

Footloose Survival Struggle: Evidence from Koraput District of Odisha

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Abstract: *Footloose survival struggle is a common phenomenon of recent past history of human survival with below bare minimum subsistence. However, survival struggle vary from one society to another– it ranges from slavery to footloose labour migration and many more. In each year millions of people migrate from rural to urban centers in search of livelihood as a survival strategy. The causes of migration range from poverty, lack of assets and employment opportunities and other business motives. But the footloose temporary migration can be viewed as alarm of survival strategy in the lean season. This paper deals with various causes of migration and its impact from two village of Koraput district of Odisha. Major findings of the study delineates migration is merely survival strategy for temporary period of time. And in addition, in the village vicinity substantial numbers of people are striving towards progress survival struggle but regressive survival struggle is too noticed.*

Key Words: *Survival Struggle, Footloose Migration, Rural, Remittance, Odisha*

I. Introduction

Survival struggle is one of the common social problems in the distant past human history in the society. The vision of utopian Enlightenment movement and consequence of French revolution was neither ending point of inequality nor outpouring outset of justice in the society. On the other hand industrial revolution was neither enhanced standard of life of people significantly nor did the neoliberal reform era wipe out poverty in expected level. Putting differently, in the present society survival struggle for subsistence wide spread social phenomenon across all the known societies, for instances, struggles of slaves in the ancient societies, affliction of serfs in the feudal societies (which are by default considered as barbaric form of societies), and the hardship of unskilled labourers in the industrial societies. In short the survival struggle is *embedded* in many lower societies in the world (Durkheim, 184:142)². Needless to say, the deep rooted seeds of miseries in the semi-feudal and persistent neo-colonial despotic nature in Indian countryside are yet to weed out. In other word the interfacing theoretical and methodological mainstream developmental literature trying to portray rural India's comprehensive nature of traditionality and her conservativeness, underdevelopment, its backwardness and neo-colonialistic tyrannical persistent regime. Notwithstanding social justice and welfare state of India, majority of the people live in untold misery, appalling poverty and distress situations and destitute conditions. On the other hand neoliberal free market economic principles are 'pauperized' to the rural people through the parasitic transformation of wealth from poor to rich and with high rising prices and principles of 'privatisation' with mounting ladder of inequality. Moreover, Indian social stratification structure and caste based professional occupational division is major constrain and has profoundly negative impact to the Indian economic growth and development (Jadhav, 1991)³. The historical structural constraints resulting pronounced caste line of inequality and poverty perpetuates yet, though in India all the caste groups live in poverty but the situation of among Schedule Caste (SC) and Schedule Tribe (ST) group poverty is very severe and it concentrated since generations.

Despite of very optimistic of Indian social structure and politicisation economic ideologies and exaltation and eulogized religious ideologies and methodological innovations and modifications of poverty calculations, specific to Indian's definition ended up with millions of people who live below poverty line⁴, in fact 836 millions of people in India live on Rs.20 a day or less (GOI Mo RD, 2009 and NCEUS, 2007)⁵. Poverty

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²See for more details Durkheim(1984), lower societies are rural societies where civilization yet take place and little scope for individual's personal development would be possible.

³Jadhav, Narendra. 1991. Neglected Economic Thought of Babasaheb Ambedkar. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26, No. 15 (Apr. 13, 1991), pp. 980-982. Dr Ambedkar emphasizes the dogmatic predestined professional occupational division and its hindrances for the economic development and disability for exposing acquired skills of people. He believed that the thrust of strategy for India's economic development should be on eradication of poverty, elimination of inequalities and on ending exploitation of the masses.

⁴ World Bank cut off line of poverty is \$ 1.25

⁵GOI Mo RD, 2009, N C Saxena Committee report of Expert Group of development of Methodology for BPL http://rural.nic.in/latest/rpt_bpl_census2009.pdf, NCEUS (2007), 'Report on Condition of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganized Sector', National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi.

in India is complex and ambiguous structural constraints, cultural barriers, political exclusion, economic exploitation, regional disparity and other factors implicitly and explicitly associated with it. The survival response and resistance mechanism from this untold misery and extreme inequality and abject poverty is called as “survival struggle”. The process of response of survival struggle for subsistence through the footloose⁶ labour migration with hope and enforced attuned mechanism shall presented in this paper witnessing from two of the poorest villages of Koraput district of Orissa.

