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A Child of the City: a Longitudinal Study of Stratification and Migration in a Rajasthan Village

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Abstract: By reference to a multi-caste and tribal village in southern Rajasthan the paper examines the degree to which caste and tribal membership impacts on different aspects of migration, e.g. commencement, form, destination, duration, and types of work undertaken. Using a livelihoods approach, supplemented by other perspectives and concentrating on four migration streams (three domestic, one international), data collected over a period of nearly thirty-five years indicates that patterns of migration are far from random. It is argued that the use of official stratification categories in migration surveys can obscure important differences within caste groupings. Short-term circular migration, underestimated in national surveys, is shown to be substantial, especially for the tribal migrants in the village. While position in the social structure differentially affects aspects of migration across the village hierarchy, examples are given of individual migrant agency overcoming structural constraints.

Keywords: stratification, caste, tribe, migration, livelihoods, Rajasthan, India

Introduction

Building upon research first conducted in the mid-1970s, this paper explores the changing patterns of migration from a Rajasthan village through the lens of caste stratification and tribal society[1]. The paper covers domestic and international migration, and also briefly examines migration *into* the village, from nearby villages and other parts of India.

In the mid-1970s, with an academic background in social anthropology and economics, this writer used a 'livelihoods approach' to explore the local economy and society in relation to development plans for the area. The work included identifying the different kinds of assets (e.g. natural, financial, social, human and physical) held by households in the village, the livelihood activities conducted by members of each household, and caste or tribe membership. It quickly became apparent that many households' livelihoods were more complex than those depicted in the official plans and documents of the area, and often involved activities conducted *both* inside and away from the village.

The field of migration studies has expanded considerably since fieldwork was first conducted in the village. A comprehensive survey of how the many and varied approaches to the study of migration have developed is provided by de Haas (2008). The author argues for theoretical perspectives that account for both the role of agency (the actions of individual migrants) and for the role of structure (the constraining and/or enabling contexts within which migration takes place). Such 'pluralist' views, integrating structure and actor perspectives, include, in his view, the New Economics of Labour Migration (taking the household as the decision making unit in attempts to spread risk and overcome market constraints), the 'livelihoods approaches' (migration viewed as one strategy, amongst

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1 Castes are hereditary groups allowing no individual mobility; they are endogamous, defined by traditional occupations, and form a hierarchical order, reflecting their ritual and often economic status. They form a 'complementary hierarchy' (Fuller, 1997). There are long-debated views on the distinctions between caste and tribal society: e.g. the degree to which tribal groups form dependent social systems compared to the interdependent nature of caste society and the degree to which tribal 'exclusion' is based on physical isolation rather than ritualistic discrimination.

others, to improve livelihoods) and perspectives on migrant transnationalism (whereby migrants can have a simultaneous commitment to two or more societies). Some approaches and perspectives on migration are mainly drawn from a particular academic discipline, while others are more multi-disciplinary in character. The value of the latter approach in explaining patterns of migration is shown by Chatterji (2013) in her study of 'mobility capital' in the pre- and post-partition Bengal delta.

This writer continued to use a livelihoods approach in subsequent research on livelihood change and migration in the village. Even so, where appropriate, this paper also draws upon other perspectives in examining changing patterns of migration from the village.

Perhaps the most forceful account of the relationship between social stratification and migration in India is provided by Breman 's study (1996) of labour migration in Gujarat. Here he notes 'who goes out where and what for is predetermined by the hierarchical and class structure in the rural hinterland from which the migrants are drawn' (op.cit: 142). However, obtaining detailed information on such rural stratification structures, and on the related migration flows, usually eludes broad-based survey approaches. In this vein de Haas (2008: 46) proposes that there should be room for 'non-survey based research which can unveil patterns and structures that larger based surveys are not usually able to capture'.

The contrasting approaches and findings, of macro-surveys and micro-studies, regarding social stratification and migration in India, are illustrated by Deshingkar and Farrington (2009), and Deshingkar, Sinha and Siddiqui (2010). Whereas the 'poorest and least educated migrants ', substantially from lower-caste and tribal households and often undertaking seasonal and circular migration, are largely 'invisible' in census and National Sample Survey records (because these surveys largely focus on permanent migration), a review of 83 micro-level studies of migration in the country show 'a completely different world' in which such social groups are 'highly mobile'. Moreover, the review shows such mobility to take two main forms: 'coping' migration undertaken by the poorest and least educated migrants, usually belonging to tribal and very low-caste groups, and 'accumulative' migration undertaken by groups of people who are slightly better off, though still poor, often belonging to castes in the Other Backward Classes category. Further differentiation occurs in terms of the location and the types of work secured: shorter distances travelled and low-paid manual work undertaken in coping migration, travel to metropolitan cities and work undertaken in expanding manufacturing and service sectors in accumulative migration (Deshingkar and Farrington, 2009: 21). While some migrants may progress from coping to accumulative migration, the authors suggest that 'the majority remain in the same position'.

