000		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
Kerala	2.0	-1.2	0.9	1.6	1.4	1.6
Tamil Nadu	1.6	2.0	1.8	1.4	-0.3	0.8
All India	2.2	1.7	2.1	1.9	0.9	1.6

Source: Page160, National Human Development Report 2001

From Table 3.17, it can be understood that, the growth rate of employment in Kerala during the first period (1983 to 1993-94) was lower than that of Tamil Nadu as well as that of the national level. During this period the female employment had actually declined in Kerala. But during the second period, Kerala could achieve a higher growth rate, equal to that of the national level and higher than that of Tamil Nadu. During this period the female employment in Tamil Nadu had actually declined. It is interesting to note that during the first period Kerala's employment growth rate was half of that of Tamil Nadu but during the second period, just opposite occurred; the growth rate of employment in Tamil Nadu was half of that of Kerala. The table shows

a trend common to both the states as well as All-India level, that the growth rate of employment was the minimum in rural areas. This is on account of the decline in agriculture and other primary sector employment, which are mainly concentrated in rural areas.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is a condition of “joblessness”, which arises due to the oversupply of labourers than that of the demanded as a result of various economic, demographic, political, social as well as cultural factors. Unemployment leads to reduction of wage rates, bad working conditions, casualisation, competition among the workers themselves for jobs etc. and is one of the major reasons for labour migration. Consequently, it results in lack of income, poverty, low standards of living and frustration among the people. Thus reduction of unemployment and underemployment becomes one of the major objectives of government.

Incidence of Unemployment

On the basis of unemployment rates, which shows the relationship between the number of persons unemployed and labour force⁹⁰ unemployment and incidence of unemployment of these two states can be studied. Incidence of unemployment means “the percentage of persons unemployed in the age group 15 years and above on the usual principal and subsidiary status to the total number of persons in the labour force⁹¹”. Table 3.18 shows the incidence of unemployment in the states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and at All-India level.

Table 3.18
Incidence of Unemployment in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

States	1983			1993-94			1999-2000		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Kerala	7.0	8.6	7.9	5.8	12.1	7.7	5.6	15.1	8.6
Tamil Nadu	3.7	2.1	3.1	2.6	2.0	2.4	2.9	1.9	2.6
All India	2.3	1.3	2.0	2.1	1.7	2.0	2.5	1.8	2.3

Source: National Human Development Report 2001, Page161-163

Table 3.18 reveals that, unemployment rate among males in Kerala in 1983 was 7.0, while that in Tamil Nadu was 3.7 and at the national level, it was only 2.3. During the year, the female unemployment rate in Kerala was 8.6 and that of Tamil Nadu was 2.1 and that at the national level was only 1.3. Similarly total unemployment rate was 7.9 in Kerala, 3.1 in Tamil Nadu and 2.0 at the national level. This shows that the incidence of unemployment in Kerala was severe and more than that of Tamil Nadu and that at the national level. In the year 1999-2000, unemployment rate of males in Kerala declined to 5.6, that at Tamil Nadu declined to 2.9 but the rate at the national level nominally increased to 2.5. While unemployment rate of females of Kerala increased considerably during this period and rose to 15.1, that of Tamil Nadu declined to 1.9, and that at national level also increased to 1.8. Total unemployment rate of Kerala increased to 8.6, but that of Tamil Nadu declined to 2.6 and that national level also increased to 2.3. This shows that incidence of unemployment is higher in Kerala.

Educated Unemployment

An important feature of the unemployment of these two states is the high rate of educated unemployment. Almost all experts who have dealt with the general economic conditions or labour market issues have considered unemployment among the educated as a serious problem⁹². In Kerala, at the end the year 2004, there were 37.56 lakh persons registered in employment exchanges. Of these 6.73 lakhs (18 per cent) were persons having qualification below S.S.L.C., and 30.83 lakh (82 per cent) persons were having educational qualification above S.S.L.C⁹³. The condition of Tamil Nadu is also not different. In the year 2004, there were 49,85,289 persons registered in Employment Exchanges⁹⁴. Among them, 70 per cent have tenth standard qualifications at least⁹⁵. In both the states female unemployment is also severe.

The reasons for unemployment in these two states are also more or less the same. Oversupply of educated on account of liberal education system, heavy subsidisation of college education, demographic trends, job preference of educated youth (hesitation to engage in manual/blue collar jobs), preference for salaried regular employments than self-employment⁹⁶, lack of industrial and economic development, decline in the agricultural and allied sector employment, declining chances for emigration to gulf etc are the major reasons cited for unemployment in Kerala.

But, high unemployment, high wage rates and shortage of labourers are major problems and are considered as a paradoxical situation in the labour market of Kerala⁹⁷. Such a situation is "mainly due to the subjectivity of the people and it is more of a problem of individuals than an economic or a social problem"⁹⁸.

Thus, it can be said that unemployment rate in Kerala is much higher than that of Tamil Nadu as well as that of the national level. Similarly, the rate of Tamil Nadu is higher than that of the national level. Further the rates of Kerala shows an increasing trend, while that of Tamil Nadu show a declining trend. It is also important to note that the rate of unemployment among females in Kerala is higher than that of Tamil Nadu, and has increased sharply over the period. But that of Tamil Nadu has declined during the period. In this way, unemployment situation as a whole is severe in Kerala when compared to that of Tamil Nadu.



POVERTY

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Poverty is a major problem faced by almost all countries in the world. But the incidence and intensity of poverty vary from place to place and time to time. Poverty adversely affects the quality of labour force and is a major push factor that compels people to leave their places of origin and migrate to other

places. Thus an analytical study of the poverty situation of these two states will hold good.

Poverty is “a social phenomenon in which a segment of the society is unable to fulfil even its basic necessities of life”⁹⁹. It can be defined as the inability to achieve minimum adequate level of consumption¹⁰⁰, or as “a situation in which an individual fails to earn an income which makes him to buy mere means of subsistence”¹⁰¹. But a definition based on lack of income is too narrow and it gives a partial picture only.¹⁰² It is wider and it is a matter of deprivation, which is a product of a set of interlocking factors including material (income) poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness.

Poverty Situation in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

In the matter of poverty, wide regional disparities can be seen in India. Poverty eradication was one of the major objectives the various Five Year Plans implemented in India. Similarly, since independence, the central as well as state governments have implemented several special schemes and programmes for this purpose alone. Still more than 26 per cent of population in India remains below the poverty line¹⁰³. In the year 1999-2000, Jammu and Kashmir had the lowest percentage (2 per cent) and Orissa had the highest (47.5 per cent) percentage of population below poverty line among the states in India¹⁰⁴ and at the national level 26.10 per cent of population remained below poverty line. A comparative study of the percentage changes in the population below poverty line over the last three decades is made with the help of Table. 3.19.

Table 3.19
Incidence of Poverty (Percentage) in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

State	1973-74			1999-2000		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Kerala	59.19	62.74	59.79	9.38	20.27	12.72
Tamil Nadu	57.43	49.40	54.94	20.55	22.11	21.12
All-India	56.44	40.01	54.88	27.09	23.62	26.10

Source: 1). Figures of 1973-74, page 268, Bhat G.M. Incidence and Measurement of Poverty on India pp. 264-275; and figures of 1999-2000, Dr. S. Lakshmi in Dr. Sita Ram Singh (ed), Poverty Alleviation in the Third World, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 2005 pp 214-228.

Table 3.19 highlights that, in 1973-74, Kerala was one of the poorest states in India; the incidence of poverty both at rural as well as at urban was higher than that of Tamil Nadu and also that of the national level. But, within a period of 25 years the incidence of rural poverty in Kerala has declined from 59.19 per cent to mere 9.38 per cent i.e. a decline of 50 percentage points. The incidence of urban poverty during this period declined from 62.74 per cent to 20.27 per cent, a decline of 42 percentage points. Similarly the total incidence of poverty has declined from 59.79 per cent to 12.72 per cent or by 47 per cent. In the case of Tamil Nadu, during the period under study the incidence of rural poverty declined by 37 per cent, urban poverty by 27 per cent and the total incidence by 34 per cent. At the national level the rate of decline was lower than that of these two states and was 29 per cent in rural areas, 16 per cent in urban areas and 28 per cent in the total incidence. Thus it can be rightly mentioned that the rate of decline in the incidence of poverty was much higher in Kerala and the state is one of the states in India with lower incidence of poverty.

Reasons for Decline of Poverty

The above discussion shows that the incidence of poverty in Kerala is lower than that of Tamil Nadu, and there exists considerable difference between the percentages of population below poverty in these two states,

especially in the case of rural areas. Kerala could achieve remarkable success in the eradication of poverty and could reduce the incidence of poverty at a faster rate than that of Tamil Nadu or any other states in India. Land reforms, basic minimum services and universal public distribution system with remarkable food security, a wide network of social security schemes and remittances from emigrants along with rapid growth of tertiary sector, high farm yields, higher state development spending and higher non-farm output¹⁰⁵ etc., are the major reasons for such an achievement. However, poverty still persists in certain pockets and among certain outlier groups¹⁰⁶ such as tribal, fishing communities, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes¹⁰⁷

Tamil Nadu has also made significant achievement in poverty reduction. Larger government spending, implementation of various poverty alleviation schemes aiming at income generation and employment creation, the noon meal scheme covering school children and old age pensioners and the implementation of other nutrition programmes such as the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS) aimed specifically at improving women and children's nutritional status¹⁰⁸ etc., are the major reasons for the success of Tamil Nadu in reducing the poverty to the present level.

MIGRATION

Another important determinant factor in a labour market is the migration of labourers. Migration affects both demand and supply of labourers as well as wage rates in a labour market. Labour migration is the result of imperfections in the labour market. Increased demand for labourers and higher wages lead to in-migration of labourers in to the labour market. While increased inflow of migrants in to a labour market increases supply of labourers and adversely affects wage rates in the labour markets. Thus labour migration and labour market operations are inter-connected and are inter-related.

Both Kerala and Tamil Nadu are the most migration prevalent states of India. However, migration of Keralites is a recent phenomenon and it started only after the 1940s¹⁰⁹. At the same time, migration of Tamils is an age old phenomenon and Tamils can be seen in different parts of the world who had migrated very early. Similarly, poor persons from Tamil Nadu had migrated from the earlier date itself to Kerala, especially to the estates and plantations of Travancore-Cochin areas¹¹⁰. Before going into a detailed study of Tamil workers in Kerala it will be better to have a general idea about the inter-state migration patterns of these two states in general. Table 3.20 and Figure 2 show the migratory movements between the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

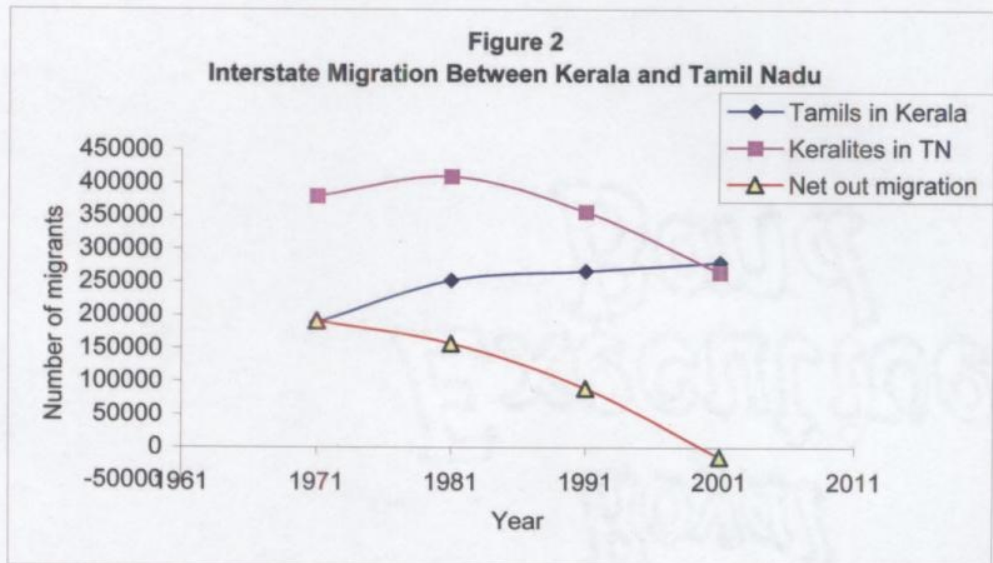
Table 3.20
Migratory Movements between Kerala and Tamil Nadu

Year	In-migration to Kerala From Tamil Nadu		Out-migration to Tamil Nadu From Kerala		Difference (Net in-migration/ Net out-migration)	Total number of in-migrants in Tamil Nadu
	Total number of Tamils in Kerala	per cent share of Tamils in interstate Migrants in Kerala	Total Number of Keralites in Tamil Nadu	per cent Share of Keralites in interstate Migrants in Tamil Nadu		
1971	188635	75.83	379717	47.52	191082	799141
1981	252509	74.02	409312	44.30	156803	924024
1991	266751	66.90	356287	40.03	89536	890127
2001	279702	67.75	264780	33.34	-14922	794146

Source: Migration Tables of Various Census Reports- Kerala and Tamil Nadu Series.

It is apparent from Table 3.20 that, as per 2001 census, there were 2,79,702 persons in Kerala who were born in Tamil Nadu, which constitutes more than two-third of the total interstate in-migrants in Kerala. Similarly there were 2,64,780 Keralites in Tamil Nadu which constituted one-third of the total inter-state in-migrants in the state of Tamil Nadu. The results of 2001 Census show an opposite trend in inter-state migration patterns of these two states. As per the previous censuses, the number of Keralites in Tamil Nadu exceeded the number of Tamil in Kerala (net out-migration). But as per the 2001 census, the number of Keralites in Tamil Nadu is lower than the number of Tamil in Kerala

(net in-migration). The number of net in-migrants from Tamil Nadu as per the census in Kerala is 14922.



Source: Same as above table

Analysis of Table 3.20 and Figure 2 further highlights that, during the period 1971-2001: -

1. In-migration into Kerala from Tamil Nadu shows an increasing trend, but at a declining rate.
2. Tamils constitute the majority of inter-state in-migrants in Kerala. But their share in inter-state in-migrants in Kerala shows a declining trend, but last census reveals a recovery. As per 1971 and 1981 censuses they had a majority of three-fourth in the interstate in-migrants in Kerala, but had reduced to two-third as per the last two censuses.
3. The number of Keralite out-migrants to Tamil Nadu and their share in the total interstate in-migrants in Tamil Nadu is declining significantly during the last two decades, indicating

that more and more Keralite migrants are returning from Tamil Nadu to Kerala.

4. Up to 1991 census, there was net out-migration from Kerala to Tamil Nadu but the 2001 census revealed an opposite trend showing net in-migration from Tamil Nadu to Kerala.
5. The total number of interstate in-migrants in Tamil Nadu shows a declining trend over the last two censuses pointing that the attraction of Tamil Nadu as a destination of interstate in-migrants is declining.

A major and the most important reason for such a trend in the out-migration of Keralites is the gulf emigration from Kerala. The emigration, which started during the 1970s, opened up new destinations to Keralites and they started emigration on large scale, especially after 1980s. Similarly they also started to out-migrate to other states especially to Maharashtra, Karnataka, Gujarat, Delhi, and Uttar Pradesh. They got more favourable destination and thus, they changed their pattern.

Since majority of emigrants from Kerala belonged to the skilled and unskilled manual workers, there was a shortage of such manual workers in the labour market of Kerala. Construction boom and other infrastructural developmental activities in the state necessitated more manual workers. Thus, decrease in the labour supply and increase in demand for labourers led to widen the imbalance in the labour market and steep rise in the general wage rates. Job preferences of Keralite youths aggravated this situation. But it provided an opportunity to the hard working Tamils and they began to migrate to Kerala in large scale to fill the vacuum created by mass emigration or as a "replacement migration". In certain areas of Kerala, especially in Malappuram district they

are the major source of labourers for agriculture, construction and other manual works.

Destination States of Keralites and Tamils

After discussing the inter-state migratory movements between Kerala and Tamil Nadu, their inter-state migration pattern can be analysed to have an idea about their various other destination states of India as whole. Table 3.21 shows the number and percentage of Keralites and Tamils in other states of India.

Table 3.21
Flow of Inter-State Migrants from Kerala and Tamil Nadu

States of Destination (TO)	From Kerala		From Tamil Nadu	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Andhra Pradesh	40400	4.75	173200	11.11
Karnataka	211900	24.94	378300	24.26
Kerala			290300	18.61
Tamil Nadu	311800	36.69		
Maharashtra	169800	19.98	375100	24.05
West Bengal	18100	2.13	87300	5.60
Uttar Pradesh	11400	1.34	12700	0.81
Madhya Pradesh	20300	2.39	18000	1.15
Other States	66100	7.78	224600	14.4
Total	849800	100.00	1559500	100.00

Source: Table No. 1.1.17 Manpower Profile India Year Book 2004, Page 24.

As per Table 3.21, 849800 Keralites have migrated to various states in India. Nearly 37 per cent of them have out-migrated to Tamil Nadu, indicating that still Tamil Nadu is the most preferred destination of Keralite out-migrants. Karnataka is the second preferred destination of Keralite out-migrants and 25 per cent of Keralite out-migrants can be seen in Karnataka. 20 per cent of Keralite out-migrants are in Maharashtra and thus it is the third preferred destination of Keralites. Thus 82 per cent of out migrants of Kerala has migrated to the three states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Maharashtra.

The table further shows that, there were 1559500 out-migrants in Tamil Nadu. Of these, 25 per cent and 24 per cent have out-migrated to Karnataka and Maharashtra respectively, while only 19 per cent have migrated into Kerala. Thus in the case of Tamil Nadu, major choice of destinations are Karnataka and Maharashtra while Kerala is only their third choice. The table again shows that migrants from these two states have reached in almost all states of India, but with varying percentages, except in the case of Karnataka, to where both the states have sent more or less equal percentage of migrants.

Another important difference between the migrants of Kerala and of the other states in India (including Tamil Nadu) is that majority of out-migrants of Kerala have migrated to the metropolitan cities of the neighbouring states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka Maharashtra etc. They are better educated than non-migrants in the destination or migrants from other parts of the country. Moreover, they are economically motivated and are in the young age groups and are employed in formal sectors or are engaged in business, service or professions. Further, majority of them wish to return Kerala after their retirement¹¹¹.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a partial view of the labour market conditions of Kerala (destination) and that of Tamil Nadu (origin). A comparative analysis of labour market conditions of these states shows certain similarities as well dissimilarities. Labour force participation and work participation rates of these states show more or less the same trend, but these rates are higher in Tamil Nadu when compared to Kerala. Wage rate of Kerala, in most cases, is two times higher than that of Tamil Nadu, but growth rate of wages in the recent years is higher in Tamil Nadu when compared to Kerala. Significant changes have also taken place in the inter-state migration patterns between these states.

As per the last census, Kerala has become a net in-migrant state from Tamil Nadu. But, as per the previous censuses Kerala was a net out-migrating state to Tamil Nadu. Thus, these similarities and dissimilarities are the major reasons for in-migration of Tamil workers into Kerala.

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**INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT OF TAMIL WORKERS IN
KERALA - A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
MALAPPURAM DISTRICT**

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CHAPTER IV

**MALAPPURAM:
THE DISTRICT OF DESTINATION**

Chapter 4

MALAPPURAM: THE DISTRICT OF DESTINATION

Local labour market features and socio-economic conditions of the destination play an important role in the inflow of migrant workers and their continuation in the destination. Since, the present study focuses on Tamil workers in Malappuram district, it is imperative to have a detailed idea about the socio-economic and labour market features of the district. Accordingly, this chapter is meant to fulfil this object, provides a detailed analysis of socio-economic aspects as well as labour market conditions of the district.

Malappuram district was formed on 16th June 1969, through the amalgamation of the distant and backward areas of the erstwhile Kozhikkode district and Perinthalmanna and Ponnani taluks of Palakkad district. It is surrounded by the Nilgiris of Tamil Nadu in the east, Arabian Sea in the west, Kozhikkode and Wayanad districts in the north and Palakkad and Thrissur districts in the south. The district has a geographical area of 3,550 square kilometres, which constitutes 9.13 percent of the total area and accommodates nearly 11.4 percent of population of the state of Kerala; the third in size and first in population among the districts of the state. It is one of the economically, socially and educationally most backward districts of Kerala. The HDI rank of the district is (0.749) the lowest among the 14 districts; that of the state is 0.773, while that of Eranakulam district, which possess the first rank in HDI, is 0.801¹.

Topography

The district lies between 10° 41 and 11° 32 North latitudes and 75° 50 and 76°32 East longitudes. Similar to the natural divisions of the State of Kerala, this district can also be divided into lowland stretching along the seacoast, mid land as the centre and high land stretching the east and north-

eastern parts. As the literal meaning of the word Malappuram, 'the land atop the hill', its topography is highly undulating, with small hills and hillocks, starting from the hilltops covered with thick forest on the east along the Nilgiris, gradually sloping down to the valleys and the small hills, and ending on the sandy flat of luxuriant coconut groves in the west. The climate of the district is also more or less same as that of the state, experiencing dry season from December to February, hot season from March to May, and monsoon from June to November. The climate is generally hot and humid; the range of temperature varying between 20° C and 30°C and the average annual rainfall is 290 mm.

The Economy

As mentioned, Malappuram is one of the economically most backward districts of Kerala. Agriculture is the major economic activity, which is deteriorating continuously due to the increasing population pressure on land, escalating wages and other input costs making agriculture a non-profitable activity. Industrially also, the district is very backward. There is no mentionable large-scale industrial firm in this district. Many of the medium and small-scale industries, mainly in public sector are either closed or are on the verge of closure. Construction is the major economic activity, which was created and is flourishing due to the emigration and resultant remittances and has led to the so-called construction boom. Service sector has achieved greater importance in the economy and it also owes to emigration and resultant remittances for its growth.

The per capita income of the district was Rs. 18,001 in 2004-05 at current prices, which was the lowest among the districts of Kerala. The state level average was Rs. 27,048 and that of Ernakulam district, which has the highest per capita income among the districts, was Rs. 34,709². This shows that the per capita income of the district was 33.44 per cent lower than that at

the state level. At the same time, the per capita income of the district in 1970-71 at the current prices was Rs. 461.30 and that at the state level was Rs. 563.56, and the difference between the per capita at the district level and at the state level was only 18.15 per cent. This means the growth rate of per capita at the district level was lower than that at the state level and the difference between the per capita incomes at the two levels have widened much between 1970-71 and 2004-05. During 1970-71 also the district stood at the lowest rank in the state.

The net domestic product of the district during the year 2003-04 at current prices was 7.5 percent of the NSDP. 16.05 percent of the income was derived from primary sector and in the case of the state it was 16.7 percent. Secondary sector contributed 18.76 percent while in the case of the state it was 22.63 percent. Contribution of service sector was the highest and it constituted 65.18 percent of district income while in case of the state it was only 60.66 percent. Thus in this district, the share of secondary sector in income contribution is lower than that of the share of secondary sector at the state level, but the percentage of service sector is higher than that of the state³.

Majority of the households in this district depend on remittances for day-to-day requirements and these remittances form part of the major source of income of the households in the district. It is one of the most emigration prevalent districts in Kerala, has sent the largest number of emigrants from the state⁴ and 49 out of 100 households in the district are emigrant households⁵. If there was no emigration, the destiny of majority of the households in this district would have been entirely different on account of lack of education, lack of gainful employment and income, lack of development, industrial and agricultural backwardness etc. This means that, the district will be the poorest district in Kerala and sometimes in India too.

However, the composite index calculated by the Institute of Monitoring Economic Growth, Thiruvananthapuram, after considering the averages of 39 variables such as growth in net domestic product per capita net income, literacy status, enrolment rate, work seekers, population, sex ratio, IMR, MMR, health indicators, agriculture, industries, infrastructure, water supplies, banking, etc and standardising them, shows Malappuram district has second position in development growth during the last decade with an index of 52 points, the first is Palakkad district with 56 points⁶. Similarly, it is the first district in the country to have a high-speed broad bandwidth connectivity whereby citizens can access various electronic services⁷. These points show that Malappuram district has entered in the path of economic development and is one of the fast developing districts of the state.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the mainstay of the population and about 75 percent of population in the district, either directly or indirectly, depend on it. Paddy, coconut, tapioca, cashew nut, banana, rubber, ginger, pepper, betel vine, different kinds of vegetables etc. are the important crops. Appendix IV shows the important crops that are cultivated in the district and their annual production. About 2.08 lakh hectares of land are available for agriculture. Majority of the peasants are small landholders. 2.36 lakh hectares are holdings below one hectare. Only 16,107 hectares of holdings are above 2 hectares in area⁸. The average area of individual operation holding in Malappuram as well as that of state level is 0.26 hectares⁹.

Industries

Similar to the other sectors of economy, in industrial sector too, the district lags behind of other districts in the state. As on 31-03-2005 there were 30 medium and large-scale industrial units in this district - 22 in private sector, five in state sector, one in co-operative sector and two in the joint sector. There

were 720 such units at the state level¹⁰. Similarly, as on the same date, there were 13201 small-scale industrial units with an investment of Rs. 22,292.41 lakhs, and they provided employment to 52,797 persons¹¹. As on 31-3-2004 there were 1012 registered factories in this district, which provided employment to 8966 persons¹². Among the medium undertakings, three are spinning mills. KINFRA Food Park and IT Park situated at Kakkanchery are assumed to be helpful for the industrial development of the district.

Minerals

Malappuram district is not rich in mineral wealth also. Laterite stone is found abundantly in the midlands. It is exploited economically for construction work and hundreds of quarries cutting laterite stone known as *vettukallu* are in operation, giving employment to thousands. Deposits of lime shells are found in the coastal belt, mainly in Ponnani and Kadalundinagarm. The coastal sand of Ponnani and Veliyancode contain heavy minerals like ilmanite and monazite. China clay, the principal raw material for porcelain industry, is found abundantly in many parts of the district. In addition to these iron ore, gold ores etc are also found in Nilambur regions¹³.

LABOUR MARKET TRENDS

The most prominent feature of labour market and employment structure in Malappuram district is the predominance of self-employed and the casual labourers. The regular salaried employees in public/private sector from this district are very rare. Majority of clerks, officers and workers in government and semi-government as well as in private institutions, including teachers of educational institutions of this district belong to other districts. Malappuram district is known for hard working innocent cultivators and agricultural labourers as well as for petty traders. Some of the key labour market indicators and determinants of the district, subject to the availability of data, are discussed below.

Population

Human resource is the most important asset of an economy. Economic growth and development depends upon the size and quality of population. The operations of a labour market are also determined by the size and quality of population of that market. Table 4.1 shows the size and growth of population of Malappuram district from 1961 onwards, for comparative study, population at the state level is also given.

Table 4.1
Population and Growth Rate in Malappuram District and Kerala State

Year	Malappuram		Kerala	
	Population	Growth Rate	Population	Growth Rate
1961	13.87	20.67	169.04	24.76
1971	18.56	33.80	213.47	26.29
1981	24.03	29.43	254.54	19.24
1991	30.96	28.87	290.99	14.32
2001	36.25	17.09	318.39	9.42

Source: Various Census Reports. Census of India, 1991, series 12, Kerala, Part II, General Population Tables, Statement 3, 4, 9.

District Hand Book 2005, Malappuram Dept. of Economics and Statistics

According to the table (Table 4.1), population of Malappuram district in 1961 was 13.87 lakhs and it has increased to 36.25 lakhs in 2001, showing a growth of 161 per cent within 40 years. But the growth at the state level during this period was only 88.35%. The table also shows that the decadal growth rate of population of the district is much higher than that of the state level. As per the last census (2001) the population growth rate in the district during 1991-2001 was 17.09 per cent. While, the growth rate at the state level during this period was only 9.42. However, the gap between the growth rates of the district and that at the state level has decreased considerably during this period.

The total fertility rate of the district was 2.4; the highest in Kerala, that at the state level was only 1.7 and the lowest in the state was 1.5 in

Pathanamthitta, Alappuzha and Eranamkulam districts. Thus, Malappuram, among the districts of Kerala seems to be an outlier¹⁴ with highest population, highest growth rate of population and highest fertility rates. But, at the same time, it has achieved the highest rate of decline in the decadal growth rate of population during 1991-2001, and has entered in the third stage of demographic transition.

Sex Ratio

Another important determinant of labour market and an important part in the demographic studies is the sex ratio. The following table (Table 4.2) shows the sex ratios of the district and also that of the state. Kerala has a unique position in sex ratio¹⁵, and from 1901 onwards it was always higher than 1000. Malappuram district also follows the same trend and features.

Table 4.2
Sex Ratios of Malappuram District and Kerala State

Year	Kerala	Malappuram
1971	1016	1041
1981	1032	1052
1991	1036	1053
2001	1058	1066

Source: Census of India, 1991, Series 12, Kerala, Part II. General Population Tables, Statement 3, 4, 9
District Hand Book 2005, Department of Economics and Statistics,
Malappuram

From the table (Table 4.2), it can be understood that the sex ratios of the district, as per various censuses from 1971 onwards, were always higher than that of the state level. Migration of males is one of the major reasons for this phenomenon.

Literacy Rate

Even though Kerala is in the forefront of literacy and education, Malappuram district lagged behind and it was one of the literally and educationally most backward districts of Kerala as well as that of the nation. However, on account of the efforts and interventions of government and various NGOs it has achieved remarkable progress in education within a short span of time. Table 4.3 shows the literacy rate of the district as per various censuses.

Table 4.3
Literacy Rates of Malappuram District and Kerala State

District/ States	1981			1991			2001		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
Malappuram	60.50	65.93	55.34	87.94	92.08	84.09	89.6	93.3	86.3
Kerala	81.56	87.74	75.65	89.81	93.62	86.13	90.6	94.2	87.1
India	43.56	56.37	29.75	52.20	64.13	39.29	65.4	75.9	54.2

Sources: Various Census Reports.

Table 4.3 indicates that, literacy rate of Malappuram district, as per 1981 census, was (60.5) much lower than that at the state level (81.56). Similarly considerable difference existed between the literacy rates of males and females at the district and at the state levels. However, twenty years later, the 2001 census shows that appreciable improvement has taken place in the literacy rates of the district. As per the census the literacy rate of the district is 89.6 and that of the state is 90.6. The male literacy rate of the district is 93.3 and that at the state level is 94.2. Similarly the literacy rate of females in 2001 is 86.3 and that at the state level is 87.1. Thus in the matter of literacy the district has achieved fastest development within a short span of time. During the year 1981 the difference between the state level literacy rate and that at the district level was much higher, in certain cases above 20 percentage points. But this difference has reduced with in 20 years and now it is only a matter of one point or less.

Age Structure and Labour Force Participation Rates

Age structure, labour force and labour force participation rates of the district follow more or less the same trend at the state level. But considerable differences can be seen in the labour force participation rates and age composition of the district when compared to that at the state level. Table 4.4 shows the age structure and labour force of the district as well as that of the state from 1981 onwards.

Table 4.4
Age-Structure of Population in Malappuram District and Kerala State

Age Group	Malappuram			Kerala		
	1981	1991	2001	1981	1991	2001
0-14	43.39	37.4	34.08	35.00	29.77	26.06
15-59	52.11	55.7	58.57	57.50	61.43	63.39
60 and above	5.50	6.9	7.35	7.50	8.80	10.56
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Various Census Reports

According to Table 4.4, the percentage of population up to the age 14 years in the district is much higher than that at the state level. Similarly the percentage of population in the 60 + age group of the district is lower than that at the state level. Consequently the labour force participation rate of the district is much lower than that at the state level. However, the labour force participation rate of the district shows an increasing trend. But a similar increasing trend can be seen at the state level also.

As per the Census 2001, the labour force participation rate of the district was 58.57 percent, the share of population below 14 years was 34.08 per cent and that of 60+ age group was 7.35 percent. But the labour force participation rate at the state level during this period is 63.39 per cent. The percentage of young age group was 26.06 percent and that of 60+ age category is 10.56 percent. A close comparison of the age structure of population of the district

with that of the state level reveals that the age structure of the district during 2001 is more or less equal to the age structure of the state 20 years ago, i.e., in 1981.

The major reason for the difference in the labour force participation rate of the district and that at the state level is the difference in the population growth rates and birth rates. On the basis of the discussion, it can be said that the labour force participation rate of the district has increased continuously during the period under study. But the continuous decrease in the percentage of young age group is a matter of concern, which may lead to shortage of labour force in the future.

Work Participation Rates (WPR)

Work participation rate or worker population ratio shows the relationship between working population and population. It is an important labour market indicator, an indicator of employment and unemployment. A higher ratio shows higher participation and consequent higher employment situations and vice versa. Table 4.5 shows the work participation ratio of Malappuram district and Kerala state, from 1971 onwards.

Table 4.5
Work Participation Rates of Malappuram and Kerala

Year	Malappuram			Kerala		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
1971	44.68	10.16	27.08	45.00	13.49	29.53
1981	40.37	10.73	25.17	44.90	16.60	30.50
1991	40.70	8.70	24.30	47.60	15.90	31.40
2001	42.80	6.60	24.10	50.00	15.00	32.00

Source: Various Census Reports

An analysis of Table 4.5 discloses that during the period 1971-2001 the WPR of the district has declined continuously from 27.08 and reached at the bottom level of 24.1. But the rate at the state level has improved during this

period and it increased from 29.53 to 32. Male WPR of the district, during the study period, fell from 44.68 to 42.8, at the state level the same rate has increased from 45 to 50. Similarly, female WPR of the district has declined from 10.16 to 6.6, while the rate at state level has increased from 13.49 to 15. This shows that when compared to the state level, the work participation rate of the district is not only much low but also deteriorating over the years.

Lack of availability of employment is not a reason for the reduction in the work participation rates. Actually, the district is facing severe shortage of workers, both educated as well as manual workers. Thus a major reason for the reduced WPR for males is personal factors, their employment preferences and consequent withdrawal from the agricultural and other manual labour.

When compared to the decline and deterioration of male WPR, the decline in female WPR is more and remarkable. It is an accepted truth that, increase in households' income leads to the withdrawal of certain members from the labour market. Emigration has led to increase in the income of the households in the district very much. Most of these households belonged to agricultural or other manual labourers. To meet both ends, in the earlier days all of the family, without any distinction between male or female, and child or aged had to work outside home and thus work participation rate was higher. Moreover, all of the females who worked outside were in the agricultural sector or other manual sector workers, except a few, that too very rare, worked in formal sector. Lack of formal education as well as their ignorance kept them away from entering in to the formal labour market segment. Moreover, the religious beliefs of Muslims were against sending females out for employment. Thus, increased income helped these households to withdraw their females from the secondary labour market. At the same time lack of sufficient education hindered the growing female population in entering formal labour markets and improving work participation rates as in the case of other

districts. Thus gulf emigration has, directly and indirectly, influenced the work participation rate too much. However a detailed study is necessary to ascertain various reasons for the lowest work participation rates in the district.

Quality of Employment

Quality of employment is discussed on the basis of dividing the workers into main, marginal and non-workers. The census of India divides the population on the basis of number of days worked during the study period. Table 4.6 shows the main and marginal workers of Malappuram district and that of the state of Kerala.

Table 4.6
Percentage of Main, Marginal and Non-Workers in Malappuram District and Kerala state

District/ State	Main Workers			Marginal Workers			Non- workers		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
Malappuram									
1981	36.35	7.90	21.76	4.02	2.83	3.41	59.63	89.27	74.83
1991	37.66	6.50	21.68	3.40	2.19	2.60	58.94	91.31	75.72
2001	34.85	4.29	19.08	7.90	2.30	5.03	57.24	93.37	75.88
Kerala									
1981	41.04	12.76	26.68	3.85	3.85	3.85	55.83	83.39	69.47
1991	44.80	12.80	28.50	2.80	3.00	2.90	52.40	84.20	68.60
2001	42.00	11.00	26.00	8.00	5.00	6.00	50.00	85.00	50.00

Source: 1991 figures CENSUS DATA ON LINE, Table 18,
2001 Figures, Statement 1, Census Reports in cite <http://censusindia.net>

According to Table 4.6, as per 1981 census 36.35 percent of males and 7.9 per cent of females in the district were main workers. But at the state level these were respectively 41.04 percent and 12.76 per cent. Thus the percentage of main workers in this district as per 1981 census was (21.76 percent) lower than that (26.76 per cent) at the state level. As per the census figures of 1991, 37.66 percent of males and 6.50 percent of females were main workers. Even though there was an increase in the percentage of male main workers there was

a decline in the percentage of females during this period and thus the percentage of main workers declined nominally to 21.68 percent during this period. But at the same time all the percentages at the state level had increased as per the figures of 1991 census.

As per the latest census (2001), the percentage of male main workers in the district has reduced to 34.85 percent and that of females to mere 4.29 percent. As per the census only 19.08 percent of population of the district was main workers. But at the state level, 42 percent of males and 11 percent of females were main workers. In other words 26 percent of population is main workers. Thus it can be concluded that the percentage of main workers in the district is one of the lowest among the districts of Kerala and further the percentage is declining, especially that of females.

Marginal Workers

Table 4.6 further shows that, in the year 1981, 4.02 percent of males and 3.4 percent of females were marginal workers, or 3.41 percent of population in the district was marginal workers. At the state level the share of marginal workers in the population was 3.85 percent. The 1991 census figures show a decline in the percentages of marginal workers both in the district and at the state level. But the census figures of 2001 show the just reverse of what had happened during the previous census. In the district, the percentage of male marginal workers has increased to 7.9 percent while that at the state level to 8 per cent. In the case of females in the district, the increase was nominal and was only 2.3 percent while at the state level it has increased to 5 percent. Thus the percentage of marginal workers in the district (5.03) was lower than that at the state level (6 percent). This shows that the rate of marginalisation in the district is lower than that at the state level.

Non-workers

Non-workers form the dependent population and this category includes children, aged as well as unemployed. Even though this category cannot be taken into consideration while studying the quality of employment, it is yet another important labour market indicator and indicates the percentage of population that depends on the employed or otherwise the dependency ratio. A close observation of Table 4.6 shows that the percentage of non-workers is increasing in the district. The rate of increase in the dependency ratio is higher among females. While the percentage of male non-workers shows a nominal declining trend. At the state level also the percentage of non-workers shows a declining trend, except that of females, which shows an increasing trend. However, the rate of increase in women non-workers in district is higher than that at the state level.

Thus, the discussion leads to the conclusion that the percentage of main workers in the district is lower than that of the state level, and shows a declining trend. But, the decline in the percentage of main workers is not accompanied by an increase in the percentage of marginal workers alone but is also accompanied by an increase in the percentage of non-workers also. This indirectly gives a hint to the increasing unemployment situation in the district.

WAGE RATES

Regional variation in wages is possible and even if all other things remain the same, wages can vary from place to place. Even, the wage rates in different areas of the same district vary widely. This inter-regional wage difference is one of the major reasons for migration. Wage rate of Malappuram district is one of the highest in Kerala and shows an increasing trend.

Wage Rates of Construction Workers

Construction is the major as well as a growing economic activity carried on in the district. As said earlier construction boom as well as conspicuous construction is obvious in the district. This has led to labour shortage as well as wage increase. Table 4.7 shows the average wage rates of Malappuram district and Kerala state.

Table 4.7
Average Wage Rates (Rural) in Malappuram District and Kerala State

Year	Malappuram				Kerala			
	Carpenter	Masons	Unskilled construction workers		Carpenter	Masons	Unskilled construction workers	
			Male	Female			Male	Female
77-78	14.73	14.80	8.92	6.55	14.81	14.88	9.38	7.00
93-94	65.75	66.25	50.00	40.00	73.57	72.75	50.36	40.89
99-00	168.06	168.06	132.36	116.62	172.52	170.20	123.43	102.76
00-01	175.00	175.00	134.00	120.00	182.00	181.00	130.00	108.00
01-02	200.00	200.00	151.00	131.00	185.00	184.00	135.00	111.00
02-03	197.00	195.00	146.00	123.00	189.00	187.00	137.00	112.00
03-04	216.00	216.00	147.00	127.00	193.00	192.00	139.00	114.00

Source: Statistics for Planning 1983 p.62 & 2001, Economic Reviews of various Years and Malappuram District Hand Book 2005

From Table 4.7, it can be understood that, in the year 1977-78, the average wage rates of different categories of construction workers in the district were lower than that at the state level, but the difference between the wage rates, was not so wide. In the year 1993-94, the difference in the wage rates of skilled construction workers had increased and wage rates of skilled construction workers at the state level was Rs.6.00 more than that of the district. But in the case of unskilled workers the difference between the wage rates at the district level and at the state level was of less than Re. 1.00 and is nominal. However, the wage rate in the district was lower than that at the state level.

The table further shows an increasing trend in the wage rates of these categories of workers in the district and at the state level. It also shows that in certain years the wage rates of these categories of workers in the district were higher than that of the state averages. In the year 2002-03 the average wage rate of carpenter in this district was Rs. 197.00 and that at the state level was Rs. 189.00. The wage rate of masons in this district was Rs. 195.00 while that at the state level was Rs. 187.00. Similarly the wage rate of unskilled male workers in the district was Rs. 146.00 and that of unskilled female workers was Rs. 123.00. But the average wage rate of carpenters at the state level was Rs. 189.00 and that of masons was Rs. 187.00. Similarly average wage rate of unskilled male workers was Rs. 137.00 and that of females was Rs. 112.00. These show that the wage rates of the district, in the year 2002-03 were higher than that at the state level.

This difference in wage rates of the district and at the state level is further increased in the year 2003-04. The average wage rate of carpenters in the district has increased to Rs. 216.00 and that of masons to Rs 216.00. While these rates, at the state level were only Rs. 193.00 and Rs. 192.00 respectively. Thus the average wage rate of carpenters in the district was Rs. 23.00 higher than that at the state level and in the case of masons, Rs. 24.00 higher than that at the state level. Similarly the average wage rate of unskilled construction male workers in this district was Rs. 8.00 and females Rs. 13.00 higher than that of the state level. Thus it can be said that the recent wage rates of the district is much higher than the state averages.

Growth Rate of Wages

Analysis of the trend of wage rates of the district shows that the rate of increase in the wage rates is higher than that at the state level, which can be explained with the help of Table 4.8.

Table 4.8
Growth Rate of Wages in Malappuram and Kerala

Categories of workers	Malappuram				Kerala			
	1977-78	2003-04	Growth of wages (77-04)	Percentage of growth (77-04)	1977-78	2003-04	Growth of wages (77-04)	Percentage of growth (77-04)
Carpenter	14.73	216.00	201.27	1366.4	14.81	193.00	178.19	1203
Masons	14.83	216.00	201.17	1356.5	14.88	192.00	177.12	1190
Unskilled Males	8.92	147.00	138.08	1548.0	9.3	139.00	129.62	1382
Unskilled females	6.55	127.00	120.45	1839.0	7.00	114.00	107.00	1529

Source: Calculated from the table (4.10)

From Table 4.8, it can be observed that during the period 1977-2004 the average wage rate of carpenters in the district has grown by 1366.4 percent but the corresponding growth rate at the state level was only 1203 percent. The growth rate of average wages of masons in the district was 1356.05 percent while that at the state level was only 1190 percent. Similarly the growth rate of wages of unskilled male construction workers in the district was 1548 percent while that at the state level was only 1382 percent. In the case of unskilled female construction workers, the growth rate of average wages in the district was 1839 percent while at the state level it was only 1529 percent. All these prove that, the growth rate of wages of construction workers in the district is higher than that at the state level.

