

Report

Migration and Development

Study of Rural to Urban Temporary Migration to Gujarat

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Executive Summary

Migration of labour takes place for different reasons, for different durations and with different terms of employment. This study focuses on internal migration of labour that is temporary, seasonal and is from rural to urban areas. It is observed that rural to urban migration has increased significantly in the countries in the South in the recent decades. It is also expected to rise further in the future. It is important therefore to study the dynamics of this migration in the context of its relationships with the process of development.

There are several theories of migration presented by scholars and researchers at different points of time. The first major and well known theory of migration has been presented by Todaro and Harris (1969). It is based on the neo-classical equilibrium theory. According to this theory, labour move from rural or traditional sector to urban areas or modern sectors to maximize incomes. Lewis argued that the capitalist sector (i.e. in urban areas) develops by taking labour from a non-capitalist backward subsistence sector (i.e. in rural areas) and this movement of labour promotes expansion of the capitalist sector along with employment at an early stage of development. When the excess labor in the subsistence sector is fully absorbed into the modern sector, and where further capital accumulation begins to increase wages the migration stops and prices of labour are equalized. However, Marxist political economist view is pessimist in the sense that it considers migration as a negative factor that intensifies disadvantages of the backward region and increases regional disparities.

In addition, chain migration theory advocates that labour moves to places where there are contacts, people whom they know are there and there are known contractors who are willing to take. However, Pluralist approach accepts the role of agency in migration. The new economics of labour migration (NELM) argues that migration is not a decision of an individual, but it is a household decision. Focusing on remittances, this theory argues that household decide to migrate (or to send one member out for work) to diversify their income sources and to minimize their risks.

Missing Elements in Theories

Though this study is devoted to temporary migration, it seems to us that there are water tight compartments between the theories of temporary and permanent migration. Historically speaking, all migration flows usually start as short term migration, as migrant workers keep their roots in rural areas because (1) they have land / asset that generates incomes – through insufficient, or the family members have some livelihood activities in the rural areas, or (2) the whole family does not migrate but only one or a few members migrate for helping families to start with , or (3) migrant workers take time to adjust in new urban environments and bring their families to cities, or (4) they earn enough from migration and decide to go back to their village after collecting good savings. The theories that explain migration are therefore applicable to short term or long term migration. The real research questions are when and why do they decide to settle down in urban areas or in their village, or decide to remain circular migrants all their life. The study proposes to find out the relationship between migration and development in the short and long run.

Empirical evidences on rural to urban seasonal or temporary migration in the South and particularly in India show that in most cases it end up in exploitation of migrant workers. Though the migrant households get some advantages out of migration, it is doubtful whether it can work for their development in the medium term or even in the long run. The major theoretical and research questions that need to be replied are as following:

- What are the factors that can strengthen the relationship between migration and development in the developing countries at present?
- When is this migration likely to result in healthy diversification of the workforce in the areas of destination – without exploitative segmentation of the labour market between the migrants and local labour?
- What are the factors that could reduce and then remove the distress element of out-migration of workers so that their bargaining in the areas of destination improves?
- What kind of role the government – in the state of the origin and in the state of destination – need to play to strengthen linkages between migration and development?
- What are the implications of the above for the macro development process and for the established development paradigm?

The present research study tries to address these questions. It requires study of migration sectors and migrant workers in an area of destination as well as in the area of origin of the migrants.

Approach of the Study and Sample Size

Gujarat state is a prosperous state in India, with 4.99% of the national population, and 7.6% of the national income. Its per capita income at current prices is Rs. 89668 compared to Rs. 61564 of India (2012-2013), i.e. 146% higher than the national average. The state has been almost at the top of the Indian states in economic growth with more than 10.00% annual rate of growth during 2002-2011. With rapid growth of industries (10.3% annual growth rate) and large inflows of investments, the state has done very well in the last two decades.