Deshingkar and Farrington (op.cit.) emphasise that different migration streams may exist in a single village, the situation explored in this paper. The examination of stratification and migration streams is based upon primary data, collected when the researcher lived in the village for varying periods of time in the mid-1970s, 2001/02 and 2010/11. Two very brief visits were made in 2014 and 2015.

Dungarpur District and Social Stratification in the Study Village

The study village, referred to as Chandrapur in this paper, is located in Dungarpur District, in Rajasthan, a district with the lowest human development index of all the 32 districts in the state (IDS Jaipur,2008).

The total population of the district is 1.4 million (2011 Census), the great majority of whom (93 per cent) live in rural areas. Seventy-one per cent of the population are Scheduled Tribe, mostly belonging to the Bhil tribe - a group that forms 39 per cent of Rajasthan's total tribal population (2011 Census). In rural areas of the district, the Bhils live in dispersed settlements called *pals*, while nucleated villages, where government and private sector services tend to be concentrated, are inhabited, in the main, by caste Hindus and Jains[2]. Agriculture is predominantly rain-fed and the average size of land holdings is small, 40 per cent of holdings being less than half a hectare (IDS, Jaipur, 2008).

The population of Chandrapur comprises Caste Hindus, Jains and tribal Bhils. The Caste Hindus and Jains largely reside in the nucleated part of the village, which also hosts a large number of retail shops and government services. Even in the 1970s, a villager described Chandrapur, or at least this nucleated part of the village, as a 'Child of the City', indicating its importance as a retail, trading, and service centre. In contrast, the tribal Bhil households are spread out over a large adjacent undulating terrain, typical of the Bhil *pals* of the district,

2 Although the Jains form a distinct religious community i.e. they use scriptures other than the Vedas (Doniger, 2014) they can interact with their Hindu caste neighbours as part of a hierarchy. Accordingly, in terms of the village caste structure given in this paper (Table 1), they are placed in a position analogous to their Hindu merchant caste counterparts.

Table 1 Resident Households and Population in Chandrapur by Caste and Tribe 1976/77 - 2010/11

Official Stratification Categories	Caste/Tribe	Traditional Caste Occupation	Number of Households with resident members			Resident population of Households in the village		
	Caste		**1976/77**	**2001/02**	**2010/11**	**1976/77**	**2001/02**	**2010/11**
General category	Brahman	Family Priest	10	13	13	55	48	48
General category	Sevak	Temple Priest	7	14	14	38	64	56
General category	Jain	Shopkeeper/Trader	12	36	36	94	181	187
Other Backward Classes (OBC)	Panchal	Blacksmith	14	22	27	95	102	122
OBC	Derzi	Tailor	7	11	12	35	61	55
OBC	Bhoi	Gardener	6	8	12	32	51	57
OBC	Sutar	Carpenter	1	1	1	3	2	6
OBC	Kumhar	Potter	1	1	2	2	6	3
OBC	Nai	Barber	2	2	3	11	14	11
OBC	Haraniya	Knife maker	1	1	1	3	6	5
OBC	Jogi	Mendicant	18	28	25	109	106	92
Scheduled Caste (SC)	Bhangi	Sweeper	2	6	10	8	27	47
	Tribe							
Scheduled Tribe (ST)	Bhil	NA	52	101	127	309	529	662
TOTAL			**133**	**244**	**283**	**794**	**1197**	**1351**

Source: Primary data collection

which also falls within the administrative boundary of the village. The population of the village over the reference period, in terms of official stratification categories, and by caste and tribe, is shown in Table 1. The numbers of Households within these categories are given, as well as the resident population of the households[3].

The four official stratification categories given in Table 1 reflect the Government of India's policy of 'positive' discrimination in favour of disadvantaged groups and are used in surveys of migration in the country. The first category, the General Category, denotes those who through their traditionally advantaged position in society do *not* have reserved status. In Chandrapur, the Brahman, Sevak and Jain households, traditionally constituting the highest status groups in the village hierarchy, are placed in this category. The castes and tribe included in the next three categories do have reserved status, and are therefore all eligible for reserved positions in government employment and education: the eight castes, listed from Panchal (Blacksmith) to Jogi[4] (Mendicant), are included in the Other Backward Classes list for Rajasthan, the Bhangi (Sweeper), are included in the list of Scheduled Castes (former untouchable castes) and the Bhil are within the list of Scheduled Tribes.

Eight of the 11 seats on the village council (for Chandrapur and four neighbouring villages) are reserved for Scheduled Tribe candidates, as is the position of headman.

For some groups, both large and small changes can be explained by natural growth and developments in the life-cycle of households. For example, the number of Jain (shopkeeper/trader) households increased from 12 to 36 between the mid-1970s and 2001/02, in part due to the division of a particularly large Jain family (10 sons) following the death of the father. Conversely, with only one son and only one married grandson, there has only

3 These figures do not include households and individuals that have migrated *into* the village over this time period. These are mentioned separately in the paper.