Footloose Migration

According to Jan Breman, short term seasonal and circular type of labour migration in search of livelihood is called “footloose migration” (Breman, 1996:16), he also termed this kind of migration as labour circulation. In his typological conceptualization of migration, he contradicted the dominant idea of ‘Todaro Model’ of economic explanation of migration and re-conceptualized the labour out-migration from the rural point of view situating in Indian context.

Footloose migration is forceful economic driven movement with the aspiration of survival necessity where the heterogeneous category of rural poor labourers toil for lower level of wage and with huge income disparities, the Todaro’s typological migration model is inadequately analyzed to this unfolding rural-urban survival migration. Footloose migration is forceful attuned to the situation of extreme scarcity conditions at the place of origin, on the contrary, for Todaro, the migration is the entrepreneurial movement where migrants decide after weighing the possible cost and benefit analysis. The rationality of the migration is not based on a strategy of ‘maximization’ of gains as Todaro argues, but it is a survival strategy. The unit of analysis cannot be the individual alone but must be the household as collective component, where available labour is distributed according to the principle of collective risk-sharing within the place of origin and destination too (Breman, 1985).

Jan Breman’s typology of footloose migration was seen in the case of rural south Gujarat in the development literature at first time. In the process of circular footloose migration, peasants’, migrants’, and paupers’ starts as short term periodic seasonal trek to meet sufficient basis of subsistence, which is absent in the local village economy at the place of origin. Most of the time footloose migrant labourers are from the category of small cultivation agrarian ladder whose activities are slip down from unfriendly agriculture seasonal weather and particularly in the dry land backward agricultural zones. The impact of the footloose migrant labourers’ income earned outside during their temporary absence from home becomes indispensable for consolidation of the small peasant holdings, either temporary or permanent, quite frequently helps to make the transition to a landless peoples existence among those already vulnerable people. Similarly, Mukherji (1985) also notes that widespread wage labour circulation in India is taking place as a spatial symptom of poverty and underdevelopment. It begins in poverty and ends in poverty, compounding further involution and backwardness. According to Breman, the wage-labour migration is not for maximization of income but it is an economic necessity, purely strategy of survival. Priya Deshingkar (2005 & 2006) has seen the flowing streams of seasonal migration from poverty stricken zones to developed urban centers. Further, it has been observed that inhabitants of drought prone zones are more prone to circular and seasonal migration in India in search of livelihood and as primary strategy of survival (Breman, 1996).

II. Methodology

Data used in this paper were collected by using the interview scheduled and the survey was administered during the month of September to late December 2009 in two villages of Koraput district of Odisha. Both open and close ended questions were used. To investigate the unfolding survival struggle from scarce village vicinity, a purposive sampling method was used for selecting the villages for collecting primary information; sample of 100 households were selected who had moved to the cities and all the households were interviewed. To supplement quantitative data informal qualitative information was gathered through personal interviews. The method of analysis and interpretation of data had been carried out with relationship of different variables.

Challenging Life Experience in Cut-off village Vicinity

Village vicinity of the study region is not exceptional of its geographical isolation in rural Koraput district of Odisha, yet which located about 75 km away from the district head quarter. The village vicinity has a relatively larger proportion of area under open (degraded) forest and physically remote region, situated at other side of the road at the last points of habitation in the foothills of mountains between the states of Odisha and

⁶ Breman, Jan. 1996. *Footloose labour: working in India's informal economy*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press. Footloose labour, a term popularized by Dutch social anthropologist Jan Breman, explores the multiple dimensions of both work and living conditions of our labouring poor in urban and rural India. In brief, this is the peripheral, non-formal, urban economy where individuals are engaged in a series of survival activities providing useful services and goods at low prices. Those people who leave their village in search of work in the cities the work is not there, so they move from one place to another place in search of work.