Internal migration within the state (from tribal areas to non-tribal prosperous areas) or inflows of migration from outside the state is not a new development in Gujarat. However, one observes a significant jump in the migration in the recent decades. A number of studies have suggested that Gujarat is now one of the important magnets that attract migrants from large number of other states, like Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar etc where economic opportunities are rather limited (Shah and Dhak 2014). Also, there has been a significant increase in intra-state migration from less to more developed regions, which may have been further facilitated by increased connectivity and infrastructure within the state. In 2007-08, Gujarat was among the 5 states having the highest incidence of net migration next to Maharashtra, Haryana, Chhattisgarh and Uttara Khand.

A large number of micro studies focusing on migration in Gujarat, have revealed that migrant workers tend to concentrate in certain sectors and locations such as textile and diamond industry in Surat; engineering industry in Ahmedabad, Rajkot, Jamnagar, Vadodara and

Kachchh; domestic work to Ahmedabad and to large cities; and migration to prosperous agricultural areas. Some of the well known migration streams are internal migration of tribal workers to agriculturally developed Saurashtra region; migration of workers from Madhya Pradesh and other neighboring states like Maharashtra to agriculturally well developed regions in Gujarat; child workers from Rajasthan in the cotton fields in north Gujarat etc.

The major rural to urban migration streams to Gujarat are mainly to (1) construction industry, (2) brick kiln industry, (3) diamond cutting and polishing industry, (4) textiles and power looms, and garments, (5) engineering and electrical industries, (6) domestic work, (7) salt pan workers and other informal sectors. It is clear that several major industries in Gujarat owe their progress to migrant workers. To put it differently, migrant workers have contributed significantly to rapid economic growth in Gujarat.

The study covers three different sectors, namely construction industry, diamond cutting and polishing industry and textile industry – power loom sector in Gujarat. The construction industry employs mainly unskilled and manual migrant workers from tribal areas of Gujarat or backward areas of other states; diamond industry employs predominantly migrant workers mainly school drop outs that are trained on the job and from particular communities or known workers; while the textile industry attracts semi-skilled and skilled migrant workers from far and distant states. The three migration experiences are expected to give answers to the above mentioned questions.

Finally, the sample size was composed of total 317 migrant respondents including 104 from Textile units in addition to 105 from ongoing construction sites and local Nakas in Ahmedabad as well as 108 workers from Diamond Processing Units in Surat city (most urbanization cities in Gujarat).

Profile, Process and Causes of Migration

Profile of Migrant Workers

All three industries i.e. construction, textile and diamond industry are male dominated industry therefore ratio of female workers is very less in these sectors. The large and medium diamond polishing units generally do not hire female workers. In fact, generally male workers migrate from rural to urban area in search of job.

The age wise distribution of migrants shows that in construction & textile the largest proportion of migrants is in the 15-24 age groups whereas the majority of diamond workers are in the 25-34 age groups. In other words, more than 70 percent of total migrants are youth that is between 15-35 age groups. It is showing that large younger group of workers migrated in the city and working in informal sector.

It is observed that lower caste people migrate more and the present study verify it. But this pattern is not common for all industry. The proportion of ST (53 percent) is highest in construction industry, however in diamond industry, about 47 percent workers are OBC and textile includes about 57 percent others caste workers. Earlier studies on migration found similar observation. In addition, the distribution of migrants by education level shows that migrants in diamond & textile industry are better educated as many workers studied up to graduate level. The schooling information as whole industries shows higher illiterates

workers engaged in construction works coming from backward group that implies less educated poor migrant from backward community generally works in construction sector more.

Process and Origin Place of Migration

The study has examined the origin place from where workers arrived at the destination. Overall, there are thirteen origin states found in the study. There was high ratio of local migrants since 40 percent of the total workers migrated from inter districts of Gujarat. The other leading states are Uttar Pradesh (24 percent) and Rajasthan (14 percent) from where the large number of workers migrated as per the report. The Dungarpur and Banswada in Rajasthan (nearer place to Gujarat) as well as Dahod in Gujarat are the leading districts from where the large number of tribal and backward workers have migrated and working in construction areas.