4 The position of the Jogi in the caste hierarchy is a little ambiguous. On earlier visits to the village some of the Jogis indicated that they could be included in the list of SCs, if they used the caste name Rawal, a caste included in this list. Accordingly, in earlier publications (Jones, 2008) they were included in this category. However, in 2010/11, having seen the reserved caste lists used by the Government of Rajasthan, wherein the Jogis are included in the OBC list, they have now been placed in this latter category.

been one Haraniya (Knife maker) household over the same period of time. However, for other groups, migration from the village has also played an important role in shaping the number of households and individuals in the village.

Migration from the village takes two main forms: movement of married couples and their children away from the village, and movement of individuals[5] leaving household members behind. Regarding the former, the number of migrated couples[6] increased from 15, to 63 and to 82 for the three time periods. With regard to the latter, the number of migrated individuals rose from 55, to 146 and to 170 over the same periods of time.

Fuller (1992: 13) emphasises that caste is not an abstract principle of social organisation; it is 'a visible dimension of everyday life in rural India'. By examining the prevalence, form and location of migration from the village we now explore the degree to which caste stratification and tribal society is a visible dimension of *migratory* life for the population of Chandrapur. This is done with reference to four main destination points: Within Southern Rajasthan, Other States in India, Metropolitan Cities in the country, and the Middle East. The objective is not to present the caste or tribal affiliation of all migrants in the village. Instead, for each of the destination points, we explore the degree to which migration within a particular caste or tribal group is concentrated in that area, and/or the degree to which particular groups form the majority of migrants in each area. A short migrant case-study is also given for each of the destination points.

Migration within Southern Rajasthan

Migration to other parts of Dungarpur District (mainly to Dungarpur town) and to the adjacent district of Banswara, forms the shortest migration stream from the village. A striking feature of this destination area is its importance for the highest caste listed in Table 1 (the Brahmans), particularly for married couples and their children. In 1975/76 and in 2001/2, *all* of the Brahman couples (9 and 14 respectively) residing away from the village had migrated to either Dungarpur or Banswara districts. Even by 2010/11, only two of 18 Brahman couples had migrated further away, one to Udaipur district, also within Rajasthan, and one to Goa. However, exploring this pattern of localised migration requires a more detailed level of analysis than that of caste.

Although not shown in Table 1, there were three quite separate sub-castes of Brahmans in 1975/76.

Of these, the Chobisa Brahmans were, and still are, the highest status and most numerous of the Brahman households in the village: 7 of 10 resident Brahman households in 1975/76, 10 of 13 in 2001/02, and 11 of 13 in 2010/11. During State times, in recognition of ritual services (performed at a property owned by the royal family in the village) and of administrative duties in the area, Chobisa families in Chandrapur were granted rent-free land within the village and also in other settlements. By 1975/76, following land reforms with the formation of Rajasthan, the latter lands were no longer held or were a matter of court dispute. Although at this time the Brahman families (Chobisa and non-Chobisa) together held nearly 21 per cent of irrigated land and just over 12 per cent of non-irrigated land in the village (while forming just 8% of land-holding households), this translated into a Brahman per-household holding of just under half a hectare of irrigated land and 1.68 ha of non-irrigated land. For the Chobisa Brahmans, this represented a decline in their fortunes. Moreover, the Chobisa Brahmans, due to their sub-caste's link to the former royal family, have never performed ritual services for other households in the village, a source of income that was available to non-Chobisa Brahman households at the time and continues to this day.

However, the Chobisa Brahmans had other types of asset, social and human, which they could draw upon to their advantage – *within* Dungarpur and Banswara. Links of marriage across both districts, the long presence of Chobisa families in the two district towns, and the high status of this community, gave the Chandrapur Chobisa households strong social connections in this part of Rajasthan. In addition, as a community that had long valued education for their children (both sons and daughters), the Chobisa households were in a good position to secure government positions in the expanding range of Government Departments and Services, positions which were based mostly away from the village, and within the two Districts. Employment in the Government sector has also been important for individual Chobisa migrants working away from the village, again largely in Dungarpur and Banswara Districts, and also for those working in the village, especially in the village schools.

Over the years the Chobisa couples migrating to

5 It is wrong to regard such individual migrants as 'former' members of a household. To varying degrees they make regular return visits to the village to visit families and assist with household duties.

6 In order to make a clear distinction between individual migrants and those migrating with their partners/families, the term 'married couples' is used. In earlier publications the term 'migrated households' was used but this may erroneously imply that in these cases all ties are severed with the village.

Dungarpur and Banswara have largely established separate households from those remaining in Chandrapur. However, they have not abandoned the village; shares in land and property are retained, and visits made to the village to manage these, to meet relations, and to attend functions. This is illustrated in the example below.

Box 1. LTG Chobisa living with his wife and family in Dungarpur town.

