Effect of Migration on the Human Capital and Addictive Behavior of Tribes People

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ABSTRACT
Migration had a significant impact on the livelihood of tribespeople. This had also affected the existing agriculture situation of tribal areas. The study revealed that more than half of the tribal migrants had high human capital index after migration. This caused a temptation for migration among tribal non migrants. Globalisation has also affected the life style, food habits and education of tribespeople. Cultural changes were observed among the young tribespeople and many of them have turned to non agricultural labour activities. A prime factor revealed from the study was that there was lofty increase in the addictive behavior of tribespeople due to migration. Due to this reason the increase in education and health status was not much reflected on the human capital of tribespeople and cause a reduction in human capital index.

Keywords: Tribal migration, Human capital, Alcoholism.

INTRODUCTION
The global tribal population of approximately 300 million people is composed of about 5,000 distinct tribal cultures worldwide, living in every climate from the Arctic Circle to the tropical rain forests. The highest tribal population of Kerala, an Indian state, is found in Wayanad district. Wayanad is situated in an elevated mountainous plateau on the crust of Western Ghats at a height between 700 and 2100 meters above sea level. Wayanad has a long history of agriculture. Two tribes, who are among the inhabitants of this region from early times, and associated with earliest cultivation of rice in valley wetlands and rainfed millets in uplands, largely by shifting cultivation, are the Kurichian and the Kuruman (Prasanth, 2016). The agro ecological conditions of the area, vastly different from the plains and virtual isolation of the area from the plains due to lack of proper communication and other factors restraining early migration from the plains, the agro bio diversity conserved and used by the native tribes eventually evolved many landraces of rice and other crops unique to the region (Das & Das, 2014).

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Later huge migration from plains and domination of these migrants in influencing the cropping pattern in the upland led to the total decline of millets and rise of plantation crops. An employment culture entirely based on the existing forest ecosystem limits the scope for adjustment to requirements of new job prospects (Vinayakam & Sekar, 2013). Yet their competency in traditional art and artisans need to be appreciated. Their spread mats, and similar household items were very popular. But now the raw materials are not easily available as access to deep forest is restricted. Forest resources like honey, bamboo products, forest medicines have been restricted to Kattunaikan tribal community. This legal restriction has led to poverty. Also labour demand especially that of women in paddy fields, has decreased, as the paddy cultivation has shrunk. The shift to cash crop cultivation like banana, ginger etc. in paddy fields has not improved their condition any better. Migration from one area to another in search of improved livelihoods is a key feature of human history (Dugbazah, 2008 & Mahapatro, 2010). Migration is today a worldwide phenomenon and has become an important issue in our times. (Kishore, & Kiran, 2013) Migration has been both a boon and a curse to humans particularly the tribal people (Sundari, 2007). Migration is necessarily a pre-empt move; it is the survival instinct that drives humans to seek better prospects (Anh, 1999). The possible causes of migration can be identified as economic reasons such as dense population and lack of means of livelihood, facility of transport, attraction of industrial centers, facility of trade and commerce. Social reasons such as access to healthcare, education, housing etc, change in social status, change in occupation status (Gowda & Shivashankar, 2007). Physical factors like facility of irrigation, availability of forest/ mineral resources, availability of new land for agriculture purposes and Political factors like wars, society tensions, ethnic/ caste clashes (Martin, 2004 & Rozelle, et al., 1999). Due to many reasons like lack of employment, low job opportunities, marriage, food security, health issues, education etc many tribespeople are migrating from their native places to various parts of the country (Bagchi & Majumdar, 2010). This study attempts to evaluate the changes in the livelihood of tribespeople and agriculture system of the district due to tribal labor migration.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

2.1. Locale of the study
The study was conducted in Wayanad district of Kerala state in India. This district has been purposively selected for conducting the study because this is one of the districts in Kerala having the highest concentration of tribes people with migratory nature.

2.2. Selection of sample
The study was conducted in all the four blocks in Wayanad district namely, Mananthavady, Sulthan Bathery, Kalpetta and Panamaram. From each block 30 tribal migrants, 10 tribal non migrants and 10 non tribal significant other respondents was selected randomly for the study. Thus total 120 tribal migrants, 40 tribal non migrants and 40 non tribal respondents was the sample size.

a. Human capital analysis of tribespeople
In this study the Human capital analysis of Sustainable livelihood framework of FAO (2008) was used.