Thus it can be rightly said that Malappuram is one of the districts in Kerala having high wage rates and high growth rates in wages. This high wage rate is one of the reasons for large inflow of workers from other parts of the state as well from other states, especially from Tamil Nadu.

Reasons for High Wage Rates

Malappuram district has sent the largest number of emigrants from the state. Most of these emigrants were agricultural workers and other skilled or unskilled manual workers. Thus it has led to a decline in the supply of such manual labourers. However, important skilled construction work is distributed

in the society on the basis of caste structure and since majority of emigrants from this district are Muslims, emigration has not led to a remarkable decline in the supply of skilled construction workers. But at the same time, construction boom created by emigration has led to increased demand, which is unfulfilled, for both skilled and unskilled construction workers. Similarly, large-scale exodus of agricultural and other manual workers to gulf countries resulted in short supply, along with increased demand for workers due to the increased construction and other developmental activities in the district led to worsen the shortage of labourers. Similarly, there was no replenishment of workers withdrawn from the market, and emigration directly led to fall in the supply and increase in the demand for labourers.

Further, emigration has also changed the employment preferences and job related outlook of youths of the district. Contrary to the other districts in the state, youths of this district, even if they are barely educated, are not willing to enter into the manual labour market, but they prefer to be employed as drivers, wireman, repairers of electronic appliances, brokers, agents etc., or remain unemployed. Households also, especially emigrant households, maintain the view that manual labour is of low status and manual labourers are second-class citizens in the society. Thus they prevent dependents from entering manual work. These youths wait for years to get a visa to gulf. A major part of earnings of emigrants is sent home, where it is used to meet day-to-day household expenses. People at home consider these remittances as income and earnings of their own, spend lavishly and remain unemployed, thereby reducing the number of workers willing to offer their services for work. Such an attitude of the youths has led to the artificial shortage of labourers in the district and increase of wage rates.

Moreover, the hire purchase and instalment schemes for vehicles also helped in the transformation of the structural composition of labour force. These schemes, mainly offered by the so-called *saits* and private moneylenders,

especially from Tamil Nadu, have helped every body to acquire vehicles (particularly an auto rickshaw). Liberal driving licensing policy also adds to develop this labour market segment, which is the most developing area of employment in the district. It will not be an exaggerated statement that Malappuram district is flooded with auto rickshaws; every place where one or two shops exist, even if it is a small rural area one can see auto rickshaws, jeeps and cars whether private or taxi servicing. It is also important to note that majority of households of drivers of these vehicles do not depend on the income of these fellows, but on that got from the gulf.

Thus, the gulf phenomenon has influenced in moulding the labour market features of the district too much. Moreover the helping attitude of the people of the district has also helped the unemployed to remain unemployed. Thus one can observe able bodied youth spending their good days attending gyms and other body building institutions either in the mornings or in the evenings, other times engaged in gossips and other plays, without doing anything worthwhile either useful to their household or to the society. Now, the district faces severe shortage of manual labourers, and has led to steep rise in the wage rates; recently the district has become one of the districts in Kerala where the average wage rate is higher than that of the state level.

Emigration from Malappuram District

Malappuram district is famous for gulf emigration. At the time of formation of the district, it was one of the most backward regions of the state, but at present it is more or less equal to, and in some cases better than the other developed districts. An important reason for such development - 'the single most reason', is the emigration and resultant remittances. In addition to the remittance migration leads to on-the-job development of technical and management skills, change in life style and work culture, exposure to better and more modern tools and equipments¹⁶. Malappuram district has sent the largest

number of emigrants to the gulf countries¹⁷ and Tirur, one of the taluks in the district has sent nearly 10 percent of total emigrants of the state. But in the case of internal migration the district's role is very limited, has only 12th position among the districts of the state, at the same time the district has first place in population.

Since most of the residents of the district are Muslims, their emotional attachment, as well as preference of certain regions favouring Muslims for recruitment is one of the reasons for such mass emigration. Another important reason is that, certain occupations, especially some skilled construction activities, most of the artisan type jobs and some other services in Kerala are based on castes, since majority of the Muslims could not undertake such occupation, either due to lack of skill required or due to inferiority complex, or social interventions etc., they concentrated on agricultural activities as labourers, small cultivators and other unskilled activities including petty trade. Backwardness in education along with ignorance kept them away from government and other organised employments. Lack of employment, low wages and lack of prosperity in their respective areas compelled them to migrate to other regions.

Thus, opening up of gulf was a boon to these poverty ridden, illiterate and ignorant people. In gulf they worked as domestic servants, gardeners, cleaners and sweepers in municipalities, labourers in agricultural farms, camel-rearers and shepherds, unskilled construction workers, office boys, salesmen, and other manual workers, whose earnings are too low and working conditions are too much miserable. Except few, especially educated, majority of emigrants from this district is engaged in low status occupations. In the case of return emigration also Malappuram district has first place among the districts of Kerala¹⁸, but in the case of return out-migration Thrissur district stands first. Backwardness in education, along with religious difference is the major reason

for their low out-migration, especially in to the northern states of India. Table 4.9 shows the number and percentage of emigrants from Malappuram district.

Table 4.9
Number of Emigrants in Malappuram District and Kerala

Year	Number of Emigrants		Percentage to the total of the state	Emigrants per 100 Households	
	Malappuram	Kerala		Malappuram	Kerala
1980	36175	207805	17.41	NA	NA
1999	296710	1361955	21.79	49.2	21.4
2004	271787	1838478	14.78	45.0	26.7

Source: 1980, Statistics for Planning 1983, p. 31

1999 and 2004, Gulf Revisited, Zachariah K.C et. al 2005, p. 64.

From Table 4.9 it can be understood that, the number of emigrants from Malappuram district in the year 1980 was 36175, which constituted 17.41 per cent of the emigrants from the state of Kerala. The total number of emigrants from Kerala during the year 1980 was 207805. In the year 1999, the number of emigrants from Malappuram district has increased to 296710 and its percentage share also increased to 21.79. Thus, more than one-fifth of the total emigrants from the state of Kerala were from the district. In 2004, the number of emigrants from the district has decreased to 271787 or a decline of 24932 persons or by 8.39 percent. But at the same time the number of emigrants from the state has increased by 476523 persons or by 35 percent. Similarly the share of the district in sending emigrants from the state has also declined to 14.78 percent. Further, in 1999 the district had 49 emigrant households per 100 households, which declined to 45 per 100 households in 2004. This shows that the predominance of Malappuram district in emigration has nullified. One of the reasons for declining importance is the recent emigration pattern from Kerala. Emigration to U.K and other European countries as well as to U.S.A, Canada etc has increased and these countries have become new destinations; requiring better educational and technological calibre, which is the minimum in case of natives of the districts. Further gulf countries have also taken measures

to control and curb immigration of unskilled workers. In this way the district has got a setback in emigration and remittance.

Return Emigration

One of the major social as well economic problems faced by the district is the return emigration and their rehabilitation. Similarly, it is the major reason for the decline in the number of emigrants is the return emigration. Table 4.10 deals with return emigration from Malappuram district.

Table 4.10
Number of Return Emigrants in Malappuram District and Kerala

Year	Number of return Emigrants		Percentage to the total of the state		Return emigrants per 100 households	
	Malappuram	Kerala			Malappuram	Kerala
1999	123750	739245	16.74	100.00	20.5	11.6
2004	141537	893942	15.83	100.00	23.5	13.0

Source: Page 65, Gulf Revisited, Zachariah K. C et al

As per Table 4.10, the total number of return emigrants in the state of Kerala in the year 1999 was 739245 persons; out of these 16.73 per cent belonged to Malappuram district. The number of returnees' in the district in the year 2004 increased to 141537 persons and that at the state level to 893942. However, in 2004, the share of the district in total returnees of the state has declined to 15.83 percent. Similarly, in the year 1999, there were 20.5 return emigrant households per 100 households in the district, while at the state level it was only 11.6 return emigrant households per 100 households. In the 2004 the number of return emigrant households per 100 households in the district increased to 23.5, at the state level also there was an increase in this figure, but it was not so high and was only 13 return emigrant households per 100 households. From this discussion the intensity of return emigration in the district can be understood.

Remittances

Remittance from abroad is a major source of income to the households of the state as well as that of the district. It is the principal means by which emigration impacts upon the economy¹⁹. Majority of households, either directly or indirectly, in the district depends on remittances to meet their day-to-day expenses. The entire economic, social, cultural, religious and even political activities of the district revolve around remittance. Remittance has made far-reaching consequences upon the households of Malappuram district that too not only in their economic areas but also in almost all spheres of life. It has changed the pattern of employment, consumption, housing, life style, and social stratifications in the society and was the major reason for improvement in the living standards of households of the district. In 2004 remittances formed about 46 percent of the domestic income of the district²⁰. In the earlier days Malappuram district had first place in receiving remittances from abroad but recently this position has been lost. Table 4.11 shows remittances received by the district and the state during the year 1999 and 2004.

Table 4.11
Remittances Per Emigrant and Per Household

District/ State	Cash remittance Per Emigrant (Rupees)				Household Remittances (In million Rupees)				
	Amount		Percentage to total of the state		Amount		Actual increase	Percentag e increase	Percent of house holds received remittances
	1999	2004	1999	2004	1999	2004	1999-4	1999-04	2004
Malappuram	21217	35407	18.8	15.7	7661	12476	4815	62.9	32.0
Kerala	24809	29979	100.0	100.0	40715	79654	38939	95.6	17.1

Source: Source: Gulf revisited, Zachariah K.C and Irudaya Rajan S. Gulf Revisited, working paper No. 363, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 2004, pp. 72-73.

The first part of Table 4.11 deals with cash remittances. In 1999 the average cash remittances made by an emigrant in the district was Rs. 21217 while that made by an emigrant at the state level was Rs. 24809. This shows the remittances made by an emigrant in Malappuram district was lower than that made at the state level. The major reason for the difference is that majority of emigrants from the district was either illiterates or barely educated and thus many of them were engaged in low wage or salaried jobs and consequently their earnings were also limited²¹. In the year 2004 the average remittance per emigrant in the district has increased to Rs. 35407 while that at the state level was Rs. 29979. Thus within five years the average remittance per emigrant in the district has increased at a higher rate than that at the state level. However, Remittance per emigrant was the highest in Thrissur district, Rs 51,750, followed by Idukki district with Rs. 50,000 per emigrant. Eranakulam and Kollam districts are next in importance with about Rs 40,000 per emigrant²². When the percentage share of remittances received by the district at the state level is considered, decline can be noticed. In 1999 share of remittances made by emigrants in the district was 18.8 percent of the total remittances made by emigrants in the state, which has reduced to 15.7 percent in 2004.

The second part of the table deals with remittances received by households. In the year 1999, households of the district has received Rs. 7661 million as remittances from abroad, which is equal to 18.86 per cent of what the entire households of the state received as remittances. At the state level the amount was Rs. 40715 million. In 2004 the amount received by households of the district as remittances increased to Rs. 12476 million, which was equal to 16 per cent of the state level, and at the state level the remittances increased to Rs. 79654 million. This means that there was an increase of 65 percent in the remittances to the households during the five years period, but at the state level it increased by 95.6 percent. This indicates that even though the district has sent the largest number of emigrants, in the matter of remittances it has lost

some grounds to other districts. 32 percent of households in the district had received remittances in 2004, but at the state level it was only 15.8 percent. In the matter of remittance, in 1999 Malappuram district stood first and Thrissur district was second. But in 2004, the reverse has been occurred, Thrissur became first with 17.1 percent and Malappuram became second²³.

Thus remittance as a matter of income is showing a declining trend in the district. Moreover strict measures taken by the West Asian countries as policy to control large inflow of foreign nationals have also adversely affected the district very much. It was the emigration and foreign remittance that had made unprecedented movements in the economy, society, and labour market of the district. Similarly a complete return of the emigrants also will have far reaching consequences in the economy and wide spread unemployment in the labour market of the district. The return migration has also made its impact upon the economy of the district very much.

In-Migration in the District

As said, emigration has led to the withdrawal of large number of skilled and unskilled manual and agricultural labourers from Malappuram district. Withdrawal of these labourers from the labour market of the district, along with the construction and other developmental activities carried on in the district has created a vacuum in the availability of labourers and has increased demand for such workers. Almost all studies dealing with gulf emigration have mentioned the scarcity of labour as a consequence of labour emigration²⁴, and a reason for high wage rate²⁵. Scarcity of workers, availability of sufficient employment, good working conditions along with high wages have led to “replacement migration” of labourers from nearby states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh as well as distant states like Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam²⁶. Malappuram district is one of the districts in Kerala where such “replacement migration” is taking place on a large scale. At present, majority

of activities in the district, whether it is agricultural or construction or industrial or any other, are carried out with the migrant labourers.

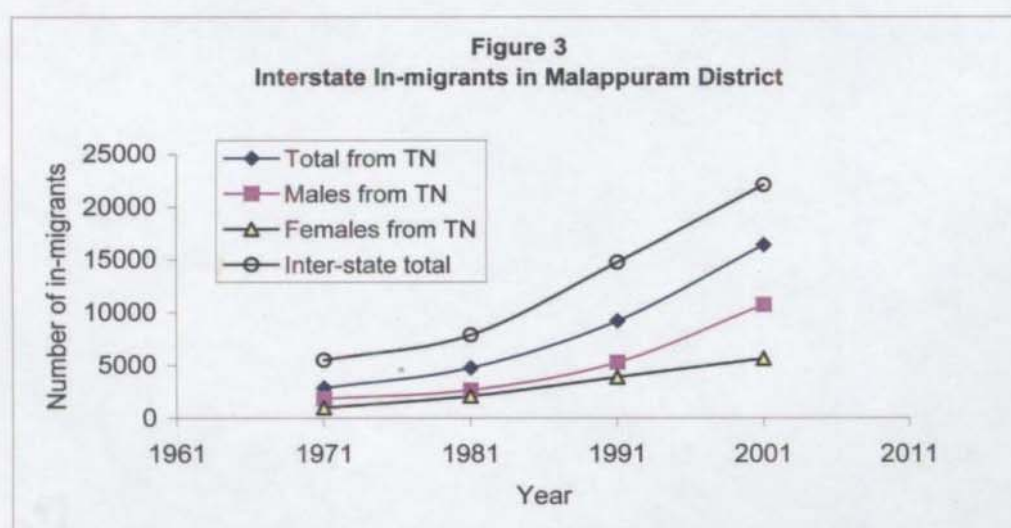
Of the in-migrant workers Tamils are predominant. They have certain advantages over the workers belonging to other states. Since Tamil Nadu is in the immediate vicinity and is well connected with transport facilities, migration to the district is not a problem. Tamils can carry on their farm activities without any difficulty at home, at the same they can also work in the district. It is more or less one night's journey to come or to go. Similarly language is also not a problem, even though different and difficult, transmission of ideas is possible. But in the case of migrants from the Gudallur area of the Nilgiris, certain parts of Kanyakumari and Thirunalveli districts, language is also not a problem.

It is also important to note that many of the people in the Nilgiris had out-migrated from Malappuram district, in search of job in plantations in the earlier days. Thus, in-migrants from Gudallur area of the Nilgiris are not considered as Tamils, they are more or less Malayalees to the people of the district and relatives to many. High wages and good working conditions in the district, thus, attracted Tamils more than any from the other states. Kerala, especially Malappuram district has become their 'gulf'. They work hard and make money as in the case of *Malayalees* in gulf. It is also important to note that a lot of workers from other districts have come to the district in search of jobs, especially in construction. An examination of the place of birth or place of previous residence will surely prove that majority of workers in the district; especially in the construction sector belong to other districts and states. Table 4.12 and Figure 3, given in the next page show the number of in-migrants in the district according to their place of last residence.

Table 4.12
Number of In-Migrants in Malappuram District

Year	Migrants in Malappuram District				Inter-state migrants						per cent of Tamils to total inter-state migrants
	Total	Out of India	Out of Kerala	Out of the District	From Tamil Nadu			From other states and Union territories			
					Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	
1971	81215	1020	5510	74685	2890	1870	1020	2620	1595	845	52.45
1981	140774	383	7891	132500	4795	2678	2117	3096	1383	1713	60.77
1991	180490	1680	14770	164040	9210	5300	3910	5560	2400	2860	62.36
2001	198198	1204	22092	174902	16406	10744	5662	5686	3248	2438	74.26

Source: Migration Tables of Various Census Reports - Kerala Series



Source: The same as Table 4.15

From Table 4.12 and Figure 3, it can be understood that in 1971 there were 81215 persons in the district who were born outside the district. It constituted 0.38 percent of the population of the district. Out of the total in-migrants 74685 persons were inter-district migrants and 5510 persons were interstate migrants. Of these interstate immigrants 52.34 percent or 2890 were from the state of Tamil Nadu. Thus, Tamil Nadu alone accounted for majority of interstate in-migrants in the district. As per the 1981 census the number of in-migrants in the district increased to 140774. Of these 132500 persons were inter-district migrants and 7891 persons were interstate migrants. As per this

census the percentage of Tamil in-migrants to the total interstate migrants in the district increased to 60.77 percent or to 4795 persons. The census of 1991 also revealed the same trend. The number of inter-district migrants in the district increased to 164040. The number of interstate in-migrants also increased to 14770. The number of in-migrants from Tamil Nadu as per this census was 9210; this constituted 62.36 percent of total interstate in-migrants in the district. Figures of 2001 census reveals that the total number of in-migrants in the district has increased to 198198, of these 174902 persons are inter-district in-migrants and 22092 are interstate in-migrants.

As per the 2001 census, the number of Tamils increased to 16406, which constituted 75.26 percent or more than three-fourth of the inter-state in-migrants and 0.5 percent of the population of the district. Of the total Tamil in-migrants 10744 are males and 5662 are females.

Thus, the above analysis shows that the number and percentage of Tamil in-migrants are increasing constantly. The number of Tamil in-migrants in the district in 1971 was 2890 and that increased to 16406 in 2001 or an increase of 13516 persons or of 467.68 percent during the period under study. But when the trend of Tamil in-migration in to the state as a whole is considered, a decreasing trend over the years can be observed. In 1971, share of Tamils in interstate in-migrants in Kerala was 75.83 percent, in 1981 it decreased to 74.025, in 1991 again decreased to 66.90 percent and as per the census of 2001 their share was 67.75 percent. Therefore, it can be said that in the case of Malappuram district the trend of inflow of Tamil workers is in the opposite direction of the trend at the state level.

Incidence of Child Labour in Malappuram District

When compared to the other states in India, child labour is not a serious problem in the state of Kerala. However, the state yet could not succeed

in the elimination of child labour completely. Incidence of child labour in the district is more or less the same as that at the state level. Table 4.13 shows the incidence of child labour in the district.

Table 4.13
Incidence of Child Labour in Malappuram District and Kerala

Year	Malappuram		Kerala	
	Number of Child workers	Per cent of child population	Number of Child workers	Per cent of child population
1971	9734	1.21	111801	1.30
1981	8161	0.82	92854	1.04
1991	2980	0.36	34800	0.58
2001	2765	0.33	26156	0.47

Source: Various Census Reports.

Table 4.13 shows that in the year 1971 the number working children in the district was 9734, which was equal to 1.21 percent of the number of children in the district. In the same year the number of working children in the state was equal to 1.30 percent of the number of children in the state. This shows that the incidence of child labour in the district is more or less equal to that of the state average and up to an extent it was lower than the state average. As per the census of 1981, the number of working children in the district declined to 8161 or to 0.82 percent of the number of children. While at the state level 1.04 percent of children were child labourers. This shows that incidence of child labour in the district was lower than that at the state level. As per 1991 census the number of working children fell to 2980 or to 0.36 percent of the number of children. But at the same time, at the state level 0.58 percent of children were child labourers. Similarly, as per the last census, the number of working children in the district was 2765 which is equal to 0.33 percent of the number of children while at the state level 0.47 percent of children were child workers. Thus the above discussion leads to the conclusion that the incidence of child labour in the district is lower than that at the state level.

Table 4.14
Number and Percentage of Working Children in Various
Districts of Kerala

Districts	Number of Child Workers	Percentage of the State	Percentage of the total Workers in the District	Percentage of the Child Population of the District
Kasaragod	2634	10.07	0.63	1.09
Kannur	1708	6.53	0.23	0.40
Waynad	1207	4.61	0.39	0.85
Kozhikkode	1797	6.87	0.22	0.35
Malappuram	2765	10.57	0.37	0.33
Palakkad	3753	14.35	0.40	0.78
Thrissur	1808	6.91	0.19	0.37
Eranamkulam	2196	8.40	0.20	0.47
Idukki	1529	5.85	0.31	0.84
Kottayam	765	2.92	0.12	0.26
Alappuzha	1011	3.87	0.14	0.32
Pathanamthitta	759	2.90	0.21	0.39
Kollam	1391	5.32	0.17	0.34
Thiruvananthapuram	2833	10.83	0.27	0.53
Kerala	26156	100.00	0.25	0.47

Source: Census 2001, Table B01-3200 - Kerala

Table 4.14 shows the incidence of child labour in different districts of Kerala as per the census of 2001. From the table it can be seen that four districts such as Palakkad, Kasaragod, Thiruvananthapuram and Malappuram account for more than 45 percent of working children in the state. 14.35 percent of the working children of Kerala is in Palakkad district, and then comes Thiruvananthapuram with 10.83 percent, followed by Malappuram with 10.57 percent and Kasaragod with 10.07 per cent. Pathanamthitta is at the bottom with 2.9 per cent of working children in the state. However when the number of working children of the district is compared to the number of children in that age group, the incidence of child labour is highest in Kasaragod, where 1.07 percent of children are child workers. Malappuram

district is third from the bottom level with 0.33 percent, while Kottayam has only 0.26 percent and Alappuzha 0.32 percent. In the case of all other districts incidence of child labour is higher than that of Malappuram district. Thus it can be rightly said that the incidence of child labour is at the lowest level in Malappuram district.

Employment in Organised Sector

Employment in organised sector is considered as a quality employment on account of the presence of legal and contractual obligations present in the terms and conditions of employment. Employment in organised sector includes employment both in public sector as well as private sector where the number of employees exceeds ten.

Table 4.15
Employment in Organised Sector in Different Districts of Kerala

Districts	1998	Percentage to the state	2001	Percentage to the state	2005	Percentage to the state
Thiruvananthapuram	172321	14.53	179327	14.44	183649	16.11
Kollam	86777	7.32	103746	8.36	91673	8.04
Pathanamthitta	38882	3.28	42031	3.38	41819	3.67
Alappuzha	61983	5.23	60415	4.87	50601	4.44
Kottayam	64758	5.46	62445	5.03	60524	5.31
Idukki	86593	7.30	92263	7.43	78544	6.89
Ernamkulam	160121	13.50	160995	12.97	163871	14.38
Thrissur	96252	8.12	110252	8.88	106298	9.33
Palakkad	83847	7.07	80150	6.45	67554	5.93
Malappuram	62817	5.30	69600	5.61	62553	5.49
Kozhikode	96552	8.14	95648	7.70	72922	6.40
Wayanad	29999	2.53	32250	2.60	30678	2.69
Kannur	90143	7.60	91331	7.36	79614	6.99
Kasargod	54944	4.63	61241	4.93	49473	4.34
State	1185989	100.00	1241694	10.00	1139773	100.00

Source: Department of Economics and Statistics, Statistics for Planning 2001.

Malappuram District Hand Book 2005, Economic Review 2005, p. S 316

Table 4.15 shows the organised sector employment in different districts of Kerala. From the table, it can be understood that, in the year 1988 the total

number of persons employed in the organised sector in the state was 1185989 persons of whom 62817 persons or only 5.30 percent belonged to the district, which accounted for more than 10 per cent of population of the state. In the year 2001 the number of organised sector employment at the state level has increased to 1241694 or by 4.70 percent. At the district level the increase was by 6783 persons or by 10 percent, but at the same time the share of the district in organised sector at the state level has increased to 5.61 per cent.

But, the 2005 figures show a decrease in the organised sector employment both in the district as well as at the state level. The share of the district in the organised sector employment of the state has declined to 5.49 per cent, while the district accommodates more than 10 per cent of population and occupies 10 per cent area of the state. Thus, it can be concluded that in the matter of organised sector employment the district is very backward with ninth place at the state level, but at the same time it has the first place population and third place in area in the state.

Employment in Factories

Employment in factories is another indicator of labour market operations. It indicates the number of persons engaged in organised production activities. Employees in the factories are considered as disciplined and efficient workers when compared to other manual workers in agriculture or other sectors. It has already been mentioned that Malappuram is one of the industrially backward districts of Kerala. It does not possess large reserves of minerals and materials required for setting up of large factories. Moreover it is one of the highly densely populated districts of the state and infrastructure facilities required for setting up of large factories and carrying on production activities are also not developed in this district. On account of all these and other reasons, number of factories and the number of persons employed in the

factories of this district are limited. Table 4.16 shows the number of factories and persons employed in factories in the district.

Table 4.16
Number of Registered Factories Working and Employment in
Malappuram District and Kerala State

Year	Number of Factories			Employment		
	Malappuram	Kerala	Percentage of the state	Malappuram	Kerala	Percentage of the state
1992	816	14608	6.00	8855	375736	2.00
1995	815	15331	5.00	9144	375148	2.00
2000	995	18544	5.37	13357	438750	3.04
2003	1023	18376	5.57	10227	411749	2.48

Source: Department of Economics and Statistics. Statistics for Planning 2001.
Malappuram District Hand Book 2005

Table 4.16 shows that, the number of factories in the district in the year 1992 was 816, which was equal to six percent of total factories in the state. It should also be remembered that the district possesses nearly 10 percent of the area of the state. The number of persons employed in factories was 8855, which was only two percent of the total workers in the factories in Kerala. In the year 1995 the number of factories in the district nominally declined to 815, but the number of persons employed in the factories increased to 9144. The share of employees of factories of the district remained at 2 percent of the state.

In the year 2000, the number of factories increased to 995, an increase of 22 percent within five years. The increase in the number of factories at the state level during this period was only 17 percent. Similarly during this period the number of employees increased to 13357 or an increase of 4213 persons or 46 percent. At the same time, at the state level the increase in employment was of 17 percent. Thus during the 1995-2000 there was a remarkable progress in the district in the number of factories as well as in employment. During the year 2003 the number of factories increased to 1023 or an increase of mere 28

factories or of 2.8 percent during the three years. But at the same time, employment has decreased to 10227 or a decrease of 3130 persons or of 23 percent. Similarly the number of factories working in the district as a percentage of the state also shows a decreasing trend.

When the number and percentage of the number of factories and employment is compared with the area and percentage of population in the district to that of the state, it leads to the conclusion that the number of factories and employment is insufficient in the district.

Unemployment in Malappuram District

In the initial years of formation Malappuram district was the most educationally, and economically backward district of Kerala²⁷. It does not possess valuable minerals and materials. Thus major part of population was either small farmers or agricultural labourers. It was one of the most underdeveloped poverty-ridden areas in the state. Unemployment was rampant, wage rates were very low, and migration of people to the nearby estates or plantation areas, such as Wayanad, the Nilgiris, Coorg, Travancore, and also to the urban centres such as Madras, Mysore, Bangalore, Bombay etc. was also common.

Lack of education retarded them from government and other organised sector employments. Majority of government and other organised sector employees in the district, at present too belong to other districts. But opening up of the door to the Gulf countries was a turning point in the economic and social history of the district. Gulf emigration provided employment to the illiterate, unskilled, and semi-skilled workers of the district, who remained unemployed or underemployed for major part of the year and worked for lower wages like serfs with the landlords and large farmers. Gulf emigration

provided them a chance to get economic freedom, social and cultural upliftment, including in the field of education. Thus in the earlier years of the district educated unemployment was not so dangerous; unemployment, especially underemployment among agricultural and other manual labourers was crucial.

Gulf emigration provided relief to the situation and reversed the trend of unemployment or underemployment as well as changed the attitude of people towards manual labour. It led to the withdrawal of several dependents of emigrant households, especially women, from manual labour markets and lack of availability of agricultural and other manual workers. But educational development in the district, which has taken place in the last three decades, has worsened educated unemployment situation in the district.

Present Unemployment Situation in the District

The present unemployment situation in the district is entirely different from that of the earlier periods. Dependence on agriculture and allied sectors for employment has fallen down to the bottom level; construction and service sectors have emerged as the major sources of employment. Emigration of manual and agricultural labourers reduced unemployment and underemployment among them. Emergence of construction and tertiary sectors increased demand for different categories of workers, resulted in the reduction of unemployment and underemployment situations, in the district as a whole when compared to the other districts of the state. Educational development took place in the district very fast, leading to worsen the unemployment situation among the educated.

Table 4.17
Unemployment Rates in Different Districts of Kerala as on 31-3-2005

Districts	Total unemployed	Percentage to the state	Unemployment rate	Rank in the state in unemployment	Labour force	Percentage of the state's Labour force	Rank in the state In Labour force
1	2	3	3	5	6	7	8
Thiruvananthapuram	579860	15.57	25.74	1	2252400	10.22	2
Kollam	385070	10.34	21.44	3	1796137	8.15	7
Pathanamthitta	142373	3.82	17.34	6	820950	3.72	12
Alappuzha	347501	9.33	24.12	2	1440501	6.54	9
Kottayam	234684	6.3	17.66	5	1329099	6.03	10
Idukki	122706	3.3	15.29	8	802293	3.64	13
Eranamkulam	358155	9.62	16.55	7	2164671	9.82	3
Thrissur	311840	8.37	15.21	9	2049995	9.3	4
Palakkad	262509	7.05	14.53	10	1807256	8.2	6
Malappuram	233766	6.28	9.41	14	2484502	11.27	1
Kozhikkode	363320	9.76	18.05	4	2012649	9.13	5
Wayanad	76416	2.05	13.72	11	556877	2.53	14
Kannur	217468	5.84	12.94	12	1680318	7.62	8
Kasargod	88168	2.37	10.47	13	842008	3.82	11
Kerala	3723836	100.00	16.9		22039656	100.00	

Source. Column 2 - S. 313 Economic Review, 2005

Column 5 - Calculated on the basis of Tables 1.3 and 1.4 Statistics For Planning, Government of Kerala (i.e. labour force on 2005 is taken as the age group between 10 years and 54 years of the Tables. This will be equal to the age group between 15-59 years in the year 2005.

Column 4 - Column 2 / Column 6*

Table 4.17 shows the present unemployment situation in the district. From the table it can be understood that the number of job seekers in the district as on 31st March, 2005 was 233766, which was 6.28 percent of the state's total employment seekers. The unemployment rate of the district was 9.41 percent, which was the lowest among the districts of the state, the state average was 16.9 percent and the highest unemployment rate (25.74 per cent)

* Unemployment rate in the tables will be different on account of the differences in definitions of unemployed. In the first case unemployment is taken as the number of employment seekers (registered in employment exchanges), while in the second case unemployment is calculated on the basis of census data

was in Thiruvananthapuram district. But in the case of labour force Malappuram stands first with 2484502 persons, which is equal to 11.27 percent of the state. This shows that incidence of unemployment in the district is very low when compared to the other districts of Kerala. A major reason for the low incidence of unemployment in the district is the gulf emigration.

Trend of Unemployment

An examination of the unemployment situation at the state level and national level shows an increasing trend (see Chapter 3 for details). The trend of unemployment situation at the district level is discussed with the help of Table 4.18

Table 4.18
Unemployment Trends in Different District of Kerala

Districts	Number of job seekers		Increase between 1971 and 2005		Unemployment Rates		Rank in (2005)	
	1971	2005	Number	Percentage	1971	2005	Unemployment rate	Percentage increase
Thiruvananthapuram	92112	579860	487748	529.52	8.0	25.74	1	9
Kollam	40134	385070	344936	859.46	3.0	21.44	3	6
Pathanamthitta	NA	142373	NA	NA	NA	17.34	6	NA
Alappuzha	26396	347501	321105	1216.49	4.0	24.12	2	3
Kottayam	28632	234684	206052	719.66	3.0	17.66	5	7
Idukki	NA	122706	NA	NA	NA	15.29	8	NA
Eranamkulam	65443	358155	292712	447.28	8.0	16.55	7	10
Thrissur	24829	311840	287011	1155.95	2.0	15.21	9	4
Palakkad	16384	262509	246125	1502.23	2.0	14.53	10	1
Malappuram	14611	233766	219155	1499.93	2.0	9.41	14	2
Kozhikkode	31829	363320	331491	1041.47	3.0	18.05	4	5
Wayanad	NA	76416	NA	NA	NA	13.72	11	NA
Kannur	27011	217468	190457	705.11	2.0	12.94	12	8
Kasaragod	NA	88168	NA	NA	NA	10.47	13	NA
Kerala	367381	3723836	3356455	913.62	3.0	16.9		

Source: Various Census Reports

1971 and 1981 Figures – Statistics for Planning 1983, p. 29.

2005 figures – Economic Review 2005, p. S 313

Unemployment rate = (Number of job seekers ÷ Number of Persons in the age group of 15-59)

The Table 4.18 shows the number of job seekers in different districts of Kerala during 1971 and 2005. The table, among other things, shows that number of job seekers in Malappuram during 1971 was 14611, the lowest

among the districts of Kerala and the unemployment rate was 2.0. The number of job seekers in the district has increased to 233766 in 2005 or an increase of 219155 persons or by 1500 percentage within a period of 35 years. The percentage increase of job seekers among the districts of Kerala was highest in Palakkad (1502) and Malappuram was second, where as the state level increase was only 913.62 per cent. In 2005 the unemployment rate of the district was 9.41, the lowest among the districts of the state, the highest was in Thiruvananthapuram (25.74) and the state level average was 16.9.

Therefore, even though the district has the lowest position in unemployment rate, the percentage increase over the period is the second highest among the districts of Kerala; this shows the increasing trend of unemployment in the district. Further it should also be remembered that the above figures of unemployment is the employment exchange data and since, educational backwardness of the district restricts a large number of persons from registering in employment exchanges. If all the unemployed persons register in employment exchanges, the actual unemployment rate and situation will be much more serious. This should be read along with the declining work participation rates of the district.

Reasons for Unemployment

There are many reasons for unemployment, which we have discussed in our previous chapter. Finding out a special reason for unemployment of the district is difficult. But, the reasons put forward by Zachariah K.C. and Irudayayrajan S²⁸ seem to hold better in the case of this district. According to them the reasons for increase of unemployment rate in the state are: -

1. Influx of a large number of women into the labour force,
2. Ageing of the labour force,
3. Large increase in the number of persons with secondary or higher levels of education, and

4. Emigration and inward remittances

The above reasons can be explained from another angle based on the experiences of the district. Educational improvement in the district has led to the influx of women in to the labour market of the district. In the earlier days majority of Muslims in the district (who form majority of population) did not send their girls to schools or colleges for educational purposes. Further, majority of women workers in the earlier days were engaged in agricultural and allied sectors as well as, as home servants in rich households. But gulf emigration and consequent improvement in the income of the emigrant households has led to the withdrawal of women from such activities, while educational improvement in the new generation created a new category of educated women employment seekers, who register in employment exchanges immediately after completion of their secondary education for employment purposes. Moreover the conservative mentality among the majority of Muslims in sending their women for employment has also changed. In the earlier days these women folk did not enter in to the labour market, but now a day they compete with men for employment. Thus the available employment opportunities are distributed between males and females, which has led to increase of unemployment.

Ageing and increase in the number of educated especially with secondary education is a common reason applicable to the entire state and this has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

Emigration and consequent remittances have played an important role in every aspect of the district. Gulf emigration and remittances have affected both demand and supply sides of labour market of the district, which we have discussed in the earlier part of this chapter itself. Gulf emigration has helped the educational improvement of the district. Majority of emigrants of the district have felt the bad experiences of lack of education in their expatriate

life. So they gave utmost importance in giving education to their children. They sent their children to schools and colleges, which provided general education and degrees, by time these conventional education and degrees became not much useful in getting employment. Rather importance was not given to vocational training and other types of education, which could develop their skills and experiences required by the emerging labour markets, leading to an increase in the number of educated job seekers and unemployed.

Further, the attitude of the educated, not only that of the district, but every where is to hate and keep away from manual or blue collar jobs added to the number of unemployed. Similarly, remittances sent by the emigrants help their dependents to remain unemployed for a long period, until the dependents get a visa to gulf. Moreover, the attitudes of the "new rich" also discourage their dependents to work as manual workers. But majority of them are ready to work as servants and drivers or similar low paid and low class employment in gulf. The unemployed are not willing to take manual jobs in the district, which faces severe shortage of manual workers. Majority of construction workers in the district belong to the other districts or other states and their average monthly income will be higher than the income of an emigrant of the district, who is barely educated, with low skills and training.

Thus the emigration has led to increase in the educational level of the district, changed the attitude of people of the district towards work and provided sufficient income to keep the dependents of emigrant households to remain unemployed for long until the visa comes or to remain unemployed for ever. A close observation of unemployed persons of the district discloses that it is not due to lack of availability of employment but their preferences and attitudes keep them unemployed. Thus unemployment is not an economic problem; partly it is a social problem and partly a personal problem of the

unemployed persons. Changes in the attitude of people can reduce the severity of unemployment in the district.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that in the early periods of the district, educational unemployment was not a serious problem, but unemployment and underemployment among the agricultural and manual workers was common. Educational development, gulf emigration, remittance and consequent economic and social development has led to increased unemployment in the district. But when compared to the other districts and the state as a whole the growth of unemployment in the district is not so high. The district faces severe shortage of manual labourers, which is met by the migrant workers.

To conclude, Malappuram, one of the most backward districts in the state is recently on the development path. Among other things, gulf migration has an important role in transforming the economy and society of the district as well as its labour market features. It is the most populous district with highest growth rate of population and birth rates. Majority of the labour market features and trends of the district resemble that of the state level, but, in some cases, certain major differences can be observed. Work participation rate of the district is one of the lowest in the state and shows a declining trend, but at the state level the rate shows an increasing trend. In the case of quality of employment, the district is far behind the state averages. Wage rates show an increasing trend and in recent years, that of certain categories of workers are higher than that of the state averages and in certain cases, the highest at the state level. Unemployment rate also shows an increasing trend, but it is one of the lowest at the state level. Educational improvement, gulf phenomenon, job preferences etc. are the major reasons for unemployment. At the same time the district faces severe shortage of manual and construction workers. Higher wage rates and increased employment opportunities have led to large inflow of

migrant workers from other districts as well as states. Majority of the inter-state migrants are from Tamil Nadu and their number, as per the various censuses, shows an increasing trend.

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CHAPTER V

**TAMIL WORKERS IN MALAPPURAM DISTRICT
– A SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE**

Chapter 5

TAMIL WORKERS IN MALAPPURAM – A SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

In this chapter an attempt is made to analyse the socio-demographic background and profile of Tamil workers migrated to Malappuram district. An understanding of the socio-demographic background of these workers will set platform for comparison of Keralite and Tamil workers. Further, history of their migration, reasons for migration and accommodation facilities as well as living conditions are also discussed in this chapter.

Sex-Wise Classification

Sex plays an important role in migration. In India, it is an accepted fact that, males are responsible for the maintenance of their families, except in the case of certain tribes. Thus, in almost all migration streams males will be dominating females. In the case of Tamil workers also males outweigh females. Since the sample frame of the study was formulated on the basis of the census data of 1991, the sex composition of Tamil workers is also based on the male-female ratio of Tamil workers as shown in the census report. As per the census of 1991 data 87 per cent of inter-state migrants in the district were males and 13 per cent were females. Thus out of the total 1200 workers 1044 are males and 156 are females.

Religious Composition

In a secular country like India, religious composition is not so important. However, up to an extent religious belief determines employment and employment patterns as well as almost all decisions of persons including the destinations of migrants. The survey data revealed that out of 1200 workers 77 per cent were Hindus, 15 per cent Christians and 8 per cent were Muslims.

Caste Composition of Workers

Caste composition of workers is important in a labour market or studies related to labour issues in India, where work is distributed or divided mainly according to caste considerations. It is also important to note that majority of agricultural and other manual workers belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as well as other backward communities. Table 5.1 shows caste composition of Tamil workers in the district.

Table 5.1
Caste Composition of Tamil Workers in the District

Castes	Number of workers	Percentage
Scheduled castes & tribes	595	49.58
Backward castes	426	35.50
Forward castes	179	14.92
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per Table 5.1, Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes constituted majority of migrants. Out of 1200 workers 50 per cent are scheduled castes and tribes. Backward castes constituted 36 per cent while workers belonging to forward castes are only 15 per cent. Thus in this migration stream, which is a movement of manual workers to carry on manual work, majority is occupied by scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as well as backward communities.

Age Distribution

Age plays an important role in migration decisions. Almost all studies dealing with migratory movements have found that most of the labour migrants are young and in the age group of 20-35 years. Age composition of Tamil workers as per the present study is shown in Table 5.2.

As per Table 5.2, there were 30 workers in the age group below 15 years, which constitute 2.5 per cent of the sample. This indicates that there are

child labourers among the migrant workers. As per 2001 census, the percentage of child labourers as a percentage of workforce in Kerala was 0.25 per cent and that as a percentage of workforce at the district level was 0.37 per cent, both are too much lower than the incidence of child labour among the Tamil migrants. Thus, at the outset itself, it can be said that incidence of child labour among the Tamil workers in the district is too much high.

Table 5.2
Age Distribution of Tamil Workers in the District

Age (Years)	Number of workers	Percentage
Up to 15	30	2.50
16-25	437	36.42
26-35	270	22.50
36-45	248	20.67
46-55	172	14.33
Above 55	43	3.58
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

Highest number (36.42 per cent) of workers was in the age group of 16-25 years and workers in this age group are considered as new entrants into the labour market. Similarly 23 per cent of the sample belonged to the age group of 26-35 years, 21 per cent to the age group of 36-45 years and 14 per cent to the age group of 46-55 years. But only 4 per cent of them belong to above 55 years age group. Thus more than three-fourths (80 per cent) or nearly four-fifths of workers are in the age group of 16-45 years.

Similarly the average age of the sample workers is 33.33 years. This shows that majority of the workers are in their prime working age group and there is a decreasing trend in the number of workers according to their age. It is customary that when a person gets aged, he naturally leaves the labour market. Moreover in Kerala, Tamil workers are found working in hard and difficult jobs, which require better health and physique. Thus it can be assumed that age and health restrict them to enter such jobs; lack of availability of other

jobs, which require less physique and are easy, might have compelled them to return to their nativity and as result the number of persons in the aged group is comparatively lower than that of the other age groups.

Marital Status of Workers

Married persons have to undertake more responsibilities than the unmarried and on marriage the norms of family become more tightened. Married persons have to earn more than an unmarried and so, they predominate in most migration streams. The survey shows that 70 per cent of the workers are married, 24 per cent unmarried and six per cent of them are either widowed or divorced.

Educational Qualification of Tamil Workers in the District

Educational qualification determines, among other things, the quality of labour. The table given below (Table 5.3) shows the educational qualification of Tamil workers in the district.

Table 5.3
Educational Qualifications of Tamil workers in the District

Qualification	Number of workers	Percentage
Illiterate	299	24.92
Primary	517	43.08
Secondary	319	26.58
Higher Secondary	30	2.50
Above Higher Secondary	35	2.92
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per the table, 24 per cent of the workers are illiterates. 43 per cent of them have primary education. Workers with secondary education constituted 27 per cent and with higher secondary education 3 per cent of the sample. Another 3 per cent workers are having above higher secondary education.