During a brief visit to Chandrapur in January 2015 it was possible to meet LTG Chobisa who was attending a marriage ceremony at the time. He was born in Chandrapur in the late 1950s, studied in the village up to the 8th class, the maximum available in the village at that time, and then continued his education in Dungapur. He and his wife moved to the town in 1984, living in rented accommodation until 1989, and then building their own house. Having been educated up to MA level, he has spent his career in the veterinary service, while his wife, who holds a BA, has worked as a teacher in government schools. They earn monthly salaries (including allowances) of INRs 58,590 (£615) and INRs35,000 (£367) respectively. They have two sons. The elder son, a science graduate, runs a private school in the town, a reflection of the huge growth in private schools in the country. The second son, a post-graduate, lives with his family in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, where he works in IT. Following the death of his father, LTG's widowed mother lives with them in Dungarpur. One brother and his family continue to live in Chandrapur while a second brother and his family lives in Dungarpur. LTG visits Chandrapur two or three times a month to look after the agricultural land, to meet relatives and attend functions. LTG mentioned there had been no need to send money back to his parents as his father had been receiving a pension for many years.

Migration to Other States in India

This section shows migration by the tribal Bhils to be very different (in location, form and types of work undertaken) from that of the Chobisa Brahmans. Most migration from Chandrapur to Other States in India (excluding metropolitan cities) has been to Gujarat, a State located immediately south of Dungarpur District; one of the two migration streams of particular importance to the tribal households.

In 1975/76 the 52 Bhil households comprised just over 40 per cent of landholding (129) households in the village, while holding proportionally much less (13.3%) of irrigated land, and proportionally rather more (53.5%) of non-irrigated land. Some Bhil households increased their access to cultivable land by working that of others (mainly Brahman households) on a sharecropping basis, and Bhil households had, to varying degrees, shares in the produce of trees owned by groups of related families. Just over two-thirds of the Bhil households owned livestock – small in number, and in varying combinations of bullocks, cows and goats. At that time the collection and sale of firewood, and of seasonal forest produce, formed other sources of income. Even so, in terms of access to natural assets the Bhil households held very little irrigated land (an average of just 0.05 ha per household) and while they held relatively more non-irrigated land (an average of 1.41 ha per household) this was often hilly, with poor quality soils, and subject to the vagaries of the monsoon rains. Unlike other households in the village, the tribal households had no income from a *caste* occupation, and they have traditionally relied on moneylender finance to meet a range of cash needs. In the mid-1970s education levels were generally very low – it was common to see young Bhil children, especially girls, helping with a range of household, livestock and agricultural chores rather than attending school.

In contrast to the Chobisa Brahmans, the migration of married Bhil couples has been very limited (just one, three and five couples in 1975/76, 2000/01 and 2010/11 respectively), while migration by individuals has been substantial.

The number and proportion of Bhil households with one or more members working away from the village increased from 17 (32.7%) in 1975/76 to 51 (50.5%) in 2001/02. Although there was a small increase in the number (54) of households with migrant members in 2010/11, this represented a lower proportion (42.5%) of all Bhil households at that time. Similarly, the number of individual Bhil migrants increased from 22 to 72 between the first two reference points, and then declined slightly to 70 by 2010/11 – a levelling-off addressed later in this paper. Just two of the Bhil migrants in 2001/02 were female, one working on a cotton farm in Gujarat (her father having worked there previously) and one accompanying a disabled brother on construction sites in the State. Two young Bhil girls were living/working away from the village in 2010/11, providing help to maternal relatives – this was also the case for a young Bhil boy at that time.

The frontier of migration for the Bhil migrants has changed over time. In the mid-1970s 20 (90.9%) of the 22 individuals working away from the village were employed at various locations *within* Dungarpur District, one in the neighbouring district of Banswara, and one in Gujarat. By 2001/02 and 2010/11, nearly 42 per cent (30 of 72 migrants) and 41 per cent (29 of 70) migrants, respectively, were working in Gujarat, mainly in Ahmedabad and Himatnagar, busy commercial and manufacturing hubs, located 180 km and 96 km from Dungarpur town. The

remaining Bhil migrants for these two reference years were largely working in Mumbai – the migration stream discussed in the following section.

Although the frontier of migration has expanded over time, aided by improved roads and transport provision, the type of employment secured by the Bhil migrants at their destination points has remained broadly similar. In 1975/76 the great majority (15) of the 20 individuals working away from the village, were working, at least for part of the year, on road repairs and house construction in the district. In 2001/02 over half (56.7%) the Bhil migrants in Gujarat were employed in the construction sector, a further 23 per cent were working as domestic cleaners, and nearly seven per cent were working as tea stall staff. By 2010/11 there had been little change – just over half the Bhil migrants in Gujarat were working in construction, a rather lower proportion (6.9%) were working as domestic cleaners and a rather higher proportion (20.7%) were working in tea stalls. All the Bhil migrants in Gujarat were working as employees; none of them had established enterprises in the state.