Under Human capital a number of sub variables viz., education, hygiene, health care seeking behavior and food habits which were identified and they were included in the present study.

Based on the sub capital components described above their indices will be derived. It is necessary to compute component capital indices for the measurement of human capital index. The procedure for computing these indices are detailed below.

In order to compute the component capital index, the subcomponents under each capital will be standardized using the following formula.
Where, 
\[ y_i = \frac{y_i max - y_i}{y_i max - y_i min} \]

After standardization, the index is calculated using the following formula.
\[ y = 100 - \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^{n} y_i \times 100 \]

Where, \( n \) is the number of sub components under human capital.

2.4. Addictive behavior of tribespeople
Addictive behavior is operationally defined as the extend to which a respondent is addicted to unhealthy habits of smoking, chewing consumption of alcohol and use of drugs. It was obtained by directly asking the respondents and modifying the responses by cross checking the same with their fellow beings.

RESULTS
3.1. Human capital
3.1.1. Education
From data in Table 1, we can see that, 72.50 per cent of tribal migrants were able to read and write and 16.66 per cent of tribal migrants were able to only read after migration. 10.83 per cent of tribal migrants were illiterate after migration. It was observed that the number of illiterates was reduced from 13.33 per cent to 10.00 per cent. Also there was an enhancement in the number of tribespeople who can read and write from 66.66 to 70.00 per cent after migration.

3.1.2. Hygiene
From the overall data in Table 2, 56.66 per cent of the tribal migrants had high level of hygiene and 40.00 per cent of tribal migrants had medium level of hygiene before migration. 3.33 per cent of the tribal migrants had low level of hygiene before migration.

3.1.3 Health seeking
By seeing the data in Table 3, 61.66 per cent of the tribal migrants had health seeking behaviour only after the illness became severe and remaining 38.33 per cent had a tendency of seeking medical help before the illness become severe.

3.1.4. Food habits
By seeing the data Table 4, 65.00 per cent of the tribal migrants had medium level of food habits and 22.50 per cent of tribal migrants had low high level of food habits after migration. Only 12.50 per cent of tribal migrants had high level of food habits after migration.

3.1.5. Classification of tribal migrants based on human capital before and after migration
From Table 5 and Figure 1, a decrease in human capital was observed among the tribal migrants after migration. There was a decrease in human capital by 3.28 index value. Most of the tribal migrants had a medium human capital.

3.1.6. Relationship between profile characteristics and human capital index of tribal migrants before and after migration
Pearson's Correlation Coefficient given in Table 6 shows that age, annual income, education, land holding, experience in agriculture and level of aspiration had a high significant correlation with human capital. The correlation was negative incase of age and experience in agriculture with human capital. Interestingly marital status and wage per day were having significant correlation with human capital, lose its significance after migration with human capital.

3.2. Addictive behaviour of tribespeople
Considering the overall data in Table 7, 69.16 per cent of tribal migrants had high level of addictive behaviour followed by 27.50 per cent of tribal migrants had medium level of addictive behaviour after migration. Only 3.33 per cent of the tribal migrants had low level of addictive behaviour after migration.

**DISCUSSION**

**4.1. Human capital**

**4.1.1. Education**

There were several government initiatives like saksharatha mission which boosted the number of literate people among the tribal communities. The young tribal migrants were almost undergone formal education even though they discontinued it. Many of the tribal migrants belonging to Kattunaikkan community were still remain illiterate and some of the older tribes from Paniya community were also illiterate. Due to migration tribes were exposed to other places where they need to read and write for their survival. This was a thrust factor for increase in the literate tribal migrants. Almost all tribal migrants travel in groups to migratory areas and due to this reason many of them remain illiterate as other group members helped them in understanding things.

**4.1.2. Hygiene**

There was an increase in the number of tribes having high level of hygiene when compare with the situation before migration. A large decline in the number of tribes people with low level of hygiene was an indication of modernisation of tribal community. Young tribes had habit of brushing with toothpaste which was not common among tribes before migration. But it was also observed that due to migration there was irregularity in bathing and washing clothes as they lack time for doing these activities. Use of toilet was also increased among tribes especially young and medium aged tribes people.