In textile sector, 51 percents of surveyed respondents belong to Uttar Pradesh. Lower employment and higher trend of following personal group for getting job in textile industry are the main reasons for it. However, Gujarat alone supply about 80 percent workers in diamond industry and out of which more than 55 percent workers belong to only two districts i.e. Junagad (39 percent) and Bhavnagar (16 percent).

The study also indicates that relatives and friends are main sources who convey the information about destination place among all kind of workers i.e. skilled, unskilled, supervisor, machine operator etc. and in all the industry groups. Here, contractor's role is negligible in textile and diamond industry. Besides, 91 percent workers in textile industry followed by construction industry (about 85 percent) and diamond industry (69 percent) did not take any kind of financial support from others.

Reasons of Migration

This study discusses both push and pull factors of migration. Land ownership is the most important push determinant of migration. Household who have large size of land holdings are less likely to migrate. Besides, in some cases it is observed that persons have large size of landholdings at native place, but they move to urban area in search of better option of supplementary income. Caste is another important determinant of migration. Besides this study also shows that About 36 percent ST, 60 percent SC, 56 percent OBC and 43 percent others are landless which confirm that about half of total population move towards cities due to the less opportunity in agriculture sector.

In addition, this study also shows that only lower income group does not migrate temporarily, but people belong to high income group also migrates in urban areas. It reveals the existence of the pattern of temporary migration among the higher earning group who likes to work in urban areas and frequently visits the destination place with either relatives or friends. The similar trend exposed by Alpa (2003) in her study on seasonal workers, who moves from Jharkhand to the brick kilns of other states. Besides, the result of logit regression analysis shows that age, educational status, caste, household income and per capita land ownership are significantly associated with temporary migration.

Labour Market Segregation

The migrant labourers are exposed to large uncertainties in the potential job market. They have not enough knowledge of the market and unable to stay long without job due to high cost of living in urban areas. Therefore, as soon as possible they try to get any job. In this regards, quality and status of job do not matter. Even, middleman also helps in searching of job. But, incidentally they work for employer and try to arrange labour on low cost. The present segment is primarily focused on job segregation and segmentation by industry, status, education level, social group and class (based on land owning category).

Construction industry still absorbed bulk of unskilled workers than textile and diamond industry. About 56% unskilled workers and 32% skilled workers in construction industry are illiterate. In contrast, there is less scope for unskilled employment in textile and diamond industry, which underlines the emerging problem of increasing size of unskilled and informal workers in job market. The diamond industry is skill dominated industry where job opportunities for unskilled or semiskilled workers are almost zero. Besides, there is an apparent division of caste wise participation at different skill status and in different industries. In construction industry, about 60 percent unskilled and 54 percent skilled workers are ST. However, textile industry is other caste group dominated industry in each skill status and the proportion of other backward caste workers is highest in diamond industry.

Besides, unskilled workers are mainly landless workers. About 56% unskilled workers in construction and 67% unskilled workers in textile are landless. It seems that unskilled work in both textile and construction industry is equally important for landless migrants. Even in diamond industry, about 61% skilled workers are also landless. This study also confirms that as land ownership increases the probability of temporary migration in all three industries decreases.

Employment Intensity and Wage Income

Majority of workers are getting employment regularly in all three industries. In diamond industry, no one is working on irregular basis. Even, majority of unskilled workers obtain regular work in construction industry as well as textile industry (100 percent). But, in construction industry, only 56 percent skilled workers get regular work which too much less than textile (91 percent) and diamond (100 percent). This is so because lees scope for skilled workers in construction sector.

The living conditions of migrant workers depend on quality of job as well as availability of working days per month. The study shows that workers are able to get about 25 days of employment per month in each industry. The unskilled workers in construction are able to get more employment days (27 days/month) than textile industry (23 days/month), however in case of skilled workers, the reverse pattern has been observed. Even, in diamond industry, skilled workers get almost same employment days as construction. Besides, machine operator and supervisor/manager are in better situation than textile and diamond industry in terms of getting employment per month.