Andhra Pradesh (AP) border where the Machkund reservoir river is covered. In the study region majority of poorer sections (SCs, STs, OBCs) of different caste and tribal social groups are inhabit where we find unprecedented incident of out-migration towards of neighbour state of AP. This village is geographically separated and away from the larger infrastructural connectivity of the society and it is called as “cut-off” area of the Koraput district. Rudimentary requirements of common human life is yet to actualize in the villages for instances the electrification is still to get electrified and roads yet to build, which would reduce the burden of communication to weekly market at least where most of the people used to carry their agriculture production and other non-timber forest products for sale in the weekly market (Hata is called in local language).

Uneven Agriculture Induce to Migration

A scenario of importance of agriculture is decreasing which is considered to be informal economy in Breman’s language (Breman,1996:24). Occupational multiplicity is essential characteristic to enhance the life styles of casual workers (Breman,1996:25). In rural agricultural economy, occupational multiplicity and common skills is the elementary form of nature, more specialization and division of labour is beyond their imaginary capability. All members of the family who are employable in a major or minor way to earn the income they need, which ensures their survival and reproduction (Breman,1996:29), this is one side of the story. On the other side, in the unfolding neoliberal economic reform era’s development literature claims, there is great deal of agrarian crisis manifest in the village economy. Millions of rural artisanal classes livelihood is destroyed a way back in British colonial yoke and little prosperity is started destroying in the globalization reform era, millions of small holding farmers coerce in transforming cropping pattern from food crop to risky intensive cash crop, which involves huge investment for the fertilizer and technology and which has devastated peasant life and running into debt trap and which resulted with millions of farmers suicides⁷ and millions of landless agricultural labourers who work for 12 hours a day bent over for survival is no longer stable.⁸

Following from this backdrop, dismal condition of agriculture structure is seen in these both of the villages, here it good time to remind that India is predominantly agriculture based country but the land reform is not yet as an agenda of any sate government’s or central government’s developmental manifesto or any charter of development. Since overwhelming majority of the household’s main source of subsistence of survival is expected from agriculture per se. But the skewed distribution of land has not an issue because this village vicinity mostly affected by the Machkund Reservoir Power Plant project, where valuable canal irrigated land was eroded by the reservoir without proper rehabilitation long back. It is astonished to see varied living conditions of the people in these two villages differently; first villager live with some kind of aspiration for future and second villagers are demoralized with their life. However, land type of the village vicinity is found mostly uplands, basically dry, which has no irrigation facility at all, the agriculture is completely dependent on monsoon. In fact, that the magnitude of landholding is determining asset of the economic condition and defining source of life style in these villages. The uneven agriculture is one of the major factors of households which ultimately lead towards footloose migration. Further, the quantity of dryland share and landlessness plays decisive role between the migrant and non-migrant households in both of the villages. It is needless to say that majority of the dryland holders and landless households are identified as migrants. Given this uneven agriculture background of the villages, it is surprise that the average size of land holdings is another differentiating factor of migration between the migrant and non-migrant households. Yet in this vulnerability, the question of survivality through migration has minor distinction among families who own smallholdings, landless, unemployed and underemployed and those households who get sufficient quantity of production for subsistence of their family throughout a year. In addition to the issues related to size of holdings which is directly associated to income and of life style of a family, nonetheless the quality of land is one of the pivotal factors where the quantity of production is directly dependent. Both of the village field data shows that around 80% of identified migrant household’s income level is less than Rs. 15,000 in agriculture and which is not sufficient for subsistence in a year. Such less income households’ matter of survival is only way out through footloose migration. Besides, misery endemic situation, the village vicinity’s poor connectivity and lack of potential political will for the development in the margins of Odisha and AP border makes even vulnerable towards the survival struggle⁹.

Size of the Household and Differential factor for Labour Migration

Not only the total size of landholdings and its production in a year which determines the untold misery and abject poverty of life conditions but the size of households is also equally important factor which leads migration as alternative survival mechanism. Probably the size of the family is deciding factor for migration

⁷ Around 2 millions of people committed suicide in one decade time according National Crime Record Bureau of India

⁸Between Censuses from 1991to 2001there is around 8 million people who quit from agriculture. In P Sainath’s language this greatest achievement of displacement through some principles such as the drive towards corporate farming and this corporate farming’s predatory commercialization in the country side.