**4.1.3 Health seeking**

Through many developmental schemes several new primary health centres were established in tribal areas in the past years. This might be one of the reasons behind the increased access of tribes people with the hospitals. Before migration the accessibility of hospitals was less and the road construction was poor which restricted there travelling. During the course of time there were changes in these problems and thereby there was enhancement in the use of medical facilities by tribe speople. Also there were several medical extension activities including asha workers and ankanavady, which increased medical awareness among the tribes people. Thus tribes started to consult doctor even before the disease become severe. Also migration helped them to increase cosmopolitaness which reduced their hesitation with the public institutes like hospitals.

**4.1.4. Food habits**

A decline in the number of tribes people with high food habits was because of the fact that, due to migration there was a drastic change in the food habits of tribes people. Earlier they depended on rice and other forest produce which was available locally. Due to migration their dependency on forest produce decreased drastically and they started consuming purchased food products. Due to increase in the public distribution system, there was an increase in the availability of staple food among the tribes people. Even though there was enough rice available freely, there was a problem of hidden hunger affected on their community. Traditionally millets were cultivated and consumed by the tribes people in the olden days which was discontinued after migration which affected their nutritional balance. The reluctance of young tribal migrants towards yams and tubers also affected their health. Due to increased alcohol consumption many tribal migrants, especially male, skip their food which caused many health issues for them. Many times, due to unnecessary quarrel inside the house due to addictive behaviour, many of the family members were unfortunate to consume food. It was also observed that meat and fish eating habits were increased among tribes especially medium and young aged tribal migrants.

**4.1.5. Classification of tribal migrants based on human capital after migration**
After migration there was a hike in the number of literate tribes people. Due to several Government schemes and interventions number of hospitals and road facilities were increased. This enhanced the accessibility of tribes people to hospitals and thereby increase in frequency of visiting hospitals. Migration doesn’t make a positive impact on the hygiene of tribes people rather, there was decrease in hygiene especially for male tribal migrants. Food habits of tribes have been changed a lot due to migration. This was evident from the data regarding the diet they follow after migration.

A prime factor revealed from the study was that there was lofty increase in the addictive behavior of tribes people due to migration. Due to this reason the increase in education and health status was not much reflected on the human capital of tribes people and cause a reduction in human capital index. Continuous awareness programs and thorough inspections are necessary to reduce the addictive behavior of tribes people. More case studies were reported from tribal area regarding the suicide of tribal migrants due to problems aroused as a result of addictive behavior. A special attention is needed in these issues. Joint management of these issues by local people and officials will be more effective in controlling the addictive behavior of tribes people.

4.1.6. Relationship between profile characteristics and livelihood capital index of tribal migrants before and after migration

From the correlation analysis it was found that age had a negative correlation with the human capital index of tribes people before migration. As age increased, the working ability of tribes people also decreased and their by their human capital index also declined. Shrinkage of financial capital causes a decline in the human capital components like health seeking behavior, food habits etc. It was also take cognizance that the habit of collecting minor forest produce like fuel wood, honey, medicine, lac etc further down due to poor health of old tribal migrants. As age increased tribes people liked to settle in their hamlet rather than roaming for job. This decrease in migratory behaviour also caused a decline in the human capital index. From the Table 8 it is evident that the correlation between age and human capital is more negative before migration and it is less negative, even though significant, after migration. Those tribes people migrated in the earlier period were able to develop a sustainable physical capital and financial capital which helped them in having a good livelihood after migration.

From the Table 8 it was clear that marital status and human capital index were negatively correlated before migration. The reason was that when there was an increase in the number of family members through marriage, there was increase in expenses like education, food, clothing etc which will affect the financial capital. Widows and divorce tribes people faced the problems in both financial and human capital components. It was also spotted that, many of the families face problems due to addictive behavior which leads to physical and mental health problems.

A positive correlation was observed between annual income and human capital index of tribes people before as well as after migration. But it was also noted that expenditure pattern of tribes people also changed after migration. Since their annual income growth was in a higher pace than expenditure pattern, it doesn’t affected the financial status if tribes after migration. The increase in the annual income after migration also helped tribes people to start the habit of saving money. It was highly observed among Kurichiya and Paniya communities. The saving habit was higher among female than male.

