Understanding Migration Patterns and Socio-Economic Profile of Workers in Brick Kilns of Rajasthan – Part III

Research Study as part of the Project:

Empowering CSOs for Decent Work
and Green Bricks in India's Brick Kilns

Research by:

Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action (PCLRA)

BUILDING A WIDER HORIZON CEC WITH LABOUR
प्रयास Prayas
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Foreword

This research report is being published as part of a European Union (EU) funded project '*Empowering CSOs for Decent Work and Green Bricks in India's Brick Kilns,* and is implemented by Centre for Education and Communication (CEC), Prayas and Terre Des Hommes, Germany (TDH). The report is immensely significant to the project because it will not only provide the stakeholders with comprehensive information on the socio-economic factors leading to distress migration and the debt bondage prevalent in the brick kiln sector, but will also assist in the process of setting up and developing the Model Employment Exchange, as envisaged in the project.

This report is the outcome of the efforts of the Prayas project team. The uniqueness of the research lies in the fact that it will gather progressive data consecutively for the entire project period of four years with the same respondent community, the brick-kiln workers, tracking their migration pattern from source states/districts to destination states/districts. I am happy to share that we have already completed three research reports for Year 1, Year 2 and Year 3.

There are two key objectives of the study: a) Mapping and documenting the seasonal migration pattern of brick-kiln workers. This includes the recruitment patterns, the advance payment system, the agents involved, families, status of entitlement; and b) Understanding the socio-economic status of the workers and the factors that perpetuate migration. In doing so, the study covered 24 brick kilns from Ajmer and Bhilwara, employing 1,172 families from Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Bihar. The same brick kilns are being covered to understand the migration patterns each year. Moreover, parallels drawn from the previous years help to identify changing trends.

The report has done justice to these objectives by systematically analysing and documenting the migration pattern, the recruitment networks, the caste profile of the workers for different categories of work in the brick kilns, the geographical profile of the workers for each specific category of work, the gendered division of labour and its relationship with other work categories; and, finally, the socio-economic factors that perpetuate migration. I am convinced that the study findings will not only be useful for the project but also for other stakeholders working on migration in the brick-kiln sector and can be used as a crucial advocacy tool.

I thank the Prayas Team for their sustained efforts and congratulate the entire '*Empowering CSOs for Decent Work and Green Bricks in India's Brick Kilns*' Project Team for the successful preparation and publication of the report.

Lokesh **08 July 2019**
Executive Director
Centre for Education and Communication

Preface

This is the third year of the migration study being undertaken as part of a larger initiative that seeks to improve conditions of work while reducing thehazardous impact on environment in the brick kiln industry. The brick kiln industry in India is almost completely manual, employing four to five million workers. Majority of the workers in the industry are seasonal migrants – both interstate and intra state, who are recruited through an extensive network of labour contractors. The workers are recruited against advance payments for the whole work season. Every brick kiln becomes a temporary village with resident families whose numbers vary depending on the size of the kiln. The interesting aspect of this large-scale migration is that it remains undocumented by any state agency. This invisibility has a great impact not only on the labour rights of the workers but also access to basic services like schooling for children, early childhood care and maternity health. Mapping of workers and understanding their movement from source to destination, the first step for any initiative that seeks to improve conditions of work in brick kilns.

This study is a migration mapping of workers in the brick kilns of Ajmer and Bhilwara in central Rajasthan. It maps the source location of workers, the mode of their recruitment, and their work conditions. The study has been undertaken every year since the 2016-17 season. The present report covers the third year of the project that is the work season of 2018-19. The study will be useful for field practitioners seeking to improve conditions of work, academics who seek to understand the phenomenon of seasonal migration and its driving factors, and state departments in both source and destination areas that are tasked with provision of basic services to migrant workers.

Sudhir Katiyar **04 July 2019**
Project Director
Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action

Executive Summary

This is the third year (2017-18) of the four year study planned to understand the migration patterns and socio-economic status of workers in brick kilns. The report is an outcome of a research study carried out by PCLRA in the districts of Ajmer and Bhilwara in Rajasthan. The brick kilns are seasonal and attract a large number of migrant workers every year in search of work – both interstate and intra state. The research is a part of the larger intervention supported by European Union to empower CSOs to promote decent work conditions and green bricks in India's brick kilns.

The study was carried out with two objectives- Migration source mapping and understanding socio-economic status of workers in the kilns. 24 kilns from Ajmer and Bhilwara covering 1172 families were covered to understand the migration patterns of workers. Out of these, socio-economic profiling for 212 families was carried out.

The findings largely added to the findings from year 1 and year 2. Majority of the workers were intrastate migrants from Rajasthan while the remaining were interstate with a majority coming from U.P. followed by Chhattisgarh and Bihar. The *paatla* workers were largely migrant workers from states other than Rajasthan and the categories of *Bharai*, Nikasi, Khakla, and Khadkan came from within Rajasthan. More than half the population of workers belonged to the SC, followed by OBC and ST. Majority of SC came from U.P's – the Chamar community, and the majority of the OBC from Rajasthan – the Rawat community.

A state wise analysis re-established the findings of the previous year's study, that Rajasthan has two major clusters of brick kilns – Masuda from Kishangarh Parbatsar and the adjoining areas of Nagaur. While the caste group of Rawats is dominant here and works as *Bharai* and Nikasi workers, the other dominant group is of the Bawaris who work across a range of jobs except *Jalai* work. However this group has also got concentrated in *Bharai* and Nikasi work over a period of time. In U.P. as well, two major clusters can be identified – Chitrakoot Banda in Bundelkhand, that is primarily a source of *paatla* workers and Kausambi, that is part of the Central U.P. belt that supplies *Jalai* workers to all of India.

The average size of the working family was 2.25.34% members on the kiln were children below the age of 14, out of which 18 percent were below the age of six. Women constituted 43% of the workforce on the kilns. The average literacy rate of workers was 52%, an improvement from the previous years with a female literacy rate of 41%, a significant jump from previous year.

The ownership of entitlements was largely poor with a negligible number of workers holding labour construction cards and any form of insurance. The largest ownership was of voter ID, 81% and Aadhar card at 93%. 54% workers reported land holding and 42% reported ownership of irrigated land. The average land holding was 4.7 bigha, and the average irrigated land holding – 1.5 bigha. 44% workers reported debt at an average debt amount of Rupees 90,171, greater than overall average income and is a matter of concern.

The state of Rajasthan showed better ownership of assets compared to other states, though poor when individually assessed. They also reported the highest debt percentage. This could be due to the fact that the workers from Rajasthan are in non *paatla* categories of work and are comparatively economically better off than *paatla*. However there is scope to explore more here.

The overall income scenario of workers was explored based on their income from the previous season. It was found that the major source of earning is through wage labour in brick kilns amounting to about 7 months occupation in a year and contributing 95% of the overall income. The other sources of income are through agriculture, animal farming and MGNREGA work. A calculation reveals that the income per member of a worker at the kiln is Rs. 52/day against the international poverty line of Rs.122/day which is indicative of extreme poverty.

The mode of recruitment is largely through contractors and it was found that on an average a worker changes a kiln in 5 years and a contractor every 4 years which is double the average from previous years. This indicates that the workers in year 3 have improved negotiating powers and this can be attributed to the efforts of the project team Taking advance payment prior to work is another crucial part of the entire system. It was found that 75% families take advance averaging more than Rs. 11000 per worker which is about Rs. 25000 per family. 92% have to guarantee work for the entire season against this amount which is lower by 6% from the previous year. Household expenses are the main reason for taking advance. The wage calculations show that the *paatla* workers, the main category of workers under study and the most dominant work category, have had only a 3% wage hike in two consecutive seasons. The wage rate seems to have stagnated and this could be attributed to various reasons within the macro picture of the brick kiln market. Daily wages have been calculated using two methods – based on wage rate and work done, and on what the labour receives in terms of advance, *kharchi* and final settlement. A difference of 15% has been found in these rates indicating disparity in account keeping, work done and actual payment. Seven percent families also reported *tut* (negative balance) at the end of season and majority of them belonged to the state of Rajasthan. This is again a drop compared to previous years. The average take back income was reported to be around Rs. 33514 per family which is a considerable jump from the previous year. The year also saw a reduction of the gap in wage rates between the workers from different states. All these are positive changes and can be attributed to the efforts of the project team.

Analysis of work conditions revealed that most workers (59%) worked for 11-15 hours at the kilns; majority lived in *kaccha* houses at site, with access to water, electricity and fire wood but poor sanitation conditions.

The study is planned to be carried out in year 4 including the new areas of concern identified this year as highlighted above. Parallels drawn from previous years will help identify trend changes. As of now, there are no significant changes in the migration patterns and sources from previous years. At the same time there has been considerable improvement in a few socio-economic parameters such as increased average income per family, reduced disparity in wage rates between states, reduced rate of workers with tut and zero balance at the end of season, improved living conditions at source and destination. There has been a constant growth in the wages and improved living condition which can be attributed to the efforts of the project team.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This study is a continued output of the four year study to map migration patterns and socio-economic profiles of migrant workers working in Brick Kilns of Rajasthan. The project "Empowering CSOs for Decent Work and Green Bricks in India's Brick kilns" under which this study is being done, focuses on building sustainable change through decent work and green technology in India's brick kilns. The project is being implemented in three projects areas of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Tripura. Prayas Center for Labour Research and Action (PCLRA) is implementing the project in Rajasthan where it focuses on decent work conditions in brick kilns in the districts of Ajmer and Bhilwara. The process of setting up the Model Employment Exchange for workers and employers in Rajasthan has been a part of PCLRA's intervention under the project. The working and living conditions of the workers who have migrated from different states of the country are studied and interventions made for ensuring better work conditions and putting an end to the exploitation of the laborers.

The current research study has been undertaken to build an understanding on the migration patterns of workers coming to Ajmer and Bhilwara districts of Rajasthan to work in the kilns and also to understand their socio-economic profile. Efforts have also gone into identifying the various interlinked factors that significantly impact the brick kiln industry and the workers. The network of employers, contractors and employees that has been omnipresent and increase in exploitation due to the system of advance is part of the research study.

The study will map the migration patterns of workers over a period of four years. The current report presents the detailed findings for the year 2018 and also compares them to the finding for the year 2016 and the year 2017.

Understanding Migration and Brick Kilns

The brick kiln industry is seasonal in nature and employs migrant workers on a large scale. The workers migrating from their source to their destination have designated roles and work for a particular period of time. The study aims to produce empirically grounded data for understanding the migration patterns and socio-economic conditions of workers at brick kilns with the specific aim to establish a decent work environment at the brick kilns. The study will map this data for a span of four years. The present data and findings pertain to year three of the four year study.