⁹ Condition of life in the “margin” of border of Orissa and AP and on top up “cut-off” region of the Koraput district is very difficult and makes vulnerable for the aspiration of development mobilization.

too. Computed data of the villages reflected that more the size of household likely to be more tending to migrate and sometime the large households free to choose an individual selves as a migrant labourer as other than the primary occupational practice of the family based on the opportunity of work nearby in urban cities with expectation of supplement the family income.

MGNREGA yet to Control Rural Migration

Despite almost all 6 years of implementation and evaluation measures of the MGNREGA programme, having series of terms and condition for corruption controlling system through banking process of payments and having special vigilance, supervision and auditing mechanism and most of the time the process of implementation carried out by the government and non government institutions specially through the so-called decentralized village autonomous body with slogan of accountability and transparent governance, the question often arises here is that the MGNREGA programme is for “to whose benefit”? Whether this public work project explicitly and implicitly benefits to the contractors who involved in the mechanism of implementation or it benefits to the people who involved in the elected representatives of Gram Panchayats (GP) in the local level or it is benefits to those who involved in this programme’s whole implementation process from top to bottom, or it is improving the standard of life with generating employment to the legitimate entitled beneficiaries in the village vicinity. Numerous questions related to MGNREGA programme’s implementation and its success and quality measures can try to attempt few responses from the field. Survey data from this particular GP says that both of the villages around 72% of the households applied for work. Among this 72% of reported applicant half of them are did not get any single day of work including the identified migrant households and non-migrant households. In this condition the transparent and unfolding accountable decentralized Panchayat raj governance system is in weakness and practically under implementation deficit. Moreover, the qualitative information is seen that the 100 days legitimate entitled guaranteed employment opportunity has been deprived from the entitlement. Moreover, use of human capability of poor people is undermining in MGNREGA programme’s work– the rural infrastructure building work has no classification and categories based on the qualification and abilities of the beneficiaries. Work profile of this public work is called manual labour or wage labour. For Noam Chomsky wage labour is equal to slavery according socialism idea, government of India has legitimate entitlement provision for millions of people in this country as manual labour.

Role of Footloose Migration

Footloose labour migration serves as ‘temporary escape’ from the economic insecurity and other factors of crisis at home. It is the only visible immediate alternative way out for scarce resource situations and smallholding and landless households to overcome the seasonalities and insufficient subsistence circumstances at home in the villages. In the initial stages these seasonal footloose migration was taking place slowly in small numbers and it is only during the severe scarce conditions, but gradually, after gaining quite familiarity with the urban environmental settings and work opportunities especially in the sector of real estate construction sites, the magnitude of footloose migration started unprecedented level and became a regular feature of the village life which was not there just one decade before. Importantly, it is great deal of responsibility and objectives to the pathetic poor footloose migrant labourers’ striving enforcement to meet various household obligations as reported by majority of the respondents. However, for the marginal farmers in the rural villages saving is not possible, if at all it is possible only for smaller family households and there is very rare chance of saving to smallholding households and wage labourers. Further, the marginal farmers and wage labourers, always engage in different kind of works without clear distinction. In other words, total agriculture production of the maximum farming households’ is not possible to sustain and cater the family throughout a year. It is far away for a family to meet the raising households’ demand and social obligations by staying at home. In fact, many non-migrant households are also now decided to go hundred and thousands miles away from the home as footloose migrant laboures. The seasonal and footloose migration is became a usual trend and seem to be a survival strategy in the rural villages in the unfolding globalization economies.

Saving Mechanism

Most of the households’ cash earnings through purely agricultural would be seen negligible both of the villages. For few households it is possible by selling agricultural productions and livestock in rare and critical situations. The seasonal and footloose labour migrant’s earning in the destination is through purely wage labour. They spent money for their basic consumption like buying food grains and other materials for cooking food. Saving is possible only for a few migrants. For migrant labour saving is always depends on the number of needy dependents at home and the length of stay in the destination engaging with work. Quite often there is very chance of unavailability of work for some days. Market fluctuations, economic slowdown and other factors have their immediate effect on labour employment. In this condition saving and remittance of migrants varies, it also vary from one household to another and from a normal year to crisis year. In normal years they can earn substantial amount of production in the village from their own holdings of land and from agriculture wages as

well. Whereas in a crisis year, there will be hardly any food grains possible to hoard for future consumption and whatever the migrants earn will be used for day to day consumption only. In the villages migrant households do not have any savings in the banks, it is surprise to see that majority of the households have savings in the Self Help Groups (SHG). Savings in SHGs is a new trend as primary saving mechanism in rural villages as many respondents otherwise saving in the banks not possible and beyond their earnings. Some of the respondents are reported that the SHGs plays significant role in the villages– it is not only chief credit generating institutional mechanism but also plays central role in strengthening the social cohesive motivating towards progressive competition and tool for socialization and empowerment of women which has instrumental for entrepreneurial activities for long run.