Since these are manual workers engaged in agriculture, construction and other areas, higher educational qualification is not so important. However, more than three-fourth of the workers are having above primary education.

Area of Origin

Though the study is about Tamil workers and their origin is the state of Tamil Nadu, it is necessary to ascertain their rural - urban background and districts to which they belong. This helps to have an idea about their socio-economic backgrounds and the reasons for migration.

Rural Urban Classification

The survey data revealed that 97 per cent of workers have rural background and only 3 per cent have urban origin. Since this is a movement of manual or agricultural labourers for manual work their origin will be rural areas. Similarly the possibility of migrating persons with urban background to the rural areas for manual work is also limited. Thus it can be said that this migration is a rural-to-rural migration, even though it is difficult to divide rural areas of Kerala from urban area since Kerala is an economy with rural urban continuum.

District-Wise Origin of Workers

Tamil Nadu has 30 districts, of these 23 districts have sent workers to Malappuram district. But the intensity of migration is different. Appendix V shows, Nagapattinam district has sent the largest number of in-migrants, 10.83 per cent of the sample. Second place goes to Cudallore district, which has sent 9.50 per cent and third position is held by Vilupuram district with 9.17 per cent of the sample. The Nilgiris (8.50 per cent) and Kanyakumari (7.50 per cent) have fourth and fifth positions, and residents of these two districts have some roots in Kerala.

Thus, the top three districts, which have sent large number of workers to Malappuram district are the coastal districts and are the backward districts of Tamil Nadu. The other two districts are the Nilgiris and Kanyakumari, where majority of residents know Malayalam better. Thus it can be said that in this migration stream, backward coastal districts of Tamil Nadu stand ahead followed by the two districts where people know Malayalam.

Family's Traditional Occupation

Labour migration is, generally, undertaken with economic motives. Migration leads to increased employment opportunities and improvement in the economic background of migrants. This improvement takes place partly on account of vertical mobility and partly on account of differences in wage rates as well as increased employment opportunities.

Table 5.4
Tamil Workers' Traditional Occupation

Occupations	Number of workers	Percentage
Agricultural labourers	798	66.50
Cultivators	136	11.33
Construction labourers	76	6.33
Manufacturers and Artisans	56	4.67
Bonded Labour	55	4.58
Service, business, Stone crushing and others	64	5.33
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

Table 5.4 shows that, traditional occupation of majority of Tamil workers (67 per cent) was agricultural labour and that of 11 per cent was cultivation. Thus more than three-fourths (78 per cent) of the workers belonged to families or households having agricultural backgrounds. Though majority of Tamil labourers in the district are unskilled construction workers, six per cent of them were construction labourers in their nativity. Similarly, five per cent of the sample belonged to manufacturing or artisans' household families and five

per cent belonged to the category of bonded labourers. Workers whose traditional occupation was service, business, stone crushing and other occupations constituted five per cent of the sample.

Year of Arrival in the District

Year of arrival in the district is very important and it helps us to form an idea about the commencement of in-migration stream into the district and their relation with the district. The following table shows (Table 5.5) the year of migration of Tamil workers.

Table 5.5
Year of First Migration to the District

Year	Number of workers	Percentage
Before 1980	95	7.92
1980-1985	123	10.25
1986-1990	172	14.33
1991-1995	200	16.67
1996-2000	400	33.33
2000-2005	210	17.50
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per Table 5.5, 8 per cent of the workers migrated before 1980 i.e. they have spent more than 25 years in Kerala. 10 per cent of them have come during 1980-85 period and 14 per cent during 1986-90. Another 17 per cent came during 1991-95. But large number of workers, 33 per cent came during 1996-2000. At the same time only 18 per cent has come after 2000, which indicates that there is a reduction in the migration of Tamil workers into Kerala after 2000. Therefore, it can be said that nearly half of the sample workers has an experience of more than 10 years in Kerala.

Age at First Departure from Nativity

Age at first migration is very important in ascertaining the nature and

reason of migration. Many of the migration studies have found that first migration takes place in the entry ages of labour markets i.e. between 15 to 25 years. Table 5.6 gives their ages at first migration.

Table 5.6
Age at First Move

Years	Number of workers	Percentage
Up to 15	299	24.92
16-25	627	52.25
26-35	153	12.75
36-45	93	7.75
Above 45	28	2.33
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

Table 5.6 shows that, 25 per cent of the sample has migrated at the ages of 15 or before or in the child age group. Majority of workers or 52 per cent of the sample migrated in the age group of 16-25 years. 13 per cent migrated in the age group of 26-35 years and 8 per cent in the age group of 36-45. At the same time, two per cent of them have migrated only after attaining the age of 45 years.

The average age at migration is 21.4 years. Thus it can be said that majority of the workers who came into Kerala was the new entrants in to the labour market and are below 35 years.

Moves Made to Places Other than the District

Previous migration history helps to ascertain the characteristic features of the in-migrants as well as to study the speciality of the labour market of the district when compared to the labour markets of other places where the migrants have worked. As far as labour migrants are concerned they give preference to labour related advantages and select the best labour market. It also helps to ascertain the floating characteristics of labourers. Table 5.7 shows their previous migration history.

Table 5.7
Migration History of Tamil Workers in the District

Previous movements	Number of workers	Percentage
Other than the state of Kerala	89	7.42
One district other than Malappuram	19	1.58
Two districts other than Malappuram	32	2.67
Three district other than Malappuram	6	0.50
Four or more districts other than Malappuram	5	0.42

Source: Survey data

From Table 5.7, it can be seen that out of 1200 workers only 89 workers or 7 per cent of the sample had migrated to other states before coming to Kerala. Similarly four per cent of the sample has worked in other districts before coming to the district. This shows that only a few workers have experiences in a state other than the state of Kerala and districts other than the district of Malappuram.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Migration theories divided various reasons for migration into two - as push factors, which compels the person to leave his home and pull factors, which attracts him to the particular destination. The following are the reasons for in-migration of Tamil workers in to the state.

Push Factors

The various push factors that have led to in-migration of the workers in to the district are shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8
Reasons for Migration (Push Factors)

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
Low wages	356	29.67
Unemployment /Under employment	275	22.92
Poverty	143	11.92
Unsatisfactory working conditions	100	8.33
Family Move	89	7.42
Indebtedness	72	6.00
Landlessness	30	2.50
Lack of irrigation	25	2.08
To earn additional income	25	2.08
Others	85	7.08
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per the table (Table 5.8), 30 per cent of the sample left their homes due to low wages and 22 per cent on account of unemployment or underemployment. Poverty was the reason for migration of 12 per cent of the sample. Unsatisfactory working conditions compelled 8.33 per cent and family move tempted 7.42 per cent of the sample to leave their place of origin. While indebtedness resulted in the out-migration of six per cent of the sample and landlessness necessitated 2.5 per cent of them to leave their state. Similarly, lack of irrigation was the reason for another two per cent of the sample. The urge to earn additional income was the reason for two per cent to leave their homes and seven per cent left their homes due to other reasons such as ban to enter their places due to taking part in criminal activities, caste or political or other social problems etc.

Thus, majority of workers (63 per cent) in the sample have left homes on account of employment related issues like low wages, unemployment, underemployment, and unsatisfactory working conditions and these can be considered as the major reasons for their out-migration from Tamil Nadu.

Pull factors

Wide destinations exist in front of a potential migrant. The decision to migrate to a particular place depends upon the attracting forces in the destination when compared to other destinations. Distance, language, laws and regulations, economic, social, cultural as well as political factors etc. affect the choice of destination. According to the Tamil workers of the district, following are the factors (given in the Table 5.9) that attracted them to Kerala.

Table 5.9
Reasons for Migration (Pull Factors)

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
Better wages	488	40.67
Better employment and Better wages	235	19.58
Existence of Family	174	14.50
Better wages and Better working condition	108	9.00
Better wages and better employer-employee relationship	99	8.25
Existence of friends	20	1.67
Others	76	6.33
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per the Table 5.9, better wages alone attracted 41 per cent of the sample. Better employment opportunities together with better wages were the reasons for 20 per cent of them to come to Kerala. 15 per cent of them were motivated by the existence of their family or relatives, nine per cent was attracted by better wages along with better working conditions and eight per cent of them were attracted by better wages coupled with better employer-employee relationship. Two per cent pulled to Kerala due to existence of their friends and six per cent came due to other reasons such as their labour contractors or agents were from this area, or due to better social relationship.

Special Reasons for Selecting Malappuram District

Almost all districts in the state of Kerala have more or less the same

economic and social conditions. Thus it becomes imperative to know what attracted these Tamil workers into the district of Malappuram. Table 5.10 shows the various reasons for selecting the district.

Table 5.10
Special Reasons for Selecting Malappuram District

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
Better wages	457	38.08
Existence of friends and relatives	389	32.42
Employer/Labour Agent brought	121	10.08
Better job	81	6.75
Better living conditions	55	4.58
Better working conditions	51	4.25
Better business opportunities	46	3.83
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

According to Table 5.10, better wages in the district was the reason for 38 per cent of the sample, while existence of friends and relatives was the important reason for 32 per cent of them. 10 per cent mentioned that their employer or labour agents who brought them to Kerala belonged to this district and so they came without any other special reasons. Seven per cent of them were motivated by better employment and job opportunities existing here, five per cent by better living conditions and five per cent by better working conditions. Yet another four per cent saw good business opportunities in the district.

Thus in their anticipation the district has some advantages over the other districts of Kerala, over the payment of wages, working conditions, living conditions etc. But existence of friends and relatives is an important factor that affects the migration decision, destination etc.

On the basis of the above discussions, it can be concluded that labour related issues like low wage rates, unemployment and underemployment etc. of

Tamil Nadu coupled with better employment opportunities and better wages in Kerala are the major reasons for in-migration of Tamil workers to Kerala.

Skills and Experiences Acquired Before Migration

Skills and experiences are important determinants of wages and incomes of workers. For a migrant, skills and experiences acquired from his nativity is an important asset and it can be used in his destination also. Table 5.11 given below shows the skills and experiences acquired by them before their migration.

Table 5.11
Skills and Experiences Acquired before Migration

Areas of skills and experiences	Number of workers	Percentage
Agricultural related	628	52.33
Service and business related	116	9.67
Construction related	75	6.25
Manufacturing related	66	5.50
No skills and experiences	315	26.25
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

It is apparent from Table 5.11 that, 52 per cent of the workers were having their skills and experiences in the field of agriculture. This proves again that majority of the Tamil workers who came to the district were either cultivators or agricultural labourers. 10 per cent of them have skills and experiences in service activities as drivers, cleaners etc or in business activities as traders or workers in the business establishments. Only 6 per cent of them have acquired skills and experiences in construction related activities, while more than one-quarter (26 per cent) of workers had no previous skills or experiences.

The skills and experiences acquired from their nativity, even though it is an asset, in the case of majority of workers it was not of use in Kerala. Because

many of them have their skills and experiences in agriculture related activities, and only a few workers had previous experiences in construction activities. But majority of the Tamil workers in Kerala engage in construction or related activities as unskilled workers and few as skilled workers. Similarly there are certain differences in agricultural operations and methods in Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Thus skills and experiences acquired from Tamil Nadu were not of much use to them in Kerala.

Status of Employment before Migration

Employment status determines employment and income patterns of a worker. It also influences a person's decision to migrate. Table 5.12 shows employment status of Tamil workers before their migration to the district.

Table 5.12
Employment Status before Migration

Status	Number of workers	Percentage
Casual worker	576	48.00
Student	273	22.75
Unemployed	88	7.33
Self employed	73	6.08
Attached labour	49	4.08
Contract labour	48	4.00
Cultivator	40	3.33
Permanent labour	21	1.75
House wife, Small Kid and others	32	2.67
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per Table 5.12, 48 per cent of workers were casual workers. Casual employment is considered as one of the lowest quality employment. Students occupied the second position (23 per cent), even though studentship cannot be considered for employment status, it is shown here for the purpose of ascertaining their previous status and thus it is mentioned separately. Seven per cent of the sample constituted unemployed. If the students are also considered

as unemployed, the share will increase to 30 per cent. Self-employed worker constituted six per cent; attached workers constituted four per cent, contract workers constituted four per cent and cultivators formed three per cent of the sample. Similarly two per cent of them were permanent labourers and three per cent were Housewives, small kids and others. Thus, the employment status of majority of the workers was more or less that of casual nature, or low-status employment.

CONDITIONS AT DESTINATION

Living Conditions

Observations show that the Tamil workers are not so much concerned about the living and accommodation facilities in the destination. They are satisfied with the limited facilities that are affordable to their payment capacity. Moreover, they are not willing to spend more on accommodation and other facilities. Table 5.13 shows nature of their accommodation.

Table 5.13
Nature of Accommodation

Nature of accommodation	Number of workers	Percentage
Rented	972	81.00
Rent Free	134	11.17
Pavement	58	4.83
Owned	36	3.00
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

According to Table 5.13, more than four-fifths (81 per cent) of the sample live in the district by paying rent. 11 per cent of them are living in rent-free accommodation facilities provided either by their employer or someone else and for five per cent pavement or verandas of shops are their homes. During daytime they are out for work; for rest and sleep in the night pavement or shop verandas are sufficient for them. But another three per cent of the workers have their own homes in Kerala.

Facilities in Accommodation

As mentioned earlier Tamil workers are not so much concerned about accommodation and facilities. Various facilities in their place of accommodation are given in Table 5.14

Table 5.14
Various Facilities in Accommodation

	Yes		No	
	Number of Workers	Percentage	Number of Workers	Percentage
Bath room	1065	88.75	135	11.25
Lavatory	1066	88.83	134	11.17
Pipe water	217	18.08	983	81.92
Electricity	943	78.58	257	21.42

Source: Survey data

It is apparent from Table 5.14 that, 89 per cent of the workers have bathroom facilities, and 11 per cent, who have no such facilities use public ponds, water bodies, rivers etc for bathing. Similarly, 89 per cent of them have latrine facilities and the others use roadsides, riversides and other public and private places for their primary purposes. Only 18 per cent of the sample has pipe water facilities. While more than three-fourths of the workers have electricity in their accommodation.

Entertainment Facilities in Accommodation

Since the workers are away from their home and majority from families also, entertainment facilities are important. It is also interesting to note that Tamils are more interested in music, cinema and other entertainments than Keralites. The following table (Table 5.15) shows the things of entertainment owned by the Tamil workers in their rooms.

Table 5.15
Entertainment Facilities in the Place of Accommodation

Entertainment	Number of workers	Percentage
Radio	508	42.33
Type recorder	196	16.33
Televisions	99	8.25
All of the above	140	11.67
Nothing	257	21.42
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As the table 5.15 shows, 42.33 per cent of the workers have a radio in their rooms and 16 per cent of them have type recorder in their rooms. Further, 8 per cent of them have televisions in their rooms and 12 per cent of them have access to all these facilities in their place of accommodation. But at the same time 257 workers or 21 per cent have no such facilities.

Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the socio-demographic profile of Tamil workers, their reasons for migration and living conditions in the district. The study shows that majority of Tamil workers of the district are young males, belonging to the scheduled castes and backward classes, left their home due to low wage rates, unemployment, underemployment etc. Similarly majority of them were casual workers or unemployed and were engaged in primary sector. Most of them live here in rented accommodation with friends and relatives and majority have facilities for primary requirements and also for entertainment. Thus it can be mentioned that majority of the Tamil workers in the district have low socio-economic backgrounds. After discussing the socio-demographic profile of Tamil workers in this chapter the next chapter deals with their income, employment patterns, working conditions and economic impact of their migration in to the district.

**INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT OF TAMIL WORKERS IN
KERALA - A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
MALAPPURAM DISTRICT**

Thesis submitted to the
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

for the award of the Degree of
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CHAPTER VI

**IMPACT OF IN-MIGRATION UPON EMPLOYMENT,
INCOME AND OTHER ECONOMIC ASPECTS**

Chapter 6

IMPACT OF IN-MIGRATION UPON EMPLOYMENT, INCOME AND OTHER ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Tamil workers can be seen engaged in different activities in the district. They undertake almost all activities, which are accepted as well as rejected by the native workers. However, they are mainly concentrated in those activities, which require hard working, better physique, that are tiresome, especially those which are not undertaken by natives. They provide labour force to the district, which faces severe shortage of manual labourers. This chapter deals with their employment related aspects in the district, employment patterns, wages, and economic impact of migration.

Areas of Concentration of Tamil workers in the District

The concentration of Tamil workers on specific activities depends upon several factors including wage rates, availability of sufficient work, competition, especially from the natives, skills and experiences acquired from their nativity and so on. The following table (Table 6.1) shows the various broad areas of activities that are carried on by the sample of Tamil workers in the district.

Table 6.1
Areas of Concentration of Tamil workers in the District

Occupation	Number of workers	Percentage
Construction workers	421	35.08
Agricultural and general labourers	352	29.33
Hawkers, peddlers etc	97	8.08
Home servants	65	5.42
Head load worker	49	4.08
Rag picking	48	4.00
Stone crushing and quarry workers	39	3.25
Fire wood cutter	30	2.50
Self employed / contractor	25	2.08
Shop worker	13	1.08
Others	61	5.08
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per Table 6.1, more than one-third (35 per cent) of the sample engage in different kinds of construction activities, which include masonry, carpentry, centring, and other skilled as well as unskilled activities. But majority of them are unskilled workers. Agricultural and general labour is the second important area of activities of Tamil workers and 29 per cent of the workers belong to this category and includes both skilled and unskilled workers. Eight per cent of sample engages as hawkers and peddlers who are engaged in selling different kinds of articles like plastic wares, medicinal oil mixtures, bakeries, flowers and bouquets, tapioca chips, ground nuts, chillies, garlic, onions and so on. Similarly, five per cent of them work as home servants. These include males and females, children and aged. There are few ladies working as midwives and home nurses also. Head load workers constituted four per cent, these are not the head load workers or porters who can be seen in markets and bus stands etc., known for their labour militancy, but are engaged in loading and unloading stones in and out of quarries and other places. Similarly another four per cent, mainly women, children and aged are engaged in rag picking.

Another important area of activity is stone crushing and quarrying and 3.25 per cent of the sample works in this area. Anyone passing through the N.H 17 in the district can see small huts and work places on the road sides, where males and females, children as well as aged are engaged in grinding granite stone manually, loading and unloading etc. Important quarrying areas in the district, like Kondotty and nearby areas, Karekkad and Punnathala near Kadampuzha, etc. are the habitat of Tamil quarry workers. The near by areas of these quarries may resemble the places of Tamil Nadu. Some of these quarries are taken on lease by Tamils where the entire family and relatives may be working together. Many of the machineries and equipments including tractors in these and other quarries are registered in Tamil Nadu, owned by Tamils who may be working as other workers in these places.

Hewing of firewood is another successful area of Tamil workers in Kerala and they are gradually replacing natives from this field. These fellows are interested in undertaking the work on contract basis and complete even two days work through hard working in one day itself and pocket the cash. Three per cent workers in the sample are specialised in hewing firewood.

There are contractors (two per cent) among them, who are engaged in construction and other areas of work. They undertake various activities, working themselves and with the help of some others complete the tasks. Thus, they are workers and at the same time employers also. Shop workers (one per cent) include mainly cleaners in hotels and restaurants and other shops, but most of them are children or child workers. Similarly, five per cent of the sample engages in other activities than those mentioned above, such as collecting cash for of moneylenders, cleaning of septic tanks, working as cobblers in the streets, ironing of dresses etc. Therefore, it can be said that the Tamil workers are engaged in almost all spheres of activities in the district. However, they are mainly concentrated in construction and agricultural activities.

Present Work Status

Before migration, majority of Tamil workers belonged to casual or low status workers. Their present work status is shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2
Present Work Status of Tamil Workers in the District

Work status	Number of workers	Percentage
Day labourer or casual labourer	593	49.42
Long term employee without a written contract	351	29.25
Self employed	146	12.17
Contract labourer	97	8.08
Others	13	1.08
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per Table 6.2, 50 per cent of the workers are casual workers and 30 per cent of them are long-term employees without any written contract. Since it is only a loose agreement, it can be terminated at any time. Thus practically they are also like casual labourers. But some of these workers are paid salary on monthly basis. 12 per cent of the sample belonged to self-employed category and were contractors and sub-contractors in different areas, petty traders, and hawkers etc who carry on work on their own behalf, work themselves as well as employ others. Further 8 per cent claimed that they work on contractual basis like septic tank cleaning, as midwives, home nurses etc., who engage on contractual basis either individually or as a group, complete the task accordingly and share the remuneration. Sometimes they work as casual labourers, and their work also has the characteristic features of casual labour and thus they can also be considered under the category of casual labourers. There were 13 workers who belong to the category of others and include persons working as agents who supply labourers, brokers in stone and other materials working on commission basis etc.

Thus majority of the Tamil workers in the district are casual workers. However, these classifications are not based on strict criteria and thus they are not mutually exclusive.

Number of Days Worked in the District

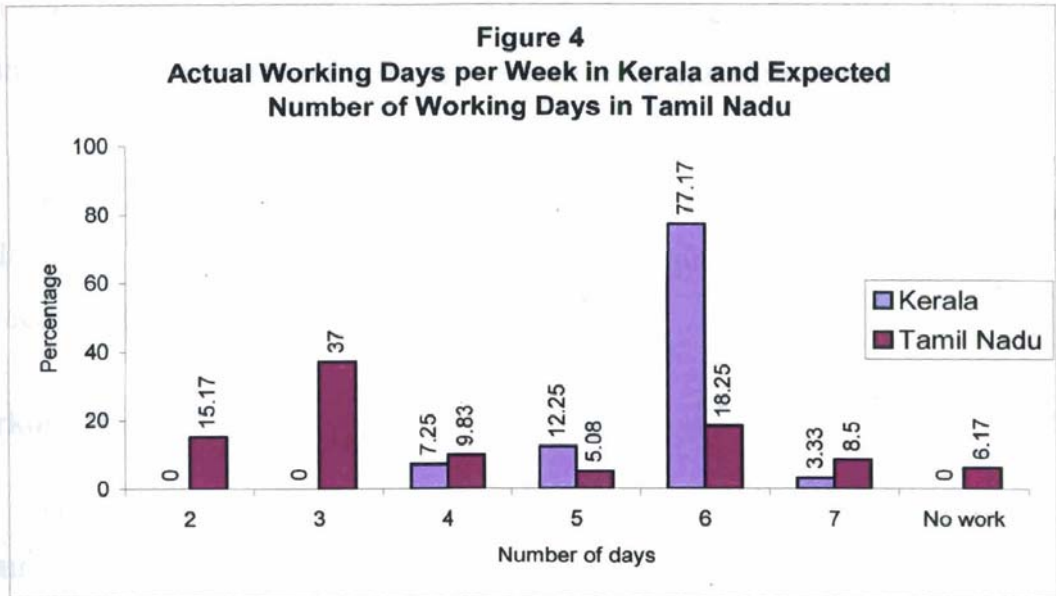
The following table (Table 6.3) and chart (Figure 4) show the number of days actually worked in Kerala and the expected number of days that they would have worked if they remained in their nativity, according to their own estimates.

Table 6.3
Number of Days Worked per Week
in Kerala and Expected number of Working Days in Tamil Nadu

Days worked	Kerala	Tamil Nadu
Less than 2 days	0.00	15.17
3 days	0.00	37.00
4 days	7.25	9.83
5 days	12.25	5.08
6 days	77.17	18.25
7 days	3.33	8.50
Remain Unemployed	0.00	6.17
Total	100.00	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 1203.87, df=6, p=0.00000		

Source: Survey data

From Table 6.3, it can be seen that six per cent of the sample would remain unemployed if they were in their nativity and there is a high concentration of workers in the number of days worked - 3 or less. In other words more than half (52 per cent) of the sample of Tamil workers would remain unemployed for more than four days in a week, if they were in their nativity. Similarly 62 per cent could work only for four or less than four days, or more than 62 per cent of workers would remain unemployed for three or more than three days. But in Kerala, more than 93 per cent of them work for more than 5 days in a week. This shows that the average number of days worked in the state is more than their expected number of working days in their nativity. The above analysis shows that the percentage of Tamil workers in the district is highly concentrated on working for five or more than five days. But in their origin the percentage of workers is concentrated on working for less than five days. This shows that there is significant difference in the number of days worked in the district and the number of days that would have been worked if they remained in their nativity without migrating to the district. Thus, migration has helped them to get employment for more days than that of their nativity. Figure 4, also highlights the above points.



Source: Survey data

Further, a comparative analysis of the average number of working days per month in the district and the expected number of days that they could have worked in their nativity, if they do not come to the district shows significant differences. Thus availability of sufficient employment and employment opportunities is a major reason for selecting the district, which can be proved with the help of the following statistical analysis. This is explained with the help of Table 6.4.

Table 6.4
ANOVA Showing Mean Days Worked in Kerala
And the Expected Number of Days that will be worked in Tamil Nadu

States	Number of Workers	Mean days Worked per month	Standard Deviation	p value
Kerala	1200	23.44	2.09	0.00
Tamil Nadu	1200	15.00	7.43	
Total	2400	19.22	6.90	

Source: Survey data

Table 6.4 shows that, the average days worked by the Tamil workers in the district are 23.44 and the standard deviation is 2.09, which is higher than the expected number of working days in their nativity (15 days). Wide variation can also be expected in these working days, since, the standard

deviation is 7.43. Further the p value (0.00) is less than 0.05, which shows that significant differences exist between the actual number of working days in their destination and expected number of working days in their places of origin.

Thus, the hypothesis that migration helps Tamil workers to get employment for more days than in their place origin is found to be true and is thus accepted.

Working Hours

Time spent by the workers or working hours is an important aspect in labour studies. In the case of informal activities the working time is not fixed. Wage rates and other working conditions depend on working hours, which in turn depend upon the nature of work and other institutional aspects. In a business undertaking sometimes a worker has to work for more than the time that is to be worked in the agricultural fields or construction sites. Similarly there can be regional variations in the working time. A comparative study of working time in Kerala and Tamil Nadu is given in table 6.5

Table 6.5
Hours Worked Per Day in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

Hours worked	Kerala	Tamil Nadu
Less than 8 hours	5.92	38.75
8 –10 hours	84.33	46.41
11-15 hours	5.42	6.75
More than 15 hours	4.33	1.92
Not working in Tamil Nadu	0.00	6.17
Total	100.00	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 514.371, df=5, p=0.00000		

Source: Survey data

As Table 6.5 shows, six per cent in the sample of Tamil workers work for less than 8 hours, 84 per cent on an average work for 8 to 10 hours, 5 per cent work to 11-15 hours, and 4 per cent of them work for more than 15 hours per day. A comparison of working time in the district with that of their nativity

shows that, Tamil workers have to work for more hours in the district, because 39 per cent of them work for less than 8 hours in their nativity and it is only 46 per cent of them who work for 8-10 hours per day. It is also important to note that in major parts of Tamil Nadu an agricultural labourer has to start his/her work early in the morning around six and his work ends at twelve or one in the noon, without any rest or break. In that way, some times the working time of Kerala will be more than that of Tamil Nadu.

Further, the calculated Chi-square value is 514.371 at $df=5$ and the p value is 0.0000 (< 0.001), which is less than 0.05; this indicates that there exist significant difference between the working hours of Kerala and that of Tamil Nadu. Thus on the basis of the above discussions, it can be concluded that the working time in Kerala per day is higher than that of their nativity.

WAGES PER DAY AND EXPECTED WAGES IN NATIVITY

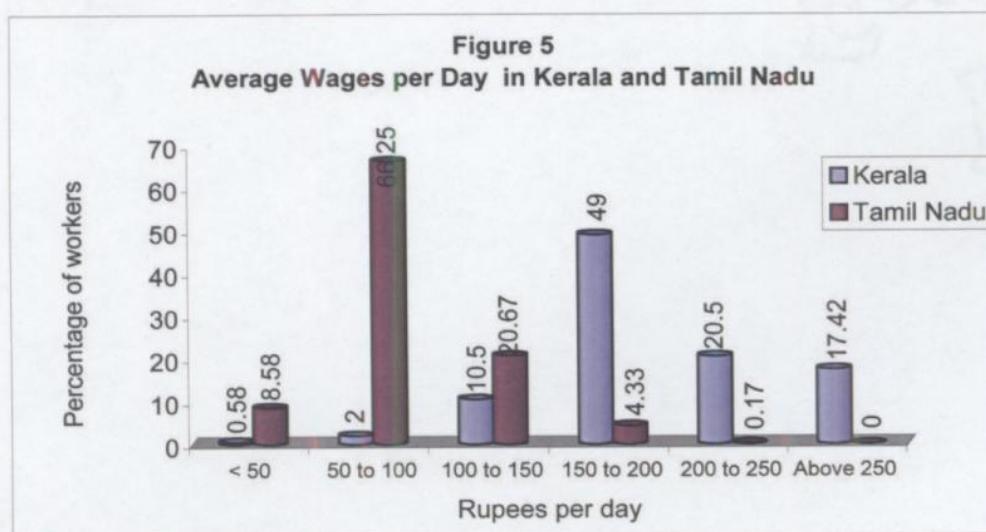
One of the main reasons for migration is the wage difference between Tamil Nadu and Kerala i.e. higher wage rates of the district and lower wage rates in their origin. In chapter 3, a detailed explanation of wage rates at the states level has been made. Here, a comparative study of actual wages received by the workers and the wages that they could have earned if the same or similar work is performed in their nativity is made with the help of the Table 6.6

Table 6.6
Actual Wages per Day in Kerala and expected Wages in Tamil Nadu

Rupees per day	Kerala	Tamil Nadu
Less than Rupees 50	0.58	8.58
Rupees 50 to 100	2.00	66.25
Rupees 100 to 150	10.50	20.67
Rupees 150 to 200	49.00	4.33
Rupees 200 to 250	20.50	0.17
Above Rupees 250	17.42	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 1747.36, $df=5$, $p=0.00000$		

Source Survey data

It is apparent from Table 6.6 and Figure 5, that 0.58 per cent of the sample in the district receives less than Rupees 50 per day as their wages, 2 per cent receives in between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100, and 10.5 per cent between Rs. 100 and 150. Thus 13 per cent of the sample in the district receives less than Rs. 150 per day as their wages. But at the same time 96 per cent of the sample could receive only less than Rs. 150 as wages per day in their nativity, if they remain and work there. 49 per cent of the workers in the district receive wages in between Rupees 150 and 200 per day, 21 per cent of them receive between Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 per day in the district and 17 per cent of them receive above Rupees 250. Thus 87 per cent of the workers in the district receive more than Rs. 150 per day as wages. At the same time, only five per cent, a minority of them could receive more than Rs. 150 as wages in their nativity, if they remain and work there. Similarly there is none who could receive more than Rs. 250 in their nativity. This shows that a concentration of the number of workers in the district around the wage level Rs.150 to Rs. 250; while in their nativity the concentration around Rs. 50 to Rs. 150.



Source: Survey data

Thus the wages that the Tamil workers receive in this district is much higher than what they could receive in their nativity, and there exists

considerable difference between the wages that they receive from the district and the wages that they could have earned if they remain in their nativity and perform same or similar operations.

Further, the test of independence of the daily wages earnings of the district and the expected wages earnings in their nativity shows that Pearson Chi-square to be 1747.36 at $df=5$ and the p value is 0.00000 (< 0.001) which is less than 0.05 indicates that there exists significant difference between the wage rates of Kerala and the expected wage rates of their nativity.

WAGE EARNINGS PER MONTH IN KERALA AND TAMIL NADU

For the purpose of calculating net wages earning per month it is required to calculate average monthly earnings of Tamil workers of this district. Table 6.7 shows the average monthly earnings and their expected monthly average earnings in their nativity, if they remained in their home.

Table 6.7
Actual Monthly Wage Earnings from Kerala and Expected Monthly Wage Earnings in Tamil Nadu

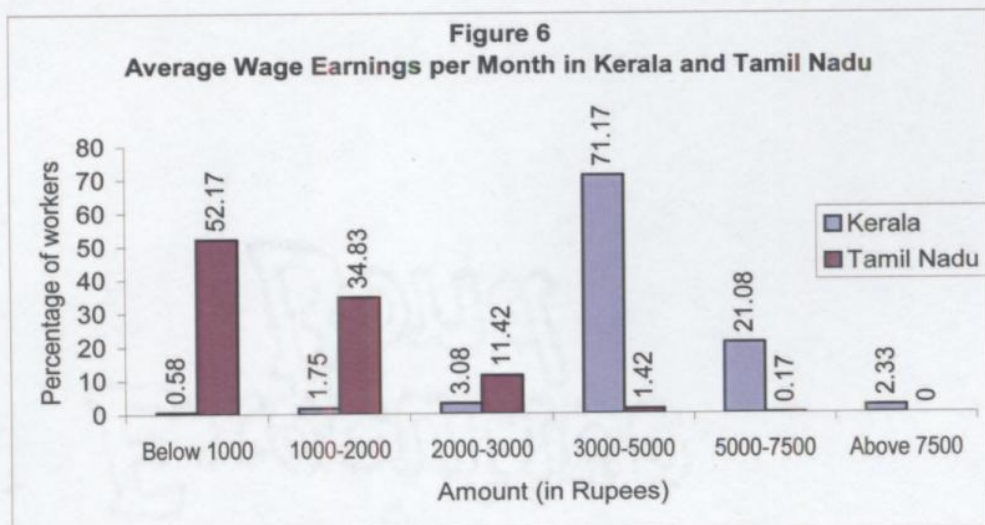
Earnings per month (Rupees)	Kerala		Tamil Nadu	
	Number of workers	Perce- ntage	Number of workers	Perce- ntage
Below 1000	7	0.58	626	52.17
1000-2000	21	1.75	418	34.83
2000-3000	37	3.08	137	11.42
3000-5000	854	71.17	17	1.42
5000-7500	253	21.08	2	0.17
Above 7500	28	2.33	0	0.00
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 2101.19, $df=5$, $p=0.00000$				

Source: Survey data

Table 6.7 and the following chart (Figure 6) show, a concentration of the number of workers in the district in the income group between Rs. 3000 and Rs. 7500, and highest occurrence is the monthly income group of Rs. 3000 to Rs. 5000. But if they are in their nativity, the concentration of number will be

in the average monthly income of less than Rs. 2000, and highest occurrence will be in the income group of less than Rs. 1000. Further in the district two per cent can earn above Rs. 7500 per month, but there will be none in their nativity who could earn more than Rs. 7500 if they remain and work in Tamil Nadu.

Therefore, 95 per cent of the workers in the district can earn above Rs. 3000 per month or on an average more than Rs. 100 per day. At the same time more than 98 per cent of the sample could earn only less than Rs. 3000 per month or less than Rs. 100 per day, if they are in their places of origin. Further it is only 65 workers in the district whose average monthly wage earnings is less than Rs. 3000, or who do not earn a daily wage of Rs. 100. Majority of these workers are child workers or workers engaged in business establishments or those who work under a Tamil employer in the district. Further, average wages income per month in the district is Rs.4318 and the standard deviation is 1352.71 while their expected average wages income per month in their nativity is only 1159 and the standard deviation is 699.98. These show that Tamil workers receive higher wages income from the district than the wages expected in their nativity.



Source: Survey data

In addition to these, test of independence shows Pearson Chi-square:

2101.19, at degrees of freedom 5 and p value less than 0.001 (0.00000), which shows the existence of significant difference at 5 per cent tolerance level and thus we can say that there exist significant difference in wage earnings as well as income of Tamil workers working in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Hence it can be concluded that in-migration into the district substantially enhances wage and income earnings of Tamil workers.

The following table (Table 6.8) also proves that the above statement that in-migration has led to considerable increase in the wage earnings of Tamil workers.

Table 6.8
ANOVA Showing the Mean Earning per month in Kerala
and the Expected earning that will be earned from Tamil Nadu

States	Number of Workers	Mean earnings per month	Standard Deviation	p value
Kerala	1200	4318.16	1352.71	0.00
Tamil Nadu	1200	1158.73	699.98	
Total	2400	2738.44	1912.06	

Source: Survey data

Table 6.8 shows that the average earnings of Tamil workers per month in the district is Rs. 4318 and the standard deviation is 1352.71. But, average expected monthly wages income in their nativity is only Rs. 1158.73 and the standard deviation is 699.98. This shows that the average monthly wages earnings in Kerala is higher than that of their nativity. Further, the p value is 0.00 (< 0.001), which indicates that there exists significant difference between the average monthly income of the district and the average expected income in their nativity.

Thus, the above discussion can be accepted as a proof to claim that migration has led to increase earnings of Tamil workers. It can be accepted as one of the proofs for the correctness of the hypothesis that in-migration has led to the economic improvement of Tamil workers.

Moreover, a close examination of various factors mentioned above shows that better wages alone or in combination with other factors has attracted 1000 workers or 83.33 per cent of the sample to Kerala. Therefore, it can be concluded that better wages of Kerala or the wage difference between Kerala and Tamil Nadu is the major reason for the in-migration of Tamil workers into Kerala.

EXPENSES PER MONTH

An analysis of expenditure pattern helps us to understand the spending and consumption habits of the workers. Ascertainment of total expenses is also necessary to calculate net wages earnings, savings, remittances and outflow of fund due to the in-migration of Tamil workers. Table 6.9 shows the amounts spent by workers on different items. It is also important to note that all the workers need not incur expenses on each item mentioned in the table.

Table 6.9
Average Monthly Expenses of Tamil workers in the District

Expenses	Number of workers	Percentage	Average Amount (Rupees)	Standard Deviation
Food	1094	91.17	969.13	380.67
Accommodation	970	80.83	132.26	68.30
Travelling (for Work)	681	56.75	224.19	105.80
Smoking and chewing	923	76.92	285.38	224.40
Liquor	602	50.17	343.20	336.92
News paper	385	32.08	56.31	55.33
Lottery	707	58.92	292.88	136.29
Cinema	1001	83.42	69.16	46.13
Other expenses	274	22.83	13.80	62.66

Source: Survey data

Expenses on food: One of the major items of expenses is food. Most of the Tamil workers in the district are here without their family and thus either they have to depend on hotels or other restaurants or still some others cook food

themselves. In majority of workers' case employers generally provide food during the working time. As the Table 6.9 shows 91 per cent of workers spends on an average Rs. 969 per month or Rs. 32 per day. 9 per cent of the workers live with the employer or are workers either in the hotels or other restaurants.

Expenses on accommodation: In the earlier part of the study we have seen that majority of the Tamil workers in the district lives in rented accommodation. It is clear from the Table 6.9 that 81 per cent of the sample pays on an average Rs. 132 as rent. The remaining 19 per cent of the sample either lives with the accommodation facilities provided by the employer free of rent or in their own home or pavements etc. However, it is observed that many of the Tamil workers live in inferior quality rooms with less facilities to reduce expenses on accommodation.

Expenses on travelling for employment purposes: It is observed that, most of the Tamil workers live in those places where sufficient work is available to them. If their work is in distant areas, generally the employer meets the travelling expenses or the workers are compensated for the expenses. For example, unskilled construction workers who are specialised in lifting the concrete as head load, they live as a group and work as groups under a *maistry* (gang leader). The gang leader is responsible for their employment and wages and gets commission for his services. On the day of concrete either the vehicle of the contractor comes to carry the workers to the work sites or the workers are reimbursed the amount spent on travelling. Thus the number of workers who spend on travelling for employment is the minimum as well as the expense is also the minimum. As per Table 6.9, average expenses incurred by an employee on travel for employment purpose is Rs. 224, which is very low when compared to the present bus fare in Kerala, where one has to pay a minimum charge of Rs. 3.00 for travelling 2.5 kilo meters.

Expenses on Smoking, Chewing etc: Smoking or chewing pan is common among the Tamil workers. Majority of them consume dangerous articles like “Pan Parag”, “Hans”, “Madhu” etc., in addition to chewing of betel nut. But cigarette smoking is not common among them. Table 6.9 shows that the average monthly expenses of 77 per cent of the workers on smoking or chewing is Rs. 285 or approximately Rs. 10 per day.

Expenses on intoxicating articles: It has been observed that consumption of intoxicating articles is one of the major deviant behaviour of Tamil workers in the district. Some of the workers are drunkards and spend everything they earn through their hard work for liquor. Some of them can be seen on roadsides, footpaths lying unconscious or walking unsteadily on account of intoxication. This is a common scene on holidays and in large cities where bars exist. From Table 6.9, it can be understood that 50 per cent of the sample use either one or other kind of intoxicating articles like liquor or gunja or both and on an average a worker having the habit spends Rs. 343 per month on intoxicating articles.

Expenses on newspapers and magazines: Since the workers are away from their home and nativity, they would have sufficient spare time and many of them engage in reading newspapers and magazines. Libraries having Tamil books are rare in the district; moreover, Tamil workers have no access to these facilities. Thus they have to purchase and spend money on newspapers, magazines and other books. As Table 6.9 shows, 32 per cent of the workers purchase newspapers, magazines etc., and on an average they spend Rs. 56.31 per month for this purpose.

Expenses on Lottery: Tamil workers are much interested in purchasing lottery tickets. To some workers it has become a craze and they spend a big chunk of their earnings for purchasing lottery tickets. As per Table 6.9 given above, 59 per cent of the sample spends on an average Rs. 293 per month for purchasing

lottery tickets. The survey data shows that three per cent spend more than Rs. 500 per month for this purpose.

Expenses on Cinema per Month: Tamil people are very much fond of movies. Since they are away from home, they have sufficient time to spare; one of the methods of spending their leisure time is cinema. According to Table 6.9 given above, 83 per cent spends money for viewing cinema. Their average monthly expense is Rs. 69.

Other Expenses: In addition to the expenses discussed above 33 per cent of the sample incurs on an average Rs. 14 on other items.

TOTAL EXPENSES PER MONTH

After calculating the individual monthly expenses, now it is possible to calculate the total monthly expenses of Tamil workers in the district. The following table (Table 6.10) and chart (Figure 7) deals with the average total monthly expenses

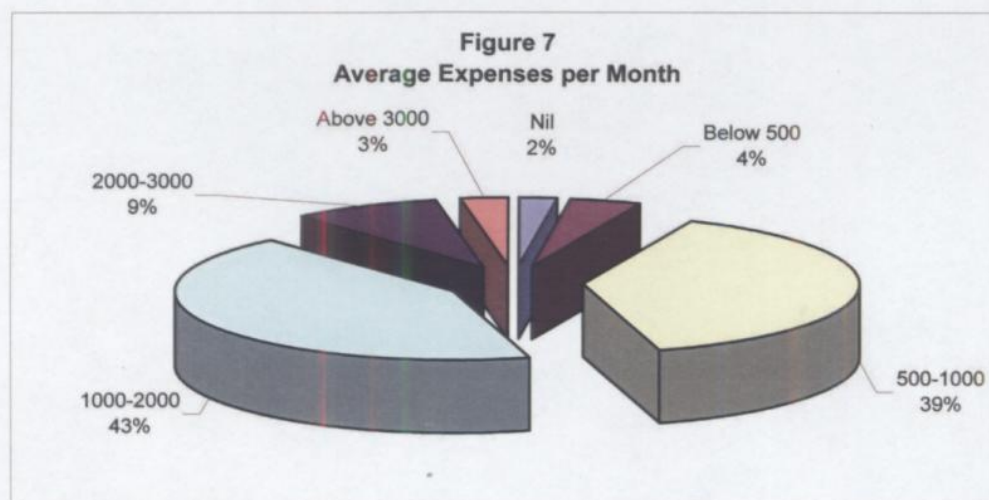
Table 6.10
Total Monthly Expenses of Tamil Workers in the District

Expenses (Rupees)	Number of workers	Percentage	Average expenses	Standard deviation
Nil	28	2.33	1260.04	950.28
Below 500	50	4.17		
500-1000	468	39.00		
1000-2000	518	43.17		
2000-3000	104	8.67		
Above 3000	32	2.67		
Total	1200	100.00		

Source: Survey data

Table 6.10 and chart (Figure 7) show that, two per cent in the sample does not incur expenses in the district for any purposes. These are the home servants, especially boys and girls, almost all of whose expenses including that

of dresses are borne by their employers. Thus whatever they get is their net income. Total expenses of 4 per cent of the workers is less than Rs 500, while that of 39 per cent is in between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000, and 43 per cent is in between Rs. 1000 and Rs. 2000. Similarly, total average monthly expense of 9 per cent is in between Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3000, while that of 3 per cent exceeds Rs. 3000.