Migration is considered as an inevitable offshoot of the developmental process. In India 'employment' is the second most stated reason for internal migration after marriage[1]. Large numbers of people migrating for wage labour employment are absorbed by the informal economy of the country. Wage labour is the chief source of income for the poor in India. It is also a widely accepted fact that this labour is largely unorganized with limited or no access to social security of any kind. Disparities in economic growth and poor implementation of labour laws have led to the creation of huge networks run by middle men who supply cheap migrant, often bonded labour. The predicament of these migrant laborers is that their movements are not tracked. This population is never acknowledged in any of the government conducted surveys and remains largely unrecognised. The 2001 Census lists 307 million internal migrants, but defines a migrant as anyone who lives in a place that is different than their place of birth or place of last residence. This definition is too amorphous as it includes many people who move across very short distances,

[1] As on December 16, 2016, the census of India listed on its website

within the same district. On the other hand, it likely misses a significant number of seasonal migrants[2]. They are counted neither in their source state nor in the destination state and thus lack access to any public services like education, health, infant care or PDS.

The system of migration takes place due to the persisting social, economic and political disparity persisting in the country. Inter and intra state migration has increased to a great extent in India. The combination of push and pull factor leads to the process of migration, especially by the wage laborers. The lack of employment opportunities in the rural areas, increasing indebtedness to the landowners and fragmented land holdings, lack of permanency in the agricultural sector and insufficient wages, have made the inhabitants of rural India alter their sources of livelihoods from agriculture to alternative sources of income giving rise to the process of migration.

Migration in Brick Kilns of Rajasthan

In Rajasthan, as elsewhere in the country, migrant labour forms the backbone of the brick kiln industry. The kilns are located in the city outskirts and require large number of resident labour forces. This labour is sourced from different areas within the state and also from other states like UP, Chhattisgarh, and Bihar. The process of brick making is characterized by division of labour based on specialized activities starting from molding of raw bricks to firing them and then finally loading them into trucks for supply. Each activity has a specific requirement and specialized labour output.

Based on the tasks the workers are categorized under the following heads:

a) *Paatla/Thapai*/ Raw Brick Making/ Moulding Workers:

This category of workers specializes in creating the brick mixture made with soil and water which is then set into molds and dried under the sun. When drying, the bricks have to be turned periodically so that all sides get direct sunlight. This forms the first step of the brick making process and is done in a large open area within the vicinity. Entire families of the workers are involved in producing the raw bricks and they constitute the largest number of labour at kilns. The average annual brick production per kiln may range from two million to five million bricks in a season. The entire family unit migrates from one state to another and works for the production of the bricks. From two family members to many, the production per day of the bricks depends upon the number of individuals molding the bricks. This is the initial primary process, which determines the rest of the production in the kilns.

b) *Bharai* Workers:

This category of workers manually shift the sun dried raw bricks to the kiln for firing. The firing kilns are centrally located and are often at a considerable distance ranging from100m – 400m from where the bricks have been dried. A manually operated cart, which can accommodate 50-60 bricks at a time is used by the workers to transport the bricks.. The *bharai* worker is expected to stack the raw bricks in the cart, take them to the kiln, unload them at the kiln and return for refill again. It is estimated that in a day a worker roughly transports around 2000-2500 bricks. The weight per loaded cart is around 80-85kgs. In a few places around the district of Ajmer, a camel cart is used to carry the bricks. Here two to three people are together involved in the activity which may incorporate the family unit. The distance to firing kiln which is covered by the workers is large, ranging from 1- 1.5 km

c) Khadkan /Beldar Workers:

This category of workers arrange the unloaded bricks in a specific style in the kiln. This is a specialized task and crucial for the purpose of proper firing of the bricks. On an average it is estimated that a khadkan worker stacks about 15,000-20,000bricks per day in a kiln. The Khadkan /Beldar workers need to be trained in order to stack the raw bricks in the kiln in a special manner..

d) Raapas Workers:

This category of workers cover the stacked bricks with ash and also clean up the kiln of burnt ash and leftovers once the firing is done.

e) *Khakhla* Workers:

They deliver the raw material for firing the kiln. This is typically wasted husk from agricultural plants of mustard/black gram used mainly for firing in Rajasthan. This firing material is stacked at the base of the chimney at multiple positions. The workers often carry the material on their heads and have to

[2] Abbas and Varma, "Internal Labour Migration in India Raises Integration Challenges for Migrants"

climb to the base of the chimney through available steps to put the material in the kiln on instructions by the *jalai* workers. This is a specialized task in the kilns and requires maintaining adequate safety measures..

f) *Jalai* Workers:

This category of workers conducts the process of firing in the kilns. This is an extremely specialized task which needs continuous monitoring. The temperatures here are very high and even a small accident can result in death. This category of workers has to be trained to maintain safety and this process is one of the most important processes of work in the kilns.

g) *Nikasi* Workers:

This category of workers loads and transport the fired bricks from the kilns after they have been cooled in wooden carts to the stocking area/ trucks. From these stocking areas they are supplied to the markets. The weights and distances of carrying the baked bricks are similar to that of the *bharai* workers.

These are the categories of workers in the brick kilns. Each category of workers have their specialized skills and migrates from different parts of the country to work in the brick kilns. Some of these categories have family migration, where the members of the families work together in the kilns such as the *paatla* workers. In some cases, single migration takes place in which the male members of the family migrate, such as the *jalai* workers. This indicates that most number of workers are the *paatla* workers. Also, in case of the categories of work, there are gender specific roles that are maintained in the brick kilns, such as the work of firing the bricks done mostly by the men who have specialised in this work.

Most of these activities have piece-rate system of paying wages. The workers are paid an advance in cash to ensure that they are bound to the workplace for the duration of the work season. This advance is provided to the workers prior to the working season in the source and in the destination. They are provided with money on a weekly basis as part of their living expenses for sustenance. Their final wages are settled at the end of the work period, thus making them bonded throughout the season in the kilns. During the working season, if the money taken for basic necessities is in excess of the work accomplished during the season, then negative income gets generated. In the brick kilns, the wages are low, with prolonged working hours and no decent living conditions, creating an exploitative environment.

The brick kiln industry is labour intensive as most of the processes need to be operated manually. Brick kilns typically work round the clock once the chimney is put to fire and the baking process initiated. The working season is around six to nine months every year and begins around the month of September running into the month of June before the onset of monsoons. With the onset of the monsoons, the season in the brick kilns come to a halt. This makes the work seasonal in nature with the workers migrating for a period of six to nine months to the destination and migrating to the sources at the end of the season. The work from molding, firing, transporting and supplying, is all done by manual labour in the kilns that migrate from different parts of the country.

Contractors, who are the middle men, form the link between the laborers and the owners of the kiln. In case of the contractors, some of them work as laborers themselves and belong to the workers' community. In other cases, contractors maintain a huge network of labourers, who are sent to different parts of the country. They are the key resources in the dynamics of the industry having direct access to the labourers at the sources and maintaining contacts with the owners of the brick kilns. These contractors have their commission which they take from the employers for providing them with the labourers.

The owners of the brick kilns are invariably from the higher economic strata. Social background of the owners is varied in terms of caste. Owners belong to multiple caste groups from OBC, SC as also dominant castes. Beyond their caste status, owners are empowered either politically or economically and have a significant social capital with a hold on power dynamics. Even if the owners belong to the same caste category as the employees, due to the difference of economic and political power, the hierarchy is maintained, leading to exploitation. The owners are responsible for providing the labourers with decent living and working conditions, which they do not provide them. The exploitative nature of the owners makes the labourers go through the system of bondage in the brick kilns.

Bondage in Brick Kilns

Bonded labour or debt bondage is the most common type of modern slavery in India affecting millions of people. A

lot of it goes unreported and many officials deny that there is anyone who is a bonded labourer[3].The brick kiln industry in India is full of illegal labour and business practices and the prevalence of bondage. Workers engaged in this sector can be fairly considered as one of the most exploited section of the country's workforce. The social and economic location of the group in the social fabric of the country escalates the impact of exploitation faced by them on a day to day basis. Abundance of labour, hike in the real estate industry and dependence on contractors for labour supply resulted in substantial sprouting of contractors for labour supply. This results in a race among the contractors in terms of the minimum wages at which they can supply labour. Undercutting each other they agree to minimum provision at workplace, shrinking the provisions and entitlements of the workers year after year. As a consequence, the workers face an ever increasing isolation from the state and deterioration of living and working conditions at kilns.

The present state apparatus to support migrant labour is exclusionary and legislations like the 'Inter-State Migrant Workman Act' have not been able to fulfill the expectations of the migrant labour. Acute shortage of work force across most of the states in the country, along with misplaced understanding in categorization of workers based on type of work is taking place. Moreover, migrant workers do not form any political constituency resulting into the indifferent attitude of the political leaders at both the source and destination areas.

Weak state machinery fails to track the actual presence of the kilns and thus the reach of state and its provisions remain far away from the workers at the kilns. The basic provisions of public services such as ICDS and SSA, for the children living in the kilns hardly reach out to the kilns, as they are not in the vicinity of the villages, thus depriving the children of their basic necessities.

The primary reasons for bondage are the economic dynamics, starting from the process of taking advance payment to negative balance at the end of the working season which traps the workers in a vicious cycle of bondage. The fact that they become dependent on the advance payment during the next working season forces them to the same work again and leaves them with a limited scope of skill development and most importantly self-development. With this existing economic structure they hardly get any space to negotiate. The vicious chain of debt that they fall into, and the constant exploitation from the moneylenders and landowners in the sources and the brick kilns owners in the destination, keeps them bonded.

Structure of the Report

The first chapter gives an introduction to the research and understanding of migration and brick kilns. The second chapter explains the research design. The third and fourth chapters discuss the findings of the study in detail. The fifth chapter concludes the journey so far, the shortcomings of the study and plans to improvise and move forward.

[3] "Bonded labour to brick kilns," *International Slavery Museum*, accessed December 12, 2016, http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ism/exhibitions/broken-lives/brick-kiln-bonded-labour.aspx.

CHAPTER 2

Research Design

Objective

The objective of the current study is to map the migration profile of brick kiln workers and their work conditions over the project duration of four years.

The main criterion was to study the origin of workers – where are the workers sourced from and the changes in the source areas during the period of the study. The study will simultaneously map social, demographic and economic profile of workers, the mode of recruitment, working conditions including wage rates, average incomes, and access to basic entitlements and public services. The literacy rate, social security in the sources along with the living conditions of the laborers will also be highlighted through this study.

Sampling Universe: The study researched 200 brick kilns in the operational areas of PCLRA in regions of Ajmer and Bhilwara - this was the Universe. The spread of these kilns is as shown in the table below:

Table 01: Brick kilns universe in operational areas

Sl.	District	Tehsil/ cluster	No. of brick kilns	Remarks
1	Bhilwara	Maandal, Asind, Shahpura, Jahajpur, Banera, Gangapur, Raipur	150	Concentration in Maandal and Asindi tehsils
2	Ajmer	Srinagar, Nasirabad, Kishangarh, Masuda	50	Concentration in Srinagar and Kishangarh tehsils
	TOTAL		**200**	

Sampling

Twelve percent sample (24 kilns) from the universe of 200 kilns in Bhilwara and Ajmer were selected for study for all the four years. The selection of 24 kilns was done in a manner that regions from various geographical locations within the cluster are covered and also the socio-economic conditions of the migrant laborers from different states of the country get determined.