Wage is important factor who attract to migrants in cities. The study shows that the average monthly wage income is higher in construction industry than textile industry for each skill

category. The difference of wage income is more for contractor/supervisor followed by machine operator and unskilled workers. However, in general, monthly wage income is much higher in diamond industry than textile and construction. The study reveals that about 91 percent wage payments in diamond industry has been done on work basis. However, about 84 percent in textile industry and 66 percent in construction industry, wages have been paid on monthly basis. Even, around one third workers in construction industry are working on daily basis

Insecurity and Vulnerability

This study also describes the situations of how migrant workers live in difficult conditions and their daily struggles. It is not easy to survive for common person after suffering and facing the issues as these migrant workers experience during their stay in urban areas. Migrant labourer especially seasonal and temporary workers in cities live in awful condition. Most of them live in open spaces or improvised shelter and there is no provision of safe drinking water or hygienic sanitation. This study shows that more than fifty percent unskilled workers in construction and more than one-third in textile have no proper living place consequently they survive in katcha houses or tin shed. However, in case of skilled workers, machine operator, supervisor and manager, majority live in semi-pacca or pacca houses in all three industry groups. In diamond, about 83 percent workers use pacca houses.

It is observed that small units only cover small injuries however some of the large units paid all injuries charges which was happen during work on site. During the survey we got three type of health facilities provided by employers i.e. they have tie-up with private hospitals, they send to government hospital and some companies or units had appointed doctors for caring during injuries. We found that employers are given preference to private hospitals for treatment than government and the same pattern followed in all three industries. Employers/companies prefer two times more to private health facilities than public hospitals in construction and textile industry but in diamond, it 1.5 times more. Only few workers (0.98 percent) in textile industry reported regarding company doctors however, in diamond industry about 14 percent employers/companies have their own doctors.

Migrant Workers with Families

It will be interesting to see how the migrant workers who have migrated with families find their work and life in the city. The data show that 28.57 % construction workers, 49.04 % textile workers and 49.07 % diamond workers have migrated with their families, and overall 43 % workers have migrated with families. The conditions of the construction workers are the worst of all. Only 16.67% of these families live in pucca houses, 37 % live in makeshift houses and remaining 47 % live in usually tin sheds provided on worksites by the employers. 67 % of these families do not have access to electricity, 57 % have no water supply nearby, 74 % have no toilet facility and 74 % do not have any bathroom facility. 74 % families do not have an easy access to medical facilities. It is important to note that 90 % of their children do not go to school. In other words, they live a tough life in the city mainly to be able to survive. The conditions of textile and diamond workers are far better, with only 4 % of diamond workers and 16 % of textile workers living in makeshift houses. They also have

better access to electricity (80 % +) and higher access to water supply, toilet facilities and other facilities. Also, 93 % of children of diamond workers and 60 % of children of textile workers go to school.

Long Working Hours and Social Security

It is found that construction workers are working daily eight hours whereas in textile they are working 10-12 hours. Even in diamond, about 97% workers work 10-12 hours per day. The Minimum Wages Act, 1948 also specifies about the working hours under the rules 20 to 25 that the number of work hours in a day should not exceed 9 hours for an adult. There is no pay for extra hours. The overtime wages should be calculated at the rate of twice the ordinary rates of wages of the worker. Over all, results indicate more suffering because of long working hours in textile and diamond.

Regarding social security, a small proportion of migrant workers get social security. About 1.85 percent workers in construction and 10.78 percent in textile availed provident fund (PF) facility. Even, some of the workers have availed paid leave and medical leave facility. About one third in diamond and one fifth in construction and textile workers get financial support during accident. Besides, about one-third workers in diamond industry get insurance facility however; this proportion is very less in construction and textile industry. Even, only 11 percent diamond workers obtained subsidized food facility as against 0.9 percent in construction and 3.9 percent in textile. In summing up, employer do not provide social security benefits to their employees, only few employees got some facilities i.e. financial support during accident, canteen facility during working hour, group insurance etc.

Long Term Impacts of Migration

The main purpose of migrant workers behind migration is to get more income and acquire assets as well as make saving for future. This study found that construction and textile industry workers generally use wage income for non-productive activities. Majority of construction workers have used their wage income mainly on house repairing, payment of old debt and marriage. However, in textile, about 19 percent on debt payment, 17 percent on house renovation and 16 percent on marriage. This pattern is almost similar in each skill status. In contrast, about 58 percent workers in diamond keep their income as saving in bank.