Education was found to have a positive correlation with the human capital index before and after migration. Those tribes who were having relatively higher education especially from Kurichya and Paniya community were found to have better livelihood even before and after migration. Education made tribes people capable of getting better job opportunity even in the migratory places and such tribes people had
good social participation. This increase in social capital and human capital had a good impact on their livelihood capital index. Those tribes who were having a higher land holding possessed a better human capital index even before and after migration. Tribes people who were land owners, were able to produce a better income from their own land area and thereby the migratory nature was found to be less. Among migratory tribes the land holding was not prominent. But among Kurichya land holding was higher and their livelihood was found to be relatively inflated. Among most of the migratory tribes who were from Kattunaika and Paniya community, the size of land holding was less.

Wage per day and political orientation had a less positive correlation on human capital index of tribes people before migration. The significance of wage per day and political orientation was reduced after migration. Tribal communities who had a good political orientation and representation in the political organizations were found to have a better human capital index. Human capital index before migration was positively affected by wage per day.

From the Table 8, it was elucidate that experience in agriculture had a negative correlation with human capital index of tribes people. It was not because they were experienced, rather as their experience increased they get older and thereby livelihood index declined. An experienced agricultural labour was not that much physically capable to enhance their human or financial capital.

Tribes people with very high level of aspiration had a very high human capital index also. Level of aspiration was positively correlated significantly with human capital index before and after migration. Those who are aspirant about their future were working harder to get a good livelihood. It was observed that aspiration level was high among the young people than older tribal migrants. Also tribal migrants belonging to Kurichya community possessed higher level of aspiration followed by Paniya and Kattunaika. Tribes people were migrated to distant places for getting better job in order to secure better livelihood. It was noted that economic aspiration was higher than educational aspiration.

Economic motivation had a pivotal role in human capital index of tribes people before and after migration. It was revealed from the Table 8, that tribes people with the high economic motivation had a high livelihood both before and after migration. This was remarked that young tribes people had more economic motivation and therefore they were more prone to migration. It had resulted in the whole family migration which enhanced their family annual income and thereby human capital.

4.2. Addictive behaviour of tribes people
Before migration the availability of alcohol was less and there by cases of alcohol addiction was meagre among tribes people. Only male tribes consumed alcohol occasionally before migration. But the scenario was drastically changed after migration. It was observed that there was a large scale increase in the number of tribes people with high addictive behaviour. This was due to the fact that migration increased the availability of alcohol and other addictive substances among tribes people.

Tribes people carry alcohol when they return from the migratory places. They usually keep alcohol in small packets made up of polythene and these small packets were kept in secret places, since there may be police checking at borders. Tribal migrants also distribute these addictive items among the tribal colonies and thus a huge increase was created. Due to this increased demand tribal women also started selling alcohol and they acted as carrier of alcohol and other drugs to the colonies from the migrants places.

Sometimes these tribal migrants were caught by the police and they couldn’t charge case against them as they belong to tribal community. So warning and station custody were the only punishment given to them. This lower punishment was not effective and lack of proper investigation and checking increased
the incidence of illegal transportation of alcohol. It was also observed that young and middle aged tribes people who were doing seasonal migration were using cannabinoids and they like to remain the migratory places. Number of tribal migrants using cigarette was increased due to migration. Still beetle leaf chewing was continued among the tribes people regardless male or female. Male tribal migrants had a habit of drinking alcohol even before the breakfast and they usually skip food. This affected their health drastically and caused many health issues among the tribal migrants. Increased use of alcohol also destroyed their peaceful life as they started quarrelling with the family members and neighbours. The availability of alcohol and drugs was acting as an attracting icon for young tribal migrants towards migration. When there was police patrolling in some colonies there was control on tribes people on alcohol use. So tribes people suggested that, frequent police patrolling should be encouraged in order to reduce the incidence of drug use among tribes people.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents based on education

| Category                                      | Before migration | After migration |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
|                                               | F    | %    | F    | %    |
| Illiterate                                    | 16   | 13.33| 13   | 10.83|
| Can read only                                 | 24   | 20.00| 20   | 16.66|
| Can read and write                            | 80   | 66.66| 87   | 72.50|
| Whether attempted to continue schooling / college | 0    | 0.00 | 0    | 0.00 |