Data collection was done to achieve

- Migration Source Mapping of brick kiln labourers from different parts of the country
- Detailed socio economic profiling of brick kiln labourers

Migration source mapping –

Year 1: 26 kilns (8 Ajmer+18 Bhilwara) were studied covering 1,262worker families.
Year 2: 22 kilns (6 Ajmer + 16 Bhilwara) were studied covering 1,042 worker families.
Year 3: 24 kilns (7 Ajmer + 17Bhilwara) were studied covering 1,172 worker families

Socio-Economic profiling of workers –

Year 1: 160 families covered (13 percent sample of all families from the selected 26 kilns)
Year 2: 213 families covered (20 percent sample of all families from the selected 22 kilns)
Year 3: 212 families covered (18 percent sample of all families from the selected 24 kilns)

These families were mapped with an average of ten families per kiln. Diversity in category of workers was proportionately included to cover four-five *paatla* worker families, two-three *bharai/ nikasi/ khadkan families,* two to three *jalai/khakhla/raapas* workers and other workers such as the caretakers and drivers working at and associated with the kilns.

Table 02: Geographical spread of brick kilns covered in the study sample

	Name of kiln	Tehsil/Cluster	District
1	JMD Bricks	Kishangarh	Ajmer
2	VBC Bricks	Kishangarh	Ajmer
3	Sona Bricks	Nasirabad	Ajmer
4	JMD Bricks	Srinagar	Ajmer
5	SSB Bricks	Srinagar	Ajmer
6	GBC Bricks	Srinagar	Ajmer
7	Prajapati Bricks	Ajmer	Ajmer
8	Madhav Bricks	Asind	Bhilwara
9	Vinayak Bricks	Asind	Bhilwara
10	Saras Bricks	Asind	Bhilwara
11	Shakti Bricks	Asind	Bhilwara
12	Shri Ram Bricks	Asind	Bhilwara
13	Shyam Int	Gangapur	Bhilwara
14	RR Bricks	Jahajpur	Bhilwara
15	Keshav Bricks	Mandal	Bhilwara
16	Laxmi Bricks	Mandal	Bhilwara
17	Bhawani Bricks	Mandal	Bhilwara
18	Prabhu Int	Mandal	Bhilwara
19	Shree Nakoda Bricks	Mandal	Bhilwara
20	Azaad Bricks	Mandal	Bhilwara
21	Gayatri Bricks	Mandal	Bhilwara
22	New Laxmi Bricks	Mandal	Bhilwara
23	Geeta Bricks	Mandal	Bhilwara
24	Swastik Bricks	Shahpura	Bhilwara

The kilns were chosen on the basis of their geographical spread to cover kilns from diverse regions in the districts of Ajmer and Bhilwara. It is shown that the maximum kilns studied are from Mandal Tehsil in Bhilwara followed by Asind Tehsil. In Ajmer the maximum kilns are from Srinagar Tehsil followed by Kishangarh Tehsil. The primary reason for the selection of these locations is because they are densely populated by the brick kilns and labourers from different states migrate to these geographical locations.

Research tools:

a. Structured interviews and questionnaires:

Two schedules were developed and used for collecting data which were filled by the field staff for every worker through discussion and interviews.

- The **first schedule** was source profiling to document the source of the workers and the contractors they come from, thus being a one-liner survey. This also covered the previous working experiences of the labourers in the brick kilns, the total number of migrated family members in the kilns and also the category of work that they conduct in the kilns.

- The **second schedule** collected data of the following aspects:
  - *Demographic profile:* Number of family members, age, sex, education
  - *Socio economic profile*: Caste, asset base including land holding, annual income, indebtedness
  - *Mode of recruitment*: Advance taken, mode of recruitment
  - *Work conditions:* Wage rates, output. Final settlement, status of *tut*
  - *Living conditions*: housing, drinking water, electricity, availability of fuel wood
  - *Access to basic entitlements*: MGNREGA, PDS and ration card, financial inclusion, ICDS

The second schedule provides a detailed description of the brick kiln labourers and so, this detailed survey has been conducted with the brick kiln labourers who have been associated with this work for more than two years. This helps determine the socio-economic conditions of the labourers who have been working in the brick kiln industries over a certain number of years.

b. Literature Review:

Secondary data was collected from concerned government departments and government data available in the public

domain. Published papers in some reputed magazines were also taken into consideration.

c. Observations:

Involvement of PCLRA team allows plenty of opportunities to closely observe the lives of the labourers and conditions of work at the kiln. Engagement of the team with the workers throughout the year provides exposure and understanding in both the source and destination areas. Along with the schedules, the meetings, regular visits to the kilns, movements by the labourers, provides in-depth understanding of the conditions of the brick kiln labourers. Interactions with the brick kiln labourers helped in observing the lives of the labourers and the way they are combating daily with exploitation and trying at the same time to maintain their livelihood.

d. Case Studies:

Case studies involving individuals, families or disputes and grievances filed were identified to correlate with the study outcomes. With the rising exploitation of the labourers, registered cases by them give an understanding of the issues in relation to payment of wages, legal aid, atrocities on the labourers and bonded labour.

Frequency of data collection and reporting

The survey will be undertaken every year at the same brick kilns that are covered in the first year and second year. Some of the kilns may be added or removed depending upon the functioning of the kilns. The two schedules used will also remain the same. Every year a report would be generated documenting changes taking place. A comprehensive report will be prepared in the fourth year of the project with comparative data from all four years.

Data Collection Schedule

The time- frame during which data collection took place each year in the selected brick kilns for Migration Mapping:
Year 1: February to June 2016
Year 2: January to May 2017
Year 3: January to April 2018

Scope and Limitations

The Limitations of the Migration Mapping Survey are:

- The study limits itself to some of the major socio-economic and work condition related indicators. It does not go into the political aspects of the same.
- Geographically, the brick kilns are located in a very scattered manner over a large area and that poses a challenge for access to the kilns.
- A major gap comes as a result of the reluctant nature of the owners and state officials which makes information less accessible.
- In many kilns, the kiln owners do not allow access to labourers inside the kiln, however this limitation was overcome by regular intervention and engagement in the kilns.
- There are situations where the laborers are not able to provide appropriate responses, leading to issues in data analysis. The generic responses of the laborers lead to lack of detailed information.

The Scope of the Migration Mapping Survey:

- The data collection in year 3 was initiated in January, which helped in a better coverage of all workers, as they are all present in the kilns at that point of time. Two additional kilns could be covered compared to last year.

- The data analysed helps understand and map the migration pattern of the labourers from different parts of the country.

- The data analysed through the report helps in understanding the socio-economic conditions of the labourers who work in the brick kilns of Ajmer and Rajasthan.

CHAPTER 3

Migration Source Mapping

The chapter shares the findings from the survey covering 24 brick kilns and 1,172 worker families. The main objective of this survey was to map the sources of migrant labour coming to these kilns in destination areas of Ajmer and Bhilwara. The study also reveals the prior working patterns and living conditions of the brick kiln workers.

It was found that majority of the workers came from the source states of Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Bihar and Rajasthan. The workers were mapped based on the district and tehsil/cluster from which they come in the source state, the dominant caste categories migrating to the kilns and the category of work that they conduct in the brick kilns.

The following are the findings of the Migration Mapping:

A. Composition of Labour by State of Origin

Majority of the workers were found to be inter-state dominant from the state of U.P. Intra state migration was high and was second major contributor, followed by Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh and Bihar.

Table 03: State wise composition of workers

State	Percentage Proportion
Uttar Pradesh	35
Rajasthan	33
Chhattisgarh	20
Bihar	7
Jharkhand	<1
Madhya Pradesh	<1
Haryana	<1

All numbers are in percentages, N=1172

Through this table, it can be inferred that the highest number of workers in the brick kilns migrate from the state of Uttar Pradesh followed by Rajasthan. It was found that majority of workers were intra-district migrants in the kilns of Ajmer. Workers in small numbers also came from the state of Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, and Haryana. While most workers lived on the kilns, a small number of intra-district migrants commuted to the kiln on a daily basis. It was also observed that the kilns were silent on the question of wages, labour-contractor and labour-owner relationships. Most of these were variables based on the source areas of the workers.

This composition is similar to the earlier years of 2016 and 2017. However in the third year 2018, workers' coming from Haryana are a new addition against those coming from Odisha in the previous years. Odisha workers were not found in the sample in the current year.

Almost all workers coming from Bihar and Chhattisgarh are *Paatla* workers who have been observed to follow family migration. Majority of Rajasthan workers are found to be engaged in bharai work followed by *nikasi* and *khadkan* work. The *jalai* workers come largely from the state of U.P.

Table 04: State wise work category composition of workers

Category	Overall	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh
1. *Paatla*	52	92	99	8	57
2. *Khadkan*	4		0	12	<1
3. *Bharai*	12	0	0	36	2
4. *Nikasi*	4	1	0	13	1

5. *Jalai*	8	3	0	1	22
6. *Raapas*	6	3	<1	7	12
7. *Khakhla*	4	0	0	7	5
8. Other	5	0	<1	16	<1

All numbers are in percentages, N = 1172

In year 1, the worker proportions covered were 48% *paatla* and 15% of *bharai* and *nikasi* workers each, in the second year the proportions varied at 58, 13 and 5%. Also in year 2016, *raapas* and *khakhla* workers were counted under the category 'others' and later separated to increase the scope of the study, and added as different categories. Percentages of *jalai* and *khadkan* workers covered remained the same in years 1 and 2. In case of year 3, the percentages of *paatla* were 52, while the percentages of *bharai* and *nikasi* workers were 12 and 4 respectively. By this we reached an understanding that in terms of the three years there have been almost similar data in all categories thus validating the comparisons.

Table 05: Overall caste composition of workers

Category	Overall
Minority	2
OBC	28
SC	53
ST	16
General	<1

All numbers are in percentages, N= 1172

This table indicates that more than half the workers at the kilns belong to the Scheduled Caste category. This is followed by other backward classes comprising 28% followed by the Schedule Tribes. This data has remained consistent over the previous years as well.

State wise analysis

Brick kiln workers have been migrating from primarily four source states - **Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar**. The study has been able to identify clusters within each state from where this migration of workers is taking place. Over the last three years an almost negligible change has been observed in the major clusters.

Rajasthan:

In the case of Rajasthan, which is intra-state migration, a large number of workers come from major clusters within the source areas of Ajmer and Bhilwara. The brick kiln workers from Rajasthan migrating from the neighbouring districts of the state are mainly *bharai* and *nikasi* workers.