Moreover, for this tribal group, as for the Scheduled Tribe migrants in the micro-studies reviewed by Deshingkar et al. (2010), work undertaken in Gujarat is not only largely unskilled and irregular, but also mainly circular and seasonal. During the year the Bhil migrants are returning to Chandrapur to help with agricultural work, attend major religious festivals, and participate in family functions, usually hand-carrying any earnings, to be used for a range of both consumption and productive purposes, on these occasions. 'Life is not here (Gujarat), life is there (the village)' reported a tribal migrant when interviewed in Gujarat in a separate study (Jones, 2014). Periodic work in Gujarat is followed by more permanent return to the village, and then, or earlier, younger family members take their turn at the destination points. This and other points can be seen in the example below.

Box 2. PLM Bhil working in Ahmedabad, Gujarat

When interviewed in 2010/11 PLM was 18 years old and unmarried. He had worked in Ahmedabad since he was 14 years old, originally being taken by his sister's husband who was working there at the time. His father was deceased, and had worked in Mumbai in a tea stall. In 2010/11 PLM's widowed mother and younger brother lived in Chandrapur. None of them had their own mobile phone, PLM phoned a neighbouring uncle in the village from a phone booth when in Gujarat. Land was held in his grandfather's name and the yield shared between the families of the grandfather's three sons. When working in Ahmedabad, PLM lived on the construction site. He returned quite frequently to the village – for two or three days every month – by bus, the journey taking around three hours. Although he reported the daily wage rate for construction work in Ahmedabad (INRs 110) to be only ten rupees more than that in the village, work in the former had the advantage of being continuous while work in the village was intermittent. On return visits to the village he hand-carried money for his mother, amounting to around INRs 9000 a year - approximately £125. This was used for food and other household expenses, suggesting the family, using Deshingkar et al.'s terminology, would be placed towards the 'coping' rather than the 'accumulative' end of the migration spectrum. He also needed to finance his forthcoming marriage. Did he experience any regrets, any disadvantages with migration? Yes, he did: the curtailment of his education.

Migration to Metropolitan Cities

Virtually all migration from Chandrapur to metropolitan cities in India has been to Mumbai – 646 km from Dungarpur, the furthest domestic destination point for the majority of long-distance migrants. In the mid-1970s there was no direct bus service to this city, even from the district town; nowadays there is a direct bus service from the village itself. The focus of this section is mainly on migration by the Jogis, the lowest-caste in the OBC category (Table 1).

In the mid-1970s the Jogis formed the largest single-caste group (20) of households in the village. However, while forming nearly just over 15 per cent of land holding households at that time, together they held only about 5 per cent of irrigated land and under 9 per cent of non-irrigated land in the village. Although on a per-household basis they held a similarly tiny area of irrigated land (0.05 ha) to the tribal Bhils, their average per-household holding of non-irrigated land was just less than half (0.59 ha) that of the Bhil households. Thus, the Jogi households' access to natural assets was particularly limited. Moreover, though they had a traditional caste livelihood, which included providing messages of death for Bhils in Chandrapur and surrounding villages, this was uncertainly rewarded (by twice-yearly payments of grain from tribal families in client villages), and eschewed by the few Jogis who had secured government jobs at that time. Apart for these latter individuals, all working within

Dungarpur District, formal education levels, especially of daughters, were very low or non-existent.

In the mid-1970s one Jogi couple was based in Mumbai, and seven individuals (all male) were also working there. Four of the men were employed in tea stalls (work, given their very low-caste status, that would have been impossible for them to secure in the village) and the other four as night watchmen. Since that time, the increase in migration to the metropolis, especially of Jogi couples, has been quite dramatic.

By 2001/02 the number of Jogi couples living away from the village had increased to 24, the great majority (19) of which were based in Mumbai along with their children. The number of individual Jogi migrants had risen to 17, six of whom were in Mumbai[7]. Regarding the Jogi couples in Mumbai, the husbands were largely working as night watchmen or in tea stalls, but, with one important difference from the 1970s – by 2001/02 the Jogi men were running their *own* tea stalls, mostly rented, rather than working for others. One Jogi man was engaged in domestic cleaning work with his wife, and a number of other wives were also engaged in this type of work. The six individual Jogi migrants in Mumbai, all male, were also working as night watchmen and in tea stalls, but as staff rather than proprietors.

By 2010/11 these numbers had risen further: 30 Jogi couples and 21 Jogi individuals, all working, and apart from one commuting individual, were all living away from the village. As in 2001/02, the great majority of Jogi couples (21 of 30) were based in Mumbai. Also, as in 2001/02 the men in Mumbai were working as night watchmen (one reported this enabled him to undertake additional jobs during the day) or running tea stalls in the city. This time a greater number of wives (14) had secured jobs as domestic cleaners, and a few wives and/or daughters were now working in, or running their own, beauty parlours in the city. In 2010/11, of the 21 Jogi individuals (19 men, 2 women) working away from the village, 14 were working in Mumbai: eight as staff in tea stalls, four as night watchmen, one (a daughter) as a home help, and one cleaned cars. At this time, with so many couples and individual migrants working away, nearly 50 per cent of the Jogi households in the village were headed by widows or elderly grandparents – sometimes aided by young children. This and other points can be seen in the example below.