The pluralist theory views migration as a mechanism to protect livelihoods, a means to acquire a wider range of assets that insure against risk. Regarding this, remittances can play important role in development of migrant households. It can have also multiplier impact on local economy. The study indicates that most of the workers in each skill category send money to respective family. This proportion is only less among unskilled workers (33 percent) in textile industry. In fact, the wage income of unskilled workers is too low than skilled workers and even not enough to fulfilled the basic requirement of workers in city.

In addition, about 45 percent unskilled and 61 percent skilled workers sent money between Rs. 2000-5000, however 75 percent machine operator and 50 percent supervisors/contractors are able to send Rs. 5000 and above in construction industry. In textile industry, more than

sixty five percent unskilled workers send Rs. 2000 or less and about 79 percent skilled workers belong to the similar remittances category as construction skilled workers too. Besides, about more than 50 percent skilled and 100 percent supervisor/contractors in diamond industry send more than Rs. 5000.

It is also observed that majority of workers family used the amount of remittances for access food, health and education in each skill category. A few families utilize their remittances for acquiring assets in each industry. In contrast, about only 44 percent person associated to unskilled workers in textile spent money for access food. Even, some persons of same group utilize their money of remittance on education, health and repairing of houses. In diamond industry, both skilled workers and supervisor/manager/contractor families preferred to food education and health as utilization of amount of remittances.

The skill up-gradation and upward mobility is the another important impact of internal migration. It is observed that workers gain different kind of skill at working place. Even, sometimes employers also conduct training programme for skill improvement of workers. This process make more efficient to workers and help them in reducing job risk. Our result shows that about 22 percents of workers in construction sector have gained working skills after coming at destinations followed by 35 percents in textile and 70 percents in diamond sector. The large numbers of diamond workers have gained polishing skills after migrations. They have to manage by themselves to learn the skills since the proper training and learning supports from either by government or employers does not exists.

Adjustment to the City Life and Future Plans of Migrant Workers

It is important to understand how migrant workers perceive migration, as it reveals the degree to which they have adjusted and adapted to the city life. It also reveals their future plan as well as the support that they need to improve their well being in the city.

Majority of migrant workers (89%) feel safe in the city, i.e. there are no serious law and order problems that they face the percentage being the highest for diamond workers (98%) and the lowest for construction workers (80).

Besides, they face several inconveniences and harassment in the city. Firstly, almost all migrant workers believe that no proper compensation is paid to them if they are injured or even die on the job. There is no adequate compensation for occupational related health problems. As all the three sectors are prone to accidents and / or serious occupational diseases, this is a serious concern of these workers. Secondly, they are also subjected to uncertain and irregular employment – this is particularly applicable to construction workers, though diamond workers also got a huge shock when they lost their jobs on a large scale due to the global crisis in 2008-09. Thirdly, they suffer from very poor living conditions, emanating from absence of basic facilities like water supply, sanitation and housing. The new migrants are particularly feeling harassed by this. Housing is a serious problem particularly for construction workers – for those living on worksites, living on roadsides or in *Bastis* – all suffer from inadequate protection from housing. The struggle to get the minimum

needs, i.e. water supply, sanitation, fuel and night is too hard for most workers; the worst conditions are of construction workers.

Regarding future plans, in construction sector, about 83% workers reported that they want to work in the city “till work is available”, which also implies that they will work in the city till they are strong enough to perform this strenuous work. However 4% want to stay in the city for 10 years and 4.6% for 5-6 years, as they believe they will earn enough by this period or they will be able to work till this period. Only 7.4 % workers intend to stay here life time. These are all skilled workers – masons, carpenters, and other specialized workers who believe that they will be able to settle down here with slightly higher salary and good demand for their work. In other words, it is the skilled workers who think they can settle down in the city of their migration. In the case of migrant diamond workers, 28% want to stay in the city permanently, while 32 % want to stay till work is available. However, in the case of textile, about 80% migrant workers want to work till work is available.