Table 06: Source districts in Rajasthan

Districts	Percentage Proportion
Ajmer	46
Bhilwara	17
Nagaur	28
Pali	6
Sikar	3
Chittaurgarh	<1
Dholpur	<1
Jhunjhunu	<1
Rajsamand	<1
Tonk	<1

All numbers are in percentages, N=385

Majority of the workers migrating from the different districts of Rajasthan come from the sources of **Ajmer, Bhilwara, Nagaur, Pali, Sikar, Chittaurgarh, Dholpur, Jhunjhunu, Rajsamand and Tonk**. Most of these districts are located in the western and eastern neighborhood of the destination districts of Ajmer and Bhilwara.

This table, indicates that the majority of workers working in the brick kilns of Ajmer and Bhilwara, are from the districts of Ajmer, Bhilwara and Nagaur.

As compared to the previous two years 2016 and 2017, there has been no change in the districts.

Through mapping, the major tehsils under each district have also been identified.

Figure 1: Map of Rajasthan showing major and minor districts

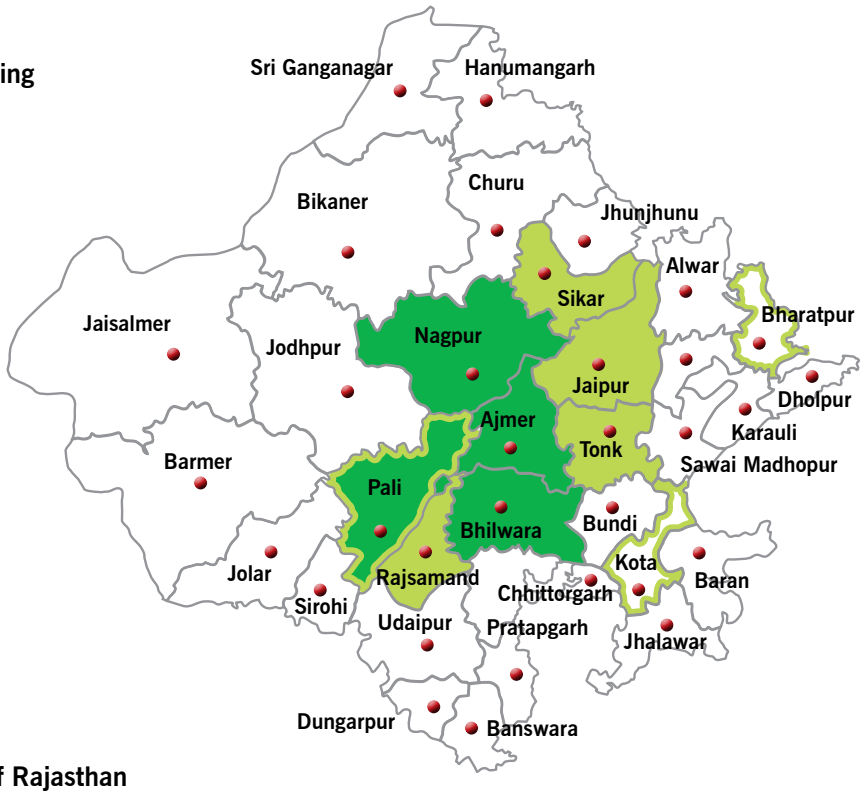

Table 07: Source cluster/ tehsil of Rajasthan

Major Districts	Major Tehsil	Percentage proportion of workers within tehsil
Ajmer (Total Number of the labourers: 176; Total percentage: 46%)	Masuda	58 59
	Srinagar	8
	Rupangarh	4
	Nasirabad	2
	Pushkar	2
	Pisangan	3
	Bhinai	2
	Kekri	1
	Sawar	<1
	Tatoti	<1
Nagaur (Total Number of labourers: 103; Total percentage: 28%)	Parbatsar	71
	Riyan Bari	9
	Nawa	6
	Degana	5
	Merta	4
	Didwana	2
	Kuchaman	2
	Makrana	2
Bhilwara (Total Number of the labourers: 65; Total percentage: 17%)	Mandal	49
	Asind	14
	Shahpura	12
	Jahazpur	9
	Gangapur	9
	Hurda	5
	Kareda	2

All numbers are in percentages, N=385

This table identifies the major source clusters -Masuda in Ajmer, Mandal in Bhilwara, and Parbatsar in Nagaur. These are the major clusters from where the labourers migrate to the brick kilns of Rajasthan.

Table 08: Caste breakup of the brick kiln workers in Rajasthan

Caste Category	Percentage of Workers
Minority	1
OBC	41
SC	49

Caste Category	Percentage of Workers
ST	8
General	1

All numbers are in percentages, N=385

Migrant workers from Rajasthan mainly belong from the caste categories of SC and OBC comprising more than 85% of the population. In the case of the OBC community, the dominant castes found are **Rawat (68%), Kumhar (4%), Nath (5%),** and **Gujjar (5%).** In case of the SC community, the dominant castes are **Bawri (57%), Meghwal (11%), Nayak (16%)** and **Chokidar (4%).** Within the ST community, the dominant caste is **Bhil (88%)** and **Meena (11%).**

In comparison, to the previous years 2016 and 2017, the caste composition has remained almost the same – with the exception that the percentage of OBC was higher in 2017 as compared to SC and also the ST category saw an increased number of migrants in 2018.

Uttar Pradesh:

The state of Uttar Pradesh constitutes the largest number of workers migrating to the brick kilns (35%).The majority of workers are engaged in *jalai* and *paatla* work. The *jalai* workers mostly come as a single unit, leaving their families behind in the source areas. In contrast the *paatla* workers migrate as a family unit, where most of the members are involved in the work.

Table 09: Source districts mapping of workers in Uttar Pradesh

District	Percentage Proportion
Chitrakoot	58
Banda	11
Kausambi	11
Unnao	10
Agra	3
Fatehpur	2
Allahabad	2
Karbi	1
Bhadayu	<1
Mathura	<1
Raebareilly	<1

All numbers are in percentages, N=421

From this table, it can be seen that majority of the workers come from the Chitrakoot district (58%), followed by the district of Banda comprising 11% and Kausambi comprising 11%. Compared to the composition of migrant workers last year, the percentage of the workers from these districts has shown no significant change. The entire area of **Chitrakoot, Banda and Kausambi**, is the major source cluster in the state. The other areas that send migrants are the districts of **Agra, Unnao, Fatehpur, Bhadayu, Allahabad, Mathura, Karbi** and **Rae Bareilly.**

Table 10: Source cluster/ tehsils of Uttar Pradesh

Major Districts	Major Tehsil	Percentage proportion within tehsil
Chitrakoot (Total Number of the labourers: 245; Total percentage: 58%)	Karbi	53
	Rajapur	24
	Mau	12
	Manikpur	5
	Pahadi	3
	Nandi	<1
	Saraiya	<1
Banda (Total Number of labourers: 48; Total percentage: 11%)	Baberu	92
	Kamasin	6
	Rajapur	2
Kausambi (Total Number of labourers: 47; Total percentage: 11%)	Chayal	91
	Manjanpur	6
	Uprahar	2
Unnao (Total Number of labourers: 43; Total percentage: 4%)	Purba	95
	Pattan	5

All numbers are in percentages, N= 421

This table indicates that the major tehsils from where workers migrate in Chitrakoot are Karbi, Purba in Unnao and Chayal in Kausambi.

Table 11: Caste Composition of the laborers of UP

Caste Category	Percentage of Workers
Minority	3
OBC	14
SC	80
ST	-
Gen	-

All numbers are in percentages, N= 421

This table indicates that majority of the workers from U.P. are the SC, followed by the OBCs and Minorities. There is a minor increase in the proportion of SC compared to the previous year 2017. **Raidas (71%)** and **Pasi (12%)** are the majority castes in SC and **Varma (33%)** and **Yadav (30%)** are the majority amongst the OBC.

Chhattisgarh

Chhattisgarh is a major state from where labour migrates to Ajmer and Bhilwara for work in the brick kilns. The workers of Chhattisgarh are mainly involved in *Paatla* work.

Table 12: Source districts mapping of workers of Chhattisgarh

Districts	Percentage Proportion
Mahasamund	42
Baloda Bazaar	38
Janjgir Champa	13
Raigarh	4
Raipur	<1
Bilaspur	1

All numbers are in percentages, N= 245

The major source clusters of Chhattisgarh are **Mahasamund** and **Baloda Bazaar** followed by **Janjgir Champa**. The other important districts that send migrant labour are **Bilaspur, Raipur** and **Raigarh**. The clusters are in sync with findings of the previous years.

Table 13: Source cluster/tehsil mapping for Chhattisgarh

Major Districts	Major Tehsil	Percentage proportion within tehsil
Mahasamund (Total No of Labourers: 104; Total Percentage: 42%)	Pithora	38
	Basna	28
	Saraipali	18
	Mahasamund	12
	Bagbahra	<1
Baloda Bazar (Total No of Labourers: 94; Total Percentage: 38%)	Bilaigarh	65
	Saliha	11
	Kasdol	10
	Baloda bazaar	4
	Dhansir	1

Figure 2: Map of U.P. showing major and minor districts

Major Districts	Major Tehsil	Percentage proportion within tehsil
Janjgir Champa **(Total No of Labourers: 33; Total Percentage: 13%)**	Janjgir	42
	Jaijaipur	24
	Sakti	18
	Nawagarh	6
	Pamgarh	3
	Dabhra	3
	Champa	3

All numbers are in percentages, N=245

Pithora and Basna in Mahasamund district and Bilaigarh in Baloda Bazaar are identified as the major tehsils for migrating workers.

Table 14: Caste wise breakup of workers in Chhattisgarh

Category	Percentage of Workers
Minority	-
OBC	13
SC	24
ST	62
General	-

All numbers are in percentages, N=245

The majority of workers migrating from Chhattisgarh belong to the Scheduled Tribes. This is unique to Chhattisgarh as largely OBCs and SCs migrate from other source states. This trend is consistent with the findings of the previous years. **Kherwar (18%), Gond(16%) and Bariha (13%),** are the dominant castes among the STs. **Satnami (25%), Chauhan (21%),** and **Sarathi (16%)** amongst SCs and **Yadav (46%)** and **Rawat (15%)**among OBCs**.**

Bihar

Bihar contributed eight percent to the workforce to the kilns of Ajmer and Bhilwara in the year 2018 which is consistent with the previous years. The workers from Bihar are primarily engaged in *Paatla* work.