Box 3. NRB Jogi living w ith his wife and family in Mumbai

During the brief visit to Chandrapur in January 2015 a discussion was held with NRB, then 50 years old and the elder of two brothers, who had travelled from Mumbai to vote for a Jogi candidate in the village council elections. Following his father, NRB initially worked in Mumbai on a tea stall owned by a Sevak family in the village. However, by 2001/02 he was running his own tea stall and his wife and three sons were living with him in Mumbai. In January 2015, the sons, educated in Mumbai, were employed in office jobs, each earning INRs 10,000-8,000(£105-£84) a month, thought by their father to be twice the amount they could earn in Dungarpur. NRB himself reported a net monthly income of around INRs 7000 (£75) from his tea stall, and his wife earned half this sum cleaning two houses in the city. For accommodation they paid a monthly rent of INRs 5,000 (£52). NRB's younger brother has also run a tea stall for many years in Mumbai where his wife and children also live and work. Both brothers have constructed houses in Chandrapur from their earnings in Mumbai. The brothers' father and mother, now elderly, live in the village and NRB usually visits them twice a year, bringing small amounts of money at the time. In 2010/11, a daughter's son was living with the parents, assisting them and attending a private English medium school in the village. And what about caste in the city compared to the village? Is caste an important matter in Mumbai? No, NRB said, 'In Mumbai caste is not an important matter'. And is caste an important matter in the village? Yes, 'In the village caste is an important matter 'he replied.

In the previous section we noted that Mumbai was the second most important destination point for tribal Bhil migrants from the village: 22 migrants in 2001/02 and 14 migrants in 2010/11. To an even greater extent than the Jogis, the Bhils were working in tea stalls in the metropolis - 20 of the 22 migrants in 2001/02, and all the14 migrants in 2010/11. However, in contrast to the Jogi migrants, the wives and families of *all* Bhil migrants in Mumbai were living back in the village, and only two Bhil migrants in 2001/02, and just one of these in 2010/11, were running their *own* tea stalls in the city – the rest working as wage labour.

7 Of the migrant Jogi couples and individuals not working in Mumbai in 2001/02 and 2010/11, most were based in Dungarpur district or nearby districts, or in Ahmedabad, in Gujarat. Those working in the former tended to be the relatively well-educated sons of former government workers, while those Jogis working in Ahmedabad largely held menial jobs in the construction and service sectors, some having been sent there at a very early age, e.g. 9 years, 10 years old.

Employers of Jogi and Bhil migrants working as tea stall staff in Mumbai have usually been relatively high-caste proprietors from villages in Dungarpur district, sometimes from Chandrapur itself. In the mid-1970s five of the seven Sevak (temple priest) households in the village were running tea stalls in Mumbai. By 2010/11 a lower proportion of Sevak households, five of fourteen, were running hotels in Mumbai and one of these was a 'sleeping partner'. This lower proportion reflects diversification, on the part of children, into other occupations (e.g. office jobs) in Mumbai, the securing of employment in more nearby locations, and return from Mumbai to set up tea stalls/shops in the village itself.

Migration to the Middle East

Migration from Chandrapur to the Middle East started in the early 1980's. By 2001/2 there were 23 men from the village working in this part of the world, 22 of them in Kuwait and one in Saudi Arabia. The number of migrants to the Middle East increased to 29 in 2010/11, again, the great majority (25) working in Kuwait, with one migrant each in Saudi Arabia, Dubai, Muscat, and Iraq.

Men from the Panchal (Blacksmith) caste and the Derzi (Tailor) caste, both in the Other Backward Classes category (Table 1), were the first Chandrapur migrants travelling to the Middle East, and they have formed the great majority of such migrants ever since: together, eighty-seven per cent in 2001/02 and ninety per cent in 2010/11. In the mid-1970s the 14 Panchal households and the seven Derzi households had comparably small per-household irrigated land areas – an average of just 0.24 ha and 0.21 ha respectively. Moreover, both castes, for different reasons, faced pressures on their traditional occupations. For the making of iron plough tips the Panchals were traditionally remunerated in grain payments, twice a year following harvest times, from client households in surrounding tribal villages; a precarious source of income given very uncertain monsoon rains. Around the same time the Derzi households faced increased competition from others (then Jain women, more recently Bhil men from nearby villages) undertaking tailoring work in the village.

However, for both groups of households, their traditional caste skills were transferable and adaptable i.e. they had artisanal skills, one of the key mobility capitals identified by Chatterji (2013).

In 2001/02 ten of the 11 Derzi households in the village (Table 1) had a son or sons conducting tailoring work in Kuwait, mostly on a piece-work basis (the eleventh Derzi household was from another village and was using a relative's tailor shop while the latter was in Kuwait). By 2010/11, the number of Derzi migrants to Kuwait had decreased slightly (from 11 to 9) with some now specialising in new products e.g. making curtains and sofa covers. Two of the nine migrants had relocated their wives and children to Dungarpur town. Though still substantial, compared to the Derzi, a lower proportion of Panchal households had migrants in Kuwait – 41 per cent for both time periods. Like the two Derzis in 2010/11, one of the Panchal migrants had moved his wife and children to Dungarpur town.