Flow of Remittances

The vision of migration for the landless and marginal farmers (who are in untold miserable condition for survival) is the only choice for livelihood. Lack of livelihood options in the origin, indebtedness and crop loss leads the migration in the lean seasons. The remittances of seasonal footloose migration labourers enables enough to get by in the distress situation in the lean season and it no way helps to accumulate capital or asset for future prospective. There is a deep linkage between migration and poverty especially for survival migration where poor landless agricultural labourers are found at the bottom of the pyramid in Indian society¹⁰. The amount of remittance is completely depends on the earnings of the migrant and number of dependents at origin of the particular migrant. The amount of remittances receivers of the migrant households in the villages is ranges from less than Rs. 1, 000 to Rs. 3, 000. The remittance flowing from the migrant workers in thousands is in actuality sounds good. But the intervals of receiving the remittance are very irregular in its flow. The remittance receives by the migrant households at origin as it is very low and the intervals of receiving are not fixed, it is sometimes on demand and most of the time it is social ceremonial occasions. It seems that most of the remittance is no way makes economically subsistence to the migrant household since vision of migration is meant for subsistence for survival.

Use of Remittance

Economic motive is found to be paramount importance for deserving human being¹¹, of course it is essential for a migrant labourer to earn pathetic amount of little money throughout his/her duration of stay for basic human life for rudimentary requirements and if possible invest towards little assets for future prospective. Seasonal migration is certainly considered to be supplement for survival strategy for most of the labour households in starved and the scarce conditions. Relating to pride and honour, Kalam (1997:93, 94) remarks that in some societies migration is considered as “derogatory” and in some as “prestigious”. But in the present study, it is neither considered to be the derogatory nor is prestigious, rather labour migration considered as an economic compulsion and a “matter of survival” which has become very common phenomenon. Labour migration is not only prevalent among the poor sections of the people but also has started among the other rich families in the recent years in many parts of the India and across the world.

Consumption Pattern

In the villages, one can find out a remarkable variation in the pattern of food intake with respect to the varying seasonalities and increasing scarcities. And at the same time, the consumption pattern of the poor people also vary, although the staple items of food are similar, but with varying proportions of their consumptions was seen in the villages. Rice is staple food, regardless of the socio-economic and political status attached to the all section of the people. Astonishingly, rice constitutes the precious item of the daily food for the poor people and ragi (*mandya*) is supplementary food item in the villages. Most of the cases the proportion of rice in the daily food consumption of the poor people is very less compared to the some other well-off families. It is said that in the scarcity situations, for the poorer section people⁷ quantity of rice consumption drastically falls and even reaches nil at the time of severe scarce conditions. At the time of scarcity they have to depend only on ragi syrup (*mandya peja*) and some other cases the maize and some forest products (wild roots and tubers, mango kernel etc.)¹² supplementary food items in the daily diet. Poor households mostly consume the previous day leftover food for their breakfast while for the lunch and supper they generally have rice and *ragi* syrup of fresh cooked food. Stunningly the situation of “hunger rotation” was found in the villages¹³.

¹⁰C K Prahalad used the term to explain the inequality and stratification in the society.

¹¹Who deserving human being in the world and especially in India, P sainath says at York University, Corporate people deserve human being they never go hungry.

¹² There are cases in Orissa right from the Kalahandi and to Koraput district classic starvation case of Khasipur where the wild roots, tubers and mango kernel consumption kills number of people.

¹³P Sainath, concepts of hunger rotation. SC and ST communities having average of 6 to 8 members of the household in the village, among them one or two family member eat well in one day those who go for work and other member eat less and in the next day another one or two member of the household eat well and it continues.