Figure 3: Map of Chhattisgarh showing major and minor districts

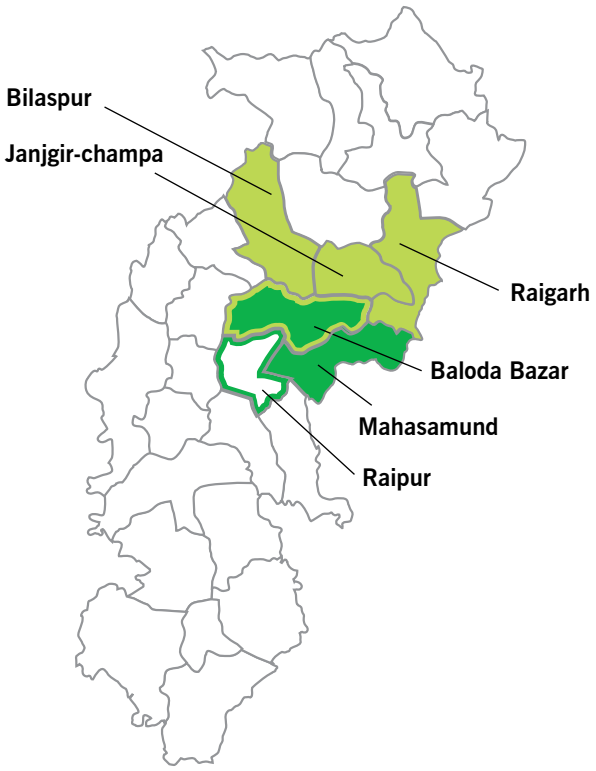

Table 15: Source districts mapping of workers in Bihar

Districts	Percentage Proportion
Banka	56
Jamui	21
Sheikhpura	9
Nawada	5
Munger	5
Begusarai	1

All numbers are in percentages, N=91

Banka and Jammui form the major source cluster with more than 85% workers migrating from these districts. Sheikhpura, Nawada, Munger form the other cluster. Sheikhpura was a major source district in the previous year which has now been replaced by Jammui in the present year. Both Jammui and Banka are neighboring districts and Jammui seems to have had a percolating effect from Banka.

Figure 4: Map of Bihar showing major and minor districts

Table 16: Source cluster mapping for Bihar

Major Districts	Major Tehsil	Percentage proportion within tehsil
Banka (Total Percentage of labourers: 51; Total percentage: 56%)	Barahat	31
	Baousi	29
	Rajaun	16
	Banka	12
	Dhuraiya	7
Jamui (Total Percentage of labourers: 19; Total percentage: 21%)	Islamnagar Aliganj	100

All numbers are in percentages, N=91

Barahat and Bousi are the major source clusters from the district of Banka followed by Rajoun and Banka. From Jamui the major tehsil has been Islam Nagar.

Table 17: Caste wise breakup of workers in Bihar

Category	Percentage of Workers
Minority	6
OBC	53
SC	37
ST	2
Gen	-

All numbers are in percentages, N=91

The majority of workers from Bihar are OBCs followed by SCs and minorities. While the minorities are small in percentage they are all Muslim workers. **Laiya (95%)** is the dominant caste amongst the OBCs and **Manjhi (91%)** amongst the schedule castes.

Overall trends

The overall state wise trends have not shown any major shifts from the finding of the previous years. The major cluster categories of work and states from where these workers are coming to Ajmer and Bhilwara have remained more or less the same. There has been an expansion of the major cluster in Bihar and a shift in the major caste category migrating in Rajasthan, but as of now these are minor shifts. It will be crucial to observe these changes over the next year.

CHAPTER 4

Socio-Economic profile of the brick kiln workers

This chapter explores the socio-economic status of workers coming to the kilns in Ajmer and Bhilwara districts of Rajasthan. The workers migrate from various states, primary states being Rajasthan, U.P., Chhattisgarh and Bihar. Most of the workers migrate as an entire family unit and work under challenging living and working conditions. The total number of migrant families recorded in the study in the current year is 212 families. These have been samples from a universe of 1172 families selected from 24 brick kilns in Bhilwara and Ajmer. The 1172 families identified were studied to map the migration patterns as recorded in Chapter 3. 18% of this data (the 212 families) were then surveyed for their socio-economic profiling. This was done through a detailed interview based on a pre-designed questionnaire. The findings are as follows:

A. Demographic Profile

Family Size

The total number of families surveyed was 212 comprising a total of 1,173 members. Amongst them, 741 members lived in the kilns compound. Family members above the age of 14 years are all engaged in work at the kilns.

Table 18: Average Family Size

Average Family size of Workers (n = 1173)	5.53
Average Family Size at Kiln (n=741)	3.50
Average Family size engaged in work at kiln (14 years and above) (n= 477)	2.25

This table shows the average family size of the labourers migrating to the brick kilns.

Age Profile

Table 19: Age profile of families at brick kilns

Age in completed years	Proportional percentage
0-6	18
7-14	16
15-18	9
19-50	52
51-59	1
>=60	1

All numbers are in percentages, N= 741

Majority of the population working in the brick kiln is between the age group of 19-50 years followed by children between the ages 0-6 years. It is worth noting that thirty four percent of the population is of children (below the age of fourteen) and forty three percent of the population is of minors below the age of eighteen. The data points to the fact that a large percentage of children migrate to the kilns and it is observed that many are engaged in work making child labour at the kilns a huge concern.

Gender wise composition of the workers

57 percent of the population at the kilns comprises of males and 43 percent females. The male members come in as single individuals (mostly *jalai* workers) and thus, the ratio of male migrants is higher than female migrants.

Table 20: Gender wise composition of workers at kiln

Overall Breakup		
	Numbers	Percent
1. Male	420	57%
2. Female	320	43%

N= 740

According to the state wise break up also the number of male workers is higher than female workers.

Literacy rate

The overall literacy rate of the families was found to be 52 percent, slightly higher than the previous year. The literacy rate among the male workers was found to be 61% and among the female workers was 41%. Literacy rate is defined as the ability to read and write by the individuals who are above the age of 7 years.

Table 21: Literacy rate

	Literacy Rate
1. Male	61%
2. Female	41%
3. Overall literacy rate	52%

N=776

This table shows the literacy rate of the families who migrated to work in the brick kilns.

B. Socio-Economic profile

Work wise categorization

In Brick kilns, workers are engaged in different tasks and wages are paid accordingly. There is a clear demarcation between each work category as introduced in chapter 1. The *paatla* workers comprise the highest proportion in the brick kilns operating as family units, followed by *bharai, nikasi* and *khadkan.* The proportion of the workers at the kilns has been provided earlier, repeating table 4 here

Table 04: State wise work category composition of workers

Category	Overall	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh
1. *Paatla*	52	92	99	8	57
2. *Khadkan*	4	0	0	12	<1
3. *Bharai*	12	0	0	36	2
4. *Nikasi*	4	1	0	13	1
5. *Jalai*	8	3	0	1	22
6. *Raapas*	6	3	<1	7	12
7. *Khakhla*	4	0	0	7	5
8. Other	5	0	<1	16	<1

All numbers are in percentages, N = 1172

Access to entitlements:

The Government of India provides for various social security, public policies and entitlement schemes for the marginalised section of the society. The families, who migrate to the kilns, while eligible for these entitlements, have usually been found to have limited access to these entitlements, deteriorating their living conditions further.

Table 22: Access to government entitlements and schemes

Entitlements	Overall Percentage of access	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh
BPL Card	53	67	50	41	61
MGNREGA card	60	58	55	62	60
No. of work days under MGNREGA	18	17	23	17	16
Construction Workers Board Card	6	nil	nil	12	3
Bhamashah (only for Rajasthan)	67			67	
Insurance	15	nil	14	25	10
AADHAR Card	93	83	91	96	92
Bank Account	64	50	68	64	65
Ration Card	60	67	64	68	53
Voter ID	81	58	68	81	87
Voted in the previous year	75	42	68	80	76

All numbers are in percentages, N=212

From this table, it is clear that the workers from the state of Bihar and Chhattisgarh have the lowest access to most entitlements. It is also evident, that Aadhar card and the voter ID are the most widely accessed cards. However other entitlements like access to BPL cards, MGNREGA card, construction workers board card and ration card are not accessible to many. The

ratio of bank account holders has shown a major increase in Bihar from the previous year. The workers from U.P. have worked the maximum number of days under MGNREGA followed by the state of Rajasthan. The Construction Workers' Board card is present with the labourers from the states of UP and Rajasthan and is absent from the kiln laborers from the states of Bihar and Chhattisgarh who do not have this card. The Bhamashah card is for the state of Rajasthan, where 67 percent of the workers possess this entitlement. Insurance levels are overall poor demonstrating high risk conditions.

These statuses of entitlements indicate that while the Government of India has provided the migrant labourers with social security and public services, the access to these entitlements are limited in this segment of migrant workers, thus putting workers in a very vulnerable position where they are forced to access basics necessities for a living through alternate methods of generating them.

Assets Base

Landholding

Table 23: Land ownership

Ownership of Land	Percentage of Families				
	Overall	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh
Workers with land ownership *(n = 212)*	54%	17%	53%	64%	55%
Average land area *(in bigha)*	4.7	1.5	5.28	6.53	5.63
Workers with irrigated land (n=123)	42%	2%	13%	23%	55%
Average irrigated land area (in bigha)	1.78	1.5	1.95	1.59	2.08

The overall percentage of families in the sources having land ownership is 54% which is slightly more than 50% of the families migrating to the brick kilns for work. The state of Rajasthan has the highest percentage of workers with land ownerships (64%) followed by the states of Uttar Pradesh (54%) and Chhattisgarh (53%). Compared to the previous years, there is a considerable rise in land ownership in states of Bihar and U.P. There has also been a major rise in average land holding in Bihar and Chhattisgarh, doubling from the previous years. The average land holding area has also grown from 3 bigha in 2017 to 4.7 bigha in 2018. However the percentages of irrigated land are much lower. It will be important to verify this trend with data from the next year too. It is indicative of the fact that in spite of considerable land ownership, people are still migrating for work, something that requires deeper probe into the issue.

Animal Holding

Table 24: Animal Holding

Animal	% Overall	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	U.P.
Total Percentage families reporting animal holding	**75**	**4**	**12**	**57**	**26**
Bull	5	14	16	2	12
Cow	23	43	37	32	24
Buffalo	11	14		11	31
Goat	26	29	21	41	31
Sheep	2	-	-	4	-
Camel	4	-	11	7	-
Others	3		16	3	7

All numbers are in percentages, N=159

Seventy five percent of the families reported animal holdings. According to the state wise analysis, the animal holdings of the families is the highest from the state of Rajasthan followed by Uttar Pradesh. The animal holdings of the workers from the state of Bihar and Chhattisgarh is limited indicating lack of resources in both animal and land ownership. The highest holdings are of goat, cow, buffalo and bull, which are related to husbandry, milk production and agricultural purposes.

Seventy five percent workers have reported animal holding which is 27% higher than the previous year. It will be important to verify this trend with data from the next year too. It is currently indicative that in spite of considerable animal and land ownership, people are still migrating for work which requires a deeper probe into the issue.

It was also found that majority of animal holding was with workers who had land holding too. This could be because land holding would enable sustain and feed animals.

House Ownership

All families reported to having a house to live in, at the source location. Majority of these houses were *kaccha* -57% and 32% of labourers reported having a *pucca* house. About 11% also stated owning a semi *pucca* house. The average built up size was reported at 650 sq.ft and 38% households reported having access to toilets at source.