Nowadays, with non-stop flights available to Kuwait from Ahmedabad airport, just four hours or so away from the village, the travel time is not any greater than for the overnight bus journey to Mumbai. Clearly, however, the costs are considerably greater, as these include not just the travel costs, but also those for a visa, a passport and other entry requirements. Financial and logistical help was facilitated by very close connections between families: all the Panchal families in Chandrapur belong to a single lineage as do all the Derzi families in the village. Earnings from the Middle East have helped to support subsequent migration within the family and wider kin group. The Panchals had their own rotating savings and credit association which could also be used to help finance such trips. Occasionally, the sale of a plot of land was reported, as was recourse to moneylenders in the village. In 2010/11 the migrants or their families variously indicated that money from the Middle East, usually sent through bank channels and/or hawala money transfer firms had financed the purchase of building plots, building/renovation of houses/shops, marriages, and education expenditures (See Box 4 below). One Derzi household with two members working in Kuwait in 2001/02 had constructed a hotel in the district town.

Fieldwork usually entails some kind of surprise. The visit in 2010/11 was no exception. For the first time, migration to the Middle East on the part of two 'tribal' households in the village was recorded. One Bhil migrant, 35 years old in 2010/11, with a wife and five children in the village, was based in Dubai where he had worked for a flooring company for three years. Prior to this he had worked in Mumbai for around 18 years, initially with his father in a tea hotel, but then in construction. According to his brother, he financed the trip, then around INRs 80,000 (about £975), from his Mumbai earnings and had agreed with the company to stay two years before returning home. He then came to the village for three months, with his air-fare paid by the company, before returning to Dubai. In 2010/11 he earned INRs 14,000 (about £195) monthly, plus accommodation and food. He sent INRs 10,000 (about

£137) home monthly using a bank to transfer money which his wife collected from a nearby village branch. The other tribal migrant had been working in Kuwait for the past five years as a hotel waiter. He had not returned home during that period and his financial position seemed more precarious. He too had previously worked in Mumbai for a number of years, but, in his case, had borrowed money locally (with a monthly interest charge of 5% and jewellery deposited as security) to help finance his Kuwait trip. His salary was just INRs 8,5000 (about £117) monthly, though he too received accommodation and food. For the first 18 months he sent no money home. In 2010/11 a close relative reported he sent between INRs 10,000-15,000 every two months (about £137-£206), half going to the lender and half going to the household. He phoned to say what the money should be spent on: a marriage, the elder son's college study and household expenses.

Box 4: DTP Panchal (Blacksmith) working in Kuwait

DTP, an only son, aged 28 years in 2011, had been working in Kuwait for seven years when a discussion was held with him during a return visit he made that year. When working in the village, DTP had specialised in making metal windows and gates; this helped him secure fabrication work in Kuwait. At that time he said he earned about INRs 20,000-25,000 (about £275-£350) monthly in Kuwait, more than twice the amount he felt he could earn in the village. In Kuwait he shares a room with five other Panchal caste men – all from Dungarpur. He returns to the village every 18 months or two years, paying around INRs 22,000 (about £302, early 2011 prices) for the round trip, where his wife and two young children live with his elderly parents. His father, in failing health, no longer works; land is cultivated on a share-cropping basis by a Bhil man from a neighbouring tribal village. Monthly household expenditures of around INRs 15,000 plus an additional INRs 5,000 per month for his father's medicines (together about £275) are financed from the Kuwait earnings. DTP also plans to rebuild the family house. His young son goes to a private English medium school in a neighbouring village. He sends money from Kuwait every two or three months, a yearly total of around INRs 200,000 (about £2,750). He does not have a bank account in Kuwait – these, he felt, are more for company employees. He prefers to use the Hawala money transfer system to send money home – the money comes to the house and he can ask for credit in Kuwait if he does not have enough to send.

During a very brief visit to the village in January 2015 an even greater surprise was in store. One of the Bhangi (Sweeper) men was now working in Kuwait. This was someone who had worked in Mumbai off and on over the years – initially in a tea hotel owned by one of the Chandrapur Sevak families - work that would have been inconceivable in the village given his caste status. In 2015 he was overseas and his wife simply reported he had gone with a tribal man from a nearby village – it was not possible to gain more information at that time.

The local economy and migration into the village

The use of the term rural 'sending areas' in migration studies can suggest that their economies are basic, underdeveloped, fundamentally agricultural, and that they only 'send'. However, this is not the case for Chandrapur.