A close analysis of the total expenses with the individual expenses shows that, in the case of those whose expenses are higher, they spend more on liquor and on the intoxicating articles, lotteries etc. But the expenses on food, accommodation and other essential articles are comparatively less. Thus the average monthly expenses of a Tamil worker in the district comes to Rs. 1260 and Tamil workers on an average spend this much amount in the district and the standard deviation is Rs 950.28

NET WAGES INCOME PER MONTH

Net wages income is calculated by deducting average monthly expenses from the average monthly wage earnings. Since it considers both incomes and expenses, it can also be considered as the average monthly savings of Tamil workers in the district. This net wages income is the major motivating factor

for migration, which can be compared to the anticipated wages or wages itself from their nativity. The following table (Table 6.11) shows the net wage earnings (total monthly wage earnings minus total monthly expenses) of Tamil workers in the district.

Table 6.11
Net Wages Income per Month

Income (Rupees)	Number of workers	Percentage	Average Income	Standard Deviation
Below 1500	287	23.92	2344.07	1121.19
1500-3000	633	52.75		
3000-4500	236	19.67		
4500-6000	31	2.58		
Above 6000	13	1.08		
Total	1200	100.00		

Source: Survey data

As per the above table (Table 6.11) net wage earning per month of 24 per cent in the sample is less than Rs. 1500. An analysis of the income and spending habits of such workers shows that their expenses are much more and many of them spend more on liquor. Average monthly net wages earnings of 53 per cent of the workers is in between Rs. 1500 to Rs. 3000. More than half of the workers belong to this group and their net earnings is less than Rs. 100 per day. 20 per cent of the sample earns a net monthly wages in between Rs. 3000 to Rs. 4500, while three per cent earns a net wages in between Rs. 4500 and Rs. 6000. At the same time 13 workers (1 per cent) in the sample earn a net wages more than Rs. 6000 per month. Thus 23 per cent earn daily more than Rs. 100 that too after meeting all expenses including food and accommodation. On an average a Tamil worker in the district earns a monthly net wages of Rs. 2344, and this can be considered as their average savings from wages in the district and the standard deviation is Rs. 1121.19.

Net Wages Income in the District and Expected Wages Income in Tamil Nadu

Labour migration takes place only if the net income derived from migration is higher than the income that has been sacrificed on account of migration. In other words, the net benefit should be higher than the costs. Due to migration, the migrant loses wage earnings of his nativity as well as other incomes that could have been earned if he remained in his nativity. In addition to these there are psychic costs also. But here we are considering only the wages income that has been forgotten, or that could have been earned by him if he performs the same or similar operations in his nativity. Table 6.12 and Chart (Figure 8) show a comparative study of the net wages income and the wages income that could have been earned in their nativity.

Table 6.12
Net Wage Earnings from Kerala and Expected Wage Earnings in Tamil Nadu

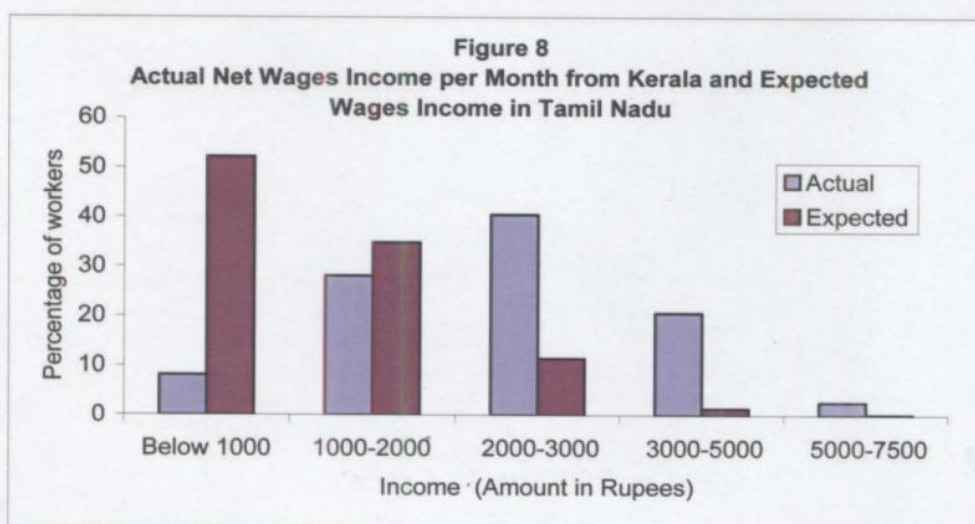
	Actual net income in the district		Expected income in Tamil Nadu	
	Number of workers	Perce-ntages	Number of workers	Perce-ntages
Below Rupees 1000	97	8.08	626	52.17
Rupees 1000-2000	337	28.08	418	34.83
Rupees 2000-3000	486	40.50	137	11.42
Rupees 3000-5000	248	20.67	17	1.42
Rupees 5000-7500	32	2.67	2	0.17
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 819.085, df=4, p=0.00000				

Source: Survey data

As Table 6.12 and chart (Figure 8) show, more than 63 per cent of the sample in the district earns more than Rs. 2000 as net wages per month and 92 per cent earns more than Rs. 1000 as net wages earning per month. This earnings, when compared to their expected earnings from nativity is much higher. In their nativity, 87 per cent of the sample could earn only less than Rs. 2000 as their wage earning per month if they remain in the nativity. And only 38 per cent could earn above Rs. 1000 as their wages earning. Similarly 32

workers in the district earn more than Rs. 5000 per month as net wages, while it is only two workers who could earn more than Rs. 5000 as wages per month if they remain in their nativity.

This shows that the average monthly net wages income of Tamil workers in the district is higher than that of their expected earnings that could have been earned in their nativity by performing the same or similar operations.



Source: Survey data

Further, the calculated Chi-square value is 819.085 at degrees of freedom 4 and the p value (less than 0.001) is less than 0.05 it can be said that there is significant difference between the actual monthly net wages income of the district and the expected monthly wages income they could earn by doing the same or similar work in their nativity without migration to the district. Thus the hypothesis that the average monthly net wages earnings in the district is more than their expected monthly wages earnings of their nativity is accepted.

EARNINGS IN ADDITION TO WAGES

Some of the workers may get overtime wages, presents, gifts etc. either in the form of money or in kind in addition to their wages. The survey data shows that 25 per cent (303 workers) of the sample get overtime. Majority of

these workers are construction workers. However, there was no uniformity in the payment of overtime. They mentioned that on certain days they get one amount and on certain other days they get another amount and on certain days they will not get anything even if they worked overtime.

Further, the data revealed that, 269 workers (22 per cent) of the sample received presents or gifts in addition to wages. Majority of workers who received presents or gifts belonged to the category of home servants, permanent employees, and skilled construction workers. Majority of home servants received gifts or presents in the form of dress material electronic items and money either on the return of dependent of their employer households from gulf, or during *Ramzan* or *Id* or other festivals. Similarly midwives and home nurses also receive presents and gifts on ceremonies. Skilled construction workers get dress materials, money and even costly liquor in the event of a housewarming.

Settlement of Accounts

Accounts can be settled daily, weekly or monthly or according to the agreement between the employer and employees. Table 6.13 shows the manner and periodicity of settling accounts of Tamil workers of the district.

Table 6.13
Settlement of Accounts

Periodicity of settling accounts	Number of workers	Percentage
Daily	696	58.00
Weekly	199	16.58
Monthly	55	4.58
As and when home	210	17.50
After completion	40	3.33
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per the Table 6.13, accounts of more than half of the workers (58 per cent) are settled daily. While that of 17 per cent of their accounts are settled

weekly, 5 per cent monthly and that of 18 per cent as and when they go home. But in the case of three per cent workers, their accounts are settled after completion of the work. Thus majority had their accounts settled daily.

POSSIBLE IMPACT OF REDUCTION IN WAGES

Since the major reason for leaving nativity is low wages and the major attraction of Kerala is higher wages; it becomes imperative to ascertain the possible impact of a reduction in wages. Will these guest workers return or remain in Kerala? Various responses of the workers are shown in Table 6.14

Table 6.14
Possible Impact of Reduction in Wage Rates

	Remain Kerala		Return to Tamil Nadu	
	Number of Workers	Percentage	Number of Workers	Percentage
Up to 10 percentage	1083	90.25	117	9.75
Up to 20 percentage	841	70.08	359	29.92
Up to 30 percentage	283	23.58	917	76.42
Up to 40 percentage	120	10.00	1080	90.00
Up to 50 percentage	115	9.58	1085	90.42

Source: Survey data

It is apparent from Table 6.14 and Figure 9 that, in case of a reduction up to 10 per cent in wages 10 per cent of the workers will return to Tamil Nadu and at the same 90 per cent of them will remain and work in Kerala at the reduced wage rates. If the wage level declines further by 20 per cent of the present wage, 30 per cent of the workers will return and 70 per cent will remain and continue work here. This shows that 70 per cent Tamil workers are ready to work at 80 per cent of the present wages. If the wages is declined by 30 per cent of present wages, there will be an exodus of Tamil workers from Kerala. In this case 76 per cent of them will return to Tamil Nadu. At the same time 24 per cent of them will remain and work at the reduced wages in Kerala. If the wage rate is declined by 40 per cent of the present wage rates, 90 per cent will

be returned and 10 per cent of them will remain here. Further, if the wage rate is declined by 50 per cent the number of returnees will be increased to nominally by 5 workers (1085) and 115 workers will remain Kerala. In other words reduction in the wage rates from 40 per cent to 50 per cent of present wages leads to an additional return of only five persons. This shows that the rate of return migration on account of a possible reduction in wages increases at a higher rate in the initial stages and after reaching a particular level the rate of increase in the return migration on account reduction in wage level declines.

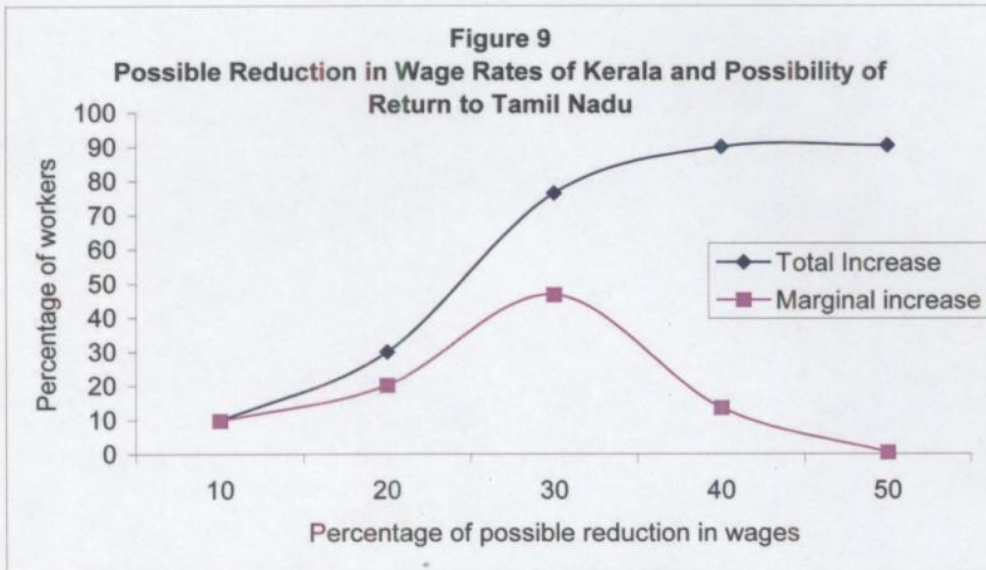
Table 6.15
Possible Increase in the Return Migration and Marginal Increase on account of Possible Decrease in the Wage Level

Percentage Reduction in wages	Percentage increase in the number of returnees	Marginal increase
10 percentage	9.75	9.75
20 percentage	29.92	20.17
30 percentage	76.42	46.70
40 percentage	90.00	13.58
50 percentage	90.42	0.42

Source: Survey data

As per the Table 6.15 and Figure 9, the marginal increase in the percentage of return on account of every 10 per cent reduction in the present wage level is given. According to the table, 10 per cent reduction in wages leads to a return of 9.75 per cent of the sample, when the wage rate declines by 20 per cent the percentage of possible returnees increases to 29.92 per cent and the marginal increase is 20.17 per cent; again, in the case of possible reduction in the wage by 30 per cent, the percentage of possible return migrants increases to 76.42 and the marginal increase in this case is 46.70 per cent. If the wage rate declines by 40 per cent the percentage of possible returnees increases to 90 per cent, but the marginal increase in the return migration will be 13.56 per cent, which shows that the marginal increase will decline. Similarly if the wage rate declines by 50 per cent the percentage of possible returnees will increase to

90.42 per cent and the marginal increase in the possible return migrants is only 0.42. If the decrease in wage rates and marginal rate of return migration is plotted on a graph paper, it will be in the form of a bell shaped curve, as seen in the figure. 9.



Survey data

Therefore, it can be said that return migration on account of decrease in the wage rates in the initial stages will be increasing at an increasing rate and after reaching a particular level the rate of return migration increases at a declining rate. Similarly, reduction in wages will not lead to a complete return of labour migrants who have migrated on account of difference in the wage level. It can be on account of the increased social and personal relationship, attachment with the locals, and other economic as well as other political or cultural reasons. The histories of past migration prevalent regions show this proposition to be true. However, this will be true only if the wage rate of the origin or nativity to where these migrants are returning remains the same. If wage rate of their origin increases, in addition to the in-migrants natives of the present destination will also out-migrate in to their nativity -Tamil Nadu.

Wage Satisfaction

Wage satisfaction determines the attitude of workers towards their work, employer and colleagues, boosts up the morality and loyalty of workers. It also eliminates absenteeism and unwanted labour turnover. Wage satisfaction is an important reason for the presence and continuation of Tamil workers in the district, which faces severe shortage of manual labourers. Table 6.16 shows wage satisfaction of Tamil workers in the district.

Table 6.16
Levels of Wage Satisfaction

Level of satisfaction	Number of workers	Percentage
Highly satisfied	212	17.67
Moderately satisfied	527	43.92
Satisfied	391	32.58
Dissatisfied	57	4.75
Highly dissatisfied	13	1.08
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 6.16 shows, 18 per cent of the workers are highly satisfied with the present wages, 44 per cent of them are moderately satisfied and 33 per cent are satisfied with the present wages. At the same time, 57 workers or five per cent of them are dissatisfied and another 13 workers of one per cent of them are highly dissatisfied with the present wage level. Thus, 1130 workers or 94 per cent of them are satisfied with the present wage level and only a negligible minority of workers are not satisfied with the present wage. This proves again that one of the important reasons for in-migration of Tamil workers is the difference in wage rates or high wage rate of Kerala attracted them to Kerala.

Job Satisfaction

Another important factor that affects the attitude of workers towards work, employer, colleagues and the society itself is the job satisfaction. A

satisfied employee is an asset to the employer as well as to the society. As in the case of wage satisfaction, job satisfaction also improves morality and loyalty of workers towards their work and their employers.

Table 6.17
Levels of Job Satisfaction

Level of job satisfaction	Number of workers	Percentage
Highly satisfied	167	13.92
Moderately satisfied	401	33.42
Satisfied	373	31.08
Dissatisfied	196	16.33
Highly dissatisfied	63	5.25
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

Table 6.17 shows the responses of workers regarding their level of work satisfaction in the district. As per the table, 14 per cent of the workers is highly satisfied with their present work; 33 per cent of them are moderately satisfied and 31 per cent are satisfied with their present job. At the same time, 16 per cent of the workers are dissatisfied, and five per cent of them are highly dissatisfied with their present job. Thus it can be said that majority of or more than three-fourths (78.42 per cent) of the workers are satisfied with their present job in the district, even though at varying levels.

Reasons for Dissatisfaction

A disappointed employee is a burden to the employer. Always he creates problems of one kind or other to the employer and sometimes to the society in which he lives. Similar to the job satisfaction, job dissatisfaction results on account of several factors such as social, economic, political, and cultural as well as the personal factors of the employee. The reasons mentioned by the Tamil workers for their job dissatisfaction are mentioned in table 6.18.

Table 6.18
Reasons for Dissatisfaction

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
More stress and strain is required	144	55.60
Less respectful nature	75	28.96
The job is dangerous	22	8.49
Lower wages & Less respectful nature	7	2.70
Lower wages	4	1.54
Work is not in accordance with education	4	1.54
Bad working conditions	3	1.16
Total	259	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per Table 6.18, majority (55.6 per cent) of the dissatisfied workers mentioned that their jobs require more stress and strain, 29 per cent of them were dissatisfied due to the less respectful nature of their job, 8 per cent due to dangerous nature of the job. The reasons for the dissatisfaction of 3 per cent were the less respectful nature of the job along with low wages. Lower wages alone was the reason for four workers, another four workers have not got a job according to their educational qualifications and three workers were dissatisfied on account of bad working conditions.

Thus, the above discussion shows that, the major reason for dissatisfaction of Tamil workers in the district is not low wages or economical but it is the nature of the jobs they perform. As said earlier many of the Tamil workers in Kerala are engaged in difficult, hard and second jobs, which are rejected by natives. Their reason for dissatisfaction itself shows the types of job they engage in Kerala. But at the same time they get better wages also when compared to their nativity.

Fulfilment of Job Expectations in Kerala

Migrants leave their homes with good expectations regarding job, income and earnings. However, in the destination it may be difficult to get jobs

according to one's expectations and preferences. The survey data revealed that two-third (66.58 per cent) of the sample has received a job according to their expectations and the remaining one-third has not received.

Reason for Continuation in the District

Even if they have not got expected jobs, due to the reasons mentioned in Table 6.19, they continue to work in the district without returning to their nativity.

Table 6.19
Reasons for Continuation in case of Dissatisfied Workers

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
Better wages	186	46.38
No other option	148	36.91
Good working conditions	41	10.22
Existence of friends and relatives	26	6.48
Total	401	100.00

Source: Survey data

Table 6.19 shows that, 46 per cent those who have not got the expected jobs in the district, stay here due to better wages, 37 per cent of them pursue due to lack of other options, 10 per cent due to better working conditions and the remaining six per cent stay here due to presence of their friends and relatives. Thus even though, some of the workers have not received a job according to their expectations, their reason for existence or stay in the district is purely economic and related with employment.

Other Sources of Income

In addition to the wage earnings, there can be other sources of income also. The following table (Table 6.20) shows the other sources of income both in Kerala and Tamil Nadu to the Tamil workers working in this district.

Table 6.20
Other Sources of Income

SOURCES	Kerala		Tamil Nadu	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of workers	Percentage
Agriculture and cattle	2	0.17	642	53.50
Business	105	8.75	16	1.33
Rent	9	0.75	26	2.17
Interest	47	3.92	131	10.92
Other sources	29	2.42	159	13.25

Source: Survey data

As per the above table (Table 6.20), there are two Tamil workers in the district having income from agriculture; 105 workers (8.75 per cent) have income from businesses, 9 workers get rent, 47 (3.92 per cent) workers get interest, and 29 (2.42 per cent) workers in the sample have income from other sources. This shows that there are some Tamil workers in Kerala having other sources of income also. In their nativity, 54 per cent of the workers have income from agriculture including cattle; one per cent of them have business income, two per cent have income from building properties, 11 per cent have income from interest and 13 per cent have income from other source. Therefore, majority of the workers have other sources of income in addition to wages.

Annual Income from Other Sources

Table 6.21 shows the annual income of Tamil workers in the district from other sources in Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Table 6.21
Annual Incomes from Other Sources in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

Amount (Rupees)	Number of workers	Percentage
Nil	343	28.58
Below 10000	218	18.17
10000-20000	276	23.00
20000-30000	243	20.25
Above 30000	120	10.00
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

From Table 6.21, it can be understood that 29 per cent of the workers have no sources other than their wages as income. But 18 per cent receive annually less than Rs.10000 from Kerala and/or Tamil Nadu in addition to their wages; 23 per cent get in between Rs. 10000 and Rs. 20000, while 20 per cent receive in between Rs. 20000 and Rs. 30000 annually as income from other sources. At the same time, 10 per cent of the workers receive annually more than Rs. 30000 as income from other sources in addition to their wages income. Therefore, it can be said that majority of Tamil workers have different sources of income in addition to their wage earnings either from Kerala or in Tamil Nadu or in both the states.

Other Earning Members in the Family

Majority of Tamil workers in the district are poor agricultural labourers or other manual workers in their nativity. In order to meet day-to-day expenses, more than one member should go for work. Majority of the workers have said that their wives and children go for work in their nativity, and as per the survey data 1054 (87.83 per cent) workers in the sample have other earning members in their family. These include those workers whose families are also in Kerala. Thus it can be said that more than four-fifths of the workers have additional earning members in their families.

REMITTANCES

Remittance is a major impact of migration. It is a source of income for the migrant households. Majority of migrants after meeting their expenses in the destination send the balance of their earnings to their nativity. Some may spend their entire earnings in the destination itself. Remittances can be made in different forms and methods. The following table (Table 6.22) shows the number and percentages of Tamil workers of the district who remit money their nativity.

Table 6.22
Frequency of Remittance

Frequency	Number of workers	Percentage
Weekly	38	3.17
Fortnightly	57	4.75
Monthly	171	14.25
As and when go home	456	38.00
On request from family	109	9.08
Weekly and as and when go home	24	2.00
Fortnightly and as and when go home	40	3.33
Monthly and as and when go home	118	9.83
Rarely	10	0.83
No remittances	177	14.75
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

Table 6.22 shows that, 15 per cent of the workers have no the habit of sending money to their home or nativity. At the same time three per cent of them remit money weekly, five per cent remit fortnightly and 14 per cent remit monthly. At the same time 38 per cent of them pay money as and when they go home, which means that there is no particular time interval in remittances. Similarly, nine per cent of them make remittances on request for money from family. Further 15 per cent remit at different intervals and on request of the family and 10 workers in the sample very rarely make remittance to their homes. Thus, majority of them make remittances periodically as well as pay money whenever they go home.

Means of Remittances

There are different means of remittances and an internal migrant can make use of many means for remittance. Table 6.23 shows the different means of remittances used by the Tamil workers of the district.

Table 6.23
Means of Remittances Used

Means	Number of workers	Percentage
Money Order	170	16.62
Bank Cheques	17	1.66
Personally and through friends	479	46.82
Money order, personally and through friends	351	34.31
Others	6	0.59
Total	1023	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 6.23 shows, 17 per cent of those who remit money use post office services or money order and two per cent make use of cheques. But a large part (47 per cent) sends money personally through their friends proceeding to their nativity. Further, 34 per cent of those who remit money make use of post offices as well as services of their friends and relatives. Six workers use other means for remittances. Thus majority of workers make use of friends and relatives returning home for remitting money to their home along with the services of post offices.

Manner of Keeping Money and Savings in Kerala

From the above discussion one can understand that there are certain intervals between remittances, at the same time the worker daily earns wages. Similarly the entire amount may not be sent to their homes in one instalment. A part will be retained by the workers and usually they take this amount whenever they go home. Thus, the money so retained is to be kept safely. Since, majority of Tamil workers live in rooms with least safety and security, they have to keep their savings in a secure place and where do these workers keep their savings? The following table (Table 6.24) shows the places or manner of keeping their savings in Kerala.

Table 6.24
Places /Manner of Keeping Amount Saved

Savings	Number of workers	Percentage
Keep Personally	651	54.25
With the employer	131	10.92
Local traders	115	9.58
Bank in Kerala	107	8.92
Given as loans to Keralites	50	4.17
Loans to Tamils	45	3.75
Tamil leader	36	3.00
Post office Savings Bank	33	2.75
Invested in business	21	1.75
Bank in Kerala and given as loans to Keralites	11	0.92
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 6.24 shows, more than half of the workers (54 per cent) keep their savings personally, 11 per cent of them keep their saving with their employers and 10 per cent keep their savings with the local traders. But, nine per cent of them keep their savings with banks in Kerala. Similarly, Four per cent of them give their earnings as loans to natives and it is common among the Tamil workers to give loans on interest to the natives. Another four per cent of the workers have given their savings as loans to Tamil workers on mutual accommodation. Three per cent of them keep their money with their gang bosses, another three per cent deposit in post office savings bank and two per cent have invested their savings in businesses in Kerala. Similarly one per cent of them deposit in bank accounts as well as give loans to Keralites.

Thus, the above discussion shows that majority of the Tamil workers keep their savings personally, but some of them keep it with employers and local traders. As for the local traders it is a source of cost-free funds, but the only difficulty, according to the traders, is that the workers inform only on the

previous evening or night that they are going to their home, which is an indication that they want the money. Suddenly the traders have to arrange for returning their money in the same night itself or early next morning. Loans to natives are profitable activities of the Tamil workers. Some of them, who came in the early periods of their migration, have become professional moneylenders and even millionaires known among Keralites as *annan* and more popularly as *Tamil blades*. Keeping their money with institutions such as banks and post offices is comparatively limited due to the difficulties in operating accounts. Some of the wives or dependents of Tamil workers carry on trades such as selling of flowers, plastic materials, ground nuts, chilly, onion., or purchasing and selling of wastes, rags etc., and even tea business early in the morning where the Tamil workers join together for jobs (labour market squares). Even though such businesses do not require large investment, many Tamil workers have invested their savings in such businesses also. Therefore, some of the Tamil workers are good entrepreneurs and make good earning from Kerala through different operations simultaneously.

Uses of Remittances and Savings

A Tamil worker on an average, monthly earns Rs. 2344, after meeting almost all normal expenses in Kerala. If the expenses related with drinking, cinema, smoking and other unwanted items are excluded, the net earnings will become around Rs. 3248. This is the savings per month of an average worker. But those who are industrious and having some entrepreneurship qualities can earn much more. Further, as mentioned earlier, majority of them have other sources of income and additional earning members in their family. In this way the migrant households acquire quite a large amount of money. 80 per cent of the workers said that they use the money for their day-to-day household expenses and in addition to this they have also used their savings and remittances for the following purposes as mentioned in Table 6.25

Table 6.25
Various Uses of Savings and Remittance

Uses	Number of workers	Percentage
Purchase\improvement of land	218	18.17
Construction\ repair\ renovation of houses	707	58.92
Purchase of cattle	87	7.20
Purchase of tools and equipments	209	17.42
Purchasing consumer durables/ Jewellery /vehicles	686	57.17
Own \dependents marriage	264	22.00
Repayment of debts	129	10.75
Education of children	199	16.58
Others	172	14.33

Source: Survey data

It is apparent from the table (Table 6.25) that, 18 per cent of the workers have used a part of their savings for the purchase or improvement of land, 59 per cent of them for construction or repair or renovation of their houses. Seven per cent of them have used their savings for purchasing cattle and 18 per cent for purchasing tools and equipments. Further, 57 per cent of the workers have used their savings for purchase of consumer durables including jewellery and vehicles. 22 per cent of them have used for own marriage or for the marriage of dependents. 11 per cent of the workers have used a part for repayment of their debts and 17 per cent of them for the purpose of education of children. Similarly 15 per cent of the workers have used a part of their savings for other purposes such as medical treatment, litigation etc. It is also important to note that the lists mentioned here are not mutually exhaustive but inclusive, means that a worker may have spent for more than one purpose.

From the above discussion, it can be understood that majority of Tamil workers have used their savings or remittances for productive purposes. More can be understood by studying the impact of migration.

Acquisition of New Skills and Experiences

Migration is one of the means for upward labour mobility. In the destinations the guest workers undertake different kinds of work, it can be the same or entirely different than that performed in their nativity. In the initial periods of migration they engage in any job and continue till they become expert in the field, which is most beneficial to them. Meanwhile, there will be frequent changes in jobs and also chances for acquiring skills and experiences in different fields or areas. Thus, migration helps them to acquire new skills and experiences. Many of them change their traditional jobs in the destination. The survey data revealed that 79 per cent of the sample has acquired new skills and experiences, while 21 per cent has not acquired.

Table 6.26
Areas of Acquiring New Skills and Experiences

Sectors	Number of workers	Percentage
Construction	397	42.14
Agriculture	285	30.25
Service	150	15.92
Agriculture and Construction	42	4.46
Construction and Service	17	1.80
Agriculture and Service	14	1.49
Others	37	3.92
Total	942	100.00

Source: Survey data

Table 6.26 shows the areas and sectors of acquiring skills and experiences by the Tamil workers after their arrival in the district. As the table shows 42 per cent of those, who have acquired new skill and experiences after coming to Kerala, were in construction sector, 30 per cent in agricultural sector, and 16 per cent in service sectors like drivers, cleaners of different items of vehicles including tractors and jack hammers, stone cutting machines, pick ups, cooks in hotels, repair and work shops and so on. Similarly, 11 per cent of the workers have acquired new skill and experiences in more than one sector or

area and four per cent of them have become skilled workers in saw mill, hollow brick factories and other areas.

Thus it can be mentioned that majority (more than three-fourths) of the Tamil workers have acquired new skills and experiences, which clearly shows that there is upward mobility due to in-migration to the district.

New Skills and Consequent Improvement in Earnings

Acquisition of new skills and experiences leads to improvement in wages and earnings. As per the survey data, 86 per cent of the workers who have acquired new skills and experiences mentioned that acquisition has led to increase their wages and earnings as well as improvement in their working conditions. But in the case of 14 per cent, it has not helped in increasing their wages and earning.

Therefore, it can be said that migration into Kerala has helped the Tamil workers to acquire new skills and experiences in different and distant areas other than their families' traditional occupation as well as to improve their wages and earnings.

Discriminations – The Experience of Workers

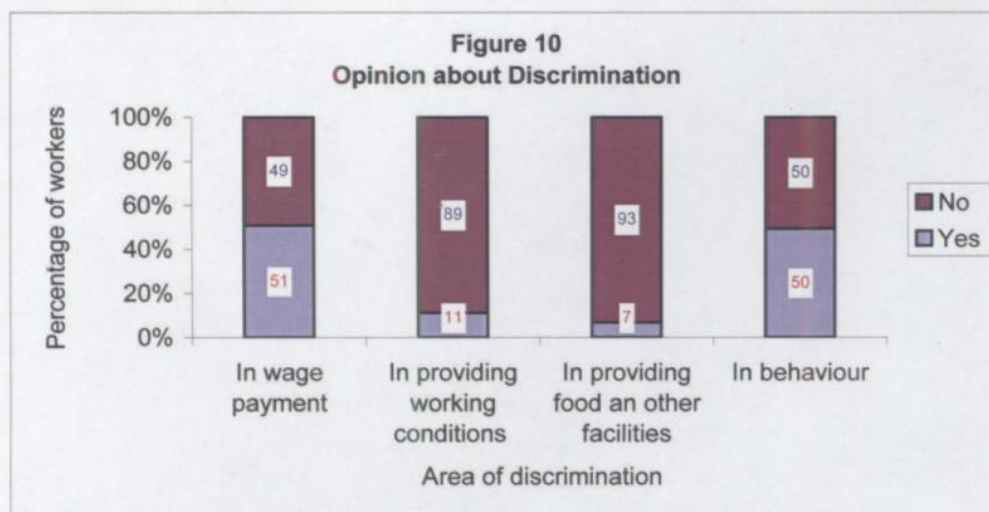
It is also an accepted fact that migrants are negatively discriminated in the labour market of their destinations. Such discrimination exists in almost all societies, even though trade unions and various laws and regulations are against such discrimination. The Interstate Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979 has expressly prohibited such discrimination. One of the objectives of the present study is to assess and evaluate the extent of discrimination between the local workers and the Tamil workers by their employers. According to the survey, 63 per cent of the sample has felt negative discrimination in one way or the other; this indicates that in

this district also there exists negative discrimination against the Tamil workers (migrant workers).

Table 6.27
Areas of Discrimination

Areas of Discrimination	Yes		No	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of workers	Percentage
In wage payment	611	50.91	589	49.10
In providing working conditions	135	11.25	1065	88.75
In providing food an other facilities	83	6.92	1117	93.08
In attitudes	595	49.58	605	50.42

Source: Survey data



Source: Survey data

Table 6.27 and Figure 10 show the areas of discrimination felt by the Tamil workers. As per the table 51 per cent of the workers have felt negative discrimination in respect of wage payment – paying lower wages to Tamil workers than that of the local workers for the same work. 11 per cent of them have felt negative discrimination in respect of providing working conditions; seven per cent of them have noticed negative discrimination in providing food and other facilities. Similarly, 50 per cent of the workers have felt negative discrimination in the behaviour and attitudes of employers.

Thus, majority of the workers have felt discrimination in one or other kind, but it depends upon perceptions of the workers. Most of them have felt discriminations in wage payment and behaviour. This leads to the conclusion that some kinds of negative discrimination exist in the district against Tamil workers.

Colleagues

In work environment, colleagues are as important as wages. The attitude of workers towards work and employer, up to an extent, depends upon his colleagues. Similarly efficiency, productivity as well as morality and loyalty of workers towards work related matters also depend primarily upon their colleagues. Even though, as far as workers are concerned, choice over colleagues is very limited, an attempt has been made to determine their colleagues. The following table (Table 6.28) shows the colleagues of Tamil workers of the district.

Table 6.28
Colleagues of Tamil Workers

Colleagues	Number of workers	Percentage
Only Tamils workers	347	28.92
Only native workers	129	10.75
Both	709	59.08
Others	15	1.25
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

It is apparent from the Table 6.28 that, colleagues of 29 per cent of the workers consist of only Tamil workers. This is, however, an extreme case and is possible in the case of quarries, stone crushing, bore well digging, septic tank cleaning, and in certain cases concrete head load workers also. In case of 11 per cent of the sample, their colleagues consist of only local workers. But in the case of 60 per cent of the sample, both Tamils and locals are their colleagues, while, in the case of 15 workers, migrants from other states are their colleagues.

Opinion about Local Workers' Working Ability and Skill

Local workers are the colleagues and hosts of Tamil workers. Tamil workers have more frequent contacts with native workers, on and off work situations, and they have evaluated working ability and skills of local workers. Table 6.29 shows the evaluation of Tamil workers of local workers ability and skill.

Table 6.29
Opinion about Local Workers' Capacity to Work and Skill

Opinion	Capacity to work		Skill	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of workers	Percentage
High	313	26.08	310	25.83
Moderate	584	48.67	570	47.50
Low	52	4.33	48	4.00
Nil	17	1.42	10	0.83
Can't Say	234	19.50	262	21.83
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

It is apparent from Table 6.29 that, 27 per cent of the workers maintain the opinion that the working ability of local workers is high, while 49 per cent maintain that local workers possess moderate working ability, but 5 per cent of them have opined that working ability of native workers is low. Similarly, one per cent is of the opinion that local workers have no ability to work at all. At the same time 19.50 per cent declined from mentioning their opinion about working ability of local workers.

Regarding the skill of native workers, 26 per cent of the workers maintain the opinion that local workers possess high skills, 48 per cent maintains that natives possess moderate skills, while four per cent of them maintain that the skill level of locals is low. Similarly, one per cent of the sample maintains that local workers have no skills at all, and another 22 per

cent declined in expressing their opinion. Thus majority of Tamil workers have good opinions about the working skills and abilities of native workers.

Working Conditions

Work environment affects efficiency as well as productivity of workers. Good working environment adds charm to the work place and tightens the bond between employer and employees, boosts up morality as well as loyalty of workers. Table 6.30 shows the workers evaluation about the climatic conditions and employer-employee relationships of Kerala when compared to their nativity i.e. Tamil Nadu.

Table 6.30
Responses of Workers in Connection
with Climatic Conditions and Employer-Employee Relationship

Responses	Climate		Employer-Employee Relationship	
	Number of Workers	Percentage	Number of Workers	Percentage
Very good	331	27.58	401	33.42
Good	682	56.83	642	53.50
Satisfactory	135	11.25	122	10.17
Bad	52	4.38	32	2.67
Very bad	0	0	3	0.25
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

From Table 6.30, it can be understood that majority of the workers are satisfied with the climatic conditions of Kerala when compared to that of Tamil Nadu. Since they have been exposed to the climatic conditions of these two states their opinions hold good. 28 per cent of them opined that climate of the district when compared to Tamil Nadu is very good, 57 per cent maintains that climate when compared to Tamil Nadu is good and 11 per cent of them maintain the opinion that, the climate when compared to Tamil Nadu is satisfactory. While four per cent of them believe that the climatic conditions of

the district when compared to Tamil Nadu is bad. Thus the opinion of more than 95 per cent workers is that climate of Kerala is good and satisfactory for working people.

They have similar opinion about employer-employee relationship also. As Table 6.30 shows, 33 per cent of the sample is of the opinion that the employer-employee relationship when compared to Tamil Nadu is very good. 54 per cent maintain that the relationship is good, while 10 per cent mentioned that employer-employee relationship is satisfactory. But at the same time three per cent expressed that employer-employee relationship when compared to their nativity is bad while three other workers mentioned that employer employee relationship of the district when compared to their nativity is very bad. Thus their comparative evaluation shows that both climatic conditions as well as employer-employee relationship in Kerala is good and satisfactory than that of their nativity or the state of Tamil Nadu.

Job-related Difficulties Faced by the Workers in the District

Migrants have to face several difficulties in their destination. Here we have considered only job-related difficulties. Table 6.31 shows the various labour related problems faced by the Tamil workers in the district.

Table 6.31
Difficulties Faced in Kerala

Problems	Number of workers	Percentage
Language problems	195	16.25
Difference in methods	123	10.25
In understanding and performing operations	105	8.75
Handling tools and equipment	102	8.50
Other	19	1.58
No difficulty	656	54.67
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per Table 6.31, language was a problem to 17 per cent workers in the sample. Difference in methods of performing operations has created problems to 10 per cent of them. Difficulty in understanding and performing how an operation is to be performed was another problem faced by nine per cent of the sample. Similarly, problems in connection with handling of tools and equipments were faced by nine per cent. 19 workers have faced other problems related with more working time, lack of leisure time, unsatisfactory food etc. At the same time 55 per cent of them have not faced any work-related difficulty in the district.

Therefore, it can be summarised that migration is accompanied by some initial problems and difficulties in connection with adjustment and adaptation to the changed work environment. The problems cited by the workers are only of such nature and are not so serious. Moreover majority have not faced any difficulty whatsoever.

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF IN-MIGRATION

Migration can create far-reaching consequences upon the individual migrants, the area of origin as well as on the destinations. It can create changes in the economic, social, political, cultural, and demographic areas. This part is concerned with the economic impact of migration upon the in-migrants and deals with the changes that have taken place after migration. For this purpose the status before migration and after migration of different variables are compared and the increase or decrease in the concerned variables is considered as the impact of migration, even though, these may be affected by other aspects also, but are not considered.

House Ownership

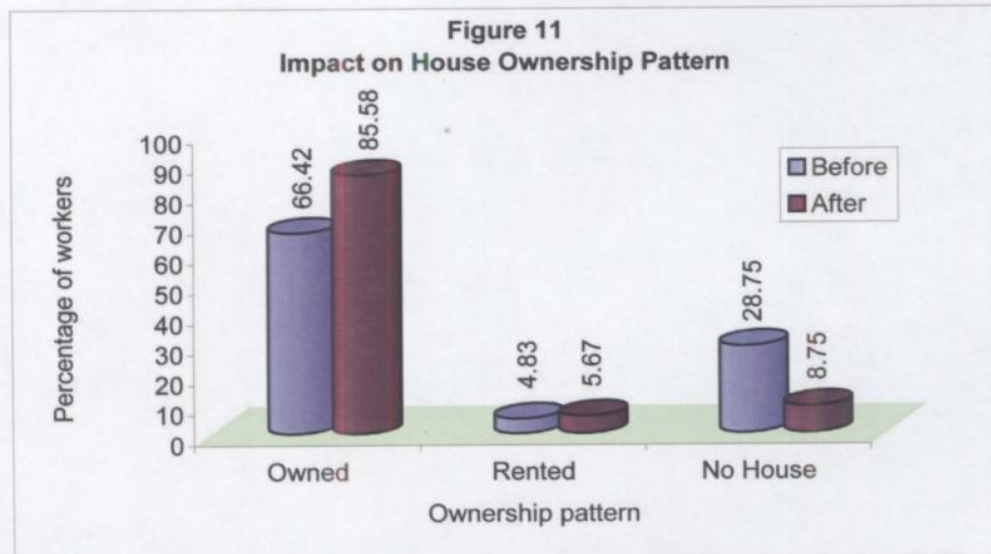
While discussing the uses of remittance, majority of workers have mentioned that they have used a part for the purpose of construction or repairs

or renovation of house. Thus there will be changes in the house ownership pattern. Table 6.32 shows the house ownership pattern of Tamil workers before and after migration.

Table 6.32
House Ownership Pattern Before and After Migration

Pattern	Before		After	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
Owned	797	66.42	1027	85.58
Rented	58	4.83	68	5.67
No House	345	28.75	105	8.75
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 157.796, df=2, p=0.00000				

Source: Survey data



Source: Survey data

From Table 6.32 and Figure 11, it can be seen that 66 per cent of the sample had owned house before migration, while five per cent of them were living in rented houses and 29 per cent had no house before migration. In other words, more than one-third of the Tamil workers of the district had no owned houses before migration. But after migration, the percentage of workers having owned houses has increased to 89 per cent. This means an increase of 19 per

cent in the number of workers having owned houses. Similarly there was a reduction of 20 per cent in the case of workers having no houses. In other words, 230 workers have acquired or constructed houses or have become owners of houses. This indicates that significant improvement has taken place among the migrants in the house ownership pattern and this can be taken as an economic improvement due to migration. Similarly the number of workers living in the rented houses has also increased nominally, which means that migration has helped them by providing sufficient income to pay rent.

Further, since the calculated value of Chi-square is 157.796 at degrees of freedom 2 and the p value (<0.001) is less than 0.05; the test of independence shows that, there is significant difference between the pattern of house ownership before and after migration and thus it proves that the above conclusion is right.