Table 25: House Ownership

	Overall	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	U.P.
1. *Kaccha*	47	63	55	22	65
2. *Pucca*	40	18	41	65	20
3. Semi *Pucca*	13	18	4	13	15

All numbers are in percentages, N=203

Data collected shows that in terms of the house ownership, the state of Uttar Pradesh has the highest percentage of kuccha houses followed by the states of Bihar and Chhattisgarh. Rajasthan has the highest percentage of *pucca* houses followed by Chhattisgarh.

As compared to the previous year, in 2017, the majority of the *pucca* houses were owned by workers from Rajasthan and *kaccha* houses were owned by the workers from Uttar Pradesh. In 2016, the pattern remained the same except that Chhattisgarh reported a larger number of *pucca* houses in the year. The average number of toilets had increased every year; however the appropriate usage of the toilets was not determined.

The majority of the *pucca* houses in Rajasthan and the *kaccha* houses in U.P are owned by the SC followed by OBCs. The community of the OBCs has the highest ownership of houses followed by the SCs. The ST and Minorities reported lesser access to *pucca* housing making them more vulnerable.

Home appliances

Majority of the families did not possess basic home appliances including electricity and water connections.

Table 26: Ownership of home appliances

	% of Families				
Appliances	Overall	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh
Motor Cycle	30	8	18	58	11
Cycle	44	33	91	23	51
Fan	52	25	82	73	29
Diesel Pump	4	8	5	5	2
Water Motor	5	8	5	7	2
Cupboard	14	8	55	12	7
T.V.	35	17	73	51	15
Electricity Connection	58	50	95	78	34
Water Connection	2	8	41	25	13
Others	1	8		1	1

All numbers are in percentages, N=212

This table shows that overall 30 percent of the families possess motorcycles out of which the state of Rajasthan has the highest percentage of families possessing motorcycles. The state of Rajasthan has the majority of families possessing home appliances, comprising of motor cycles, fans, diesel pump, water motor, television, electricity connection and water connection. This indicates that the financial condition of the labourers from the state of Rajasthan is comparatively better than the other states. Also, in terms of the payment of wages, the workers of Rajasthan, who mainly engage in *bharai, nikasi* and *khadkan* get are paid better as compared to the *paatla* workers, who migrate from the distant source states. The migrant workers from the other states have to travel long distances. The state of Uttar Pradesh has families that possess home appliances, such as cycles, cupboard and water and electricity connections.

The state of Chhattisgarh has shown significant upward change from previous years in terms of assets. 95% households have water connection and 90% of families now have cycles.

The states of Bihar however records limited possession of home appliances, indicating poverty.

As compared to the previous years, the workers from Rajasthan

have overall a better possession of home appliances.

The state of Chhattisgarh has in the current year recorded significant rise in land holding, animal holding, house ownership and home appliance possession. This will need to be further validated with data from the next year's probe.

Overall Income Scenario

An attempt was made to explore the annual income per family from all available sources.

Table 27: Details on various sources of income from wage labour

	Work Days		
	% of families engaged	Average days	Work days per family in a year
Brick kilns	100%	213	200
MGNREGA	15%	48	7
Others	31%	94	29

N=199

Average days of engagement per family in wage labour = 213 days (58% of days in a year)

It was also found that 94 percent families reported migrating for brick kiln work from their home location. The families have also been involved in the work of MGNREGA and other forms of wage labour.

Table 28: Income from Wage Labour

Sources of Wage labour	% of families engaged	Average income (Rs.) of families	Earnings per family from wage labour annually
Brick kilns	100%	Rs. 79, 290	Rs. 79,290
MGNREGA	13%	Rs. 5, 416	Rs. 704
Others	29%	Rs. 17, 802	Rs. 5,162
Total income			**Rs. 85,156**

N = 185

It was found that the average annual income per family was around Rs. 85, 156 which is a drop of almost Rs. 4000 compared to the previous year. It must be noted here that this is the entire family unit income, with an average 2.25 members per family working unit. Hence the average annual income per working member in the family is Rs. 37,847.

It can be concluded from the table above that maximum days are spent at the brick kilns to in order to earn. The average income from brick kilns as reported is the highest compared to other sources at Rs. 79,290. Also, 13% workers reported working in MGREGA this year compared to eight percent from the previous year.

As compared to the previous year 2017, the average earnings per family unit from wage labour have come down this year.

Table 29: Average annual income per household

Sources of Income	% of families engaged	Average annual income (Rs.)	Annual income from all sources per family (Rs.)
1. Agriculture	49%	16,668	8,167
2. Animal Farming	11%	12,318	1,355
3. Labour work (including brick kiln work)	100%	78,788	78,788
4. Others	57%	28,727	16,374
Total average income for households reporting income from source			**1,04,684**

N=212

The total income from all sources is calculated at Rs. 1, 04,684.

The data shown in the table reflects that the annual income of the workers was the maximum from labour work, which included brick kiln work. In terms of other engagements and also agriculture, the percentages of families engaged remained high, indicating that through agriculture, the families were generating an income. The average income generated was the highest in wage labour as compared to agriculture and animal farming.

As compared to the previous year 2017, the annual income through labour work has reduced. There is an increase in the percentages of the family's income through other

engagements this year from 2% to 57%, however, the annual income has reduced this year. There has been an increase in the average annual income of the families with the increase in the percentages of families in agricultural activities, though there has been an overall reduction in the total income from all sources this year, as compared to the previous year.

In October 2015, the World Bank updated the international poverty line to USD 1.9 a day per capita[1]. That is about Rs.122 in the Indian currency in 2017. The average income of a family per annum from all sources has been calculated at Rs.1,04,684. With the average family size of workers being 5.53, the per head income of workers at the kiln is Rs.52 per day, lesser than Rs.64 in the previous year. This is about 57 percent less than the amount defined as the international poverty line, indicating extreme poverty amongst kiln workers. It also indicates that compared to the previous year, the income per family has not only reduced but pushed the brick kiln worker further below in the poverty line index.

Indebtedness

As expected there is high indebtedness amongst the workers. 44% of the workers reported being in debt. The average amount of debt was Rs. 90171 with a range of Rupees three thousand to four lakh. This is more than the average annual income of the workers and thus poses a threatening scenario. It is interesting to note that while the percentage of people in debt has increased by 3% from the previous year the average amount has dropped by almost Rs.12000.

From the state wise analysis it was revealed that workers from Rajasthan were the highest in debt. More than 50% of the workers in debt were from Rajasthan with an average amount as large as Rs.1.4 lakhs followed by U.P. at 31% with an average amount of Rs.35000. This trend is consistent with the previous year, yet again indicating that while the Rajasthan workers have maximum land, animal, home appliance and *pucca* house holding they are also the deepest in debt.

The average rate of interest at which the loan was taken was found to be 2% varying from 1 to 5%. The interest rate in Chhattisgarh is recorded at the highest at 5.18%.

Debt is a critical part of a worker's life and one must explore the reasons for such debt. It is clear from the table that performing marriages is the single most dominant reason for workers being in debt. Other reasons are medical expenses during sickness and construction of house.

Table 30: Reasons for debt

Reasons	% of Families
1. Marriage	38
2. Sickness	23
3. House	8
4. Death Expenses	8
5. Farming	7
6. Loan Repayment	3
7. Others	13

All numbers are in percentages, N= 92

This table makes it clear that the reasons for taking loans and having debts are the maximum due to marriages. The sum of money required for a marriage is taken as a loan, followed by reasons arising due to medical treatments during illness. There are other significant reasons for loans taken by the workers, due to which they have to borrow money on interest leading to long standing and heavy debts.

The states of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have the highest percentage of debts for marriages and sickness. The states of Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh have debts for the purpose of construction of houses. The states of Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh have certain percentages of debts for the purpose of agriculture and farming.

In the previous year 2017, the state wise analysis found that in Rajasthan and U.P. it is marriages that are the main reason for taking loans and others reasons do not lead to debts. However in Chhattisgarh loan for marriages, construction of home and agriculture are at par with each other when it comes to taking a loan. Thus, the reasons for debts remain almost the same. In the previous year as well, the reason for debts, mainly were marriages. The percentages of loan for sickness have increased from the last year, thus enhancing the vulnerabilities in the lives of the workers. The loans for farming and agriculture too have shown an upward trend this year. Thus, the loans taken by the workers have increased due to these reasons in the source states.

1 "World Bank Forecasts Global Poverty to Fall Below 10 percent for First Time; Major Hurdles Remain in Goal to End Poverty by 2030", *www.worldbank.org*. Retrieved *16 December* 2016.

Table 31: Repayment of Loan

Repayment of loan	
Methods	**% of families**
1. Taking another loan	2
2. Working as labour	91
3. Others	5

All numbers are in percentages, N=92

Table 32: Sources of Loan

Sources for Loan	
Sources	**% of Families**
1. Family/Relative	24
2. Bank	8
3. SHG	1
4. Sahukar	63
5. Others	4

All numbers in percentage, N = 92

It is evident from the table that 91% of the workers have reported repaying the loans through labour work. The rest of the repayment of the loan takes place through taking another loan or any other means, but they are negligible in percentages.

90% of the workers reported repayment of debt through income earned by working as labour. Major source of loan was the Sahukar – a local money lender. A few workers took loans from banks and family too. It was also found that while workers from Rajasthan and U.P. did take loans from Sahukar they also used banks and family/relatives SHG groups as an option. However, in Chhattisgarh the Sahukar seemed to be the only option with no reporting on any other options.

Recruitment

Dynamics of recruitment

The movement of workers between kilns and contractors during their work life was mapped to understand the migration and recruitment pattern.

Table 33: Work years at the kiln

Work years	% of Families	Average Work Years
Average work years spent at kiln by every worker		**9**
1. Less than 3	19	2
2. 3-9	56	6
3. 10-19	18	12
4. 20 and more	7	28

N=210

It was found that out of the 210 families who reported work years, each family spent an average of nine years working at the kilns ranging from a minimum experience of less than one year to as long as 60 years. 9% families reported working at kilns for more than 20 years while the majority 57% have been working for an average 5.58 years at the kilns.

Table 34: State wise worker – work years at brick kiln

	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	Overall
Average Work Years	**8**	**9**	**9**	**9**	**9**

N = 210

From the state wise analysis it was also found that the most experienced labour comes from Bihar (average 9 work years at kiln) and the least from Uttar Pradesh (5.58 years lower than the overall average).

Table 35: Rate of change of kilns by workers

	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	Overall
Average rate of change of kilns	**3**	**7**	**5**	**5**	**5**

N=210

A worker may change brick kilns multiple times during his work life at the kiln. 210 workers reported changing kilns in their work life. The average times a worker changed the kiln was found to be 5 times. This implies that in the average work years of nine years a worker changes the kiln 5 times. This means that a worker is changing a kiln in less than two years.