Households with members migrating are frequently involved with village-based livelihood activities. Thus the great majority of Panchal (Blacksmith) and Derzi (Tailor) caste households with individual members working in the Middle East also conduct caste work in the village and cultivation of land. Some have developed new businesses in the village or nearby. Moreover, for the tribal Bhils, as previously noted, the proportion of households with members working away actually decreased from 50.5 percent in 2001/02 to 42.5 percent in 2010/11. One likely reason for this has been the implementation of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGA) in the years following 2001/02. By itself, NREGA , which provides for a maximum of 100 days work in the year for each eligible household, does not provide a complete alternative to migrating away from the village. However, in conjunction with agriculture and expanding opportunities for work nearby (e.g. with ever more building work, sometimes financed/part-financed by remittance income), NREGA makes working locally more feasible for tribal migrants whose living and working conditions in far flung cities can leave a great deal to be desired. Where migration is characterised by movement of married couples, shares in land and property can also form the basis for development and, sometimes, return to the village.

Moreover, there are groups of households in Chandrapur, most strikingly the Jains (Table 1) whose livelihoods are based largely, though certainly not exclusively, within the village. Furthermore, these locally based livelihoods have not been static but have developed over time. From the mid-1970s to the present day the

Jains run the greatest number of retail establishments in the village and also engage in moneylending, primarily lending to clients from surrounding tribal settlements. Their shops have not only grown in number (12 shops in the mid-1970s – 37 shops in 2010/11), but also in variety, including in 2010/11, two pharmacies, a cold drinks store/dairy, two electronics shops, three cement agencies (together with retail businesses) and a mobile phone 'gallery' - one Jain women ran a beauty parlour above the family shop.

Furthermore, migration into Chandrapur shows that the village 'receives' as well as 'sends'.

Work in Government Departments has traditionally brought employees into the village. Thus, by 2010/11, the three Government Schools employed a total of 25 staff, twenty-one of whom were from outside the village, 20 of these commuting into the village on a daily basis – now easier with the improvement of transport facilities. In addition, by 2010/11, there were three private schools in the village, together employing 23 staff, eight of whom commuted into the village. Also, by 2010/11, in *addition* to the enterprises, many caste-based, run by village households (including the Jains), there were three tea hotels, four tailor shops, four barber shops, four retail shops, a press/laundry shop, two music bands, two fruit/vegetable stalls, a shoe repair stall, a 'taxi-service', not to mention a private health clinic, all run by 'outsiders' to the village. Many of the very small enterprises (e.g. barber shops, tailor shops, tea hotels), requiring relatively little investment, had been set up by tribal Bhils from surrounding tribal villages.

Conclusions

Using Breman's (2008) terminology, Chandrapur lies in a 'rural hinterland from which migrants are drawn'. Adopting a micro-level livelihoods approach, the paper shows that livelihoods, even in the tribal part of the village, are far from being simply agricultural and that the village receives workers as well as sends them. In addition, within this hinterland, the paper shows 'patterns and structures' (de Haas, 2008) that larger-based surveys of migration usually cannot capture.

Examining social stratification defined by the four official classification categories goes only part-way in exploring the link between social structure and migration in village India. These categories, often used in migration surveys, can obscure important differences between castes *within* the categories, and, as we have seen, differences within a caste itself, in terms of sub-caste, can also be significant.

Identifying migration streams from this single village shows that stratification can differentially affect prevalence, form, destination, duration and types of work undertaken – not just for tribal and lower- caste households but across the village hierarchy.

Structure can be enabling as well as constraining. With locally acknowledged high-caste status coupled with good social and human assets, most Chobissa Brahmans have been able to secure employment, without migrating further than within their own or the neighbouring district. In contrast, the Jogis, asset poor and with locally perceived very low-caste status, have largely migrated (domestically) to the furthest destination point from the village, a metro-city where caste 'is not an important matter'. While the Panchal (Blacksmith) and Derzi (Tailor) households faced pressures on their traditional village work, the artisanal skills embodied in their caste occupations constituted an important mobility capital in facilitating migration to the Middle East. Migration by the tribal Bhils shows them to be highly mobile, and that their mobility is seasonal and circular - confirming the views of Deshingkar and Farrington (2009). However, when they travel to Mumbai, and to a lesser extent to Gujarat, these migrants are travelling to quite distant destination points rather than the shorter distances suggested for such groups by these authors.

With a focus on house, land and family back home, and with the use of earnings to help mitigate local constraints, migration for the Bhil households most closely resembles that depicted in the New Economics of Labour Migration, though in cases where children and young teenagers have been sent/taken away (as also for the Jogi children in endnote vii), this hardly suggests consensual household discussions to spread risk and achieve portfolio diversification. While the Chobissa Brahmans and Jogi couples living away from Chandrapur have retained shares in land and property in the village, their focus seems primarily on forging new lives and livelihoods elsewhere, though a simultaneous involvement in village and town can enable return migration if required.

The different migration streams are not the exclusive preserve of particular castes or tribe, and not all migrants within a particular social group travel to the same destination points. Some groups have remained largely within the village and/or show an increased engagement in local livelihood activities. Moreover, recent migration to the Middle East by two tribal Bhils and a Scheduled Caste man, the most striking examples, shows that individual agency can overcome structural constraints. Recognising differentiation by caste and tribe reveals changing patterns of both mobility and immobility.

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