For most of the poor people, the source of rice is from own production in case of farm land holders, which is always very less share and not sufficient for subsistence throughout the year. Public Distribution System (PDS) supply is also limited and not sufficient for the whole month even if they consume the entitled quantity of rice, it is probably sufficient to those families with 2 to 3 members. But most often almost all household average size had found in the study region are 6 and sometimes even bigger numbers. Odisha has its history of starvation deaths since its distant past time, it witnessing from 1960s in the past 5 decades before¹⁴, and for malnourished and infant mortality deaths Odisha is home place, more specifically the Koraput-Balangir- Kalahandi (KBK), this situations are recurrent in nature¹⁵. Impact of the malnutrition and nutritional deficit leads physiological damaged and cognitive damage of child, psychological capacity damages. Sometimes, it is stunningly seen that, people of this region are unable to effort even PDS quota rice and they sale and mortgage the BPL card to the local petty merchants at the minimum support price. When they need to buy food at the times of scarcity, they buy the rice at higher price.

What is of survival struggle?

The 'survival struggles'¹⁶ is a generic interdisciplinary terminology which has been used from biological evolution theoretical research to social sciences research¹⁷. The survival struggle is neither a political movement nor a political mobilization rather it is a struggle or constant battle for meeting rudimentary human needs for subsistence. Un-philosophical understanding of survival struggle is an act or a movement and constant battle which demands nothing beyond decent civic amenities for the common human life, for instances, quite often this survival struggle begins with unsure of next meal where does it comes from?, with hope of life and aspirations. Yet these survival struggles has way back history of centuries, it appears in various societies in different forms, such as in ancient society, slave were probably indebted to the pleasant environment where they love the slavery and lived in toil, despite of severe punishment to the them (slave are considered as piece of commodity and property of slave-owners, most often they treated as animal not as human beings). Whilst, the serfs were obliged to the plough in the feudal societies where they paid the terrible rates of rent with their sweat on one hand and the industrial labourers, of course grateful to the natural gift of labour¹⁸ in the capital societies where they could sale their labour force to the capitalist for their survival . But greater tragedy in the neo-liberal corporate global era's illiterate landless migrant labourer, they neither thankful to the multinational real estate builders nor grave to the farm land, their untold miserable condition of life is neither holds any slums of India nor any poverty eradication programme like the so called rural flagship scheme MGNREGA. Another way of looking, the neoliberal economic reform policies consequences would be somehow seen with the greatest displacement of footloose labour migration of poor from rural India to urban India (Breman, 1996)¹⁹.

Having said this, considering the fact that the basic requirements of human beings are always differs with respect to time, spatial, social and cultural conditions of the society. However, the footloose migrant labourer who belongs to the lower sections in the stratification hierarchy and their hardships for the two squares of meals is known as survival struggle. Looking at this scenario, survival struggle of the present study can be classified into two categories based on flexibility of occupational mobility of people namely 'Progressive Survival Struggle' and 'Regressive Survival Struggles'.

¹⁴Pradeep baisakk 2nd December, 2009 Starvation deaths continue, as officials demur <http://indiatogether.org/2009/dec/pov-starve.htm>

¹⁵<http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2117/stories/20040827001204900.htm>

¹⁶Technical vocabulary Malthusian idea political economy or struggle could be understood in terms of social class and economic competition, the "survival of fittest" and the origin of social Darwinism, *journal of history of ideas*, vol. 61. No. 2. (Apr 2000) pp 223-240. It is slogan and economic ideology of fascist country Italy and Nazi Germany. Survival struggle also could be seen social class economic competition. In the same lines Marx has saw the 'history of humanity'. For him the epoch of human transformational history is the subsistence for survival. This survival of struggle is of course originated Probably Darwin's evolution theory "on the origin of species" is justified the imperialistic militarism. Further the socio-biological eugenic movement influenced to the many other laissez-faire capitalist economic countries. This socio-biological movement's influence reflected in the Gilded age (the progressive era of US roughly 1869-1896) economic growth in the U S on one of the spectrum and at the same time Spencer defended and justified laissez fair capitalist individual economic ideology on evolutionary grounds, and his extraordinary intellectual prominence made him the personal embodiment of what came to be called social Darwinism

¹⁷ Hebert Spencer used the term taking from Charles Darwin's evolution theory 'on the origin of the species in his *Principles of Biology*' of 1864. He used the term depend laissez-fair economic principle of the capitalist countries. This controversial and humanity cruel ideology of the planet was widely debated in late 19th century to early 20th century. The term 'Social Darwinism' was popularized in the United States in 1944 by the American historian Richard Hofstadter pointing to the ideological war effort against fascism.