Table 36: Rate of change of contractors

	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	Overall
Average rate of change of contractors	4	4	3	4	4

N=208

Many contractors have been changed by families during the years of their work. Average time a contractor is changed by a family is 4 times. Hence for an average work life of 9 years at the kiln a worker changes 4 contractors. This means that one contractor is engaged for a little over two seasons of work.

Multiple reasons may be associated to the seemingly high rate of change of contractors and kilns, some of which could be low wages and bondage.

A. ADVANCE

As an accepted practice across kilns, workers take advance from brick kiln owners before the beginning of the season which is eventually adjusted against the work done by them. The following are some insights into the systems and payment of advance. Every unit (saancha) of worker is eligible for an advance and the more number of hands in the family the more advance it can take.

Table 37: 'Advance' details in work seasons

Season	Families Taking Advance	Average Advance per family (Rs.)	Average advance per worker (Rs.) (advance per family/ working family size)
2016-2017	75%	25,830	11,480
2017-2018	75%	25,056	11,136

N=160, average working family size: 2.25 It can be noted from the table that while the percentage of workers taking advance in both seasons is at 75%, the average amount of advance taken in the second season has dropped by a small amount. The average advance per worker was calculated and shows a decrease in value compared to the previous year's reporting by almost Rs. 2000.

Also 13% families reported never having taken any advance in either of the season. It was found that the category of workers who come without taking advance or directly without contractor receive higher wage rates compared to those taking advance and coming through contractors.

Installments for advance:

Not all advance amount is received in one payment at the beginning of the season. Many workers have to provide a guarantee against the advance they are taking. It was found that in year 2017, the average installments in which the advance was paid was1.33, with twenty one percent families reporting taking advance in more than one installment. About 82% families received the full advance amount in the on-going season during data collection (2016-17); the remaining had pending advance payments. These are trends similar to previous years.

It is interesting to note that advance is paid in installments and even in between or at the end of the season. It is important to question how the amount thus qualifies as advance. An analysis from previous year also depicts similar findings. More enquiries need to be done into understanding the reasons for advances being held back. It is also important to understand how the payment for such amount is made. Advance is critical to the running of the entire migration system and a deeper enquiry needs to be made to understand the changes in it over the years.

Guarantee of work against advance:

Ninety two percent of workers reported they needed to give a guarantee of work for the whole season against the advance received irrespective of the amount of advance.

Table 38: Guarantee of work against advance

	% of Families
1. Whole Season	92%
2. Till Repayment	3%
3. No Guarantee	2%
4. Others	1%

All numbers are in percentages, N=201

These are trends similar to previous years.

Reasons for advance:

Since advance is a crucial part of the entire migration process, it may be helpful to understand the reasons for which the workers take advance.

Table 39: Reasons for taking advance

Reasons	% of Families
1. Household Expenses	84%
2. House Repair / Construction	2%
3. Medical Expenses	
4. Repayment of Loan	12%
5. Marriage Expenses	
6. Others	2%

All numbers are in percentages, N = 195

Majority of the workers reported taking advance for day to day household expenses followed by repayment of loans. The main reason quoted under the 'others' category was that, advance was taken to ensure guarantee of work at the kiln, which is more in the nature of way to secure work than necessity. These are trends similar to previous years.

B. WAGES

Workers are not paid regular wages as provided for under the Payment of Wages Act. They are given advance at the beginning of the season, and then paid food/living expenses (*kharchi*) per week. It has been found that instead of cash, a coupon system exists for payment of *kharchi*. The provision shops where the coupons are accepted often are owned or connected to the brick kiln owners ensuring control over purchase prices ad choices.

The payment for food expenses is proportionate to the work done. More often than not it is observed that this forces the workers to put in long hours of work and even deploy their children in work in order to make the required number of bricks so that they can provide for the entire family.

The settlement of accounts is largely done at the end of the season which is a complex calculation as it involves the advance amount, the variable weekly food expense, the daily work done accounting and other deductions if any. This makes it challenging for the workers, majority of whom are illiterate, to understand the calculations making them vulnerable and most of the time at the mercy of the accounting beldar.

There exists some difference in wage rates across various types of workers. The wage rates differ depending upon a number of factors like negotiating power of the group and its contractor, commission charged by the contractor, advance taken by the worker, and the need of the employer.

Table 40: Wage rate comparison between the two work seasons

		2016-2017		2017-2018		
Worker Category	**Unit**	**Average Rate**	**Range**	**Average Rate**	**Range**	**Percent Change**
1. *Paatla*	Per 1000 Bricks	470	350-700	483	400-600	3
2. *Khadkan*	Per Month	10679	9000-13500	11400	10000-13500	7
3. *Bharai*	Per 1000 Bricks	116	90-170	124	100-177	6
4. *Nikasi*	Per 1000 Bricks	114	90-145	112	100-140	-2
5. *Jalai*	Per Month	10000	7000-12000	10840	8000-15000	8
6. *Raapas*	Per Month	8438	5000-12000	9409	7000-14000	12
7. *Khakhla*	Per Month	7667	6000-10000	9667	6000-14500	26
8. Other	Per Month	8000	6000-11000	8000	6000-11000	0

N=154

The following analysis draws a comparison between the two payment reasons and also gives an idea of the average rates of payment. However, while it lists the average amount received by a family it does not capture the income per worker since payment is made considering the whole family as one unit in spite of most members of the family putting in equal labour. It must be viewed therefore as the income of the entire family.

It has been observed that owners generally follow market rates. Wages Settlement is reviewed once towards end of the season around the festival of Holi (in the month of March). This is critical in order to take stock, just before the end of the season. It is critical as the owner and workers both take account of how much work is done and what has been the wage settlement of the worker against the advance and *kharchi* taken. This also helps the worker decide if he wants to continue work in case the entire advance has been paid. Also, with March, severe summers start setting in Rajasthan, which workers may want to avoid. It is also a time when in few cases the owner increases the wage rate to ensure more workers stay and pending work finishes quickly.

A considerable increase in wages is visible in case of the *jalai, raapas* and *khakla* workers. An average 3% increase can be seen in the *paatla* workers' wages. This is consistent with the rise recorded last year. It was also found that 54% workers were found to have a wage increase in the second season compared to the first season; however 46% remained on equal/less pay.

It is also important to view the difference in wage rates between the work destinations of Ajmer and Bhilwara. This is noted in Table 41.

It is seen from the table above that the paatla have better wage rates in Bhilwara as compared to Ajmer. This is consistent with the previous year trends. However this year other categories such as *jalai* and *raapas* have shown improved rates in Bhilwara comparable to Ajmer. This can be attributed to the efforts of the field team in terms of reducing disparity.

An overall analysis compared with previous year reveals that wages seem to have stagnated, hence the increase of 3%, like in previous year, is in between the seasons. This is considered a minor increase. This period was preceded by wage struggles in Ajmer and Bhilwara during and before the project period. It was followed by a reaction from employers where they mobilized their end to ensure that wage hikes are checked. The measures taken to check wage revision included change of source catchments and increasing pressure on labour contractors. The workers who led the wage struggles were deprived of work.

The table below complements the previous table giving a deeper sense of the income and wage rate scenario of the workers through daily wage calculations.

Daily Wage per Worker:

It is important to calculate the daily wage earnings of every

Table 41: Wage rate comparison between Ajmer and Bhilwara

Category	Units	Ajmer		Bhilwara	
		2016-2017	2017-2018	2016-2017	2017-2018
		Average Rate		Average Rate	
1. *Paatla*	Per 1000 Bricks	454	474	476	486
2. *Khadkan*	Per Month	12500	13000	9950	10818
3. *Bharai*	Per 1000 Bricks	126	142	105	106
4. *Nikasi*	Per 1000 Bricks	129	120	104	105
5. *Jalai*	Per Month	9727	10357	10375	11455
6. *Raapas*	Per Month	8333	9833	8500	9250
7. *Khakhla*	Per Month	10000	12750	6500	8125
8. Other	Per Month	8000	8000	-	-

worker to get a real understanding of their earnings as multiple members are employed per family whereas the entire family is treated as one whole unit during wage settlement.

The following calculations will help understand the wages received and the daily wage per worker –

Table 42: Formulae used for calculation of daily wage rate

Method 1: Total wages to be received = wage rate x amount of work done
Method 2: Total wages received = Advance+ *Kharchi* + Final settlement
Method 1 – Method 2: Reveals disparity in payment of wages
Daily wage calculation per worker: Total wages/ (working family size x average work days)

Case of *Paatla* Workers: In case of the *paatla* workers who are paid on a piece rate basis, the bricks made are counted periodically. Therefore the average wage rate has been calculated on the basis of the total output in the season and the total working members. The calculations are done for the population of above 14 years of age working in the kiln.

It is clear that the daily wage earned by a working member at the kiln is much lower than the minimum wage. Further, there is a disparity between the wages to be received against work done and those actually received. This difference is Rs. 14,643 on an average annually and about Rs. 30 in terms of daily wage. This means the wages received are 15% lower than what is actually earned.

In Rajasthan in 2016-17 the daily wage earned was Rs. 207[2]. It is evident that the *Paatla* workers get an average of 19% lower than the minimum wage. It needs to be remembered that the workers spend an average of 11 hours per day to get these wages. If overtime is calculated, then the workers are receiving almost one third of the minimum wages.

Similarly, daily wage rates in other work categories where data could be analysed, also reflect disparity in payment and wages below daily wages table.

This disparity in pay can be assigned to various factors – the lack of information workers have on work done, workers taken

Table 43: Daily wage calculation for Paatla Workers for the season 2016 – 17

	2016-17					
	Average Income (method 1)	Average Income (Method 2)	Average Work Days for *Paatla*	Average Working Family Size at Kiln (>=14 years)	Average Daily Wage (Method 1)	Average Daily Wage (Method 2)
1. *Paatla*	**Rs. 99238**	**Rs. 84595**	**223**	**2.25**	**Rs.198**	**Rs.168**

N=103

Disparity in payment and wages:

Category (2016-17)	Average Income (Method 1)	Average Income (Method 2)	Average Work Days for *Paatla*	Average Working Family Size at Kiln (>=14 years)	Average Daily Wage (Method 1)	Average Daily Wage (Method 2)
1. *Khadkan*	34245	92222	218	2.25	170	187
2. *Bharai*	124797	114812	209	2.25	256	244
3. *Raapas*	48687	48357	179	2.25	120	120
4. *Khakhla*	40667	78800	176	2.25	102	198

2 As on September 14, 2017 as listed in http://labour.rajasthan.gov.in/Notification under document MinimumWagesNotification17-122015.pdf

advantage of due to the complex nature of record keeping and calculations involved, low literacy rate of workers and illegal deductions from workers when paid *kharchi*.

State Wise Comparison of Wage Rates:

To understand the wage rate differences state wise, wage rates as fixed with the workers for the latest season (2017-18) are compared across work categories. It must however be noted that the previous table clarifies that this wage rate is not received by the workers and is distributed amongst family members working collectively while also getting lost in calculations beyond the comprehension of workers.