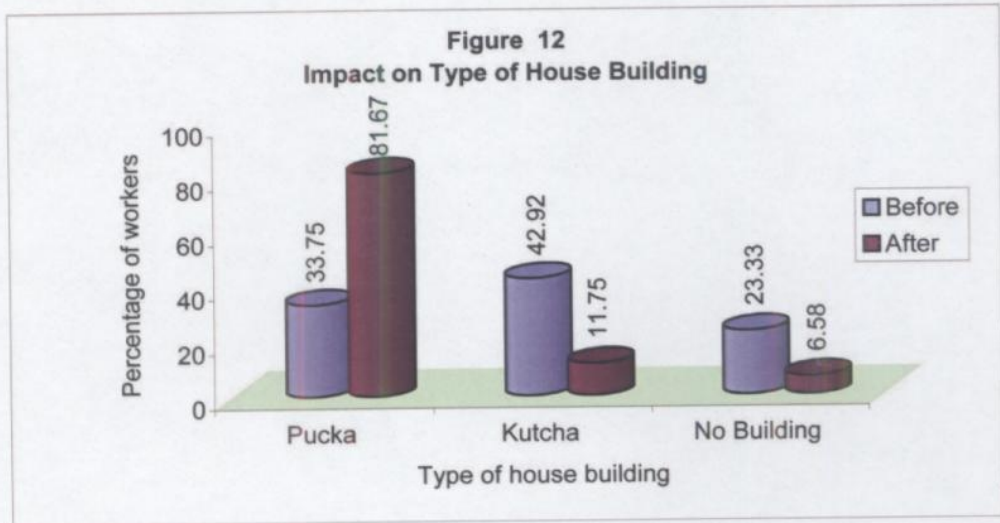
Type of House Building

Increase in income leads to changes in the living conditions also. When the income of a person increases, he makes renovations of the existing house, if he has one. Further, most of the sample workers have spent a part of their earnings in construction or repairs or renovation of houses. Then there will be changes in the structure of houses after migration. Table 6.33 shows the changes in the building structure of their houses before and after migration.

Table 6.33
Type of House Building Before and After Migration

Type	Before		After	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
Pucka	405	33.75	980	81.67
Kutchra	515	42.92	141	11.75
No Building	280	23.33	79	6.58
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 564.482, df=2, p=0.00000				

Source: Survey data



Source: Survey data

As the Table 6.33 and Figure 12 show, before coming to the district 34 per cent of the sample had pukka houses, 43 per cent had kutcha houses and 23 per cent had no building at all to live. But the situation after migration has changed much. The percentage of workers having pukka houses has increased to 82 per cent, an increase of 48 percentage points. But at the same time the percentage of workers with kutcha houses has decreased by 31 percentage points and the percentage of workers having no buildings at all has also decreased by 17 percentage points. This means that those living in pavements, road sides etc have constructed or made houses.

Similarly, the calculated Pearson Chi-square value is 564.482 at degrees of freedom 2 and the p value (<0.001) is less than 0.05, it can be mentioned that the test of independence also shows that significant changes (improvements) have taken place after in-migration in the type of houses of Tamil workers of the district. Therefore, it can be concluded that significant improvement has taken place in the house structure of the workers due to migration to Kerala.

Land Ownership Pattern

Land is considered as an important asset in India, especially among the farmers and agricultural labourers. Many of the Tamil workers have mentioned that a part of their savings has been used for purchase or improvement of land. This indicates that changes have taken place in the land ownership pattern after migration. Table 6.34 shows the land ownership pattern before and after migration to the district or impact of migration upon land holding pattern of Tamil workers.

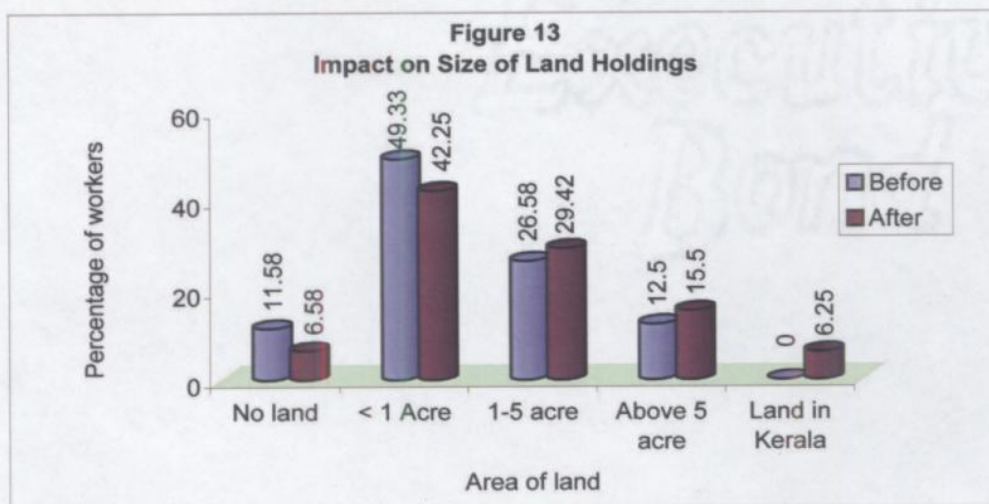
Table 6.34
Land Ownership Pattern Before and After Migration

Area	Before		After	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
No land	139	11.58	79	6.58
< 1 Acre	592	49.33	507	42.25
1-5 acre	319	26.58	353	29.42
Above 5 acre	150	12.50	186	15.50
Land in Kerala	0	0.00	75	6.25
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 103.665, df=4, p=.000000				

Source: Survey data

From Table 6.34, it can be understood that 12 per cent of the sample was landless before coming to the district. 49 per cent of them possessed less than one acre of land before migration and 27 per cent had one to five acres of land. At the same time 13 per cent of the sample had more than 5 acres of land. However, there was none in the sample who possessed land in Kerala. But the land ownership pattern has changed very much after migration. The percentage of workers having no land has decreased to seven per cent, showing a decrease of five percentage points. Similarly there is a decrease of seven percentage points in the number of workers who possess less than one acre of land. But at the same time, the percentage of workers possessing one to five acres of land

has increased by three percentage points. Similarly there is an increase of three percentage points in the number of workers who possess more than five acres of land. Further migration has helped 75 workers to acquire land in Kerala. This shows that migration has helped many workers to acquire land and increase their holdings.



Source: Survey data

The chart (Figure 13) also indicates considerable difference in land holdings before and after migration. Thus it can be concluded that significant improvement has taken place in the land ownership pattern of Tamil workers in the district.

In addition to this, the test of independence shows that, Pearson Chi-square value is 103.665 at degrees freedom 4 and p value (0.0000) is less than 0.05; significant changes has taken place in the land ownership pattern of Tamil workers after their in-migration.

Cattle

Cattle are yet another important asset in Tamil Nadu. Many of the Tamil workers in the district have herds of cattle in their nativity. Table 6.35 shows the number and percentage of Tamil workers who had/have cattle before and after migration.

Table 6.35
Cattle Ownership Before and After Migration

Responses	Before		After	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of workers	Percentage
Yes	515	42.92	596	49.67
No	685	57.08	604	50.33
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 10.9955, df=1, p=.000914				

Source: Survey data

Table 6.35 shows, that 43 per cent in the sample had cattle before migration. But after migration, the percentage of workers having cattle has increased to 50 per cent, showing an increase by 7 percentage points. Thus it can be mentioned that improvement has taken place in the number and percentage of Tamil workers possessing cattle after migration.

Amount Kept Personally

Amount kept personally is an economic determinant, even though it is not a variable to measure one's economic well-being. Persons with entrepreneurship traits will not keep money rather they invest it in profitable activities. However, improvement in one's cash position accompanied by a positive change in other assets surely is an indicator of economic improvement. It can be considered due to the increase in incomes and earnings, in the case of workers on account of increased wage earnings. Table 6.36 shows the changes in cash position of Tamil labourers after coming to the district.

Table 6.36
Amount Kept Personally Before and After Migration

Amount in Rupees	Before		After	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of workers	Percentage
Below 100	900	75.00	0	0.00
100 – 1000	174	14.50	549	45.75
1000 – 5000	96	8.00	181	15.08
5000 - 10000	30	2.50	142	11.83
10000 – 20000	0	0.00	263	21.92
Above 20000	0	0.00	65	5.42
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 1521.52, df=5, p=0.00000				

Source: Survey data

As per the table (Table 6.42), 900 workers (75 per cent) of the sample had only less than Rs. 100 as their cash balance before migration and there was none in the sample who had more than Rs. 10000 before migration. But after migration there is none in the sample who have less than Rs. 100 as cash in hand. And there are 470 workers (39 per cent) in the sample who have more than Rs. 10000 as cash balance after migration. This shows that significant improvement has taken place in the cash balance position of Tamil workers after their migration to the district. The test of independence also shows that significant difference exist between the balances before and after migration.

Bank Balance

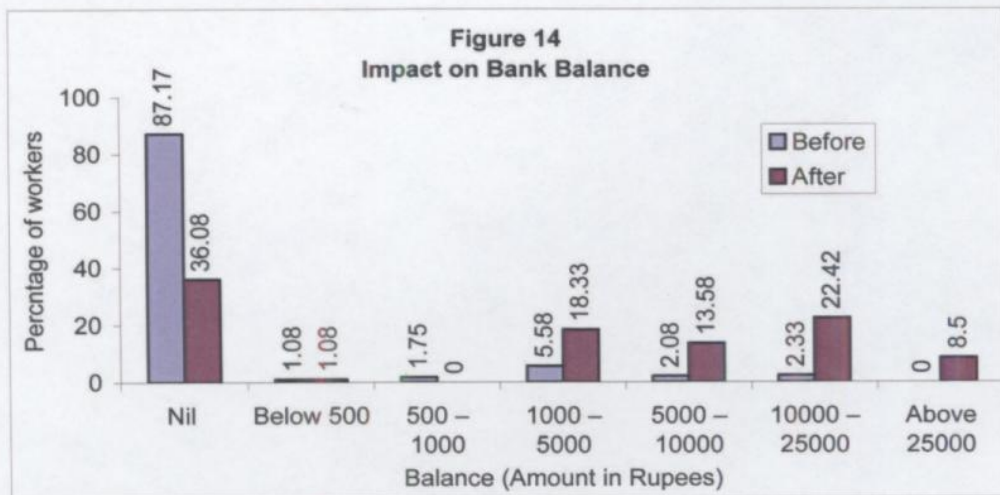
Increase in bank balance, as said in the case of cash position, can be considered for studying economic impact of migration. Many studies related with gulf emigration from Kerala have considered increase in cash at bank, increase in the number of persons having bank balance and households with banking habits as a positive impact of emigration. Table 6.37 and Figure 14 show the bank balances of Tamil workers before and after their migration.

Table 6.37
Bank Balance Before and After Migration

Amount in Rupees	Before		After	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
Nil	1046	87.17	433	36.08
Below 500	13	1.08	13	1.08
500 – 1000	21	1.75	0	0.00
1000 – 5000	67	5.58	220	18.33
5000 – 10000	25	2.08	163	13.58
10000 – 25000	28	2.33	269	22.42
Above 25000	0	0.00	102	8.50
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00

Pearson Chi-square: 755.491, df=6, p=0.00000

Source: Survey data



From Table 6.37 and Figure 14, it can be understood that, 87 per cent of the workers had no bank balance before migration and none had a bank balance of above Rs. 25000. Similarly the number of persons having a bank balance between Rs 1000 to Rs. 25000 was only 141 or 12 per cent. But after migration the percentage of workers having no balance has declined to 36 per cent. 102 workers (9 per cent) have a bank balance above Rs. 25000; and the number of

persons having a bank balance between Rs. 1000 and Rs. 25000 has increased to 652 or 54 per cent.

This shows that migration has helped to increase the bank balance of Tamils working in the district. It has not only increased the bank balance but has also helped to increase the number of workers having bank balance. Further, the results of test of independence [Pearson Chi-square: 755.491, $df=6$, $p=0.00000$ (<0.001)] also proves that significant changes have taken place in banking habits and bank balances after migration. Thus it can be concluded that significant improvement has taken place in the bank balances of Tamil workers working in the district.

Debt

Indebtedness leads to migration. Many workers in the sample have used their earnings for repayment of debt. Repayment of debt is considered as a financial improvement. Table 6.38 deals with debt position of Tamil workers before and after their migration

Table 6.38
Amount of Debt Before and After Migration

Amount in Rupees	Before		After	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
Nil	1010	84.17	1102	91.83
Below 5000	42	3.50	25	2.08
5000 – 15000	89	7.42	42	3.50
Above 15000	59	4.92	31	2.58
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 115.749, $df=5$, $p=.00000$				

Source: Survey data

Table 6.38 shows that, 84 per cent of the sample had no debt before migration. But 16 per cent of them were indebted. The amount of indebtedness was less than Rs. 5000 in the case of 4 per cent, in between Rs. 5000 to Rs. 15000 in the case of seven per cent and five per cent of them were indebted to

an amount more than Rs. 15000 before their migration. After migration the percentage of indebted has declined to eight per cent. There was considerable decrease in the amount of indebtedness also. This shows that migration has helped many of the workers to repay their debt and to improve their financial status. Further the test of independence at 5% significance level [Pearson Chi-square: 115.749, $df=5$, $p=0.0000$ (<0.001)] also indicates that significant differences exist between debt positions of migrants before and after migration. Thus it can be concluded that migration has helped the Tamil workers to repay their debt there by to improve their financial position.

Habit of Lending Before and After Migration

Lending is another financial indicator. Amounts can be lent on interest as well as free of interest. Many of the Tamil workers lent to the natives as well as their friends on interest, and get a fair return on their investment; sometimes no other business can fetch so much return. Similarly many of the Tamil workers have become professional moneylenders through their humble beginning in the early days by lending what they have earned from the district. However, some of these workers were large-scale farmers in their nativity, who migrated to the district for the purpose of making additional income, and to them the entire earnings from the district can be saved. Table 6.39 shows their habit of lending before and after migration.

Table 6.39
Habit of Lending Before and After Migration

Responses	Before		After	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of workers	Percentage
Yes	25	2.08	225	18.75
No	1175	97.92	975	81.25
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 178.605, $df=1$, $p=0.00000$				

Source: Survey data

From Table 6.39 it can be understood that, before migration 25 workers had the habit of lending for interest. But after migration the number of workers lending for interest has increased to 225. This shows that about 200 workers have started the business of lending on interest after arrival in the district. Thus it can be mentioned that migration has helped Tamil workers to lend and earn interest, there by leading to their economic improvement.

Ownership of Assets in Kerala

A major and conceivable economic impact of Tamil workers migration is their ownership of various assets in Kerala. Many of the Tamil workers in the district own different assets like, land, building, quarries, vehicles, tools and other equipments. Majority of these assets are acquired or purchased from the incomes earned from the district by way of wages and profits. Many of the Tamil workers have purchased land and properties and have settled in Kerala. Some of them are married Keralites while others have brought their families from their nativity. Table 6.40 shows the ownership pattern of different assets in Kerala by the Tamil workers.

Table 6.40
Ownership of Assets in Kerala

Assets	Yes		No	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
Land	75	6.25	1122	93.50
Houses	61	5.08	1139	94.92
Vehicles- 2 wheelers	11	0.92	1169	97.42
Vehicles- 4 wheelers	4	0.33	1196	99.67
Tools and other Assets	185	15.42	1015	84.58

Source: Survey data

Table 6.40 shows that, six per cent of the workers possess land in Kerala, five per cent of them possess houses, one per cent of them own two wheelers, 4 workers own four wheelers and 15 per cent of the workers possess

tools, equipments and other assets. These ownerships are the outcomes of migration, and it can be rightly said that, migration has helped Tamils to acquire and own different kinds of assets in Kerala.

Ownership of Land and Houses in Kerala

In the above section, we have mentioned that 75 workers own land in Kerala. In Kerala acquiring ownership of land is not difficult. Further this also shows the relationship between Tamil workers and the natives. Table 6.41 shows land ownership pattern of Tamil workers in the district.

Table 6.41
Particulars of Land Ownership and Building in Kerala

Particulars	Number of workers	Percentage
Land below 10 cents	61	5.08
Land above 10 cents	14	1.17
House only	55	4.58
House+ work shed	6	0.50

Source: Survey data

As Table 6.41 shows, 61 (5.08 per cent) workers of own land below 10 (1.17 per cent) cents and 14 workers possess more than 10 cents of land. Land is very dear in the district, thus possession of even one cent of land does matter.

Table 6.41 further shows that 61 (5.08 per cent) workers have houses in Kerala. Of these 55 workers (4.58 per cent) have only houses, while 6 workers (0.5 per cent) have houses and work sheds. Thus it can be said that these workers have more or less settled in Kerala. Acquisition of land and houses is an impact of the migration.

Language Acquisition

Another positive impact of migration is the acquisition of languages. Tamil workers are in close contact with the natives while on work and also on rest. On work sites employees have to interact with their employers as well as

with their fellow workers. In most cases there can be one or two local workers. After work also the Tamil workers will be in contact with the natives. Thus this interaction leads to acquisition of languages, local workers learn Tamil and Tamil workers learn Malayalam. Table 6.42 shows the knowledge of language before and after migration.

Table 6.42
Language Acquisition

Languages	Before		After	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of workers	Percentage
Tamil only	900	75.00	363	30.25
Tamil and Malayalam	149	12.42	669	55.75
Tamil and others	129	10.75	135	11.25
Tamil, Malayalam and others	22	1.83	33	2.75
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 561.219, df=3, p=0.00000				

Source: Survey data

The Table 6.42 shows that, 75 per cent of the sample knew only Tamil before their migration. 12 per cent knew both Tamil and Malayalam, 11 per cent workers knew Tamil and other languages while two per cent knew Tamil, Malayalam and other languages before their migration. But after migration the percentage of workers knowing both Malayalam and Tamil has increased to 56 per cent of the sample. Similarly the percentage of workers knowing Tamil and other languages has also increased to 11 per cent, and the number of workers knowing Tamil, Malayalam and other languages has also increased to 3 per cent. This means that after migration 44 per cent of the workers have acquired Malayalam and 6 workers have acquired other languages also. Thus migration has led to acquisition of Malayalam by the Tamil workers, and can be considered as a positive impact of migration.

Conclusion

This chapter dealt in detail with the employment, income and working conditions of Tamil workers in the district of Malappuram. Tamil workers indulge in different categories of work and receive better wages and their net earnings are higher than that of the gross wages income from their nativity. Majority of them are satisfied with their present wages and working conditions and reduction in the present wage rates will not lead to a complete withdrawal of the workers from the district. Similarly migration has led to economic improvement of Tamil workers in different ways. Having discussed the economic and employment related aspects of in-migration, the next chapter deals with other aspects of migration like political and trade union relationships both in their nativity as well as in the destination, attachment with nativity and future plans of Tamil workers in the district.

CHAPTER VII

**TAMIL WORKERS AND THEIR TRADE UNION
INVOLVEMENTS**

Chapter 7

TAMIL WORKERS AND THEIR TRADE UNION INVOLVEMENT

This chapter evaluates the attachment with and perceptions of Tamil workers on trade union movements of Tamil Nadu and Kerala. It also examines the need for a special organisation for Tamil workers in Kerala. Further the chapter also deals with the evaluation of their interest and attachment with nativity and future plans.

Tamil Workers and Trade Union Movements

Kerala is considered as one of the politically most active states with well-organised, strong trade unions in India. When compared to Kerala Tamil Nadu is considered as a state where trade unions are weak. With this perception in mind it was proposed to study the trade union attachment of Tamil workers in the district. Since Tamil workers in the district are drawn from different parts of Tamil Nadu, a study on the trade union attachment of workers and their views on union can throw light in to the trade union activities of their state as a whole. Similarly, it is also necessary to study how they see the trade union activities of Kerala, which give utmost importance to protect interests of the “insiders” to prevent the “invasion” of “outsiders”. Further, it is also desirable to know whether they faced any troubles from trade unions and the approach of trade unions towards them. To ascertain these, an attempt has been made in the study and the survey data revealed that 108 workers (9 per cent) out of 1200 were members of trade unions in their nativity. Thus 91 per cent of them were outside the membership of trade unions.

Purpose of Joining Trade Union

Purposes of joining trade union are different for different persons. Various purposes mentioned by the Tamil workers working in the district for joining trade union activities in their nativity are given in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1
Purpose of Joining Trade Union

Purposes	Number of workers	Percentage
Political attachment	68	62.58
For solidarity among workers	15	14.15
To get job and other	11	9.75
As a fashion	8	7.86
Pressure of friends	6	5.66
Total	108	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 7.1 shows, 63 per cent of the members joined trade unions on the basis of their political attachment. 14 per cent of them joined unions for the purpose of protecting interest of workers and as solidarity as well as for strength of the workers, for 10 per cent of the members getting job was their purpose, eight per cent of the members mentioned that they joined unions as a fashion and for six per cent pressure of friends was the reason for membership in trade union.

The above purposes of joining union, however, cannot be generalised due to the small number, but points to some of the general belief and objectives of joining unions. It is the general practice of present trade unions to carry the banner of a particular political party; trade unions are organised to protect and strengthen political parties on whose behalf the union has been set up, while protection of interests of labourers is only of secondary importance. Similarly, each trade union gives membership to their political sympathisers and excludes actual labourers who are not in their line of politics. In order to get employment, joining trade union is essential in certain line of activities. Head load workers are an example for this.

Thus, the above discussion shows that, many of the workers became members not on account of their interest in original trade union activities such

as protecting the interests of workers, helping the labourers in all possible ways, improving the standard of living etc., while only a small percentage has become members with this objective. However, this cannot be taken as a general conclusion, a detailed study is essential before reaching a final conclusion.

Trade Union Membership in Kerala

Since Kerala is a state of strong and mighty trade unions as well as trade unionism, an attempt has been made to study the relationship between the trade unions of Kerala and the migrant labourers. This part deals with the attachment of Tamil workers in trade union activities of Kerala. As per the survey, it has been seen that 43 workers (3.58 percent) have become members of trade unions in Kerala. Their reasons for joining trade unions in the district are presented in Table 7.2

Table 7.2
Reasons for Joining Trade Unions in Kerala

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
To get employment	18	41.86
Political attachment	6	13.95
Pressure of friends	19	44.19
Total	43	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 7.2 reveals, 18 workers out of 43 members joined the union for the purpose of getting employment. Six workers joined on account of their political attachment, 19 workers joined on account of pressure of friends. This shows that no Tamil worker has joined the union with pure trade union interests. An analysis of the reasons shows that all of them except the six members who have joined due to political attachment, joined unions for their personal benefits. However, their membership proves that trade unions in the

district are not against Tamil workers or do not consider Tamil workers as “outsiders”, but treat Tamil workers in the same spirit of local workers. It is also important that in their nativity also most of them keep away from trade union activities, thus the membership of 43 persons itself shows the favourable attitudes and policies of trade unions of Kerala towards them.

Reasons for not joining trade unions

Since most of the Tamil workers stay away from trade union activities of Kerala, where trade unions are strong and majority of native workers actively participate in trade union activities, it becomes imperative to look into the reasons for lack of interest in trade unions. Table 7.3 shows the various reasons cited by the Tamil workers for not joining or participating in trade union activities of Kerala.

Table 7.3
Reasons for Not Becoming a Trade Union Member in Kerala

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
Migrant workers do not generally join in Trade union	686	59.29
Trade unions in Kerala do not give membership to Tamils	296	25.58
Lack of interest	55	4.75
Fear of losing job	24	2.07
Lack of knowledge about trade union activity	24	2.07
Lack of a Union which protects the interest of Tamil workers	13	1.12
Trade union gives importance to politics	12	1.04
Others	47	4.06
Total	1157	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per the above table majority of non-members (59 per cent) mentioned that they are migrant workers, came from Tamil Nadu, and migrants do not join trade unions in their destination. This is a sincere expression. More than one-quarter (26 per cent) of them mentioned that unions of the district do not give membership to Tamils. This can be right. In certain parts of the district trade unions do not give membership to outsiders. But this is not

completely acceptable because in the former section, there were 43 Tamil workers as members of trade unions in the district. Another two per cent of non-members are worried about losing their jobs, and one percent keeps away due to the inability of unions to protect the interests of Tamil workers. All the others have their own reasons; some of them seem to be reasonable.

From the above it can be understood that most of the Tamil workers, due to one reason or the other, are not members of trade unions in Kerala. But two reasons mentioned by them – Trade unions do not give membership to Tamil workers and trade unions do not protect the interest of Tamil workers, should be carefully studied by the trade union leaders of Kerala.

Bargaining for Wages and Non-Receipt of Wages

Bargaining for wages and non-payment or breach of contract is usual in almost all places where employer-employee relationship exists. But its intensity may differ from place to place and depends upon several factors. The following table (Table 7.4) shows the experiences of Tamil workers in this district.

Table 7.4
Incidence of Bargaining and Non-payment of wages

Incidents	In Kerala				In Tamil Nadu			
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Bargaining for wages	814	67.83	386	32.17	972	81.00	228	19.00
Non-payment of wages or breach of contract by employer	38	3.17	1162	96.83	65	5.42	1135	94.58

Source: Survey data

Table 7.4 shows that, 68 per cent of the workers have mentioned that they do bargain for wages, and the others said that there was no need of bargaining for wages, the employers pay at the prevailing wage rates. But a larger portion of the sample (81 per cent) bargains for wages in their nativity.

Regarding the non-payment or breach of contract by the employers 38 (3 per cent) workers have had the experience of non-receipt of wages or breach of contract by employers. While 1162 workers 97 per cent of the sample mentioned that they have not had such experience. But in their nativity, more number (68 workers or 5 per cent) of workers had such experiences of either non-receipt or breach of contract on the part of their employer. Thus lesser number of Tamil workers in this district have faced problems of non-receipt of wages or breach of contract of the employers, when compared to their nativity.

Special Organisation for Tamil Workers in Kerala

Many of the earlier migration studies have shown that migrants in different destinations have formed special organisations for protecting their interest and identity both at the destination as well as at their origin, and to help them in different ways. These organisations organise several social and cultural activities in their destination and some times at the origin also. But, a large number of Tamils can be seen in the district. Some of them have settled here for long and some are financially sound. But an organisation for them has not been yet noticed. At the same time, Tamil migrants at international level have established organisations for and on behalf of them. Therefore, it was necessary to enquire about the existence of an organisation and the viewpoints of the workers about such an organisation.

The survey revealed that an organisation of Tamil workers in the district is not in existence and none of the sample workers are either members or aware of any such organisation. But 58 per cent of them have felt the need for such

an organisation. According to them, on account of the reasons mentioned in Table 7.5 a special organisation of Tamil workers working in the district is needed.

Table 7.5
Arguments for a Special Organisation for Tamils in the District

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
Help in emergencies	342	48.79
To protect the interest of Tamils	170	24.25
To control exploitation of Tamil workers	92	13.12
Political and social backwardness Tamils	62	8.84
Aggressive attitude of local workers/ of Trade unions and other reasons	35	5.00
Total	701	100.00

Source Survey data

As per the table (Table 7.5), majority (49 per cent) of those who felt the need has mentioned that, an organisation is essential to help in the case of emergencies like death, illness, accident, clashes, conflicts, other casualties etc, at least to reach the hapless or deceased to his home. 24 per cent of them mentioned that to protect interests of Tamils in the district an organisation is essential. But another 13 per cent mentioned that to curb exploitation of Tamil workers in different ways a trade union of Tamil workers is essential, while 9 per cent of them mentioned that the political social backwardness of Tamil workers in the district requires a special organisation which can help them to improve their destiny through study classes, information camps etc in the night. According to five per cent of them, aggressive attitude of local workers/or of the local trade unions necessitates a separate trade union of Tamil workers in the district. Those who are not in favour of an organisation for Tamil workers mentioned reasons shown in the Table 7.6

Table 7.6
Arguments against a Special Organisation for Tamils in the District

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
There is no exploitation of Tamils	291	58.32
May create tension between local trade union and Tamil workers	97	19.44
Trade unions of Kerala protect Tamil workers	72	14.43
Fear of losing employment opportunities	39	7.82
Total	499	100.00

Source: Survey data

According to Table 7.6 given above, 58 per cent of those who do not favour mentioned that there is no exploitation that necessitates a special trade union or any other organisation for Tamils. 19 per cent of them mentioned that such a special organisation might create conflicts and tensions between local trade unions and Tamil workers. 14 per cent said that trade unions of Kerala protect the interests of Tamil workers also and 8 per cent of them are of the opinion that such an organisation might lead to loss of employment to Tamil workers in the district.

Having discussed the pros and cons of a special organisation from the workers' view, it can be concluded that a socio-cultural or a charitable organisation to help them in various ways, not only in emergencies but also in all circumstances as well as in the removal of their backwardness and to improve their standard of living is desirable. It will improve the status and dignity of Tamil workers in the district, and there is no need of approaching outsiders for help in case of emergencies. A lot of cases can be seen reported in the newspapers about various difficulties faced by the Tamil workers in case of death or casualties suffered by them in the state and to reach their homes. But as some of the workers said a trade union of their own will lead to frequent conflicts between the local trade unions and clashes in the markets and other places. Ultimately it will be detrimental to the Tamil workers. It is also well

known that the labour market conditions of Kerala are most favourable to labourers. Trade unions of Kerala, most of them are having national perspectives and are based on national level parties, are interested in the matters of labourers as a whole and have no any regional interest or animosity towards Tamil workers. They protect the interests of Tamil workers also. Thus a trade union to protect the interests of Tamil workers alone seems undesirable.

Reactions against Tamil Workers in the District

There is a perceived notion that migrants steal away jobs and opportunities of locals, increase the rate of theft, robbery and other crimes, and most of them show deviant behaviour also. Some argue the entire reason for increasing crimes in the destination is the presence of migrants. This leads to frequent reactions and agitations against migrants. Sometimes this agitation leads to mass movement against migrants and social conflicts among the citizens in the case of internal migration. In different part of India, such movements have later become political parties and have formed governments also. The survey data shows that 60 workers of the sample (5 per cent) faced reactions against them. But at the same time 1140 workers or 95 per cent mentioned that they have not faced any kind of reactions. Thus, it is only a minority that has faced reactions and that can be due to their personal characteristics and consequent reaction against them could have been generalised by them and thus, they claim that there are reactions against Tamil workers.

Tamil Workers and Trade Union Leaders of the District

In a work place, especially predominated by outsiders, there could be chances for clashes of interest between workers and their employers, native workers and outsiders. As workers treat labour unions as their organisation to assert their rights and to protect interests, trade union leaders are expected to interfere in such situations either, in majority cases, on the request of workers

or often on the request of employers and others. Similar problems may arise in the case of Tamil workers working in the district also, and they may have approached trade union leaders to interfere in such matters.

According to the survey 76 workers (6 per cent) have approached trade union leaders of Kerala. Further, the survey revealed that 51 workers of those who have approached trade union leaders have mentioned that attitude of the leaders was very helping, 20 of them mentioned that the leaders approach as helping while five workers mentioned that the attitude of the leaders was not helping.

This shows the positive attitude of trade union leaders of the district towards the Tamil workers from the workers own point of view and it can be mentioned that trade unions in Kerala take interest in the problems of Tamil workers and are not against them, as in the case of many other Indian states. The study has made a detailed examination of the approaches of trade union leaders of the district towards the Tamil workers, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

B. Attachment with Nativity

Majority of Tamil workers in the district are temporary migrants who have, as mentioned earlier, left their homes on account of wage differences and unemployment or underemployment. In their mission they have left their near and dear, land and properties as well as other assets along with liabilities, if any, in their nativity. Similarly majority of them are cultivators as well as agricultural labourers or both in their nativity. During agricultural seasons in their nativity they return home and after completing agricultural operations again come to Kerala. Thus majority of them are more or less seasonal migrants. Similarly, nearness to their nativity helps them to maintain close relationship with their homes. The following part of the study deals with their attachment with nativity.

Workers' Interest in Tamil Nadu

Tamil workers living and working in the district of Malappuram have close ties and interests in their nativity. Their interests are shown in the following table (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7
Workers' Interest in Tamil Nadu

Interest	Number of workers	Percentage
Parents and other relatives	1012	84.33
Wife and children	694	57.83
Land/crops and properties	850	70.83
Other assets	785	65.42
Friends	1050	87.50
No interest at all	14	1.17

Source: Survey data

As per the table, 84 per cent of the workers have their parents and/or other relatives living in their nativity. 58 per cent of them have their wife/husband and children living in Tamil Nadu. 71 per cent of them have either land or crops or both as well as properties in their state. 65 per cent of them have cattle, vehicles, tools equipments and other assets in Tamil Nadu. Similarly, 88 per cent of the workers have their friends in the state of Tamil Nadu. But 14 workers mentioned that they have no interest in their nativity. Thus majority of Tamil workers of the district as said above have close ties and interests in Tamil Nadu, which compel them to maintain close attachment with their nativity.

Means of Communications with Nativity

Attachment with nativity means the interactions with nativity and it can be accomplished through communication, visits, remittances etc. Since the distance between their origin and destination is not so long there will be frequent interactions with the nativity. One of the means of the interactions is communication. There are different means of communication and Table 7.8

given below shows the various means of communications used by Tamil workers.

Table 7.8
Means of Communication with Nativity

Means of communication	Number of workers	Percentage
Letters by post and Telephone	673	56.08
Telephone	334	27.83
No communication	89	7.42
Letters by post	46	3.83
Letters through friends and relatives and Telephone	36	3.00
Letters by post, Letters through friends and relatives and Telephone	22	1.83
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

Table 7.8 shows that, the workers use different means of communication. Of these, majority (56 per cent) of workers use both letters by post and telephone facilities as a means of communication. 27 per cent of them use telephone alone as their means. At the same time, seven per cent of the workers said that they do not have any communication with their nativity. This shows that all except a few have interactions with their nativity. Letters through post and telephone are the common means of communication used by the Tamil workers of Malappuram district.

Visits to Nativity

In the previous section, we have seen that majority of the Tamil workers have both economic and non-economic interests in their nativity in addition to their psychological attachments to the home state. Visit to the nativity is another method of attachment. In the case of Tamil workers visit to their nativity is not a difficult task and costly affair due to the proximity of places of origin and destination. For majority of workers, less than 12 hours' journey and less than Rs. 150 is sufficient to reach ones' home. But frequent journey creates

problems to the workers on account of frequent displacements in work, health etc. Thus, workers try to maintain a balance in their visits. The following table (Table 7.9) shows the frequency of visits by Tamil workers to their nativity.

Table 7.9
Frequency of Visits to Nativity

Frequency	Number of workers	Percentage
Monthly	133	11.08
Quarterly and on the occasion of festivals or ceremonies	499	41.58
Half yearly and on the occasion of festivals or ceremonies	150	12.5
On the occasion of Festivals alone	52	4.33
On the occasion of Ceremonies alone	29	2.42
On the occasion of festivals and Ceremonies	159	13.25
On election period alone	19	1.58
On the occasion of festivals and Ceremonies as well as on election dates	61	5.08
As and when need arises	61	5.08
No visit	37	3.08
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 7.9 shows, 11 per cent of the respondents visit their nativity once in a month and 42 per cent of them visit their nativity quarterly or on the occasions of festivals and ceremonies. Similarly, 13 per cent of the workers visit their nativity half yearly and on the occasions of festivals and ceremonies. Further, 13 per cent of them visit their nativity on the occasions of festivals and ceremonies. Thus most of the Tamil workers visit their nativity, but frequencies and intervals of visits are different. But those visiting quarterly or on the occasions of festivals and ceremonies are common.

Visits During the Seasons of Agricultural Operations – Seasonal Migration?

Majority of the Tamil workers in the district are agricultural workers or cultivators in their nativity. It is observed that many of the workers return home during agricultural season. According to them, in this season wage rates will be higher and sufficient employment is available to them. Moreover, many of

them are cultivators also. After completing their farming operations, if necessary they can reach their work sites in Kerala on the next day itself. Since these workers are hard working, they do not like to waste their time and life, reach immediately and engage in their activities here and continue their mission in the district till the next agricultural season. In this way many of the Tamil workers are seasonal workers or seasonal migrants in Kerala, especially those engaged in agricultural and general working sectors in the district. In the district, the agricultural season starts with Monsoon or June onwards and it ends by October or November. However, agricultural work is available in December also. The Tamil workers starts their return journey by December-January or *Pongal* and some, after completing their field preparing and sowing and/or harvesting operations of rice, sugar cane, ground nut etc., return immediately or may stay till the next June. However workers staying up to June are very rare. Thus ascertaining the number of workers having the habit of returning and working during agricultural seasons in their nativity becomes essential to understand their nature of mission in the district. The following table (Table 7.10) shows the number of workers visiting and working in their nativity during agricultural seasons.

Table 7.10
Number of Workers Visiting Nativity during Agricultural Seasons

Response	Visit during sowing seasons		Visit during harvesting seasons	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of workers	Percentage
Yes	643	53.58	675	56.25
No	557	46.42	525	46.75
Total	1200	100.00	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 7.10 shows, 54 per cent of the workers visit their nativity during the sowing season and engage there. Similarly, 56 per cent of them return to their nativity during harvesting season and engage there. This shows

the seasonal characteristic of migration of Tamil workers. Thus more than half (53 per cent) of the Tamil workers in the district are seasonal migrants who usually come and work in the district during off seasons in their nativity. But their seasonal nature will not lead to oversupply or undersupply of labourers in the district. Because, as mentioned earlier the agricultural seasons of the district and that of their nativity are mutually exclusive but not exhaustive.

Days Spent in Nativity

Since the workers do not go daily to their home and almost all workers take at least one month to visit their home, they spend some days in their nativity. Table 7.11 shows the number of days or period spent by the Tamil workers in their nativity in one visit.

Table 7.11
Days spend in nativity

Period	Number of workers	Percentage
Less than one week	90	7.74
One week	330	28.37
Two weeks	281	24.16
One month	155	13.33
Two months	36	3.10
Till the farming operations are over	18	1.55
Till the money is completely spend	47	4.04
One week, or Till the farming operations are over	67	5.76
Two weeks or Till the farming operations are over	139	11.95
Total	1163	100.00

Source: Survey data

Table 7.11 shows that, eight per cent of those who visit nativity spends less than one week in their nativity and 28 per cent of them stay for one week, 24 per cent stay for two weeks in their nativity and 13 per cent of them for one month. 19 per cent of them stay till the completion of their farm operations. There are workers who spend more days in their nativity and some stay in the

nativity till the complete exhaustion of money earned from Kerala. However, majority of workers stay in their home for more than one week and less than one month in a single visit and many remain in their nativity during the agricultural seasons.

Difficulty in Finding Job on Return

Since majority of the workers stay in their home for more than one week in their nativity and many of them are seasonal migrants, it is possible to face difficulty in finding jobs on return after visit. The survey data reveals that 86 per cent of the workers do not face any difficulty. But 12 per cent of them have mentioned that they face difficulties in finding jobs on return. This shows majority does not face any difficulty in finding jobs, which indicates that sufficient jobs are available in the district.

Mother State of Spouse of Workers

Since many of the Tamil workers in the district have come here in their early childhood but some others have the history of migrating to other states, it is possible to get married either from the working place where one is held. Similarly marital relationship with one place tightens the bond of attachment with that place.

The study revealed that 72 per cent of the sample workers' spouses belonged to the state of Tamil Nadu. Three per cent of the workers have got married from the state of Kerala. At the same time, one per cent of them have got married from other states also. This shows there is marital relationship between Keralites and Tamils working in Kerala, but at low levels.

Place of Education of Children

Since many of the families of the workers are in Kerala and most of the workers are having children, it becomes imperative to form an idea about the place of studying of their children. Table 7.12 shows the place of study of their children.

Table 7.12
Place of Education of Children

States	Number of workers	Percentage
Kerala	71	7.76
Tamil Nadu	489	53.44
Not studying	295	32.24
No child	60	6.56
Total	915	100.00

Source: Survey data

Table 7.12 shows that, children of eight per cent of those married are studying in Kerala, while children of 53 per cent of them study in Tamil Nadu. At the same time, children of 32 per cent of them are not studying. 60 workers mentioned that they have no child. Thus majority of the children of workers are studying in Tamil Nadu and a minority in Kerala.

Reasons for Not Bringing Family to Kerala

From the above discussions it can be understood that majority of workers are married and are having family in their nativity. Many of them are here for more than five years and they work as well as live here. Similarly majority of them visit their nativity once in a quarter. Then why can't they bring their family to Kerala? According to them reasons for not bringing their family in to Kerala are as mentioned in Table 7.13

Table 7.13
Reasons for Not Bringing Family to Kerala

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
Accommodation problems	78	6.50
Temporary stay	118	9.83
To look after property and parents	89	7.42
Lack of educational facility to children	98	8.17
Language problem	24	2.00
Misbehaviour of locals	24	2.00
To look after property and family and To carry on farming operations	259	21.58
Low wages	5	0.42
Family in Kerala	172	14.33
Wife and younger children in Kerala, Children in the school age at Tamil Nadu	36	3.00
Unmarried	297	24.75
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 7.13 shows, there are many reasons that hinder the workers in bringing their family to the work place. For many, this is only a temporary stay, for many to look after family, parents, property and to carry on farming operations etc., their family is required in their nativity. But the problem of lack of educational facilities for children is very important and it is one of the major problems faced by Tamil workers and Tamil families working in Kerala. Due to lack of education facilities many children of these Tamil workers resort to labour, begging rag picking etc., which ultimately affect their future adversely.

C. Future Plans

Tamil workers engaged in this district are serving here due to the wage differences and other adverse labour market conditions of their nativity. Many of them are seasonal migrants, who usually come to the district during off-seasons in their villages to earn additional income. Thus they are not concerned more about their future in the district. However, long association with one

region creates a kind of relationship, which makes a sudden departure difficult. As said earlier Tamil workers are on a short-term mission to the district. If the difference in the wage rates of their nativity and that of the district decreases or the adverse labour market conditions in their nativity fades away they will return to their nativity. However, an attempt has been made to conceive an idea about their future perceptions about continuation in the district

Immediate Return

Since majority of Tamil workers have left nativity on account of unfavourable labour market conditions possibility of an immediate return depends upon improvement in labour market conditions. An immediate change in the labour market is possible on account of government policy, sudden changes in the economic, social, or political spheres. But it is difficult to have sudden changes in the labour market because many of the factors that affect labour market are mutually dependent and, a sudden change will lead to far reaching consequences due to maladjustment in the existing system. Thus possibility of an immediate return on account of improvement in labour market conditions is limited. But return and continuance depends upon the perceptions of labourers about the future and they have to decide whether to go back or to continue here. The study shows that, 93 workers (8 per cent) have mentioned that they have decided to return without further delay on account of the reasons mentioned in Table 7.14

Table 7.14
Reasons for Immediate Return

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
Got permanent employment	2	2.15
Only aged parents remain home	25	26.88
Look after family property	15	16.13
Marriage	10	10.75
Difficult and hard work	35	37.63
Bad working conditions	6	6.45
Total	93	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 7.14 shows, reasons cited by majority of the workers are family related and personal. But, 41 workers have decided for an immediate departure due to the adverse labour and working conditions or labour related problems.

Permanent Stay in Kerala

Many of the Tamil workers have mentioned that the working conditions, wage rates, social, cultural and political conditions of Kerala are good when compared to that of their nativity. Moreover, as said earlier, many of them are in the district for a long period. Thus it is natural to have good attachment with the district and better relationship with the locals, which may create a tendency among the migrants to remain permanently in the district. Further some of the Tamil workers with their families have already settled here. The study revealed that 21 percentage of workers wish or have made plans to stay in Kerala, on account of the reasons mentioned in Table 7.15.