¹⁸ Marx in his "theory of surplus value" pointed out about the 'labour power' as equal as the natural gift and independent to the worker and labour as commodity would be calculated with the time.

¹⁹P Sainath says that, India's biggest achievement in this reform era's development policies is "greatest displacement of footloose labour migration.

Progressive Survival Struggle

There is huge striving force of progressive mobility enhancement of *life chances*²⁰ by substantial number of people in the first village. Putting differently, quite a good number of respondents view has been noticed that hopes and future aspirations and endeavors of people encountering the challenges of 'labourious' and 'industrious' situations at the destination in the construction fields. On the other hand at the origin, the respondents view has been seen that majority of people started adopting multiple occupations without clear distinction of division of labour and gender and age disparities other than the major occupation of agriculture, namely, gathering non-timber forest products, petty trading activities, barter activities and transactions with the grain and some other material products, wage labour, artisanal activities of crafting, mason, carpenter, sometimes fishing and hunting, engaging alcohol trading business, sewing, engaging in broker business to help some people for getting loan and Indira Awas Yojna houses and some other kinds of benefits from the banks to governments offices and involvement and participation in the local political activities has been noticed.

Progressive survival struggle with practicing multiple occupations has been seen in seasonal and situational circumstance, where people do not obtain 'subsistence for self sufficiency' from single major occupation. Putting differently, those peoples' regular work in irrespective of fields is unstable, with less asset value and un-hoarding circumstances and in scarce conditions occupational unification is wise strategy for survival.

In addition, improving techniques of agriculture and changing crop patterns scenario was observed back at origin in the scattered farm land. Responses of participants have been seen that the result of this occupational unification somehow improved the consumption level of few households, if not enhanced the status of life style. Further, it has been reported that education has been considered to be major weapon of social change and connectivity also considered to another pivotal instrumental tool for the development and enhancement of life chances, which leads to progressive survival struggle of people in the rural villages. Putting differently, the progressive survival struggle has its flexibility to adopt multiple occupations based on changing scenario of society. This idea can be related with Durkheim's concept of 'organic solidarity'. The concept of 'progressive survival struggle' has enforced in adoption of multiple 'occupational unification' and getting arranged the marriage relations with locally influenced people is another strategy was seen, whereas Durkheim saw the situation of 'division of labour' in the industrial society with forceful adoption of occupations to compete in the changing social and political structure of the state and changing market economies. In similar way Weber saw the progressive life chances as subjective motivation of individual actions and competence in maximization of skills, and which further equips in potential efficiencies to qualify for appropriate professionals in various fields of changing economies.

Regressive Survival Struggle

Respondents view has been noted that, aftermath of the footloose migration, few households' mobility is in regressive and downward in nature, especially some case of ill health conditions which has been caused at the work site and back at destinations, old age people and widows without any dedicative and determinant responsible care takers, such households' subsistence of survival struggle and life condition was seen as alarm of threat. In such frustrated incidence substantial number of people is vulnerable to alcohol drinking habits and which ultimately deteriorates the health conditions and ruins little aspirations and stability of the families. This kind of ill health vulnerable circumstances leads to various kinds of hospitalizations and traditional healings, which involves huge expenses and ruins their little prosperity. In addition, in the villages few respondents views has been noticed that practicing other than the sacred occupation of agriculture is considered to be degraded and dishonourable in the village vicinity, this kind of social status greedy sentiments do not allow some of the people in occupational flexible mobility and 'occupational unification'. Mystical prejudiced embedded mythical religious dogmatic spiritual values are dangerous in many ways. Moreover, this village vicinity is threat to natural catastrophic of drought and flood situations on one hand the entire agriculture is monsoon dependent on the other, but in the normal rainfall years it is quite helpful where landholder may expect to get survival of subsistence from their farming. Regressive survival struggle has restricts boundaries of the idea of occupational mobility and seem to be similar characters with the theoretical position of Durkheim's concept of 'mechanical solidarity', where he looked as a typical pre-modern independent society and described as solidarity of "sameness" of the group and togetherness.