Table 44: State wise wage rates of paatla workers.

	2017-18			
	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	U.P.
Paatla (per 1000 bricks)	466	451	474	479

All numbers in Rupees, N = 154

It can be seen from the table above that of the wages fixed for the *paatla* workers the lowest rate is received by the workers from Bihar and highest by the workers of U.P. While there is no significant difference in rates of Rajasthan and U.P. in the previous year, workers from Rajasthan received higher rates.

Duration of Payment of Wages:

The cycle of payment of wages was explored and it was found that out of the 200 reporting worker families, 95% workers received payment as final settlement at the end of the season while roughly 3% families reported monthly and 2% weekly settlement of wages.

Inference:

These outputs of wage rates of the two seasons could be indicative of the poor negotiating power of the workers especially because more than often the wage rates are decided when the labour has already arrived at the kilns, making them more vulnerable. The situation also gives points to the possible reasons for the rapid change in kilns and contractors by workers.

The state wise analysis also reveals that wage rates are strongly dependent on factors beyond competence of work – like relation between contractor and owner, negotiating power of the contractor, availability of information with workers. Workers from different states seem to be working in silence at different wage rates on the same kiln.

Earnings and Negative Balance *(Tut)*

While the above analysis is of the wage rates, this is not the final amount that the family receives at the end of the season. The total work done by the family (wage rate* number of working days) is further subjected to deductions of advance taken, food expenses (called *kharchi*) and sometimes other expenses such as medical expenses, travel expenses etc.

Many a times after these deductions families end up with a negative balance called '*tut*'. This *tut* acts as a bonding force to the kiln and often workers have to return back to the same kiln to repay the '*tut*'. This locally termed '*tut*' (negative earning) can be viewed as the real indicator of Bondage.

The details of earnings and *tut:*

As outlined in the table below 93% families earned a positive take away income from the kilns, while 7% reported *tut*. There has been an increase in cases of positive take back by 6% and a drop of 4% in cases of tut in the current year compared to the previous year. This may be attributed to the efforts of the field team. Also, this year no cases of zero balance take back were registered in the sample which is a drop of 2% from the previous year. The average positive take back income per family was calculated at 23%, higher than previous year at Rs. 33514 while the average *tut* amount dropped by 17% compared to previous year at Rs. 16,750 per family.

Table 45: Details of Final Settlement

	2015-2016			
	% of Families	Average Amount	Minimum Amount	Maximum Amount
1. Positive Take Back Income	93	33514	2000	200000
2. Negative Take Back Income/*Tut*	7	16750	5000	45000
3. 0 Balance	0	0	0	0

N=212

Table 46: Statewise Analysis of Take Back Income

	2015-2016					
		Bihar	Chhattisgarh	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	Total
1. Positive Take Back Income	% of Families	83%	86%	88%	98%	93%
	Average Amount	16000	26615	37083	34092	33514
2. Negative Take Back Income/ *Tut*	% of Families	16%	13%	11%	1%	6%
	Average Amount	7500	26000	16333	10000	16750

N = 84

It can be inferred from the table that positive take backs have reduced in Bihar and Chhattisgarh and increased considerably among workers of Rajasthan and U.P. compared to the previous year. Also the overall percentage has risen by almost 6%. Similarly there has been a considerable reduction in cases of *tut* and zero balance take backs are from Rajasthan which was the highest in the previous year. 11% workers reported *tut* from Rajasthan above the overall average of 6% .It can thus be concluded that the intra state migrants are the most vulnerable when it comes to *tut* and zero balance. They are also the ones taking the highest advances. Another reason could be the lack of strong contractual agreements between contractor and owner. Also chances of direct contract between worker and owner are high and may lead to exploitative/unclear terms and conditions.

Tut in work life at kilns: It is also interesting to note that 22% families reported having *tut* at least once in their work life. The average times *tut* was reported was three times per family, ranging from once in a lifetime to even 20 times. If this is compared to the average work years spent by a family on the kiln which is seven, it indicates that on an average a family reports *tut* at least once in less than 3 years. This is similar to previous trends.

It is also observed that the negative balance seems to end very slowly and has a trait of continuous occurrence resulting in bonding the labour to the particular kiln or contractor. It has been found that workers with *Tut* are bound by condition to return to the same kilns/through same contractor for work.

A. Work Conditions at Kilns

1. Facilities at Kiln

Majority of the families reported living in *kaccha* houses at the kilns. A small area in the corner of the kilns is usually allocated for rooms/houses to be built, and these were observed to be small, dingy and cramped. 12% workers reported living in *pucca* houses at the kilns which was not the case in the previous year. This percentage has drastically come down from 37 per cent in the previous year and reasons for the same will need further probing.

Table 47: Living conditions and facilities provided at kilns

Indicators	Category	% of Families
House at kiln	1. *Pucca*	12
	2. *Kuccha* made of bricks	84
Water	1. Tap	14
	2. Tube well	55
	3. Well	11
	4. Tanker	13
	5. Others	16
Toilet and bathing		9
	Usage of toilet	7
Electricity	Electricity at workplace	91(12 hours average in a day)
	Electricity at home	82 (14 hours average in a day)
Provision of Material for Cooking		92

All numbers are in percentages, N=213

Water was available at all kilns with a majority of kilns using tube wells as the source for water. 9% of families reported having access to toilets or bathing facilities and 7% reported using toilets.

Electricity was available for an average 12 hours every day both at workplace and 14 hours at home on kiln. 92% families reported that material for cooking like firewood was made available at the kiln by the owner.

The overall living environment was observed to be smoky due to the firing kilns. With very small sized houses without toilets/bathing areas, low ceilings living conditions were observed to be very challenging. The extreme temperatures of Rajasthan in summers and winters make the kiln environment extremely difficult to live in.

2. Work Hours at Kiln

It is observed that most workers work for very long hours; these particularly include the *paatla* workers. Work continues through the night. The owners set up elaborate lighting arrangements at work stations to ensure smooth functioning during the night. The work is done in intervals keeping the worker occupied throughout the day and night. For example, the *paatla* workers after molding the bricks in wet mud have to keep rotating them to expose every surface to the sun. This goes on throughout the day even if they have finished molding the bricks.

Table 48: Work hours at the kilns

Work Hours	% of Workers	Average Hours	Minimum	Maximum
1-5 Hrs.	1	3	1	5
6-10 Hrs.	35	8	6	10
11-15 Hrs.	59	12	11	15
>15 Hrs.	5	17	16	18
Total average		11	1	18

N=207

It can be seen from the table that the average work hours are 11 hours, ranging from one to eighteen hours. Majority of workers reported working between eleven to fifteen hours.

3. Sleep Hours of Workers

It was found that many workers do not get the assumed minimum amount of required sleep of six hours a day.

Table 49: Sleep hours ok kiln workers

	% of Workers	Average Hours	Minimum	Maximum
0-6 Hrs.	43	5	4	6
7-8 Hrs.	50	8	7	8
>8 Hrs.	7	10	9	12

N=213

As seen from table the majority of workers are able to sleep for an average of 8 hours per day, however 43% sleep for five hours a day.

4. Payment of Wages

As mentioned above, under the section on wages, workers are not paid regular wages as provided for under the Payment of Wages Act. They are given an advance in the beginning of the season which is variable, and are then paid food expenses on a weekly/fortnightly/monthly basis.

Of the 202 families studied only 4% reported receiving some wages on a weekly and monthly basis beyond *kharchi* for food. Others 96% stated settlement only at the end of the season.

B. Status of Children

Migration to brick kilns leads to denial of rights to children. There are none/negligible schooling or ICDS facilities at brick kilns. While most families have their children on the kilns a few leave them behind at the source location.

Table 50: Children at home and kiln

	Percentage of Children		
	Overall (0-14 years)	0-6 years	7-14 years
At Home	**28**	22	34
At Kiln	**72**	78	66

All numbers are in percentages, N = 368 children

The families of all workers on the kiln comprise of a total of 32% (368) children between the ages 0-14 years. Of these children 72% are at kilns and 28% are left behind at home at the source location. It was also found that 32% of children staying back at home are without both parents and 68% with a single parent staying back with them.

It was also recorded that parents agreed upon engaging their children in work. While it is observed that many families engage their children at work there is a hesitation among workers in accepting this.

Education for Children:

It was found that only 4% children attended some form of school/anganwadi facility at the source and that the number further dropped down to 3% at the kilns. The reason for such poor enrolment can be attributed to lack of facilities at destination for migrant workers, periodic movement from one location to another and lack of will to educate children.

Table 51: Children attending school/ Anganwadi

	Total Children in Anganwadi/ schools	Attending Anganwadi (0-6 yrs.)	Attending Schools (7-14 yrs.)
At Home	21	13	30
At Kiln	5	3	6
Not Attending	74	84	64

All numbers are in percentages, N = 369

A closer look at the table above indicates that the children are largely deprived of anganwadi/schooling facilities at both the source and at the kiln. This could be due to the continuous migration families need to undertake. However, compared to the previous year which had higher percentage (20%) of children going to schools at home, this year is a definite low at 4%. This needs further enquiry to understand the views of workers on educating their children.

It was found that 97% of the workers agreed that education was very important for their children and 66% agreed to send their children to schools and hostels if available at the kilns.

CHAPTER 5

Way Forward and Challenges

The current report is for the third year of the project. The study will be conducted for one more year and finally comparisons will be drawn to understand changes in migration patterns and socio-economic conditions of the workers in the kilns.

Two formats to collect the data were developed by PCLRA. While most of the data recording was done by the field team directly and monitored continuously, diversity and accuracy of data were high. During the analysis a few shortcomings were noticed which have been noted and will be altered in the format in the coming year.

Last year, software was developed for accurate and detailed data analysis. It took nearly 2 months for the software to get going as detailed analysis was needed. The software will generate reports and comparative data for all four years of the study.

It is also expected that the greatest challenge of reluctance of the owners and sometimes the workers themselves to answer questions and discuss wage details will be reduced as the interventions begin and more and more workers join the collective.

The time of data collection in the year was from end January to May, to avoid the ending of the work season.

With the software for data analysis developed, the study has got more comprehensive in year two compared to year one. To fill in the gaps identified in year one, the ethnographic study has been carried out in year three and new inquiries delved into. In the current year, to understand the push factors, recruitment processes and migration patterns ethnographic study in the source areas of Chhattisgarh was planned and executed. A report on the finding from the same in under analysis and will complement the current findings. Such studies are also planned to be carried out for the other source areas of U.P. and Bihar.

To understand the detailed processes and dynamics of recruitment, commissions, and migration in greater depths, mapping of contractors has been identified to be crucial to the research. Hence in the following year data will be collected for the same.

It is also planned to collect specific data related to mother and child health from brick kilns. This will help in advocacy with Health Department.