Table 7.15
Reasons for Permanent Stay

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
Kerala is nice place to live and work	99	39.29
Has more attachment with Kerala than Tamil Nadu	126	50.00
Availability of sufficient job and income	27	10.71
Total	252	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 7.15 shows, according to 39 per cent of those who have planned to stay permanently in the district, Kerala is a nice place to work and live. 50 per cent of them mentioned that they have more attachment with the district than that of their nativity and hence they have planned to stay permanently in the district. But according to 11 per cent of them sufficient jobs are available in the district and they can earn more income from the district. This motivated them to plan for a permanent stay in the district. Thus more than one-fifth of the sample wishes to stay permanently in the district.

Reasons for Return

In this study four-fifth of the workers wishes to go back, not immediately but later on, to their nativity on account of the reasons mentioned in Table 7.16.

Table 7.16
Reasons for Return

Reasons	Number of workers	Percentage
No assets and relatives in Kerala	328	34.6
Social and cultural differences	235	24.79
No close friends and relatives in Kerala	231	24.37
High cost of living	120	12.66
Other	34	3.59
Total	948	100.00

Source: Survey data

As per the table (Table 7.16), 34.6 per cent of those who have no plans to stay permanently in Kerala mentioned that they have no assets and relatives in the district, thus permanent stay will become difficult later on, especially when getting aged. Thus when a time comes at which it is difficult to work, it is better to remain in one's own nativity. 25 per cent mentioned that the difference in social and cultural spheres of Kerala and Tamil Nadu restrict their permanent stay in Kerala. According to them they will be always *annachi* in the district, which according to them is an insulting word, by custom in the district it has become so. According to 24 per cent, lack of close friends and relatives in the district is the reason. While 13 per cent of them have mentioned that in Kerala cost of living is comparatively higher than that of their nativity. Psychological attachment was the reason mentioned by four per cent and chances for increasing wages in their nativity etc. were the reasons mentioned by some others. Thus, majority of workers wish to return to their nativity later on.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the trade union attachments of Tamil workers, their attachment with nativity and their future plans in detail. It shows that most of the Tamil workers are not interested in joining trade unions in their nativity; mainly they fear of losing jobs and employment opportunities. But, some of the Tamil workers have become members in the trade unions of Kerala, and according to the Tamil workers trade union leaders of Kerala are compassionate towards them and their problems. Tamil workers maintain attachment with their nativity due to many reasons through visit and communication. Majority uses letters and telephone for communication purposes and visit once in a quarter and during festivals as well as ceremonies. Some of them have made plans for a permanent stay in the district, but majority wishes to return later on. The study has also tried to evaluate the social relationships of Tamil workers with the host community and has found that good social relationships exist between the Tamil workers and the different sections of the host community. Thus, Tamils migration has led to several impacts, and we have discussed impact of their mission upon themselves. But they have influenced the local labour market and the local labourers very much. Thus it is essential to discuss the impact of Tamil workers upon the local labourers and local labour market. The following chapter deals with these impacts in detail.

CHAPTER VIII

**TAMIL WORKERS AND OTHER CO-PLAYERS IN
THE LABOUR MARKET OF THE DISTRICT**

Chapter 8

TAMIL WORKERS AND OTHER CO-PLAYERS IN THE LABOUR MARKET

In-migration of Tamil workers has affected local labourers, employers, and trade unions of the district in different ways. A study on migration will be incomplete if it neglects the impact of migration upon the destination. Moreover, ascertainment of the impacts of Tamil labour migration as well as evaluation of perceptions of native workers, employers and trade union leaders is an important objective of the study. Previous chapters dealt in detail with Tamil workers, their income and employment patterns as well as impacts of migration upon themselves. The present chapter deals with impacts of Tamil workers upon the local labour market of the district, based on the experiences of native workers, employers and trade union leaders.

I - LOCAL LABOURERS

Tamil workers and local workers are the actual players in the labour market of the district. Native workers are hosts of the Tamil workers. They accommodate Tamil workers, work along with them and sometimes compete with them for employment and income. Large in-flow of migrant workers adversely affects local workers and thus, in different parts of the world there are repercussions and agitations of the local workers against migrant workers. Thus it becomes essential to study whether the inflow of Tamil workers has created any serious impact upon the local labourers of the district.

Availability of Sufficient Work

Generally, it is believed that labour in-migration leads to unemployment and underemployment among the native workers. Since Tamil workers have increased the supply of labour force, the available employment opportunities in the district are divided among the natives and other workers, including Tamil

workers. Thus the works available to the natives are shared by these guest workers also, which may adversely affect native workers. Therefore, it is necessary to ascertain whether Tamil workers have created any unemployment or underemployment problem to the natives of the district. Experiences of native workers in this respect are shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1
Availability of Sufficient Work (Sector- wise)

Sectors	Yes	No	Total
Agriculture	77.14	22.86	100.00
Construction	65.71	34.29	100.00
Manufacturing	90.48	9.52	100.00
Other	81.63	18.37	100.00
Total	72.62	27.38	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 11.8460, df=3, p=.007937			

Source: Survey data

As per the table (Table 8.1), majority of the native workers (73 per cent) have mentioned that they get sufficient work; it shows that in-migration of Tamil workers has not created great challenge to the local labour force. But at the same time 27 per cent of them have mentioned that Tamil workers have affected availability of employment. This shows that in certain areas and in certain sectors, especially in construction Tamil workers have influenced availability of employment to natives and has led to underemployment among natives.

Table 8.2
Availability of Work (Category wise)

Categories	Yes	No	Total
Skilled labourers	83.33	16.67	100.00
Semi-skilled labourers	92.86	7.14	100.00
Unskilled labourers	55.61	44.39	100.00
Total	72.62	27.38	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 55.9715, df=2, p=.000000			

Source: Survey data

Table 8.2 shows opinions of different categories of workers about the availability of work. According to the table, 83 per cent of skilled workers, 93 per cent of semi-skilled workers and 56 per cent of unskilled workers have mentioned that they do get sufficient work. Even though majority of the different categories of workers get sufficient jobs, the percentage of unskilled workers who mentioned that they get sufficient work is low when compared to other categories of workers. This shows that Tamil workers have adversely affected availability of work to the native unskilled workers, especially belonging to construction sector.

Reduction of Employment Opportunities

Even though, according to majority of workers, Tamil workers have not led to remarkable unemployment or underemployment to the native workers, they have affected the employment opportunities of native workers. Tamil workers' impact upon the employment opportunities according to the opinions of native workers is given in the following table (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3
Reduction in Employment (Sector-wise)

Sector	Yes		No	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
Agriculture	61	43.57	79	56.43
Construction	130	61.90	80	38.10
Manufacturing	19	90.48	2	9.52
Service	6	12.24	43	87.76
Total	216	51.43	204	48.57
Pearson Chi-square: 55.6223, df=3, p=.000000				

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.3 shows, 44 per cent of agricultural workers, 62 per cent of construction workers, 90 per cent of manufacturing workers and 12 per cent of other workers have mentioned that Tamil workers have reduced their employment opportunities.

Table 8.4
Employment Opportunity (category-wise)

Categories	Yes	No	Total
Skilled labourers	44.44	55.56	100.00
Semi-skilled labourers	39.80	60.20	100.00
Unskilled labourers	61.73	38.27	100.00
Total	51.43	48.57	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 16.1034, df=2, p=.000319			

Source: Survey data

Thus, according to more than half (51 per cent) of the respondents, Tamil workers have led to reduction in the employment opportunities of locals. Therefore, it can be concluded that, up to an extent, Tamil workers have reduced employment opportunities of native workers.

Further, Table 8.4 shows the opinions of different categories of workers regarding the reduction of employment opportunities. As per the table, 44 per cent of skilled workers, 40 per cent of semi-skilled workers and 62 per cent of unskilled workers have mentioned that Tamil workers have reduced the employment opportunities of native workers.

On the basis of the above discussion it can be concluded that Tamil workers have influenced employment opportunities and availability of work or have led to unemployment and underemployment among a section of local workers. The most affected category of workers is the unskilled workers, and the most affected sector is the construction sector. Most of the Tamil workers in the district are unskilled manual workers and it is quite natural to have their impact upon the unskilled native workers. At the same time majority of skilled as well as semi-skilled workers are of the opinion that Tamil workers have not reduced employment opportunities of native workers. Thus it can be concluded that Tamil workers have led to reduce employment opportunities of certain categories of locals workers and in certain regions, especially that of the unskilled native workers.

Reduction in Wage Rate

Tamil workers have increased the supply of labour force and competition in the labour market of the district. However, competition from Tamil workers to the natives is only in certain areas. In those where native workers are preferred, they have not made any impact or have not created any considerable challenges to the native workers. But at the same time in certain areas, especially in the case of unskilled construction workers Tamil workers have created considerable challenges to the natives. This would lead to the reduction of wage rates. Table 8.5 shows the experiences of local workers.

Table 8.5
Reduction in Wage Rates (Sector-wise)

Sector	Yes		No	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
Agriculture	111	79.29	29	20.71
Construction	192	91.43	18	8.57
Manufacturing	21	100.00	0	0.00
Other	27	55.10	22	44.90
Total	351	83.57	69	16.43
Pearson Chi-square: 44.3701, df=3, p=.000000				

Source: Survey data

Table 8.5 shows that, 79 per cent of agricultural workers, 91 per cent of construction workers, 100 per cent of manufacturing workers and 55 per cent of other workers believe that Tamil workers have influenced their wage rates and have led to reduction of general wage level in the district.

Thus, on the basis of the above discussion, it can be concluded that Tamil workers have led to the reduction of the general wage level of the district. Further, absence of Tamil workers will lead to short supply of manual workers and consequent scarcity of labour force, which will surely lead to increase in the general wage rates at highest levels. Thus it can be taken for granted that the Tamil workers have reduced general wage rates of local workers.

Table 8.6
Reduction in Wage Rates (category-wise)

Categories	Yes	No	Total
Skilled labourers	75.40	24.60	100.00
Semi-skilled labourers	76.53	23.47	100.00
Unskilled labourers	92.35	7.65	100.00
Total	83.57	16.43	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 20.6648, df=2, p=.000033			

Source: Survey data

Table 8.6 shows, the responses of different categories of workers about wage reduction due to the presence of Tamil workers. It shows that more than three-fourths of all the categories of workers believe that Tamil workers have influenced their wages rates and have led to the reduction of the general wage level of the district. But the percentage of unskilled workers is higher than that of other categories of workers. This again shows that unskilled workers are the most affected group among the native workers of the district by the Tamil workers.

Reasons for Employers' Preference for Tamil workers

In certain areas lack of availability of native workers is not a reason for employing Tamil workers. They are preferred over natives due to certain reasons, which according to the native workers are shown in the following table (Table 8.7).

Table 8.7
Reasons for Preference for Tamils by Employer

Sector	Ready to do any work		Low wages		Others	
	Number	Perce-ntages	Number	Perce-ntages	Number	Perce-ntages
Agriculture	70	50.00	2	1.43	68	48.57
Construction	89	42.38	12	5.71	109	51.90
Manufacturing	8	38.10	0	0.00	13	61.90
Other	8	16.33	0	0.00	41	83.67
Total	175	41.67	14	3.33	231	55.00
Pearson Chi-square: 26.3278, df=6, p=.000194						

Source: Survey data

Table 8.7 shows that, according to 42 per cent of local workers the main reason for preferring Tamils to natives is their readiness to do any work as a bonded labourer. But according to three per cent of them the main reason for preferring Tamils to natives is their low wage rates. At the same time, to 55 per cent of them the main reason for preference over local workers is other reasons such as their flexibility, readiness to accept authority of employer, low absenteeism, and so on. Thus, according to majority of native workers, low wages is not a main reason for preference of Tamil workers.

Relationship between Native Workers and Tamil Workers

Native workers are the host of Tamil workers. At the same they compete with the Tamils for employment and some of the native workers have mentioned that Tamil workers have reduced their wage rates, employment opportunities and have led to unemployment among them. Thus according to some of the native workers Tamil workers are their opponents in the labour market, which may adversely affect relationship between them and may lead to animosity and hostility towards the Tamil workers. But at the same time, majority of the natives believe that Tamil workers are not their opponents and are not a challenge to them in the labour market and thus the relationship will be friendly or a cordial one. The following part shows the relationship between native workers and Tamil workers in their work site.

Readiness to Work under a Tamil Main Worker

Readiness to work under a group or along with a group of persons can be used to measure the relationship between the person and the group in their work sites. Cordial relationship among the workers in the work sites is essential. Otherwise it will be dangerous and will lead to losses to the employer as well as to the workers. Table 8.8 shows the readiness of native workers to work under a Tamil main worker or under the supervision of a Tamil worker.

Table 8.8
Work under Tamil Main Worker-Responses of Native Workers

Sector	Yes		No	
	Number of workers	Perce-ntages	Number of workers	Perce-ntages
Agriculture	43	30.71	97	69.29
Construction	76	36.19	134	63.81
Manufacturing	21	100.00	0	0.00
Service	22	44.90	27	55.10
Total	162	38.57	258	61.43
Pearson Chi-square: 38.4223, df=3, p=.000000				

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.8 shows, 61 per cent of the native workers have mentioned that they do not like to work under a Tamil main worker. At the same time, 39 of them have mentioned that they are ready to work under a Tamil main worker. This shows majority of the native workers do not like to work under a Tamil worker, which indicates that majority of them are not ready to recognise the skill or ability or the superiority of Tamil workers and, indirectly, shows that natives want to exert their supremacy over Tamil workers.

Thus in a work site, where natives and Tamils work together, the relationship among the workers will not be a cordial one if the main worker is a Tamil. Further, unskilled workers are also not willing to accept the authority of Tamil main workers. However, it is also important to note that more than one-third of the native workers are willing to work under a Tamil main worker.

Seeking Employment Related Advice from Tamil Workers

Labour related relationship among the workers can be evaluated on the basis of their giving and seeking of work or employment related advice to each other. If the relationship is not a cordial one, frequent exchanges of labour related ideas and advices are difficult, because the persons involved always try to keep a distance. Mutual exchange of labour related ideas and seeking

employment related advices shows better relationship between the workers in the work sites.

Table 8.9
Number of workers Seeking of Job Related Advices from Tamils

Sector	Yes		No	
	Number of workers	Percentage	Number of workers	Percentage
Agriculture	32	22.86	108	77.14
Construction	80	38.10	130	61.90
Manufacturing	13	61.90	8	38.10
Other	19	38.78	30	61.22
Total	144	34.29	276	65.71
Pearson Chi-square: 17.0169, df=3, p=.000703				

Source: Survey data

Table 8.9 shows the responses of the local workers in connection with seeking of job related advice from Tamil workers. As per the table 66 per cent of the workers have mentioned that they do not seek employment related advices from Tamil workers. This shows that native workers think that Tamil workers are not aware of job related facts and ideas and also the superiority nature of hosts over the guest. Or the relationship between native workers and Tamil workers in the work sites of the district is that of a superior-inferior relationship.

Capacity to Work – Opinion of Natives about their Tamil Counterparts

In work sites both Tamil workers as well as native workers work together and thus native workers can best evaluate the capacity to work of their Tamil counterparts. The table given below shows the opinions of native workers regarding the capacity to work of their Tamil counterparts.

Table 8.10
Capacity to Work-Opinions of Native Labourers

Opinion	Agriculture		Construction		Manufacturing		Others		Total	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
High	30	21.43	34	16.19	0	0.00	19	38.78	83	19.76
Moderate	52	37.14	92	43.81	8	38.10	14	28.57	166	39.52
Low	38	27.14	48	22.86	13	61.90	10	20.41	109	25.95
Nil	1	0.71	18	8.57	0	0.00	3	6.12	22	5.24
Can't say	19	13.57	18	8.57	0	0.00	3	6.12	40	9.52
Total	140	100.00	210	100.00	21	100.00	49	100.00	420	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 45.5330, df=12, p=.000008										

Source: Survey data

As the Table 8.10 shows, 20 per cent of native workers have mentioned that Tamil workers have high capacity to work, while 40 per cent of them believe that the working capacity of Tamil workers is moderate. At the same time 26 per cent of them believe that Tamil workers' capacity to work is low. Similarly, five per cent of the natives mentioned that they have no capacity to work at all, while 10 per cent of them mentioned that they can't say about the working capacity of Tamil workers. Thus it can be said that according to majority (60 per cent) of the native workers Tamil workers have average working capacity.

Working Skill

In the matter of skill level of Tamil workers, native workers have no favourable opinion about their Tamil counterparts. Table 8.11 shows the evaluation of native workers regarding the skills of Tamil workers.

Table 8.11
Skill – Opinions of Native Workers

Opinion	Agriculture		Construction		Manufacturing		Others		Total	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
High	0	0.00	2	0.95	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.48
Moderate	21	15.00	21	10.00	4	19.05	11	22.45	57	13.57
Low	96	68.57	122	58.10	10	47.62	22	44.90	250	59.52
Nil	5	3.57	27	12.86	0	0.00	3	6.12	35	8.33
Can't say	18	12.86	38	18.10	7	33.33	13	26.53	76	18.10
Total	140	100.00	210	100.00	21	100.00	49	100.00	420	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 29.5005, df=12, p=.003329										

Source: Survey data

According to Table 8.11 given above, 0.48 per cent of native workers are of the opinion that the Tamil workers possess high skill, while 14 per cent of them believe that Tamils have moderate skills in their work. At the same time, 60 per cent of the native workers opined that Tamil workers have only low skills and similarly, 8 per cent of them mentioned that Tamil workers have no working skill at all. Further, 18 per cent of the native workers have mentioned that they can't say about the working skill of Tamil workers. Thus, according to majority (60 per cent) of the native workers the skill level of Tamil workers is low. This can be due to difference in the methods and patterns of operations between these two states.

General Level of Understanding

General level of understanding here means ability to grasp job related matters without much difficulty and explanation. Since the natives have worked along with Tamils for long they must have had an idea about the understanding abilities of Tamil workers. Table 8.12 shows evaluation of natives about the general understanding ability of Tamil workers.

Table 8.12
General Level of understanding – Opinions of native workers

Opinion	Agriculture		Construction		Manufacturing		Others		Total	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
High	0	0.00	2	0.95	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.48
Moderate	38	27.14	32	15.24	8	38.10	11	22.45	89	21.19
Low	83	59.29	107	50.95	6	28.57	29	59.18	225	53.57
Nil	4	2.86	21	10.00	0	0.00	3	6.12	28	6.67
Can't say	15	10.71	48	22.86	7	33.33	6	12.24	76	18.10
Total	140	100.00	210	100.00	21	100.00	49	100.00	420	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 33.0185, df=12, p=.000966										

Source: Survey data

As the Table 8.12 shows, in the matter of general level of understanding of Tamil workers also, native workers have no favourable opinions. Only 0.48 per cent of the native workers mentioned that Tamils have high general level of understanding, while 21 per cent of them are of the opinion that the general understanding ability of Tamil workers is moderate. At the same time majority of the natives (54 per cent) believe that their general level of understanding is low. Similarly, seven per cent of them mentioned that general level of understanding of Tamil workers is nil and 18 per cent of the native workers mentioned that they can't say anything about the general level of understanding of Tamil workers. Thus more than half of the native workers evaluated the ability of Tamil workers, their general level of understanding as low. Their evaluation is based on, on and off work site experiences. But the general understanding level of a person depends upon several factors, and one of the main factors is the language used. The reason for such a conclusion can be due to lack of proper transfer of ideas between the local workers and the Tamil workers.

General Opinion about Tamil Workers

General opinion here means the opinion based on the behaviour and attitudes of Tamil workers towards themselves as well towards the natives as a human being. It is based on the helping attitude of Tamil workers and their outlook towards themselves and various problems of the natives. Here we consider human relationships and approaches. The table given in the next page shows the evaluation of native workers about the Tamil workers and humanitarian approaches.

Table 8.13
General Opinion about Tamil workers - Opinions of Native Workers

Opinion	Agriculture		Construction		Manufacturing		Others		Total	
	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages	Number of workers	Percentages
Very helpful	4	2.86	6	2.86	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	2.38
Helpful	10	7.14	44	20.95	0	0.00	4	8.16	58	13.81
Hardly helpful	86	61.43	99	47.14	8	38.10	26	53.06	219	52.14
No comments	40	28.57	61	29.05	13	61.90	19	38.78	133	31.67
Total	140	100.00	210	100.00	21	100.00	49	100.00	420	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 30.1195, df=9, p=.000420										

Source: Survey data

As per Table 8.13, only two per cent of native workers have the opinion that Tamil workers are very helpful, while 14 per cent of them are of the opinion that they are helpful. But at the same time 52 per cent of them mentioned that Tamil workers are hardly helpful or they are not helpful. Similarly, 32 per cent mentioned that they have no comments. This shows that in the minds of native workers, Tamil workers have no favourable place. Since most of the Tamil workers are poor, who have come for earning their livelihood, rendering help may not be possible. Similarly, social and cultural

differences also lead to have divergent opinions about helping attitude and mentalities. Thus it can be mentioned that according more than half of the native workers Tamil workers are not so much helpful.

Conclusion

The above discussion shows that mass in-migration of Tamil workers in to the district has not made remarkable impact upon the employment opportunities and wage rates of the natives. In-migration has adversely affected certain workers in certain areas and the most affected group is the unskilled construction workers. There exists good personal relationship between native workers and Tamil workers but native workers implicitly keep in mind superiority over Tamil workers. However, it can be mentioned that native workers have more or less accepted Tamil workers

II – EMPLOYERS

In a labour market, employers have equal importance to that of the employees. It is the employer who makes demand for labour and he decides what kind of labour should be demanded from the labour market. He decides whether to employ a certain person at a given wage rate or not, what employment is to be given, when and how the work is to be done, the number of persons to be employed etc. An employee or a worker is employed only when the employer wishes so; otherwise there will be no employment. He pays the wages as the reward to his employees for their services rendered to him. Thus employer has an important place in the labour market. However, there is no particular group of persons called employers. Anyone who employs an employee and pays his remuneration either in cash or in kind can be an employer. Employees themselves become employers when they employ somebody.

This part of the study deals with various issues of Tamil workers and their employment from the view point of their employers; evaluates the employer-employee relationship; and tries to incorporate how the employer perceives the jobs of the two different groups of workers – the native labourers and the Tamil labourers.

Employers' Preference for Labourers

There are two groups of labourers in this study – the local labourers and the Tamil labourers. Like other buyers in different markets, an employer too has some preferences over his employees. He may prefer certain workers to the others i.e. he may prefer Tamil workers to local workers and vice versa. The following table (Table 8.14) shows the preference of employers.

Table 8.14
Employers' Responses Regarding Preference of their Employees

Sector	Local workers		Tamil workers		Total	
	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage
Farmers	47	62.67	28	37.33	75	100.0
Contractors	45	50.00	45	50.00	90	100.0
Businessmen	10	66.67	5	33.33	15	100.0
Others	27	90.00	3	10.00	30	100.0
Total	129	61.43	81	38.57	210	100.0

Source: survey data

As per Table 8.14, majority (62 per cent) of employers in the sample prefer local workers. But in the case of contractors they have equal preference i.e. 50 per cent of them prefers local workers and another 50 percent prefers Tamil workers. At the same time the percentage of preferring local workers is higher (90 per cent) in the case of other categories of employers.

Employers' Readiness to Employ Tamils Even if Locals are Available

Employers' preference for their employees depend on many factors, it is beyond the state of origin or nativity. Thus an employer may prefer local

workers or employ Tamil workers, even if locals are available. This happens because of the local workers available may be unacceptable to the employer in one or other respects. The following table (Table 8.15) shows the number and percentage of employers who are ready to employ Tamil workers even if locals are available.

Table 8.15
Employers' Willingness to Employ Tamils Even if Locals are Available

Sector	Yes		No		Total	
	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage
Farmers	57	76.00	18	24.00	75	100.0
Contractors	63	70.00	27	30.00	90	100.0
Businessmen	0	0.00	15	100.0	15	100.0
Others	18	60.00	12	40.00	30	100.0
Total	138	65.71	72	34.29	210	100.0

Pearson Chi-square: 8.84210, df=3, p=.031481

Source: Survey data

Table 8.15 shows that, 66 per cent of the employers are ready to employ Tamil workers even if locals are available. But if locals are available businessmen are not willing to employ Tamil workers. This shows that there is no enmity or partiality towards Tamil workers in providing employment by the employers.

Division of Works between Local Workers and Tamil Workers

Observations show that clear discrimination exists in providing employment to locals and Tamil workers. It seems that certain jobs are exclusively reserved for local and certain other for Tamil workers. It is also a generally accepted principle that migrants get only second jobs, which are rejected by natives either due to difficulty or hardness or inferior nature of the job. Thus it becomes necessary to evaluate whether such a tendency prevail in the labour market of the district or not. Table 8.16 shows the responses of employers' in this regard.

Table 8.16
Division of Work among Workers – Opinions of Employers

Sector	Yes		No		Total	
	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage
Farmers	33	44.00	42	56.00	75	100.0
Contractors	42	46.67	48	53.33	90	100.0
Businessmen	15	100.0	0	0.00	15	100.0
Others	24	80.00	6	20.00	30	100.0
Total	114	54.29	96	45.71	210	100.0
Pearson Chi-square: 25.9276, df=3, p=.000010						

Source: Survey data

From Table 8.16, it can be understood that majority (54 per cent) of employers have certain kind of reservations in dividing or allotting employment between locals and Tamils. But majority of farmers (56 per cent) and contractors (53 per cent) mentioned that there is no such discrimination in employment. Discrimination in dividing employment is the maximum (100 per cent) among businessmen and (80 per cent) among other categories of employers. According to the businessmen, language and difficulty to communicate in Malayalam is the reason for this discrimination. Thus it can be mentioned that in this district also there are certain kinds of reservation for employment and many of the employers discriminate labourers on the basis of place of origin while allotting employment among natives and Tamils.

The survey data further revealed that 97 per cent of those who discriminate in allocating jobs have mentioned that works requiring much skill and care are given to natives, while three per cent of them have mentioned that they entrust works which do not require close supervision to the native workers.

Similarly, 36 per cent of those employers who discriminate in employment have mentioned that they prefer Tamils for those works requiring better physique, means that those works which are hard and difficult to be

performed, they prefer Tamil workers. But, 64 per cent of them prefer Tamil workers for jobs, which require better physique, and also for those works, which do not require much care.

Therefore, it can be concluded that majority of employers believe that Tamil workers are not suitable for works requiring much care. But at the same time they are preferred for those jobs, which require better physique; jobs which are difficult and hard. It is observed that the Tamil workers are preferred for those jobs such as carrying heavy loads, working for long time under the sun, carrying cow dung to the fields and other farm areas, and those works, which are done without rest. The poor workers, especially the new comers, with the expectation of higher earnings are ready to undertake any job which may be difficult, hard, and heavy, without rest and require direct exposure to sun light, especially during the summer seasons. Thus due to their readiness to do hard, difficult, and second jobs employers prefer Tamil workers in these jobs.

Discriminations – Claims of Employers

It is an accepted fact that migrants are subject to negative discriminations in their destination. They are discriminated in the allotment of works, payment of wages, provision of other facilities including working conditions and sometimes in food, behaviour, supervisions etc. The above discussion on job reservation itself shows that there is discrimination in the allotment of jobs among the native workers and the guest workers. There can be discriminations in other areas also. The following part attempts to find out the extent and nature of discrimination

Discrimination in Wage Payment

Most of the studies made in different parts of the world have found that, for the same work, majority of the guest workers receive comparatively lower wages than their native counterparts. Similarly, most of the Tamil workers themselves and native workers also have mentioned that lower wages are paid to the Tamils when compared to their native counterparts. Such discrimination

is strictly prohibited in India as per the Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979, but is followed in most parts of the country. Table 8.17 shows the responses of employers in connection with wage payment.

Table 8.17
Wage Discriminations

Sector	Yes		No		Total	
	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage
Farmers	40	53.33	35	46.67	75	100.0
Contractors	38	42.22	52	57.78	90	100.0
Businessmen	10	66.67	5	33.33	15	100.0
Others	22	73.33	8	26.67	30	100.0
Total	110	52.38	100	47.62	210	100.0

Source: Survey data

As per the above table, 52 of employers mentioned that, they pay lower wages for Tamils when compared to the wages paid to native workers. Thus, it can be clearly said that wage discrimination exists in the district and one of the main reasons for engaging Tamil workers is their low wage rate.

Reason for Wage Discriminations

Reasons mentioned by the employers for payment of low wages to the Tamil workers when compared to the native workers are given in Table 8.18.

Table 8.18
Reasons for Wage Discrimination (Percentage)

Reasons	Farmers	Contractors	Businessmen	Others
They are ready to accept lower wages	4.97	8.33	0.00	2.00
Less accurate and less finishing in their work	35.00	68.25	66.67	55.67
They are outsiders	2.00	00.00	0.00	3.20
They are less efficient and less skilled	23.00	5.52	21.33	35.00
They are less efficient, less accurate and less finishing in their work	28.75	12.56	0.00	0.00
Other reasons	6.28	5.34	12.00	4.13
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.18 shows, job related defects are the major reasons for wage discrimination. According to 35 per cent of farmers, 68 per cent of contractors, 67 per cent of businessmen and 56 per cent of other category of employers mentioned that the work of Tamils is less accurate and has less perfection, when compared to that of natives and this is the reason for discrimination. Less skill and efficiency was the reason for lower payment made to Tamil workers according to 23 per cent of farmers, six per cent of contractors, 21 per cent of businessmen and 35 per cent of other category of employers. But 29 per cent of farmers and 13 per cent of contractors have mentioned that the Tamil workers are less efficient with less accuracy and less perfection in their work. Seven per cent of farmers, five per cent of contractors, 12 per cent of businessmen and four per cent of other category of employers mentioned other reasons such as provision of accommodation facilities, gifts on special occasions etc in addition to wages. It was also reported that strict supervision is required in their work.

Thus from the above discussion it can be understood that the basic reason for discrimination in wage payment is the less efficiency, less skill, and less perfection and not the “insider-outsider approach” of the employers or natives.

Other Discriminations

In addition to the wage and work discriminations, there exist other areas of discrimination. Always the natives try to exert some form of superiority over others or in-migrants. As a part of this superiority, workers are discriminated in many ways. The following table (Table 8.19) shows the other areas of discrimination of Tamil labourers from local labourers.

Table 8.19
Areas of Other Discriminations (Percentage)

Areas of discriminations	Farmers	Contractors	Businessmen	Others
Working conditions	6.67	30.77	0.00	14.29
Permanency of employment	6.67	23.08	0.00	0.00
Supervision	66.67	30.77	100.0	71.43
Behaviour	20.00	15.38	0.00	14.29
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.19 shows, there are certain other kinds of discriminations against Tamil labourers. Seven per cent of farmers, 31 per cent contractors, and 14 per cent of other category employers of those who discriminate, stated that in providing working conditions they discriminate Tamil workers from local labourers. While seven per cent of farmers and 23 per cent contractors said they discriminate locals and Tamil workers in giving permanent employment. Most of the employers gave stress to the supervision aspect in discrimination. 67 percent of farmers, 31 per cent contractors, 100 per cent of businessmen and 71 per cent of other categories of employers supervise Tamil workers more closely than that of native workers. While 20 percent of farmers, 15 per cent of contractors, and 14 per cent of other category employers have mentioned that they show discrimination in behaviour also. All these apparently show that, there exist negative discriminations against Tamil workers in this district also.

Reasons for Discrimination

According to the employers the following (given in Table 8.20) are their reasons for discrimination of Tamil workers from that of local workers.

Table 8.20
Reasons for Other Discriminations (Percentage)

Reasons discrimination	Farmers	Contractors	Businessmen	Others
Outsiders	0.00	15.38	0.00	14.29
Locals are friends and relatives	20	15.38	0.00	0.00
Help can be expected from locals	6.67	15.38	0.00	0.00
Other	73.33	53.85	100.0	85.71
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey data

Table 8.20 shows that, the percentage of employers who discriminate Tamil workers on the basis or area of origin, friendship and expectation of future help is comparatively low. But majority of the employers have mentioned other reasons such as less efficiency and skills, less finishing, chances of theft, lack of loyalty etc as their reasons for discriminations. Thus the employers have their own fair reasons for discrimination and some of them also hold good.

Request from Natives Not to Employ Tamil Workers

Since the migrant workers adversely affect employment and earning of local workers, there are chances for plotting against them by local workers as well local trade unions. Sometimes there can be son-of-soil approach also triggered by local trade union or political leaders for the purposes of gaining popularity. In this case they approach local employers requesting not to employ migrant workers in their work sites. Table 8.21 shows the experiences of employers of the district.

Table 8.21
Number of Employers Got Request from Natives not to Employ Tamils

Sector	Yes		No		Total	
	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage
Farmers	3	4.00	72	96.00	75	100.0
Contractors	3	3.33	87	96.67	90	100.0
Businessmen	3	20.00	12	80.00	15	100.0
Others	0	0.00	30	100.0	30	100.0
Total	9	4.29	201	95.71	210	100.0
Pearson Chi-square: 10.5871, df=3, p=.014192						

Source: Survey data

It is apparent from Table 8.21 that, three employers each from the categories of farmers, contractors and businessmen had the request from the local workers not to employ Tamil workers. In other words nine out of 210 employers or four per cent mentioned that local workers had requested them not give employment to Tamil workers or to give employment to locals. But this is only a negligible number and more than 95 per cent have mentioned that they have not had any such requests form any of the local workers or trade union leaders. This shows that Tamil workers are free to work in the district and local workers or trade union leaders do not disturb them, further there is no son-of-soil approach in the district. A major reason for Tamil labour migration in to the district is the lack of availability of workers and thus in-migration of Tamil workers has not adversely affected the local labourers in any way.

Manner of Recruiting Tamil Workers

Recruitment of Tamil workers is not a problem since there is no need of completing any kind of legal formalities. But the Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979 has put forward certain conditions for recruiting Tamil workers from their nativity, and an employer is bound to fulfil these requirements. But it depends upon the manner or method of recruitment and the number of workers recruited. But in

almost all cases, for escaping from the provisions of this Act, the method of recruitment is diluted and many employers claim that they are directly called for work from the streets or labour market squares. Table 8.22 shows the manner of recruitment of Tamil workers.

Table 8.22
Method of Recruitment of Tamil Workers (Percentage)

Manner of recruitment	Farmers	Contractors	Business men	Other categories	Total
Directly from Tamil Nadu	2.67	8.89	20.00	0.00	6.19
Through other Tamil workers	5.33	10.00	26.67	16.67	10.48
Through agents	5.33	22.22	20.00	20.00	15.71
Directly from street	66.67	11.11	13.33	43.33	35.71
Through agents and from street	0.00	42.22	0.00	6.67	19.05
Through local workers	20.00	5.56	20.00	13.33	12.86
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.22 shows, six per cent of the employers recruited Tamil workers directly from Tamil Nadu. This means that only a minority of the employers recruit workers directly from Tamil Nadu. 10 per cent of them get Tamil workers through other Tamil workers already working with them, 16 per cent of them seek the help of agents and 36 per cent of farmers directly recruit Tamil workers from the streets or labour market squares. Majority of the farmers, whose work is of seasonal nature and do not require large number of workers depend on the open market for their labourers. While 19 per cent of employers depend on both agents as well as labour market squares. Majority of those who depend on labour agents for Tamil workers, are contractors and employers belonging to other category. Local workers also have a role in the recruitment of Tamil workers. 20 per cent of the employers depend on local workers for getting Tamil workers.

Whatever be the method of recruitment or agents of recruitment, it has been observed that labour market squares are very much important and agents

as well as other intermediaries also depend upon the labour market squares for Tamil labourers.

The Job Squares

In order to get employment for the day or for the next, the Tamil workers, gather in a place, which will be a central place in the town or locality where they reside. In almost all places, in towns as well as rural shop corners, one can see early in the mornings as well as in the evenings Tamil workers sitting and sharing their feelings together. Such job squares could be the bus stands, a junction or a corner, or similar central places. Any body who requires Tamil workers can hire the Tamil workers by making contracts about the conditions of work, wages, food etc., from this job squares.

On visiting important job squares in this district, it was observed that, in these job squares (especially related with construction works) there are persons known as '*maistries*' who are the gang bosses and act as agents, brokers or middlemen as well as supervisors of his gang men. Majority of these middlemen are Tamils but some Malayalees also act as such. In case, if one (a contractor) needs more number of workers, he may approach these middlemen and can have the required number of persons. Such middlemen get commission in addition to their wages from the employer as well as from the workers.

Discussions with selected *maistries* and workers revealed that they collect wages of the gang from the contractor or employer and after deducting a prescribed amount (varies from Rs.10 to Rs.25 per employee) pay wages to his fellowmen. In this way a gang leader earns a large amount without taking any effort. Generally, he supplies the basket, shovel and other tool and equipments for the gang, for which he gets rent from the employer or contractor. But the *maistry* is responsible for work done by his fellowmen. He acts as the supervisor of the workers, scolds them and even beats if a fellow worker does not perform well in different respects.

Thus in majority of the cases the *maistry* will be a strongman in all respects and more or less is equal to *kangani* of earlier days. By working for a few months under a *maistry*, a worker who can mobilise a gang, capital required for purchasing the tools and equipments as well withstand threats and often punishments of other gang bosses, may emerge as a new *maistry*. In this way middlemen play an important part in the job squares. Such *maistries* are common in construction activities.

It is a common sight of the district, especially in large towns and bus stands to come across a large gathering of Tamil workers, eagerly waiting for prospective buyers of their manpower. It is also interesting to observe the engagements and transactions in these labour market squares, *maistries* or gang bosses assigning employment to his gang men and others. By seven o' clock in the morning itself, the square is dispersed and employees proceed to their work sites, with a plastic cover containing their dresses and tools and equipments.

EMPLOYERS' EVALUATION OF TAMIL WORKERS IN COMPARISON TO THEIR COUNTERPART LOCAL WORKERS

Employers are the best to evaluate the relative qualities of Tamil workers and that of local workers. On the basis of their evaluation, it is possible to form an idea about the relative efficiency or other wise of the Tamil workers and local workers.

Readiness to Work for Lower Wages

Migrant workers are generally paid less than that of the wages paid to local counterparts. It is also generally mentioned that migrant workers are ready to work for lower wages. In the case of Tamil workers, whether this proposition is right or wrong should have to be examined and employers are the best persons to explain this matter, and the following table (Table 8.23) shows their responses in this regard.

Table 8.23
Readiness to Work at Lower Wages – Opinions of Employers

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	18	24.00	33	44.00	24	32.00
Contractors	0	0.00	51	56.67	39	43.33
Businessmen	0	0.00	9	60.00	6	40.00
Others	0	0.00	6	20.00	24	80.00
Total	18	8.57	99	47.14	93	44.29
Pearson Chi-square: 50.7804, df=6, p=.000000						

Source: Survey data

As per the above table (Table 8.23), 9 per cent of the employers have mentioned that it is true to say that Tamil workers are ready to work for lower wages. 47 per cent of them have mentioned that this is partially true. According to them certain category of Tamil workers are ready to work for lower wages and that too during off-seasons. But, according to 44 per cent of them, Tamil workers are not ready to work for lower wages, and they remain unemployed rather than working at lower wages. This shows that the Tamil workers working in the district are not ready to work for wages lower than the prevailing wage rates.

Readiness to Work Long Hours

Another belief among the public relating to the Tamil workers is that when compared to the local workers they are ready to work for longer hours. Table 8.24 shows the opinion of employers in this regard.

Table 8.24
Readiness to Work for Long Hours - Opinions of Employers

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	9	12.00	30	40.00	36	48.00
Contractors	15	16.67	33	36.67	42	46.67
Businessmen	0	0.00	6	40.00	9	60.00
Others	0	0.00	12	40.00	18	60.00
Total	24	11.43	81	38.57	105	50.00
Pearson Chi-square: 8.63315, df=6, p=.195324						

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.24 shows, 11 per cent of the employers believe that Tamil workers are ready to work for longer hours than their local counterparts. 39 per cent of them are of the opinion this is partially true and working time depends upon the employer, colleagues and also work. But at the same time 50 per cent of them mentioned that they are not ready to work for longer hours than the natives. Thus majority of the sample has mentioned that this is not true, it can be concluded that the Tamil workers are not ready to work for longer hours than their native counterparts.

Capacity to Work

There is another perception among the people that Tamil workers have better physique and their capacity to work is higher than that of their local counterparts. Opinions of employers in this regard are shown in Table 8.25.

Table 8.25
Capacity to Work - Opinions of Employers

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	36	48.00	21	28.00	18	24.00
Contractors	12	13.33	30	33.33	48	53.33
Businessmen	3	20.00	0	0.00	12	80.00
Others	0	0.00	3	10.00	27	90.00
Total	51	24.29	54	25.71	105	50.00
Pearson Chi-square: 60.7740, df=6, p=.000000						

Source: Survey data

From Table 8.25 it can be understood that, 24 per cent of the employers believe that the capacity of Tamil workers to work is higher than their native counterparts, while 26 per cent of them believe that there is only partial truth in it. But at the same time, 50 per cent of the employers mentioned that the statement that the capacity of Tamil workers to work is higher than that of the natives is false, conversely they maintain the opinion that natives' working capacity is higher than that of Tamil workers. Thus it can be concluded that the

capacity of Tamils to work is higher than that of the natives is only a wrong notion. However, this is only an opinion and not an experimented truth.

Easiness in Supervising, Controlling, Managing the Workers

Getting the required work done by employees is a major problem faced by almost all employers. Nowadays supervision, controlling and managing workers have become a difficult task. Since the local workers may be friends or relatives or neighbours of the employer and getting work done through coercive methods or compulsion may adversely affect their personal relationship the employer is in a dilemma, either to incur losses through employing the locals or break the relationship. On account of this reason many employers prefer Tamil workers, and thus supervising, controlling and managing Tamil workers are easier than that of the natives. Opinions of employers in this regard are shown in Table 8.26.

Table 8.26
Supervision and Control - Opinions of Employers

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	21	28.00	24	32.00	30	40.00
Contractors	30	33.33	27	30.00	33	36.67
Businessmen	0	0.00	9	60.00	6	40.00
Others	0	0.00	30	100.00	0	0.00
Total	51	24.29	90	42.86	69	32.86
Pearson Chi-square: 55.4604, df=6, p=.000000						

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.26 shows, 24 per cent of employers believe that supervising and controlling of Tamil workers is easier than that of the locals; while, 42 per cent of them believe that there is only partial truth in saying that controlling of Tamils is easier than that of the natives. But at the same time 33 per cent of them have mentioned that supervision and control of Tamil workers is not easier than that of supervising and controlling of locals. Therefore, it can conclude that, as the percentages of those who said it is true and partially true is

higher than that of those who said it false, there is bit of truth in saying that controlling and supervision of Tamils is easier than that of the natives.

Skill Level

Skill is an important aspect of work, and the efficiency of a worker depends upon his skill.. Acquisition of skill leads to upward mobility of workers and increases earnings as well as incomes of workers. Table 8.27 deals with opinions of employers about the skill level of Tamil workers when compared to local workers.