Table 2: Distribution of respondents based on hygiene

| Category         | Before migration | After migration |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
|                  | F    | %    | F    | %    |
| Low              | 4    | 3.33 | 51   | 42.50|
| Medium           | 48   | 40.00| 47   | 39.16|
| High             | 68   | 56.66| 22   | 18.33|

Table 3: Distribution of respondents based on health seeking

| Category                      | Before migration | After migration |
|-------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
|                               | F    | %    | F    | %    |
| Before illness become severe  | 32   | 26.66| 46   | 38.33|
| After severe                  | 88   | 73.33| 74   | 61.66|

Table 4: Distribution of respondents based on food habits

| Category     | Before migration (N=120) | After migration |
|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
|              | F    | %    | F    | %    |
| Low          | 14   | 11.66| 27   | 22.50|
| Medium       | 67   | 55.83| 78   | 65.00|
| High         | 39   | 32.50| 15   | 12.50|

Table 5: Distribution of respondents based on human capital

| Sl. No. | Category | Before migration | After migration |
|---------|----------|------------------|-----------------|
|         | Frequency | Percentage      | Frequency      | Percentage  |
| 1.      | Low      | 22   | 18.33 | 23 | 19.16   |
| 2.      | Medium   | 73   | 60.83 | 88 | 73.33   |
| 3.      | High     | 25   | 20.83 | 9  | 7.50    |
Table 6: Correlation between profile characteristics and human capital index

| Sl. no | Independent variables | Human Capital Index before migration | Human Capital Index after migration |
|--------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1      | Age                   | -0.507**                             | -0.284**                           |
| 2      | Family members        | 0.111                                | 0.093                              |
| 3      | Marital status        | -0.401**                             | -0.038                             |
| 4      | Annual income         | 0.285**                              | 0.296**                            |
| 5      | Education             | 0.449**                              | 0.311**                            |
| 6      | Land holding          | 0.290**                              | 0.275**                            |
| 7      | Wage per day          | 0.297**                              | 0.026                              |
| 8      | Political orientation | 0.183*                               | -0.005                             |
| 9      | Debt                  | -0.068                               | -0.018                             |
| 10     | Experience in agriculture | -0.506**                           | -0.275**                           |
| 11     | Type of house         | 0.164                                | 0.175                              |
| 12     | Level of aspiration   | 0.401**                              | 0.242**                            |
| 13     | Economic motivation   | 0.316**                              | 0.198*                             |
| 14     | Self confidence       | 0.090                                | -0.102                             |
| 15     | Traditional value orientation | -0.039                           | -0.110                             |
| 16     | Risk preference       | 0.040                                | -0.106                             |

* Significant at 5% level **significant at 1% level

Table 7: Distribution of respondents based on addictive behaviour

| Category    | Before migration | After migration |
|-------------|------------------|-----------------|
|             | F    | %    | F    | %    |
| Low         | 6    | 5.00 | 4    | 3.33 |
| Medium      | 90   | 75.00| 33   | 27.50|
| High        | 24   | 20.00| 83   | 69.16|

CONCLUSION

The study revealed that after migration there was a hike in the number of literate tribes.
people. Due to several Government schemes and interventions number of hospitals and road facilities were increased. This enhanced the accessibility of tribes people to hospitals and thereby increase in frequency of visiting hospitals. Migration doesn’t make a positive impact on the hygiene of tribes people rather, there was decrease in hygiene especially for male tribal migrants. Food habits of tribes have been changed a lot due to migration. This was evident from the data regarding the diet they follow after migration. A prime factor revealed from the study was that there was lofty increase in the addictive behavior of tribes people due to migration. Due to this reason the increase in education and health status was not much reflected on the human capital of tribes people and cause a reduction in human capital index. Continuous awareness programs and thorough inspections are necessary to reduce the addictive behavior of tribes people. More case studies were reported from tribal area regarding the suicide of tribal migrants due to problems aroused as a result of addictive behavior. A special attention is needed in these issues. Joint management of these issues by local people and officials will be more effective in controlling the addictive behavior of tribes people.

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