Adoptive Mechanism

It has been observed and noticed that, after a point in the regressive survival struggle compromise with using different adoptive mechanisms. Adoptive mechanism is nothing but phenomena of negotiation between the 'socio-ecological environment and people'. It has been observed that the adoption strategy is an act of

²⁰ Max Weber (1978) *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, used the term to explain the accessibility of opportunity in the competitive market scenario.

undermining of socio-psychological and biological desires and compromises within the limited available resource and opportunities around environmental situations. This adoptive mechanism shall be looked as an alliance of different occupational mix, where one occupation is not sufficient enough to sustain to a family throughout a year; they look for multiple occupations for the subsistence of survival within the possible village economic sources. This survival struggle is translated in relation with Gramscian concept of 'hegemony', where he looked, hegemony is not concept of strategy for revolution rather relation of production, of social forces aspiration towards communism as an instrument for social change. Present context 'adoptive mechanism' with multiple 'occupational unification' is interpreted as strategy for survival and for Marx the 'class conflict' is tool of social development.

III. Discussion

Findings of the study reported that the agrarian crisis, development-induced displacements and land acquisitions in the villages are some of the major causes for migration. In fact the major dams and industries in the rural Koraput villages displaced many people without proper rehabilitation. It is found that the causes of migration are poverty, food insecurity, unavailability of work, delay of payment, backward agriculture, non-application of modern technology in farming, and other factors related to backwardness in the study region. Further, in the village, especially the uneven development of the agriculture including dryland, smallholdings, and landlessness, less income in agriculture and unproductiveness with compare to market value are most threatening causes for migration. In the villages we found large size of the households is another cause for migration. In the study region, improper implementation of the government poverty alleviation programmes, especially the MGNREGA implementation deficit is another severe factor for migration. The MGNREGA is inability to provide legitimate entitled 100 days of work in the study villages and the features of unaccountability and opaqueness of administration and rampant corruption has found in the study.

Primary vision of migration of migrants' is in search of subsistence for survival. It has found that maximum remittance in the villages used for the common consumption and rarely has it been used for the asset building investments for future prospective. The seasonal footloose migration streams from the villages are seen legacy of disposition, exploitation, degradation and destitution since distant past memories of the respondents. Despite many such threatening incidences and risks, sometimes, the outcome of migration is in progressive in many ways, especially for its survival struggle of subsistence and in other times it leads to regressive ways is too and in such circumstance they enforces different adoptive mechanisms with undermining the socio-psychological and biological requirements of people.

IV. Conclusion

Rural development related research study evidences and specially the migration and development literature's critical component considered to be rural people's livelihood. Introduction of conventional development programmes has sought to reduce the flows of migration from the countryside. Present study has found out poverty is one of the serious visible factor in the village vicinity, probably this kind of situation prevalent in almost all the states and especially rural part of India. Therefore policy makers' attention and focused should be more to the rural villages to improve the educational quality-vocational trainings and technological penetrations with basic knowledge is imperative to absorb in the labour market to number of young people and engage them in the productive activities. Further, there should be support system required to open up indigenous inorganic markets, thereby to give opportunity for occupational mobility and subsistence economic freedom. Furthermore, policy provisions required to mapping out rural artisanal class and their crafts productions, conducting craft based skill building workshops with trained professionals to improve their quality of productions to compete in the market. In addition, organizing district level exhibitions with central focus to branding the craft products and stretching out the products into the larger market forces, in a way to create the entrepreneurial pursuit for long run.

This study had come across some instances of NREGA Programme's corruption and to reduction of this perpetuating problem there is barely need of corruption control mechanisms to see the progressive survival chances of people. Further, some of the provisions should be introduced to bring equity and justice and there should be mechanism to improve the transparency and accountability of autonomous decentralized PRIs governing bodies which implicitly or explicitly improve the flagship programmes' implementations and ultimately reduce the distress unsecure seasonal migration.

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