Table 8.27
Opinion of employers – Skill Level

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	3	4.00	18	24.00	54	72.00
Contractors	0	0.00	12	13.33	78	86.67
Businessmen	0	0.00	3	20.00	12	80.00
Others	0	0.00	12	40.00	18	60.00
Total	3	1.43	45	21.43	162	77.14
Pearson Chi-square: 15.7007, df=6, p=.015471						

Source: Survey data

As the table (Table 8.27) shows, only one per cent of the employers have mentioned that the skill level of Tamil workers is higher than that of the natives; while 22 per cent of the employers mentioned it is partially true. But at the same time, 77 per cent of the employers or more than three-fourth of them mentioned that it is false to say that the skill level of Tamil workers is higher than that of the natives, and they said that in the matter of skills locals are better than the Tamil workers.

Readiness to Do Any Work

One of the qualities of migrant workers often mentioned is that they are ready to do any work, even second jobs rejected by native workers. A major reason for peaceful working and existence of migrant workers in their destination is this readiness to do any work.

Table 8.28
Opinion of Employers - Readiness to Do Any Work Entrusted

Sector	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	30	40.00	36	48.00	9	12.00
Contractors	18	20.00	36	40.00	36	40.00
Businessmen	0	0.00	9	60.00	6	40.00
Others	0	0.00	24	80.00	6	20.00
Total	48	22.86	105	50.00	57	27.14
Pearson Chi-square: 41.1047, df=6, p=.000000						

Source: Survey data

Table 8.28 shows the comparative readiness of Tamil workers and local workers to do any job. According to the table, 23 per cent of the employers have mentioned that when compared to the local workers Tamil workers are ready to do anything; while 50 per cent of them have mentioned that it is partially true to say that they are ready to do any thing. According to them some of the Tamil workers are ready to do any work irrespective of its status, but not all. But at the same time, 27 per cent of the employers have mentioned that it is false to say that the Tamil workers are ready to do any work. From the above discussion we can understand that, when compared to the local workers, a part of the Tamil workers are ready to do any work irrespective of its status, but one has to pay extra wages.

Availability for Work

Employers have to get sufficient workers as and when required. Labour deficiency is one of the features of the labour market of Kerala. Migrant workers increase the supply of labour force in a labour market. Thus the question is whether in-migration of Tamil workers has increased availability of workers as and when required by the employers, in other words whether in-migration has led to increased supply of manual labourers.

Table 8.29
Opinions of Employers - Availability for Work

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmers	9	12.00	54	72.00	12	16.00
Contractors	9	10.00	60	66.67	21	23.33
Businessmen	0	0.00	12	80.00	3	20.00
Others	0	0.00	15	50.00	15	50.00
Total	18	8.57	141	67.14	51	24.29
Pearson Chi-square: 17.4842, df=6, p=.007670						

Source: Survey data

As per Table 8.29, according to 9 per cent of the employers, Tamil workers are available as and when required; while 67 per cent of them have mentioned that it is partially true to say Tamil workers are available for work as and when required. But at the same time, 24 per cent of the employers have mentioned that it is false to say that the Tamil workers are available as and when required. This shows that availability of workers depends upon several factors including the seasonal requirement. In the peak season it is difficult to get the required workers as and when required, similarly during off-seasons workers as well as normal seasons workers are available as and when required. This is the case of local workers also. Thus as said by more than two-third of the sample, it is partially true to say that the Tamil workers are available as and when required and thus have increased supply of manual labour force.

Absenteeism

Absenteeism of local labourers is an important problem faced by the employers. The experiences of employers regarding absenteeism of the two categories of workers are shown in table 8.30.

Table 8.30
Opinions of Employers - Low Absenteeism

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	9	12.00	66	88.00	0	0.00
Contractors	18	20.00	48	53.33	24	26.67
Businessmen	0	0.00	15	100.00	0	0.00
Others	0	0.00	27	90.00	3	10.00
Total	27	12.86	156	74.29	27	12.86
Pearson Chi-square: 44.0611, df=6, p=.000000						

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.30 shows, 13 per cent of the employers have mentioned that absenteeism among Tamil workers when compared to the local workers is low; while 74 per cent of them mentioned that it is partially true to say so, but at the same time, 13 per cent of the employers have mentioned that it is false to say absenteeism among the Tamil workers is low when compared to the local workers. Thus, employers' opinion shows that among Tamil workers also there are some workers who constantly take leave from work, but not so serious as compared to that of the local workers.

The Notion - Demand Less and Work More

There is a notion that the Tamil workers demand less and work more when compared to their local counterparts. How far this statement is right is a matter of concern. Since the employers are the payers of wages and receivers of services of the workers they are the best to evaluate the statement and their opinions are shown in Table 8.31 given in the next page.

Table 8.31**Opinions of Employers - Demand Less and Work More**

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	12	16.00	3	4.00	60	80.00
Contractors	0	0.00	6	6.67	84	93.33
Businessmen	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	100.00
Others	0	0.00	0	0.00	30	100.00
Total	12	5.71	9	4.29	189	90.00
Pearson Chi-square: 26.1778, df=6, p=.000207						

Source: Survey data

As per Table 8.31, six per cent of the employers have mentioned that Tamil workers demand less and work more, and according to four per cent it is partially true to say so. While 90 per cent of the employers have mentioned that it is false, or there is no truth in the statement that when compared to the local workers Tamil workers demand less wages and work more. Thus, it can be said that the notion that Tamil workers demand less and work more is wrong.

Impact of Tamil Workers on Local Labourers - Evaluation of Employers

As said, employers are the best to evaluate the labour market conditions than any one else. Tamil workers have led to increase the supply of manual labourers in the district and according to the local labourers, Tamil workers have caused for underemployment, reduction in wages and bargaining power. Since employers directly experience all these facts, their opinions are worthwhile and thus can be used for evaluation of the impacts of Tamil workers. The following part of the study deals with the opinions of employers on impact of Tamil workers upon the labour market of the district.

Reduction in the Availability of Work to Local Workers

The evaluation of employers regarding the impact of Tamil workers on the availability of work to natives is shown in the following table (Table 8.32).

Table 8.32
Opinion Regarding Reduction of Availability of Work to Natives

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	3	4.00	0	0.00	72	96.00
Contractors	6	6.67	6	6.67	78	86.67
Businessmen	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	100.00
Others	0	0.00	0	0.00	30	100.00
Total	9	4.29	6	2.86	195	92.86
Pearson Chi-square: 11.8318, df=6, p=.065862						

Source: Survey data

From Table 8.32, it can be understood that only 10 employers out of 210 or four per cent of the employers have mentioned that Tamil workers have reduced the availability of work to local workers; while three percent of them are of the opinion that there is a partial reduction in employment opportunities of local workers. But 93 percent of the employers believe that Tamil workers have not reduced employment opportunities of local labourers in any way. This is due to the fact that, even though Tamil workers have increased supply of manual workers in the labour market, there was an equivalent or more increased demand for manual workers in the district, due to emigration and other economic activities.

Reduction in the Wage Rates of Local Workers

According to employers Tamil workers have partially influenced or led to reduction of wage rates of local workers. Table 8.33 shows the opinion of employers the impact of Tamil workers upon the wages of native workers.

Table 8.33
Opinions Regarding Effect on the Wage Rate of Locals

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	33	44.00	39	52.00	3	4.00
Contractors	27	30.00	63	70.00	0	0.00
Businessmen	0	0.00	15	100.00	0	0.00
Others	21	70.00	9	30.00	0	0.00
Total	81	38.57	126	60.00	3	1.43
Pearson Chi-square: 31.9556, df=6, p=.000017						

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.33 shows, according to 39 per cent of the employers, Tamil workers have affected the wage rates of locals. 60 per cent of them have mentioned that it is partially true to say that Tamil workers have affected the wage rates of local workers; according to them in certain areas of employment the Tamil workers have affected wage rates of locals and in other areas they have not. At the same time only three farmers mentioned that the Tamil workers have not affected the wage rates of locals. Thus according to the employers Tamil workers have affected the wage rates of local workers.

Reduction of Bargaining Power of Local Workers

It is an accepted theory that increased supply of a particular category of labourers reduces the bargaining power of that particular category of workers. It is observed that, especially in the works that are done on the basis of contracts, often the Tamil labourers quote lower rates, and working hard complete the contract as early as possible. Moreover, they are ready to work at lower wages also. This will adversely affect local workers and their bargaining power. Opinions of employers in this respect are shown in Table 8.34 given in the next page.

Table 8.34
Opinion Regarding Reduction of Bargaining Power of Locals

Sectors	True		Partially true		False	
	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage	Number of Employers	Percentage
Farmer	0	0.00	60	80.00	15	20.00
Contractors	6	6.67	51	56.67	33	36.67
Businessmen	0	0.00	3	20.00	12	80.00
Others	0	0.00	18	60.00	12	40.00
Total	6	2.86	132	62.86	72	34.29
Pearson Chi-square: 30.5189, df=6, p=.000031						

Source: Survey data

As the table (Table 8.34) shows, only six or 3 per cent of the employers have mentioned that Tamil workers have led to reduction of bargaining power of local workers. 62 per cent of them mentioned that it is partially true to say that Tamil workers have led to the reduction of bargaining power of local workers. According to them in certain areas, where Tamil workers are competent as that of locals, they have led to reduce the bargaining power, but in other areas they cannot compete with the locals and thus have not affected the bargaining power. But, 34 per cent of employers are of the opinion that it is false to say that Tamil workers have reduced the bargaining power of local workers, or they have not affected in any way the bargaining power of local workers. Thus according to the employers Tamil workers have partly affected the bargaining power of local workers, that too in certain areas only.

Registration under the Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979

This is a Central Act, enforced for the purpose of eliminating exploitation of interstate migrants, who migrate from one state to another for employment. The basic objective of this Act is to regulate the employment of inter-state migrant workmen and to provide for their conditions of service and for matters connected therewith. It is applicable to every establishment in which five or more inter-state migrant workmen (whether or not in addition to

other workmen) are employed or who were employed on any day of the preceding twelve months and to every contractor who employed five or more interstate migrant worker (whether or not in addition to other workmen) on any day of the preceding twelve months. The state government framed Rules in connection with this Act in the year 1983.

This Act provides strong legal security to the interstate labour migrants. But at the same time employers of inter-state migrants either knowingly or unknowingly violates various provisions of this Act. In the case of Malappuram, the District Labour Office records show that no one has live registration under the Act as on March 2006, except two firms and these two firms have taken registration for employing workers other than Tamil workers

Awareness among the Employers about the Act

There are many important laws and regulations, which affect the day-to-day life of the citizens of our country. But many of these laws and regulations remain unnoticed, even though lack of knowledge of the law is not an excuse. Table 8.38 shows the number and percentage of employers having knowledge of The Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979

Table 8.35
Number and Percentage of Employers having Awareness of the Act

Sectors	Yes		No		Total	
	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage	Number of employers	Percentage
Farmers	4	5.33	71	94.67	75	100.00
Contractors	18	20.00	72	80.00	90	100.00
Businessmen	5	33.33	10	66.67	15	100.00
Others	5	16.67	25	83.33	30	100.00
Total	32	15.24	178	84.76	210	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 11.1268, df=3, p=.011069						

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.35 shows, only four farmers (5 per cent), 18 contractors (20 per cent), five businessmen (33 per cent) and five (17 per cent) of other category employers or 15.24 per cent of employers are aware of such an Act. In other words, 95 per cent of farmers, 80 per cent of contractors, 67 per cent of businessmen and 83 per cent of other category businessmen or 85 per cent of the employers are not aware of such an Act. This shows that even the existence of an Act is not known by more than four-fifths of the employer. Thus proper checking and inspection in work sites will help to find out and book violators of the Act, which will ensure proper legal security to the migrants and eliminate various kinds of exploitation of interstate migrant workmen.

Conclusion

In this part we have discussed and evaluated various opinions and viewpoints of employers on the impact of Tamil workers in the labour market of the district. According to them presence of Tamil workers in the labour market has reduced the shortage of manual labour, influenced wages and growth rates of wages and also has influenced other labour market conditions. Evaluation of their responses shows that some of them discriminate Tamil workers in different respects and they have their own reasons for this. Further they opined that absence of Tamil labourers would create serious shortage of manual labourers in the district and adversely affect economic activities, increase wage rates and the native workers will become more formal. It is also important to note that many of the large contractors are also not aware of The Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979. However, employers are satisfied with the services of Tamil workers and there exists good relationship between employers and Tamil workers in the district and they basically support Tamil workers.

After employees and employers, the next important players in the labour market are the trade union leaders, who have an important role in regulating the

labour market operations. Thus the next part of study deals with trade union leaders and Tamil workers in the district.

III - TRADE UNION LEADERS

Kerala is one of the states in India where strong political and trade union movements exist. On account of the strong trade union movements, labourers in all sectors and areas, without any distinction primary or secondary or tertiary, organised or unorganised, rural or urban are aware of their rights and enjoy these rights. Thus the working conditions and wage rates of Kerala are the best to the workers. But Tamil Nadu, when compared to Kerala is a state with flexible labour markets, and trade unions are not as strong as that of Kerala. In other words, Tamils come from a labour market where trade unions are considered to be weak to a labour market where trade unions are considered to be strong. Moreover, their entry in to the labour market of the district has led to certain consequences in the labour market and upon the local workers.

The trade unions of Kerala are very much keen in protecting their members from the 'outsiders', even if they are locals. Moreover Tamil workers in the district work at lower wage rates with flexible working conditions than that of the natives. Then how do these trade unions view the 'invasion of Tamil workers in to the labour market of the district' is a matter of concern. The following part of the study deals with these aspects in detail.

Membership to Tamil Workers

Since majority of the strong trade unions of Kerala are national based or are affiliated with national level trade unions, they have broader outlook than regionally organised unions and can give memberships to any citizen of India. But the survey data revealed that only 6 leaders (12 percent) have mentioned that Tamils are given membership in their organisation. But more than four-fifths of the leaders mentioned that there is no Tamil worker as

a member in their union. This shows that in majority of the trade unions of the district Tamil workers are not members.

Trade Union Activities among Tamil Workers

Propagation of trade union principles and activities among the workers is a major duty of the leaders. For this purpose they have to approach workers and request them to take membership, to participate in the meetings and other trade union activities. The survey data disclosed that only 8 out of 50 leaders (16 per cent) have approached the Tamil workers to join in their trade union activities and to take membership. But more than three-fourths (84 per cent) of the leaders have not approached Tamil workers to join and participate in their trade union activities. Similarly they have not taken any step in this respect also. This shows that the trade union leaders of the district are not so much interested in propagating their trade union activities and principles among the Tamil workers.

Responses of Tamil Workers

All the leaders who have approached the Tamil workers or those who have taken steps to propagate trade union activities among them mentioned that the responses of Tamil workers in this respect were very favourable.

Reasons for Not Approaching Tamil Workers for Taking Membership

As said, it is the duty of trade union leaders to strengthen trade union activities, broadening the membership base and propagating principles of their trade union among the workers. But most of the leaders keep distance from the Tamil workers. According to the leaders, various reasons for not approaching Tamil workers to take membership or to take part in trade union activities are given Table 8.36.

Table 8.36
Reason for Not Approaching Tamil Workers

Reasons	Number of Leaders	Percentage
Membership is given only to locals	14	33.33
They cannot work under the framework of organisation	6	14.29
Language difference makes union activities among them difficult	4	9.52
They are seasonal migrants and thus don't join trade union	10	23.81
Yet not considered	8	19.05
Total	42	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 28.0100, df=12, p=.005528		

Source: Survey data

From Table 8.36, it can be understood that, according to 33 per cent of those who have not approached Tamil workers, their reason was that their union gives membership only to locals and this means that Tamil workers are outside the purview of their organisation. 14.29 per cent of them have mentioned that Tamil workers cannot work under the framework of an organisation in Kerala. According to 10 per cent of them, trade union activities are difficult among the Tamil workers in the district on account of difference in language. But according to 23 per cent of the leaders who did not approach Tamils, Tamils are only seasonal migrants in Kerala and thus do not join trade union or do not participate in trade union activities. But 19 per cent of them have not yet considered about such activities among the Tamil workers.

The discussion shows that there are some reservations among the trade union leaders of the district in trade union activities among the Tamil workers. Many of the reasons seem to be awkward.

Preference of Employers

The survey data further revealed that, according to 88 per cent of the leaders, employers prefer Tamil workers to local workers. But however, they further added that this preference is only in certain areas.

IMPACT OF TAMIL WORKERS – VIEWS OF LEADERS

Large inflow of Tamil workers into the district has had certain consequences upon its labour market. It has led to increase in the supply of cheap labourers, ready to do any work at lower wage rates, in a labour deficit labour market of the district. Similarly, native workers as well as employers have claimed that Tamil workers have resulted in the reduction of wages, employment opportunities and bargaining power of local workers. Thus it is imperative to evaluate the impact of Tamil workers upon the local labour market from the viewpoint of trade union leaders of the district. The following part of the study deals with the assessment of the impact by trade union leaders.

Reduction in Wage Rates of Locals

Table 8.37 deals with opinions of trade union leaders in this respect of the impact of Tamil workers upon the wage rates of local workers.

Table 8.37
Opinion of Leaders Regarding Impacts on Wage Rates of Locals

Wings	True		Partially true		False		Total	
	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage
General	4	15.38	18	69.23	4	15.38	26	52.0
Agriculture	2	20.00	2	20.00	6	60.00	10	20.0
Construction	6	42.86	6	42.86	2	14.29	14	28.0
Total	12	24.00	26	52.00	12	24.00	50	100.0

Pearson Chi-square: 13.3784, df=4, p=.009577

Source: Survey data

From Table 8.37 it can be understood that, 24 per cent of the trade union leaders are of the opinion that Tamil workers have led to reduction of wage rates of locals. At the same time, according to 52 per cent the leaders, it is partially true to say that Tamil workers have led to reduction of wage rates of locals. Similarly 24 per cent of them believe that Tamil workers have not caused any reduction in the wage rates of locals.

Thus an equal percentage of trade unions leaders believe in both extremes, but majority (52 per cent) believe that in certain areas and in certain jobs Tamil workers have adversely affected the wage rates of local labourers.

Reduction of Employment Opportunities of Natives

Similar to that of wage rates, there are differences in the opinions of trade union leaders regarding the impact of Tamil workers on employment opportunities of local workers. The following table (Table 8.38) deals with the opinions of leaders in this respect.

Table 8.38
Opinion Regarding Impact on Employment Opportunities

Wings	True		Partially true		False		Total	
	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage
General	8	31.00	12	46.15	6	23.08	26	52.00
Agriculture	6	60.00	0	0.00	4	40.00	10	20.00
Construction	10	41.67	4	25.00	0	0.00	14	28.00
Total	24	48.00	16	32.00	10	20.00	50	100.00

Pearson Chi-square: 13.3114, df=4, p=.009861

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.38 shows, 48 per cent of leaders believe that Tamil workers have reduced employment opportunities or availability of work to locals. But 32 per cent of them believe that it is partially true to say that Tamil workers have led to decrease in availability of job or employment opportunities of local workers. But at the same time 20 per cent of them are of the opinion that immigration of Tamil workers have not reduced employment opportunities of local workers. Thus, according to the leaders, Tamil workers have adversely affected or reduced employment opportunities of locals in certain areas.

Reduction in the Bargaining Power of Locals

Emergence of an alternative source of labour force that too at lower wage rates reduces demand for existing labour force. This, in addition to

affecting the existing wage rates, reduces the relative importance of local labourers and their bargaining power for higher rates, because employers can use the alternative source, the Tamil labourers. In this way Tamil workers have reduced the bargaining power of locals. The opinions of trade union leaders in this respect are shown in Table 8.39

Table 8.39
Influence of Tamils – Impact on the Bargaining Power of Locals

Wings	True		Partially true		False		Total	
	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage
General	14	53.85	6	23.08	6	23.08	26	52.00
Agriculture	2	20.00	4	40.00	4	40.00	10	20.00
Construction	2	14.29	10	71.43	2	14.29	14	28.00
Total	18	36.00	20	40.00	12	24.00	50	100.00

Pearson Chi-square: 11.7900, df=4, p=.018998

Source: Survey data

According to Table 8.39 given above, 36 per cent of leaders are of the opinion that Tamil workers have reduced the bargaining power of local workers. But 40 per cent of them believe that Tamil workers have reduced the bargaining power of local workers in certain areas and it is partially true to say that Tamils have reduced the bargaining power of locals. Similarly 24 per cent of them believe that Tamil workers have not reduced the bargaining power of local workers. Thus, according to the leaders, it can be said that Tamils have affected bargaining power of locals in certain jobs and also in certain places of the district.

Reduction in the Importance of Trade Unions

Migrants keep away themselves from trade union activities and many of the employers use migrant labourers to weaken trade union activities in their work sites and factories. In this way it can be said that migrants reduce the importance of trade unions. Table 8.40 shows the impact of Tamil workers on the trade union movements of the district from the point of view of leaders.

Table 8.40
Influence of Tamils – Impact on Trade Unions

Wings	True		Partially true		False		Total	
	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage
General	4	15.38	4	15.38	18	69.23	26	52.00
Agriculture	2	20.00	0	0.00	8	80.00	10	20.00
Construction	0	0.00	6	42.86	8	57.14	14	28.00
Total	6	12.00	10	20.00	34	68.00	50	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 8.85585, df=4, p=.064830								

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.40 shows, 12 per cent of trade union leaders believe that Tamil workers have reduced the importance of trade unions. 20 per cent of them believe that they have partly reduced the importance of trade unions. But at the same time 68 per cent of them believe that Tamil workers have not reduced the importance of trade unions in any way.

Thus majority of trade union leaders are of the view that Tamil workers have not adversely influenced trade unions of the district, but at the same time there are some leaders who have reservations and thus they said it is true and some said it is partially true to say that Tamil workers have influenced the trade unions of Kerala

Trade Union Activities against Tamil Workers

Tamil workers undertake almost all activities performed by local workers and have adversely affected local workers in reducing their employment opportunities and wage rates. This may tempt the unions to undertake activities against the Tamil workers. Many places in our country itself have witnessed such agitations against migrant workers. As a part of the study it was examined whether any trade union activities have taken place against Tamil workers in the district. The survey data revealed that none of the leaders have organised any agitations or activities against the Tamil workers.

Conflicts between Employers and Tamil Workers

In a labour market there are frequent chances for conflicts between employers and employees. In the case of migrant workers there are increased chances for such conflicts on account of "outsider identity". This conflict may arise on account of breach of contract either by the employer or by the employees. According to 68 per cent of the leaders, they have come across such conflicts in the district and are common as in the case of local workers. But 32 per cent mentioned that conflicts between Tamil workers and employers are not as common as in the case of local workers and employers.

On asked about payment of low wages to Tamil workers, it was reported by the trade union leaders that due to inefficient experience Tamil workers are not as efficient as Keralites workers and that they are contented with whatever they get at the end of the day.

Need for a Special Trade Union for Tamils

It is a mater fact that, in Kerala all are united in one or other form. Trade unions can be seen for each and every category of workers. Then why cannot Tamil workers form an organisation of their own? According to 90 per cent of the leaders there is no need of a special trade union for Tamil workers, because, according to them the trade unions of Kerala protect Tamil workers interest also.

Approach towards a Trade Union of Tamils

If the Tamil workers organise a trade union of their own 40 per cent of the trade union leaders of the district would welcome such an organisation, while an equal percentage mentioned that they will oppose and 20 percent of them mentioned that they will remain indifferent. This, however, shows that there are some leaders to favour such a trade union.

“Son –Of-Soil” Approach towards Tamil Workers in the District

It is generally believed that mass in-migration of labourers lead to reduction of employment and income opportunities of local workers and thus native workers generally oppose it. Some of the local leaders, to gain political advantage, take this as an opportunity and organise movements against migrants. In India too there are many instances for such movements. Large number of Tamil workers works in this district and many of the local workers, employers as well as leaders have mentioned that their existence has adversely affected local workers. Then if any one organises a “son-of-soil” approach towards the Tamils, will such a movement get political and trade union support or not was a matter of study and Table 8.41 shows the attitudes of trade union leaders to such a movement.

Table 8.41
Opinion Regarding Son-of-soil Approach against Tamils

Wings	Favour		Oppose		Indifferent		Total	
	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage	Number of leaders	Percentage
General	0	0.00	20	76.92	6	23.08	26	52.00
Agriculture	0	0.00	10	100.00	0	0.00	10	20.00
Construction	2	14.29	10	57.14	2	28.57	14	28.00
Total	2	4.00	40	80.00	8	16.00	50	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 14.1411, df=4, p=.006866								

Source Survey data

As the Table 8.41 shows, there are two leaders out of 50 who have mentioned that they would support such a movement if organised, but 40 leaders (80 per cent) mentioned that they will oppose such a movement. While eight leaders mentioned that they will remain indifferent towards such a movement. This shows that only two leaders that too belonging to construction sector are against Tamil workers. Since a major part of the Tamil workers are

concentrated in construction sector, it may have adversely affected the native construction labourers in the areas of operation of these leaders and thus, it is a local phenomenon. Moreover, the number of leaders opposing such a movement is larger than those favouring it. Thus they can influence those thinking otherwise and, therefore, it can be mentioned that there is no threat of son-of-soil approach towards the Tamil workers.

Reasons for Favouring “Son of Soil” Approach

The Two leaders, who favour son-of-soil approach against Tamil workers, mentioned that reduction in the wage rates and employment opportunities of locals are their reason for stand against Tamil workers.

Reasons for Opposing the “Son-of-Soil” Approach against Tamil Workers

The various reasons mentioned by those leaders who would oppose a possible “son-of-soil” approach against Tamil workers in this district are shown in the following table (8.42).

Table 8.42
Reasons for Opposing Son-of-Soil Approach

Reasons	Percentage
A lot of Keralites are working outside the state	36.84
They are not against locals and a lot of Keralites are working outside the state	15.79
They are not against locals	10.53
They are not against locals and their work culture is favourable to locals	5.26
They are not against locals, Local employers are favourable to them and a lot of Keralites are working outside the state	15.79
Other	15.79
Totals	100.00
Pearson Chi-square: 34.5167, df=14, p=.00173	

Source: Survey data

As Table 8.42 shows, 37 per cent of the leaders have mentioned that a lot of Keralites are working outside the state, so a movement against Tamil workers in this district is just like a movement against those Keralites working

outside the state. 16 per cent of the leaders have mentioned in addition to the reason cited above, that the Tamil workers are not against local workers or they do not make any harm to the locals either in employment or wages, along with them there is another 11 per cent of the leaders who have mentioned that the Tamil workers are not against local workers. Five per cent of them mentioned that the Tamil workers are not against local workers and also they see that Tamil workers' work culture is favourable to the local workers. 15 per cent of the leaders mentioned that the Tamil workers are not harmful to locals, their work culture is favourable to the locals and also they mentioned that employers are favourable to them.

Therefore, a possible move against Tamils may lead to conflicts between employers and trade unions. 16 per cent of leaders mentioned other reasons like lack of availability of local workers, job preferences of locals etc., as the major reasons for the mass in-migration of Tamils and a move against them will increase short supply of workers and it will lead to a rift between employers and leaders who led the move against Tamil workers.

The reasons cited by the trade unions leaders of the district show their maturity and far-sightedness. The major reason mentioned by them is that the Tamil workers have not in any way affected local workers either in their wages or in employment or in income. Thus there is no need of a move against Tamil workers. This shows that there is no "son-of-soil" approach against Tamil workers or there is no possibility of such an approach in this district, which faces severe shortage of manual workers. Moreover the relationship of local and Tamil workers also show, which we have discussed in our previous parts, that the natives treat Tamil workers as their friends and fellow workers, even though some kind of discrimination exist.

Conclusion

The above evaluation of the opinions as well as viewpoints of trade union leaders shows that trade unions and leaders respect Tamil workers and are ready to render possible help to the guest workers. However, in the matter of giving membership, trade union activities among the Tamil workers, trade union leaders seem to go back. According to some of the leaders Tamil workers have influenced the wage rates, working conditions and employment opportunities of locals, but at the same time labour shortage of the district has not worsened the situation of local labourers on account of the Tamil immigration. Broad looking, national level, secular leaders of the district do not favour any son-of-soil approach against Tamil workers. Thus it can be concluded that Tamil workers are also the beneficiaries of various trade union activities of the district, which have made the labour market conditions most favourable to the workers.

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CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

Chapter 9

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

This chapter deals with a summary of the whole study and the conclusions derived therefrom. It also gives suggestions for improvement of the living and economic conditions of Tamil workers in Kerala.

Inflow of Tamil workers into the labour market of Kerala has helped the state very much in its economic development by providing cheaper labour force. Various kinds of socio-economic developments and different forms of migration of Keralites have made the native labourers selective as well as changed Kerala into a manual labour deficient high wage rate state. Tamil workers who came as “replacement migrants” are, at present, an important source of manual labour. They engage in almost all activities irrespective of the nature or status of the job they perform. It can be hard, harmful or dirty or rejected by the native workers. They work in farms and fields, industries, construction sites, business firms and other areas, as skilled and unskilled workers. But they are concentrated in different types of construction activities. They strengthen the economy of the state by providing manual labour force to various economic activities, which would otherwise be impossible to carry on in their absence and have played an important role in making up the present face of the state

Even though they have an important role in the economy of the state, their working and living conditions are very deplorable and some of them lead substandard lives. Child labour is rampant among them. Negative discrimination by employers and exploitation by intermediaries are the common features. Their unorganised nature increases injustice against them and makes their conditions more pitiable. They have got little recognition; they are looked down by the natives, and are one of the rejected communities in the state.

Several studies have been made in and outside the state about different kinds of migrations, different kinds of labourers, different kinds of communities in Kerala; but a migration stream, which has helped the state very much in its economic development or a community that has cast several impacts on the economy and upon the society has remained neglected for long. Tamil workers in Kerala have got little consideration from academicians and thus sufficient information is not available on their socio-economic characteristics, causes and consequences of their migration, working and living conditions etc. Similarly, their impact upon the local labourers, employers and trade union also remains undisclosed.

Based on Tamil workers working in Malappuram district and other interested groups in the labour market of the district, the present study is, thus, an attempt to provide sufficient information about the Tamil workers, their income and employment patterns, working and living conditions, impact of migration upon themselves and upon the labour market of the district. The specific objectives of the study were: -

1. To examine the socio-economic and demographic profile of Tamil workers in Kerala
2. To study the reasons behind their migration to Kerala, especially to Malappuram district.
3. To study their income and employment pattern in Kerala
4. To study their saving and remittance patterns and utilisation of remittances
5. To ascertain the extent of discrimination, if any, against Tamil workers
6. To analyse the changes in assets and liabilities before and after migration to ascertain whether migration has led to economic betterment of migrants
7. To analyse and evaluate impacts of their presence upon local workers, employers and trade unions

8. To suggest possible measures for improvement of standard of living as well as working conditions of Tamil workers in the district.

The study is a descriptive one based on primary and secondary data sources. The core group of concern was the Tamil workers working in the district of Malappuram. Data were collected through pre-tested, structured interview schedules, designed in such a way as to provide information to meet the objectives of the study. 1200 Tamil workers (based on accidental sampling method) were taken from seven development blocks (selected on the basis of random sampling). For the purpose of data collection from Tamil workers, help of translators or interpreters was sought.

Local workers, employers and trade union leaders of the district also come under the purview of the study. 420 workers, 60 each from the seven development blocks constituted the sample of local workers. These workers belonged to different sectors (agriculture, construction, industry and service) and different categories (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled). Employers sample consisted of small and large farmers, contractors, businessmen and general public who provided employment. 30 employers from these 7 blocks totalling 210 formed the sample group of employers. 50 trade union leaders belonging to different unions and sections formed the sample of leaders. While selecting unions and leaders special consideration was given to strength and presence of unions in the district. Similarly, preference was also given to construction and agricultural wings of trade unions. Trade union leaders were selected on the basis of snowball sampling. For collecting data from local workers, employers and trade union leaders pre-tested, structured interview schedules were used.

Data were analysed by using various mathematical and statistical tools and techniques like percentages, averages, standard deviations etc. As and where necessary, it has also made use of other tools like chi-square, ANOVA

etc. Charts, graphs, diagrams etc., are used for clear presentation of the report. For analytical purpose of primary data Microsoft Excel, Statistica software programme has been used.

The study has been presented in nine chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction, scope, objectives, methodology etc., of the study. Second chapter provides literature reviews. In this chapter related literatures are arranged on the basis of studies made at the international level, national level, states levels, interstate level and at the district level.

Labour market features of the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are explained in the third chapter. A comparative study of labour markets of these states disclosed certain similarities and dissimilarities. Labour force participation rates of these states show more or less the same trend, but work participation rates of Tamil Nadu are far better than that of Kerala. At the same time, wage rates of Kerala are very much higher than that of Tamil Nadu. Similarly, the migration patterns of these states have also undergone important changes during the period under review. These similarities and dissimilarities are the major reasons for the inter-state migration between these states.

The fourth chapter deals in detail with the general, economic and labour market conditions of Malappuram district, where the study is concentrated. Malappuram district is the most backward, most populous district of Kerala, having sent the largest number of emigrants and is in the developmental stage mainly on account of emigration and consequent remittances. Emigration and other socio-economic developments which have taken place over the years have led to both an increase in the demand for manual labour and also to shortage of manual labourers. This has made the district into a high wage rate district in Kerala, higher than that of the state average. Tamil workers are the important source of manual labour in different sectors of the economy, especially in construction and agriculture.

The socio-demographic profile and living conditions of Tamil workers working in the district are presented in chapter five. It shows that majority of Tamil workers in the district are Hindus belonging to scheduled castes and backward communities, migrated in their entry ages into the labour market, due to labour related issues. Further, majority of them live in rented accommodation facilities. This chapter highlights that majority of Tamil workers in the district have a low socio-economic profile and background.

Chapter six dealt in detail with employment, wages, working conditions both at origin as well as at the destination and economic impact of migration. This chapter shows that in-migration has helped Tamil workers in increasing their incomes and earnings as well as in their economic improvement. Similarly, it has helped majority of them to acquire new skills and experiences as well as upward labour mobility.

Tamil workers and their attachment with trade unions in their nativity and at the destination as well as their attachment with their nativity is discussed in chapter seven. This chapter shows that only a minority of the Tamil workers have attachment with trade unions in their nativity as well as in the district. But, most of them have close ties with their nativity and they maintain their contact through communication and visits.

Impact of Tamil workers upon the local labour market is discussed in chapter eight. Tamil workers have influenced employment, wage rates and income of native workers; have increased supply of manual labourers. Local workers, employers and trade union leaders show a helping attitude towards these guest workers, and there is no rivalry or 'sons-of-soil' approach against Tamil workers.

Thus the study shows that Tamil workers have an important place in the labour market and economy of the state of Kerala and their migration to Kerala has helped them in improving their economic conditions very much.

Major Findings

Major findings of the study are summarised here under: -

Even though the wage rates of Kerala are much higher than that of Tamil Nadu, the growth rate of agricultural wages during 1989-90 to 2002-03 was higher in Tamil Nadu. The average agricultural wage rate of Kerala (Rs.247) in the year 2002-03 was two times higher than that of Tamil Nadu (Rs.118). But the growth rate of wages during the period 1989-2003 was higher in Tamil Nadu (754.89 per cent) than that of Kerala (714.47 per cent). Similarly, the agricultural wage index of Tamil Nadu during 2002-03, taking 1989-90 as base year, was also higher than that of Kerala.

Interstate migration pattern between these two states have changed during the period 1971-2001. The number of interstate in-migrants in Kerala from Tamil Nadu shows an increasing trend, but the number of out-migrants to Tamil Nadu from Kerala shows a declining trend. Up to 1991 Census, the number of out-migrants from Kerala to Tamil Nadu exceeded the number of in-migrants from Tamil Nadu to Kerala (i.e. Kerala was a net out-migrating state), but as per the 2001 census, the number of in-migrants from Tamil Nadu exceeded the number of out-migrants from Kerala to Tamil Nadu (i.e. Kerala became a net in-migrating state from Tamil Nadu). Further, the percentage share of in-migrants of these states in total inter-state immigrants of the respective states also shows a declining trend. But at the same time, the percentage share of Tamil in-migrants Malappuram district shows an increasing trend, just opposite to that of the state level.

The study also found that 87 per cent of the migrants were males, 76 per cent Hindus, 50 per cent belonged to scheduled castes and tribes, and 35 per cent backward classes. Nearly four-fifths of them belonged to the age group of 16-45 years and the mean age of the sample workers is 33.33 years; majority of them migrated in to the state at an average age of 21.4 years. Child labourers are also seen among them.

Nearly 70 per cent of the migrants are married and more than three-fourths have primary or above primary education. One-quarter of the workers are illiterates and six per cent of them have above secondary level education. Workers from rural areas constituted 97 per cent of the migrants and three northern coastal districts of Tamil Nadu dominated in this migration stream. Majority of them were casual workers; more than three-fourths of them were engaged in agricultural or related activities in their nativity and more than half of them have more than 10 years' experience in the district.

Low wage rates constituted the major push factor for migration accompanied by unemployment, underemployment, poverty and bad working conditions. It shows that labour related issues have compelled more than 63 per cent of the workers to leave their homes. Better wages and better working conditions of Kerala attracted about three-fourth of the workers, while the special motivating factor to migrate to the district was better wages and existence of friends and relatives. 81 per cent of the Tamil workers in the district live in rented accommodation.

It was found that, 36 per cent of the workers are engaged in construction followed by 29 per cent in agriculture. In addition to these they are found to be engaged in a wide variety of occupations. Majority of them are engaged as casual or day labourers. These workers occupy on an average 23 days in a month in the district, while they are expected to engage 15 days only in their

nativity. Working time of 59 per cent of them in Kerala is more than that of their nativity. But 18 per cent of them have to work for a lesser time.

The study revealed that, on an average a Tamil worker in the district earns daily Rs.143, and monthly Rs.4318. They incur an average total expense of Rs.1260 per month. This includes almost all normal expenses and, in addition, it includes average monthly expenses on intoxicating articles (Rs.343), on lottery (Rs.292) and on cinemas (Rs.69). Their average net wages income per month is Rs.2344, which can be considered as their savings, and it is more than double of their expected wages income from their nativity. Average monthly net wages income of more than 60 per cent of the sample is above Rs.2000. In addition to the normal wages 25 per cent of them get overtime wages and 22 per cent get gifts, presents etc. Some of them have other sources of income in Kerala, and more than 60 per cent have other sources of income in their nativity.

A reduction in the present wage rate of Kerala will not lead to a complete withdrawal or return of Tamil workers. If the wage rate decreases up to 20 per cent of the present wage rate, 30 per cent of the workers will return to their nativity. But if the wage rate decreases by 30 per cent there will be an exodus of 70 per cent of Tamil workers. 94 per cent of them are satisfied with the present wage rates, and more than three-fourth with the present jobs.

The study revealed that 87 per cent of the sample remits money to home. For the purpose of remittance most of them depend either on money order or friends and relatives going home, or pay personally on return. Further, 80 per cent of the in-migrant households depend partly or fully on remittances for their day-to-day expenses. In addition to using their earnings for day-to-day house hold requirements, 18 per cent of them have used a part of their savings for purchasing or making improvements in land; 59 per cent for repairs, renewals or construction, of houses; 57 per cent for purchase of consumer

durables and 22 per cent for marriage purposes. Similarly, 17 per cent of them have also used a part for educational purposes of their children.

Migration is a means of vertical mobility of labour; 79 per cent of them have acquired new skill and experiences after coming to Kerala leading to an improvement in the incomes and earnings 86 per cent of the workers who have acquired new skills and experiences. A comparison of sectors of their engagement before and after migration shows that most of them were have shifted from primary sector to more remunerative construction and service sectors of Kerala.

The study disclosed that negative discrimination against migrants exist in the labour market of Kerala also. More than 60 per cent of the workers have felt different kinds of discriminations. 51 per cent of them have felt negative discrimination in wage payment. This indicates that there is negative discrimination against Tamil workers in the district.

Migration to Kerala has led to the economic improvement of Tamil workers. It has helped 19 per cent of the workers to acquire own houses, 31 per cent to convert their kutchu houses into pukka houses. Similarly, it has helped five per cent of the landless in the sample to acquire land and many to increase size of their land holdings. In addition to these, 75 workers in the sample have acquired land in Kerala. Further the cash in hand and bank balances have also increased significantly; 51 per cent of the workers have become bank account holders. Similarly indebtedness of the in-migrants has decreased considerably.

Nearly 10 per cent of the workers were members of trade unions in their nativity and four per cent of them participate in trade union activities of the district. While 26 per cent of the non-members mentioned that trade unions of Kerala do not give membership to Tamils and this shows the reluctance of trade unions of Kerala to involve Tamils in trade union activities Similarly, six

per cent of the workers have to approach trade unions leaders and 93 per cent of them were happy in the approach and attitude of the leaders towards them. Further, 58 per cent of the workers have felt the need for a special organisation of Tamils in the district.

The study shows that 99 per cent of the sample had one or other kinds of interest in their nativity and maintain attachment with the nativity through communication and visits. All of them used letters and / or telephone for communication with the nativity. 11 per cent of the sample visits nativity each month; 42 per cent of them visit quarterly and on the occasions of ceremonies and festivals. Further, 53 per cent of them usually visit their nativity during sowing seasons and engage in work. Similarly, 56 per cent of them visit during harvesting seasons and engage in work. These workers remain in their nativity till the farming operations or the season is over. This shows that more than 50 per cent of them are seasonal migrants. Further, 66 per cent of them spend one week to one month in their nativity during one visit.

Mother state of wives of three per cent of the sample workers is Kerala and children of eight per cent of the workers also study in Kerala. Lack of educational facilities for children hindered eight per cent of them in bringing their family to Kerala. Further, eight per cent of the workers have decided for an immediate return, while 21 per cent of them wish to settle permanently in Kerala and others wish to return later on.

The study shows that, 27 per cent of local workers do not get sufficient work, and 84 per cent of the local workers believe that Tamil workers have reduced their wage rates. Local workers have no favourable opinion about the working skill, ability etc. of the Tamil workers, but they try to exert superiority complex over the Tamil workers. The most affected group on account of Tamil in-migration is the unskilled workers, especially in the construction sector.

In the case of employers, 61 per cent of the sample prefers locals, but 72 per cent of them are ready to employ Tamils even if locals are available. The study shows that, 53 per cent of the employer negatively discriminate Tamil workers in wage payment due to the lack of efficiency, skills and imperfectness in finishing. Four per cent of them had request from local workers not to employ Tamil workers.

The study disclosed that, employers are also of the view that Tamil workers have reduced employment opportunities as well as the wage rates of local workers. None of the employers in the district have live registration under the Inter-state Migrant Workmen (Regulations of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act 1979 for employing Tamil workers as on March 2006. But, 15 per cent of them have awareness of the existence of such an Act.

Trade union leaders of Kerala show favourable attitude towards Tamil workers. Tamil workers are members in some of the trade unions, 16 per cent of the leaders have conducted trade union activities among Tamil workers, but 20 per cent of them have not yet considered the possibility of trade union activities among the Tamils working in the district. Further, 76 per cent of leaders are of the opinion that Tamil workers have caused reduction in wage rates of locals and 70 per cent of them believe Tamil workers have reduced employment opportunities of locals. Similarly, 10 per cent of them favour for a trade union of Tamil workers, but the rest are against such an organisation. Two leaders belonging to construction sector favour "son-of-soil" approach against Tamils, but 96 per cent of the leaders are against such a movement due to many reasons. Thus there is no immediate possibility of a movement against Tamil workers in Kerala.

Results of hypothesis testing

Three hypotheses were set and tested in this study. The following are the results of hypotheses testing.

1. In-migration has helped Tamil workers to get employment for more days than in their place origin. The hypothesis was found to be correct and thus can be accepted.
2. The Tamil workers monthly average net wages income from the district is more than their expected monthly average earnings of their nativity, if they perform the same or similar kind of work in their nativity without migrating to the district. This hypothesis was found correct and thus can be accepted.
3. In-migration has led to considerable economic and financial improvement of Tamil workers. Since there was significant improvement in different economic aspect, the hypothesis was found correct and thus can be accepted.

SUGGESTIONS

The following measures can be taken to improve the living and working conditions of Tamil workers in the district: -

1. Socio-Cultural Organisation In order to help Tamil workers in different ways formation of a socio-cultural charitable organisation under the patronage and support of natives will hold good. This organisation should help Tamils both in times of emergencies as well as normalcy; undertake socio-cultural as well as charitable activities for the benefit and upliftment of Tamil workers. Membership should be given to all the Tamil workers and it should function in a democratic way. Office bearers should be Tamils. While important personalities such as political and trade union leaders, important employers, contractors, philanthropists etc., of the locality where such an

association is formed should be patrons. Ensuring the participation of natives enhances ground support for such an organisation in the district. The organisation should create a fund through nominal subscriptions from members; donations and contributions etc can be collected from Tamils as well as from the natives. This fund can be utilised for extending financial aid to the deserving Tamil workers, especially for medical treatment, expenses to carry dead bodies or sick persons or injured to their nativity, or for legal expenses on good and fair grounds. There should be transparency in the utilisation of the fund. This fund will surely help the Tamil workers of Kerala to stand by themselves and to avoid begging for others' mercy in case of emergencies or casualties. In addition to this, the organisation should conduct cultural activities, night classes to improve literacy and knowledge for Tamil workers, guidance and counselling as well as temperance classes also to those who show deviant behaviour. In this way the organisation should strive for the all-round development of Tamil workers. For this purpose educated youth among the Tamil workers in the district should come forward. Trade unions of Kerala and of Tamil Nadu can play an important role in such an organisation, but at the same time the organisation shall not be a politically motivated, trade union based one.

2. Self-Help Groups. Exploitations and existence of intermediaries is an important feature of in-migrant labour market segment of Kerala. Even though *kangani* system is not in prevalence now, but more or less equal systems exist at present also. Different kinds of intermediaries, agents and brokers etc., can be seen, known by different names, mainly *maistry*. The agent, (maistry) deducts a part of wages and pockets it as well as he gets commission from employers. His only activity is to provide some baskets, shovel etc and control and supervise the gang working under him. If the workers can mobilise the amount required for these items, the amount deducted by the agent from their wages can be saved, and the amount paid by the employer can be divided

among the workers themselves. For this purpose self-help groups of the Tamil workers can be formed, and works can be undertaken jointly on behalf of the self-help group. In this way exploitation of intermediaries and agents can be eliminated as well as workers' income can be increased. For this purpose sufficient help can be expected from the natives.

3. Educational facilities for children of Tamil workers. Some of the parents have left their children in their nativity, who will be looked after by their relatives. But many of them have their children with them. These children, on account of lack of educational facilities, play in the streets in their early years of life, grow as street children, rag and waste pickers, beggars and gradually become child labourers. Child labour is rampant among the Tamil workers and a major part of the child labourers in Kerala is from Tamil Nadu. Similarly many of the Tamil workers have mentioned lack of proper educational facility for children as one of the reasons for not bringing their family into Kerala. Thus, if proper educational facilities are arranged for the children of Tamil workers, incidence of child labour can be reduced, it will help Tamil workers to bring their family into Kerala and engage fully in the state. It is also important to mention that many Tamil children are pursuing their education in different schools of the district. But many fear that in the event of return to nativity they cannot continue education of their children and this will adversely affect their children. Thus measures are to be taken to provide at least primary education to these children in Tamil medium, if necessary.

4. Official documents and helps. Many of the Tamil workers and their families settled in Kerala are in a dilemma. As per official records they have left Tamil Nadu and no more exist, but there is no official record to prove their residential status in Kerala. Thus as per official documents they are nowhere. No official help or concession, or aid either from the state of Tamil Nadu or from that of Kerala is available to these workers. They have no ration cards,

residency records and election identity card also. This creates many problems to them. Thus proper measures shall be taken by the government of Tamil Nadu and also Kerala to recognise them, to provide them ration cards, election identity cards, and other documents. Similarly, various concessions, helps and assistances available to the workers and low income groups of Kerala should also be made available to the deserving Tamil workers in the state. Further, the government officials and all the concerned should have to bear in mind that these are the most important source of manual labour in Kerala and they also deserve helps.

5. Proper medical and insurance coverage. Many of the Tamil workers are engaged in dangerous and hazardous occupations. Most of them are always exposed to injuries, casualties and occupational hazards. Thus, they should be provided proper medical facilities and insurance coverage. Similarly before undertaking such jobs, the employees should themselves ensure that, the undertaking is properly insured and should ask the employer for providing proper medical and insurance facilities.

6. Development of Skills and abilities. One of the important reasons mentioned by employers for discrimination is the lack of proper abilities and skills as well as lack of perfection in the jobs performed by the Tamil workers. Thus in order to eliminate discriminations and to get the wages paid to the native workers, the Tamil workers should develop proper skills and abilities in the jobs in which they specialise.

7. Awareness activities. Drinking is a major deviant behaviour observed among the Tamil workers. Many of them are good drunkards; they destroy their health and the money they earn through hard and difficult jobs. In order to avoid such deviant behaviour proper guidance, counselling and awareness campaigns should be undertaken. This can be conducted under the auspices of the socio-cultural organisation formed by the Tamil workers. Many charitable organisations in Kerala will help Tamil workers in this respect.

8. Proper implementation of The Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979. On account of various loopholes and laxity on the part of authorities in strict implementation of the Act, the basic purpose or objective of the Act is not accomplished. There exist exploitation and discriminations. Thus, loopholes through which culprits escape should be eliminated and the authorities at the helm of affairs should strictly implement or enforce this Act.

9. Trade union Activities among the Tamil Workers Trade unions of Kerala should come to the Tamil workers, consider them as a special wing and should help them in all possible ways. As far as the trade unions of Kerala are concerned, since they are national based and affiliated organisations, there will be no difficulty in extending trade union activities or giving membership to the Tamil workers. Moreover, it is one of the ways to propagate and spread their trade union activities, slogans, political ideas etc. among the Tamil workers as a whole, in the entire state of Tamil Nadu.

Conclusion

The study is a unique attempt to discuss the socio-economic features of Tamil workers in Kerala, causes for migration, their wages, income and employment patterns, working and living conditions, consequences of migration upon themselves and upon the host labour market. Their in-migration is the result of labour related issues. In-migration has helped them to increase their earnings and savings and has led to economic improvements. Even though Tamil workers have adversely affected the wage rates and employment opportunities of certain categories of native workers, especially the unskilled construction workers, the relationship among them is found to be cordial one; but natives exert a attitude of superiority over the guest workers. Employers prefer local workers, while they are ready to employ Tamils even if locals are available. Some of the employers negatively discriminate Tamil workers on account of shortage of skills and lack of perfection in their work. Trade union

leaders also show favourable attitude towards the Tamil workers and their problems. The study suggested certain measures to improve their living and working conditions in Kerala. The study thus, highlights the life and economic activities of a community, which so far got little consideration, and is recognition to the workers who have made good of labour deficiency in the state of Kerala.

Areas for further Research

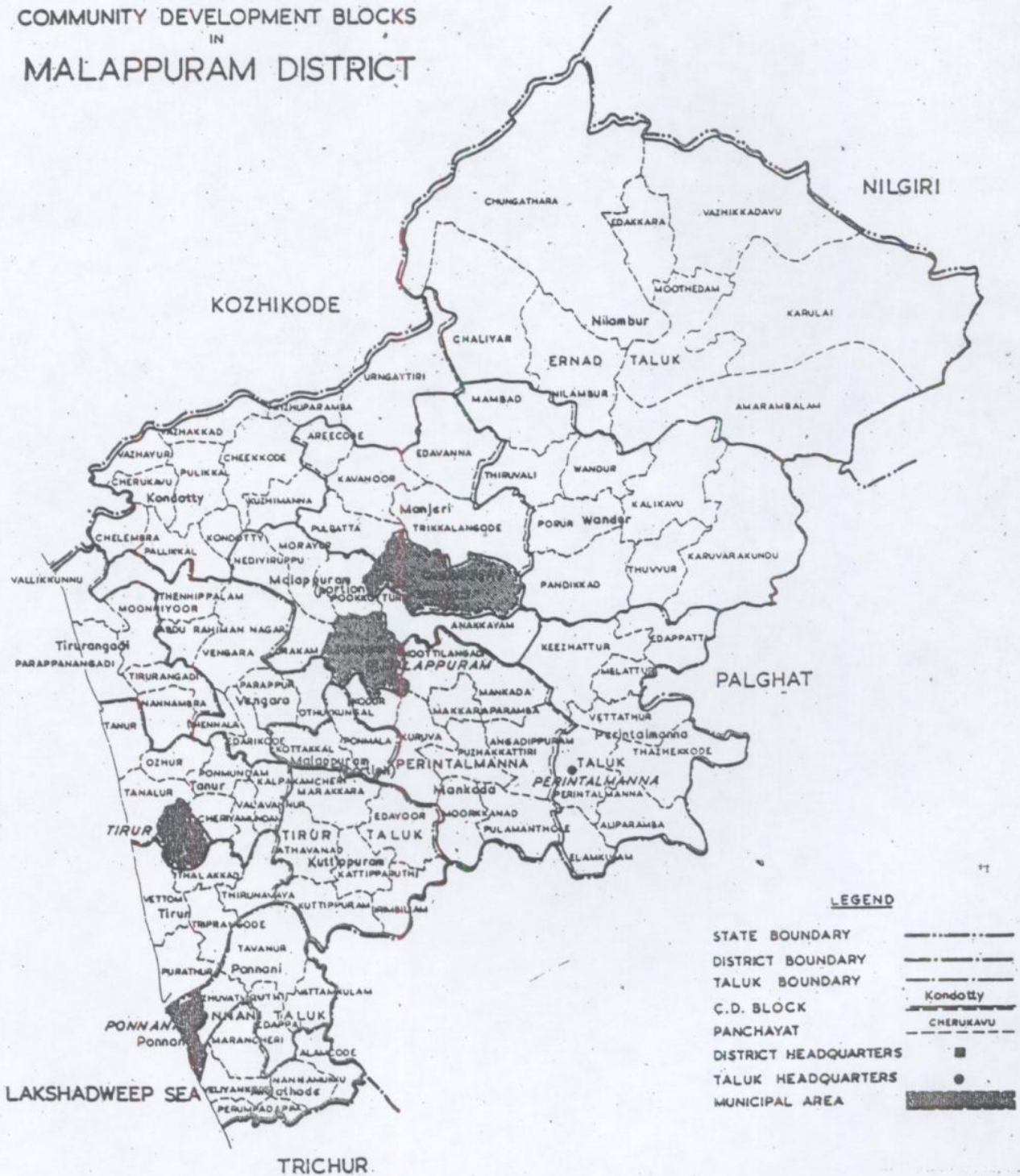
The study opens scope for further research in other aspects of the area. A comparative study of the socio-economic conditions of households of out-migrant workers to Kerala and households of non-migrant workers in the state of Tamil Nadu could be undertaken. This will help to understand the impacts of out-migration in to Kerala. Similarly, in order to study the relative impact of different out-migration streams from Tamil Nadu, a comparative study of the conditions of households of out-migrants to Kerala and household of out-migrants to other states as well as emigrants could be under taken.

Further, a comparative study of the wage rates and employment patterns of native workers, Tamil workers and other interstate in-migrants in Kerala could be attempted to ascertain the extent of discrimination that exist in the labour market of Kerala. Similarly, a comparative study of the income and employment patterns of inter-state migrants in Kerala, as a whole could also be looked into. In addition to these, a study on child labour in Kerala, with special reference to Tamil children could highlight the extent of child labour in Kerala as well as those from Tamil Nadu.

APPENDICES

Appendix I Map of Malappuram District

NOTIONAL MAP
OF
PANCHAYATS
AND
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS
IN
MALAPPURAM DISTRICT



LEGEND

- STATE BOUNDARY
- DISTRICT BOUNDARY
- TALUK BOUNDARY
- C.D. BLOCK
- PANCHAYAT
- DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS
- TALUK HEADQUARTERS
- MUNICIPAL AREA

Appendix II	
Names of Blocks Selected for the Study	
1. Kondotty 2. Malappuram 3. Perinthalmanna 4. Mankada	5. Kuttippuram 6. Tirur 7. Tanur

Appendix III				
Wage Rate Indices of Kerala and Tamil Nadu				
(1989-90 =100)				
Year	Kerala		Tamil Nadu	
	Wage rates	Indices	Wage rates	Indices
1989-90	29.37	100	13.90	100
1991-92	39.61	135	17.59	127
1993-94	53.51	182	25.13	181
1995-96	82.04	279	34.52	248
1996-97	101.95	347	39.53	284
1997-98	122.54	417	45.34	326
1998-99	134.26	457	51.29	369
2002-03	247.14	841	118.83	855

Source: Calculated on the basis of Table 3.12

Appendix IV
Important Crops, Area Cultivated
and Average Annual Production in Malappuram District

Crops	Approximate Area (Hectares)	Average production
Paddy	31098	53443 tonnes
Coconut	100,000	569million nuts
Cashew	10761	4968 tones
Rubber	26305	1800 metric tones
Areca nut	14883	2868 million nuts
Tapioca	8226	2.41 lakh metric tones
Banana	8389	NA
Vegetables	5313	NA
Pulses	493	NA
Sweet potato	272	NA
Oil seeds	752	NA
Hill produces	172	NA
Betel vine	448	NA

Source: District Handbooks of Kerala, Malappuram,
 Department of Information and Public Relations,
 Government of Kerala, 2003

Appendix V		
District-Wise Origin of Migrants		
Districts	Number of workers	Percentage
Nagapattinam	130	10.83
Cudallore	115	9.58
Vilupuram	110	9.17
The Nilgiris	102	8.50
Kanyakumari	90	7.50
Sivaganga	75	6.25
Thanjavur	60	5.00
Dharmapuri	56	4.67
Thiruchirapalli	56	4.67
Thirunalveli	55	4.58
Erode	50	4.17
Dindigul	48	4.00
Madurai	46	3.83
Coimbatore	39	3.25
Salem	35	2.92
Thiruvalluar	25	2.08
Theni	20	1.67
Kanchipuram	18	1.50
Ramanathapuram	16	1.33
Pudukkottai	15	1.25
Thiruvarur	15	1.25
Virudunagar	12	1.00
Thriuvannamalai	12	1.00
Total	1200	100.00

Source: Survey data

Appendix - VI INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES - TAMIL WORKERS										
Personal Data										
Name of the Block:					Name of the Area:					
Name of the worker:							Age:			
Name of the district in Tamil Nadu:							Sex: M / F			
Religion	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Others	Caste	Forward	Backward	Scheduled		
Marital Status		Married		Unmarried		Widow/ widower		Divorced		
Educational Qualifications			a. Illiterate				b. Primary			
			c. Secondary				d. Higher secondary			
			d. Degree				e. Post graduation			
			f. Technical qualification				g. Others:			
Family Particulars										
Relation		Age	Educational Qualifications		Occupation			Place of Residence		
Pre-migration Phase and Migration Process										
Area of residence in Tamil Nadu					a. Rural			b. Urban		
When did you first leave your place of residence?						Year:				
						At what age?				
Where did you move?			To this state?			a. Yes		b. No		
If No, mention the Number and Names of States						Number				
Names of the States										
Families traditional Occupation			a. Cultivators			b. Agricultural Labourers				
			c. Construction		d. Masons	e. Carpenters				
			f. Artisans			g. Service:				
			h. Traders			i. Bonded/attached labour				
			j. Others, please mention							
Why Did you leave your place of residence? (Main reason)			a. Unemployment/ underemployment							
			b. Low wages			c. Unsatisfactory working conditions				
			d. Poverty			e. Landlessness/small holdings				
			f. Indebtedness			g. Lack of irrigation				
			h. Conflict with family/friends/community							
			i. Political problems			j. Free from bondage				
			k. Any other, Please mention							
What attracted you to Kerala			a. Better employment			b. Higher wages				
			c. Better working conditions			d. Better working conditions				
			e. Job security			f. Employer-employee relationship				
			g. Existence of relatives /friends							
			h. Any other, please mention							
Sources of information about Kerala			a. Friends and relatives Living in Kerala				b. Friends and relatives in Tamil Nadu			
			c. Labour recruiters/agents				d. Employers			
			e. Other, please specify:							
Who influenced your decision to move?			a. Myself		b. Spouse	c. Parents		d. Children		
			e. Other relatives		f. Friends	h. Others, specify				

Who helped you to come and work in Kerala		a. Labour contractor	b. Employer		
		c. Friends and relatives		d. Keralite workers	
		e. Others, specify		f. None	
Have you had any work before migration				a. Yes	b. No
If yes, it was related to		a. Agriculture	b. Construction	c. Manufacturing	
		d. Service		e. Others, please specify	
Whether skilled or unskilled		a. Skilled		b. Unskilled	
Skills and experiences acquired by you before coming to Kerala was related to		a. Agriculture		b. Construction	
		c. Service		d. Others	
Your employment status before coming to Kerala was		a. Casual labourer	b. Regular labourer	c. Attached labourer	
		d. Self-employed	e. Contract labourer	f. Unemployed	
		g. Student		h. Other, please specify	
What was your average earnings/expected earning in Tamil Nadu per month?		a. Less than Rs. 1000	b. Rs. 1000 – 1500	c. Rs. 1500 - 2000	
		d. Rs. 2000-2500	e. Rs. 2500- 3000	f. Rs. 3000-3500	
		g. Rs. 3500-4000		h. Above Rs. 4000	
On an average how many days you will work in Tamil Nadu?		a. Less than 15 days	b. 15-20 days	c. 20-25 days	
		e. More than 25 days			
After Migration					
Where did you stay?		a. Rented lodge/quarters		b. Pavement / shop verandah	
		c. House of the employer (rent free)		d. Owned house	
		e. Others, please specify:			
Number of persons occupying a room					
Monthly room rent paid by you		a. Less than Rs. 100	b. Rs. 100 - 200	c. Rs. 200 - 300	
		d. Rs. 300 – 400	e. Rs. 400- 500	f. More than Rs. 500	
Who are your roommates		a. Relatives		b. Friends from nativity	
		c. Friends from other parts of TN		d. Friends from Kerala	
		e. Others, please specify			
Facilities in your accommodation		Latrine	a. Yes	b. No	Bathroom
		Pipe water			Electricity
		TV/ Radio/ and other entertainment facilities		a. Yes	b. No
If bathroom and latrine facilities are no, the facilities you use					
Your area of concentration of work		a. Agricultural & general		b. Construction worker	c. Shop worker
		d. Home servants		d. Fire wood cutter	e. Peddlers/hawkers
		f. Rag picking		g. Head load worker	h. Self employed/contractor
		i. Stone crushing/quarry		j. Other, please specify	
Whether skilled/unskilled		If skilled, mention the category			
Have you worked districts other than Malappuram		a. Yes	b. No	If yes, number of districts	
Name of districts	Year of migration	Year of leaving	Employment	Reasons for leaving	
Year of coming to Malappuram district					
Reasons, if any, for selecting Malappuram dt.		a. Higher wages		b. Better working conditions	c. Better living conditions
		d. Existence of friends and relatives		e. Educational facilities of children	
		f. Other, please specify			
Have you got a job according to your qualification or expectations, in the district?				a. Yes	b. No
If no, why do you continue here?		a. No other option		b. Better wages	c. Good working conditions
		d. Existence of friends and relatives		e. Other, please specify	
Did you acquire any new skills and or experiences after coming Kerala?				a. Yes	b. No
If yes, it is related with		a. Agriculture		b. Construction	c. Manufacturing
		d. Service		e. Other, please specify	
Did these skills/experiences help you to improve your earnings/ working conditions				a. Yes	b. No
What is your present work status		a. Casual labourer		Contract labourer	c. Self employed
		d. Long term employee with / without written contract			
		e. Other, please mention			

		Actual in Kerala		Expected in TN					
How many days you usually work per week									
How many days you usually work per month									
How many hours do you work per day									
What is your earning per day									
Your level of satisfaction about the present wages	a.Highly satisfied	b.Moderately satisfied		c.Satisfied					
	d.Dissatisfied	e.Highly dissatisfied							
Your level of satisfaction about the present job	a.Highly satisfied	b.Moderately satisfied		c.Satisfied					
	d.Dissatisfied	e.Highly dissatisfied							
Reasons for satisfaction	a. Liking the job		b. Easy nature		c. High wages				
	d. Security		e. Power and prestige						
	a.Better working conditions		bBetter employer-employee relationship						
	c.Other, please mention								
Reasons for dissatisfaction	a. Job is dangerous		b. Difficult nature of job						
	c. Lower wages		d.Bad working conditions						
	e. Misbehavior of employers/local workers		f. Objections of locals						
	g. Other, please specify								
Do you remain idle, even if sufficient job is available?				a. Yes	b. No				
If yes, the number of days remaining idle :									
Do you take any holidays?		a. Yes	b. No	If yes, on which days?					
Mention the categories of work/ skills or experiences you learned from Kerala									
Do you think Keralite employers discriminate you				a. Yes	b. No				
If yes, in what respects	Wages	a. Yes	b. No	Working conditions	a. Yes b. No				
	Food	a. Yes	b. No	Behaviour	a. Yes b. No				
	Other	a. Yes	b. No	Please specify:					
Who are you colleagues?		Only Tamil workers		Only local workers	Both				
Are you working with the same employer since migration?				a. Yes	b. No				
Do you have any plans for an immediate return				a. Yes	b. No				
If yes, please mention the reason									
Do you any plans for permanent stay in Kerala				a. Yes	b. No				
If yes, why?	a.Kerala is a nice place to work and live		b.Has more attachment with Kerala than TN						
	c.Availability of sufficient employment		d.No assets or properties in TN						
	e. Any other, please specify								
If no, why	a. No friends /relatives/assets in Kerala		b. Social and cultural environment of Kerala						
	c. High cost of living		d. Any other, please specify						
Suppose, if the wage level decreases to the levels mentioned below would you remain Kerala									
Up 10 per cent		Up to 20 per cent		Up to 30 per cent		Up to 40 per cent		Up to 50 per cent	
a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No
Have you helped any one to come and work in Kerala						a. Yes	b. No		
If yes, how many?		Who were they?		a.Friends	b. Relatives	c.Neighbours	d.All		
If your employer asks to bring one more worker, you prefer				a. Tamils		b. Locals			
If Tamils, why?	a. Feeling of togetherness		b. Future help		c. Lack of availability of locals				
	d. Maximize income and earnings of Tamils		e. Other, please specify						
If locals, why?	a. Future help			b. To gain support and please of locals					
	c. Lack of availability of Tamils			d. Other, please specify					
What is your opinion about local workers in the following matters									
Capacity to work		a. High		b. Moderate		c. Low		d. Nil	e. Can't say
Skill level		a. High		b. Moderate		c. Low		d. Nil	e. Can't say
Basis of your wage payment				a. Time rate		b. Piece rate			
Do you get any over time payment						a. Yes		b. No	
If yes, details									

Do you get anything in addition to your wages (presents)		a. Yes	b. No
If yes, details			
Your accounts are settled		a. Daily	b. Weekly
		c. Monthly	d. As and when go home
		e. On completion of the work	f. Other, please mention
Other sources of income (Yes / No)			
States	Agriculture	Business	Rent
Interest	Others, specify		
Kerala			
Tamil Nadu			
Other states			
Total annual income from these sources (Rupees)			
Is there any other earning members in your family		a. Yes	b. No
If yes, their average monthly income (Rupees)			
Approximate traveling expense from your nativity to your residence in Kerala			
Please mention your average expenses on the following items (Rupees)			
Food, daily		Travel to and from work, monthly	
Accommodation, monthly		Medical expenses, monthly	
Smoking, pan etc, daily		Liquor, monthly	
Newspaper, magazines etc, monthly		Lottery, monthly	
Cinema and other entertainments monthly		Tools, equipments etc, monthly	
Others, please mention :			
Do you sent money to your home			a. Yes
			b. No
If yes, frequency		a. Weekly	b. Fortnightly
		c. Monthly	d. Paid as and when go home
		e. On request from family	f. Very rarely
		g. Other, please mention	
Means of remittance		a. Money order	b. Cheques
		c. Drafts	
		d. Through friends and relatives returning	
		e. Others	
The money you save is deposited		a. Bank account in Kerala	b. Post office in Kerala
		c. Other institutions	
		d. Given as loans on interest to Keralites	
		e. Tamil friend on interest	
		f. Financial accommodation to Keralites	g. Financial accommodation to Tamils
		h. With the employer	
		i. Invested in business in Kerala /TN	
		j. Others, please mention	
If on interest, details please			
Uses of money earned from Kerala		a. Daily requirements	b. Purchasing/improving land
		c. Purchasing cattle	
		d. Construction/repairs/renewal of home	e. Purchasing consumer durables
		f. Jewellery	g. Marriage own/dependants
		h. Repay loans	
		i. Others, please mention	
Climate when compared to TN		a. Very good	b. Good
		c. Same	d. Bad
		f. Very bad	
Employer-employee relation		a. Very good	b. Good
		c. Same	d. Bad
		f. Very bad	
Employment related difficulties faced by you in Kerala		a. Language	b. Difficulty in handling tools and equipments
		c. In understanding and performing operations	
		d. Differences in methods	e. Other, specify
Manner of getting jobs		a. Enquire possible employers	b. Enquire friends and relatives from TN
		c. Enquire local workers	d. Stand in a particular place of the town
		e. Walk and enquire for jobs	f. Jobbers/brokers/agents
		g. Others	
Impact of Migration		Before migration	
		After migration	
Language known	Tamil/Malayalam/Hindi/others		Tamil/Malayalam/Hindi/others
House (ownership)	Owned / rented		Owned / rented
House (type)	Pucka / kutcha		Pucka / kutcha
Land	> 1 acres/ 1-5 acres/ 5 and above		> 1 acres/ 1-5 acres/ 5 and above
Cattle and poultry	Yes / No		Yes / No
Bank Account	Yes / No		Yes / No
Bank balance (Rupees)			
Jewellery (grams)			
Vehicles			
Consumer durables	TV/ fridge/washing machine/other		TV/ fridge/washing machine/other
Debts (Rupees)			

Trade union and Political Attachment					
Were/are you an active political worker in your state?			a. Yes	b. No	
Are you taking any active part in political activities of Kerala?			a. Yes	b. No	
Have you participated in any of the following					
	In Kerala		In Tamil Nadu		
Procession of political parties	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	
Hartals/bandhs/strikes etc	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	
Election campaign	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	
Do you posses election ID of	a. Kerala	b. Tamil Nadu	c. Both	d. None	
Did you caste your votes in the last Parliament election			a. Yes	b. No	
If yes, in which state?		a. Kerala	b. Tamil Nadu		
Have you caste in any elections of Kerala			a. Yes	b. No	
Do you know the names of the following		In Kerala		In you origin	
M.L. A of this constituency (nativity)	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	
M.P of this constituency (nativity)	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	
Member of grama panchayath of this ward (nativity)	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	
Chief Minister	a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	b. No	
Are you a member of trade union in your nativity?			a. Yes	b. No	
If yes, what was the purpose of joining?	a. Political attachment	b. For solidarity among workers		c. To get employment	
	d. As a fashion	e. Pressure of friends			
	g. Other, specify				
If no, why?	a. Migrated to Kerala	b. Paucity of time	c. Lack of interest		
	d. Fear of losing job	e. Cultivator/trader	f. Political reasons		
	e. Union members do not get employment		f. Lack of a union to protect workers		
	Other, please specify				
Are you a member of any trade union in Kerala?			a. Yes	b. No	
If yes, why did you join?	a. To get employment	b. Political attachment	c. Pressure of friends		
	d. Other, please mention				
If no, why?	a. Migrant worker	b. Lack of interest	c. Lack of knowledge	d. Fear of losing job	
	e. Political reasons	f. Trade unions in Kerala do not give membership to Tamils			
	g. No union to protect interests of Tamil workers in Kerala			Other, please specify	
Please state		In Kerala		In Tamil Nadu	
Do you bargain for wages		a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	
Do you demand for wages hike		a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	
Demand for improvement in working conditions		a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	
Demand for reduction in working time		a. Yes	b. No	a. Yes	
Do you know about any union/organization in Kerala exclusively for Tamils?			a. Yes	b. No	
If yes, are you a member?			a. Yes	b. No	
Do you think there is a need for such an organization in Kerala		a. Yes/desirable	b. No/undesirable		
If yes/desirable, why?	a. To curb exploitation of Tamils		b. Neglect/aggressive attitude of unions		
	c. Political and social backwardness of Tamils		d. Difference in language		
	e. Protect interests of Tamil workers a trade union of their own is essential				
	f. An organistion to help in emergencies is essential				
	g. Other, please specify				
	If no/undesirable, why?	a. There is no exploitation of Tamils		b. Fear of losing employment	
c. May create tension between local trade unions and trade unions Tamils					
d. Trade unions of Kerala protect Tamil workers interest also					
e. Other reasons, please specify					

Is/was there any objection or re-actions of natives against Tamil workers?			a. Yes	b. No
If yes, what was the reason?	a. Our low wages		b. Reduction in employment of natives	
	c. Our readiness to do any job		d. Readiness to work more time	
	e. Other, please mention			
How did you face this situation?	a. Left the place/job		b. Increased wage rates	c. Reduced working time
	d. Other, please specify			
Was there any need to approach trade union leaders of Kerala?			a. Yes	b. No
If yes what was their attitude?	a. Very helping	b. Helping	c. Not helping	d. Can't say
Socio-cultural Participations and Attachment				
Do/did you celebrate vishu/onam/or other Keralite festivals?			a. Yes	b. No
Do/did you celebrate Tamil festivals in Kerala?			a. Yes	b. No
If yes, do/did you invite	a. Friends and relatives from TN	b. Locals	C. Both	d. None
Do/did you invite any of your Keralite friends for ceremonies and festivals in TN?			a. Yes	b. No
If yes, did they attend?			a. Yes	b. No
Do you participate in the ceremonies of and festivals of Keralite friends?			a. Yes	b. No
If no state the reasons	a. They don't invite		b. Difference in customs/or religious observations	
	c. Even if attended they don't mind		d. Any other, please state.	
Your level of participation	a. Very high	b. High	c. Nominal	d. Not at all
Your opinion about local workers	a. Very helpful	b. Helpful	c. Hardly helpful	d. No opinion
Your opinion about the people of the district	a. Honest	b. Dishonest	c. Accommodative	d. Unaccommodative
	e. Selfless	e. Selfish	f. Co-operative	g. Non-co-operative
	h. Friendly	i. Unfriendly	j. Dependable	k. Undependable
Other, if any, please mention				
Leisure time activity				
Do you read newspapers daily?			a. Yes	b. No
If yes, language of the paper	a. Tamil	b. Malayalam	C. English	d. Other, specify
Do you go for movies?			a. Yes	b. No
If yes, how often you go?	a. Daily	b. Weekend	c. Occasionally	d. Fortnightly
	e. Monthly		f. Rarely	
Do you consume intoxicating articles?			a. Yes	b. No
If yes what type?	a. Liquor	b. Gunja	c. Other, specify	
Do you have the habit before coming to Kerala?			a. Yes	b. No
How often do you consume?	a. Daily	b. Weekend	c. Occasionally	d. Festive days
	e. Under compulsion of friends		f. Other, please specify	
Please state the time spend you on the following		In Kerala		In Tamil Nadu
Gossiping				
Performance of religious activities				
Reading				
Watching of TV				
Hearing music & radio				
Playing cards and other games				
Cooking				

Attachment with Nativity					
Your interests in Tamil Nadu	a. Parents are there		b. Wife and children		c. Other relatives
	Land and other assets		e. Friends	f. Farm	g. All
Your means of communication	Letters by post		b. Letters through friends/relatives going to TN		c. Telephone
	d. Telegram		e. Other, specify		f. No communication
Frequency of visit	a. Weekly		Fortnightly	c. Monthly	d. Quarterly
	e. On festivals		On ceremonies		Elections dates
Days spent in one visit	i. As and when need arises		j. No visits		
	a. Less than one week		b. One week	c. Fortnight	
Do you find any difficult to find job on return?	d. Two months		e. One month		f. Till the farming operations are over
	g. Till the money saved is completely spend		h. Other. specify		
	a. Yes		b. No		
If you are married your spouse belongs to	a. Kerala	b. Tamil Nadu	c. Other states		
Where your children are studying?	a. Kerala	b. Tamil Nadu	c. Not studying		
If your children are with you, do they attend schools or colleges?	a. Yes		b. No		
If yes the medium of study	a. Malayalam	b. Tamil	c. English	e. Other, specify	
If no, why?	a. No admission for Tamils		b. They are working	c. Ill-treatment of other students	
	d. Inability to meet educational expenses		e. Opposition of parents of other students		
	f. Other reasons, please mention				
Why are you not bringing your family to Kerala?	a. Accommodation problems		b. Low wages, insufficient to support family here		
	c. Too old	d. To look after parents	e. To look after farms and assets		
	f. Lack of educational facility		g. Misbehaviour of local	h. Other, specify	
Do you go to and work in your nativity during the periods of sowing?	a. Yes		b. No		
Do you go to and work in your nativity during the periods of harvesting?	a. Yes		b. No		
Who carry on farming operations in your absence?	a. Wife and children		b. Parents & other family members		
	c. Labourers		d. Others, please mention		

Date of interview:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES – NATIVE WORKERS						
Name:			Place:			
Occupation (please specify)	a. Agriculture		b. Construction			
	c. Manufacturing		d. Service			
Category	a. Skilled	b. Semi-skilled	c. Unskilled			
Your wages per day / week/ month: Rupees						
How many days did you work in this week: _____ days						
Approximately how many days did you work in the last month: _____ days						
Do you get sufficient work, even if Tamil workers are present?					a. Yes	b. No
Do you think Tamil workers have reduced your employment opportunities?					a. Yes	b. No
Why do employers prefer Tamils?	a. Low wages		b. Their loyalty		c. Readiness to do any job	
	d. Readiness to work in any condition			e. No preferences		
	f. Other, please state					
Are you ready to do any work as Tamil do?					a. Yes	b. No
If no, please state what kind of work you can't perform						
Are you ready to work for any employer					a. Yes	b. No
If no, what kind of employers, please mention						
Wages paid to your Tamil counterpart is	a. Always equal to your wages		b. Always less than your wages			
	c. Equal to your wages					
Did you feel at any time that your employer shows any kind of discrimination towards Tamils					a. Yes	b. No
If yes, what respects	a. Food	b. Wages	c. Attitudes	d. Other working conditions	All of these	
	In other respects, please mention					
Are you ready to work under a Tamil skilled worker/supervisor					a. Yes	b. No
If your employer asks to bring one more worker you bring	a. Tamils, even if locals are available		b. No discrimination			
	c. Locals even if Tamil are available at lower wages					
	d. Tamils if locals are not available					
Your general opinion about Tamils	Very helpful	Helpful	Hardly helpful	No commands		
Opinion about their capacity to work	a. High	b. Moderate	c. Low	d. Nil	e. Can't say	
Opinion about their skills	a. High	b. Moderate	c. Low	d. Nil	e. Can't say	
Opinion about other abilities	a. High	b. Moderate	c. Low	d. Nil	e. Can't say	
Their general level of understandings	a. High	b. Moderate	c. Low	d. Nil	e. Can't say	
Are you ready to work under a Tamil skilled worker/supervisor?					a. Yes	b. No
If no, please state the reason:						
Do you seek employment related advices from Tamil counterparts?					a. Yes	b. No
If no, please state the reason:						
Do you have any Tamils as your close friends?					a. Yes	b. No
Do/did you invite Tamils to participate in ceremonies/festivals in to your house?					a. Yes	b. No
Do/did you give any kind of financial help to Tamil workers?					a. Yes	b. No
If no why?	They didn't demand yet		On the fear that they may not return, and escape			
	Lack of funds		Other, please state			
Have you taken any kind of financial help from Tamil workers?					a. Yes	b. No
If yes, did you pay any interest? Please state the details:						
Did any Tamil workers invite you into their homes for participation in festivals/ceremonies					a. Yes	b. No
If yes, did you attend?					a. Yes	b. No
If no, what are the reasons?	a. Distance	b. Cultural/religious differences		c. Dislike of their food /habits		
	d. Other reasons, please specify					

Date of interview:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES - EMPLOYERS										
Name:					Place:					
Activity:										
Please state the number of Employees in each category	Keralites			Tamils			Others			
	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	
Permanent, if any										
Seasonal										
Casual										
Contract										
Other										
Wages paid to men										
Wages paid to women										
Please state your order of preference (1, 2, 3,4)										
Do you employ Tamils even if natives are available								Yes	No	
If yes, what is the reason?	Readiness to work at low wages			Hard working		Readiness to work for long hours				
	Higher capacity to work			Easiness in controlling		Readiness to do household work				
	Lack of union			Lack of future liability			Other, specify			
Is there any work for which locals are preferred?								Yes	No	
If yes, the category of work	Work requiring much care			Work requiring skill			Work requiring better physique			
	Works requiring supervision			Works not requiring skill			Works requiring no much care			
	Works not requiring supervision			Works not requiring better physique						
	Other, please state									
Is there any work for which Tamils are preferred?								Yes	No	
If yes, the category of work	Work requiring much care			Work requiring skill			Work requiring better physique			
	Works requiring supervision			Works not requiring skill			Works requiring no much care			
	Works not requiring supervision			Works not requiring better physique						
	Other, please state									
Do you pay the same wages for native workers and his Tamil counterparts?								Yes	No	
If no, what are the reasons?	Tamils don't demand high wages /ready				They are less efficient when compare to natives					
	Less finishing in their work				More supervision is required					
	Other facilities are given				They are outsiders					
	Other reasons, please mention									
Do the Tamils bargain for higher wages?								Yes	No	
Do you provide (Yes/ No)			Natives			Tamils		Others		
Food										
Accommodation										
Other facilities (mention)										
Other facilities (mention)										
Do you deduct anything from their wages										
Do you treat Tamils as natives in the following (Yes /No)	Nature of work allotted			Payment of wages			Grant of leave		Working time	
	Permanency of employment			Supervising			Attitude		Facilities	
	Other please state									
What is the reason for such an attitude	Tamils are outsiders			Locals are friends and relatives			Less skills/efficiency			
	Future help can be expected only from natives									
	Other reasons, if any please state									
How do you get Tamil workers	Directly recruited from TN			Agents /brokers		Through other Tamil workers				
	Local workers			From the street		Other, specify				
Do you enter into contract before the Tamils are actually engaged for work?								Yes	No	
If yes, respects	Wages	Working time	Food	Other working conditions	All					
Was there any conflict between native workers and Tamil workers in your work place								Yes	No	
Was there any requests from natives not to employ Tamil workers								Yes	No	

What is your view about the following statements about Tamils, when compared to natives are/have?				
	True	Partially true	Not true	
Ready to work at lower wages				
Ready to work for longer hours				
More capacity to work				
Demand less and work more				
Very easy to control and manage				
More skilled and efficient				
Ready to do any work				
Available as and when required				
Low absenteeism				
More loyal and sincere				
Please state your view on the following statements				
Tamils have reduced employment opportunities of natives				
Tamils have led to reduce the wage rates of locals				
Tamils have reduced the bargaining powers of local workers				
Who can perform an operation in the best way?	Native workers	Tamil workers	Both	None
Do you have registration under the Interstate migrants workmen's Act 1979			Yes	No
Are you aware of the existence of such an Act?			Yes	No

Date of interview:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES – TRADE UNION LEADERS						
Name:			Name of the Union:			
Position in the organization:			Years of Experience in this position			
Category of your union:						
Is there any Tamil workers as members in your union				Yes	No	
Did any Tamil workers approach you for membership in your union				Yes	No	
Have you taken any thing for propagating union activities among Tamils or have you approached them for taking membership in union				Yes	No	
If yes, what was their reaction?		Favourable	Unfavourable	Otherwise, please state		
If no, why?	Membership is restricted to natives		They are against native workers			
	Outside the purview of the union		Can't work in the framework of unions			
	Language difference	Seasonal migrants	Other, reasons please state			
Do employers prefer Tamils to native workers?				Yes	No	
If yes, the reasons	High wage rates of natives		Union activities of natives			
	Absenteeism among the natives		Easiness in managing Tamil workers			
	Tamil workers readiness to do any job		Other, please state			
Please state your opinion on the following statements						
				True	Partially true	False
Tamil workers have led to reduce the wages of native workers						
They have reduced employment opportunities of locals						
They have reduced bargaining power of locals						
They have caused for reduction of importance of local workers						
They have caused for reduction of importance of union						
Their presence have led to increase crime, theft etc in the dt.						
Has your union taken any activities or agitations against Tamil workers				Yes	No	
If yes what was the reason?	Their low wage rates led to reduction in the wage rates of locals					
	Their readiness to work for more time compelled to increase their working time					
	Unemployment among natives		Reduction in importance of unions			
	Otherwise, please state.					
What was its consequence?	Tamils increased their wage rates		Tamil reduced their working time			
	Tamils left the place/or the job		Withdrew due to compulsion of employers			
	Otherwise, please mention.					
Was there any conflict between employers and Tamil workers				Yes	No	
If yes, its reason	Non-payment of wages		Low wages		Related with working time	
	Breach of contract by workers		Breach of contract by employers			
	Otherwise, please state					
Have you taken part in any of such conflicts, either as a mediator or otherwise?				Yes	No	
Is a special trade union necessary for Tamil workers in Kerala?				Yes	No	
If yes, why?	Lack of an organization leads to exploitation		No organization protect them			
	Their socio-cultural, political and language differences require a union of their					
	Trade unions of Kerala are against them					
	Otherwise, please state					

If no, why?	Unions of Kerala protect their interests	They are seasonal migrants
	Lead to frequent conflicts between unions	They are outsiders
	A union according to their political and cultural belief is impossible in Kerala	
	Otherwise, please mention	
If Tamil workers form a union of their own, what will be your approach towards the union?	Welcome the organization and render possible helps	
	Will be against the union /oppose the union	
	Will remain indifferent	
If welcome, why?	They need a special union to protect their rights	
	Trade unions of do not consider them	It will strengthen local unions
	Otherwise, please mention	
Reasons for opposing	It will adversely affect local unions	Adversely affect local workers
	There will be frequent clashes between local unions and of that Tamils	
	Otherwise, please state	
If anyone organizes "son-of-soil" campaign towards Tamils, what will be your response towards this	Will support	
	Will oppose	
	Will remain indifferent	
Reasons for supporting	They have led to reduction of wage rates of locals	
	They have caused to reduction of employment opportunities of locals	
	Their presence has led to deterioration of working conditions	
	Otherwise, please mention	
Reasons for opposition	They have not adversely affected local workers in any way	
	Their work culture is favourable to local workers	
	Employers favour them	
	A lot of Keralites are working in different parts of the world	
	Otherwise, please mention	

Date of interview:

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