In addition, what do they think of the future of their children? Are they hopeful about the next generation? Except for 10 % construction workers all workers want brighter future for their children. Almost all of them (more than 50%) want their children to study well and take up a good job (perceived to be permanent and safe) or start a new business (mainly diamond workers). Some construction workers trapped in the vicious circle of hard work and low returns are hopeless about their children’s future.

In short, (1) skills and (2) round the year employment tend to encourage the workers to stay on in the city. However, there is an element of uncertainty, as a lot depends on how long the work will be available. The relatively low wages, lack of social protection do not encourage them to stay on. Only those who have been able to make some savings are sure of their ability to stay on.

Assessment of Government Policies, Laws and Schemes

This study shows extremely poor performance of the labour laws and the other services provided by the Central and State governments. Negligible numbers of migrant workers in all the three sectors are aware of the labour laws designed for their protection and well-being. Even if they know, they are at the receiving end in this new environment, and therefore do not demand their rights. As regards social security schemes, the only social security available to some is provident fund: 2% of workers in construction work and 11% of migrant workers in textile get provident fund. Group insurance scheme provides insurance to 28% diamond workers, but this insurance is available to only 5% workers in textile units and less than 1% in construction industry. Any form of health insurance is not accessible to construction workers while it is available to 3-5% to other sector workers. The schemes like RSBY or AABY are not accessed by any of the migrant workers.

As regards access to Public Services is concerned, construction workers are in the worst situation. They do not have any access to PDS, ICDS, or to public educational institutional and very limited access to health services. The other two sectors are slightly better but far from satisfactory.

Unionization or mobilization can help here significantly, in terms of creating awareness as well as mobilizing collective strength for better bargaining. However, no worker from the sample has joined any union. As was revealed during discussions, this is because they are likely to be thrown out of job if they joined a union. Employers clearly do not like workers forming or joining unions. It appears that migrant workers are here to earn some incomes for survival or to diversify their risks to address their vulnerability. They are totally at the receiving end and accept whatever is available to them. They are not in a position to demand their rights from employers.

Making Government More Effective

1. Make Migrants Visible: The first important reason is that migrant workers are invisible to government machinery in multiple ways. Firstly, there are no accurate data available on the size of migrant workers, major streams of migration or their location and problems. Secondly, migrant workers do not have any ID cards or ration cards to ensure them to demand for facilities. And thirdly, migrant workers are not in the priority agenda of the labour department (in fact, the entire labour department is not a priority department for policy makers).

The first task therefore is to organize mapping of migration streams in the state and get information on the size, sources, and their pattern of migration as well as about their profile by age, sex and household characteristics. Unless these data are collected, the state government will not be able to design policies and programs for circular migrants in the state.

For ID cards, there is no point on depending on getting certificate of 90 days of work from employers for identification of migrant workers, as hardly any employer is interested in giving such a certificate. The power of issuing the certificate should also be given to licensed contractors, recognized trade unions and concerned government officers.

Since most contractors are not registered in the state of origin and in the state of destination, there is no way to tracking migrant workers. This registration that covers name, address, photograph etc. of migrant workers must be enforced strictly.

2. Commitment and Coordination: A migrant worker is one of the neglected areas of the labour who are also at a low priority at present. It is extremely important therefore to bring the issues of labour and particularly of migrant workers to the fore.

It will be desirable if a “Migrant Cell” is created in the labour department with the required funds and staff. This cell should be made exclusively in charge of all migration related issues. Strict monitoring, accountability and transparency of the cell should be organized so that extremely slow progress of the implementation of the law can be avoided.

3. Amendments in Laws: There are certain basic limitations of the laws that need to be corrected such as the inter-state migrant workers act, establishment of single window system for registration of migrant workers, punishment for violation of the labour laws, minimum package of social securities.

4. Recognizing the Unions and their Role: When the government is indifferent and non-committed, and when employers are against the interests of migrant workers, unions are perhaps the only powers that the workers can have to demand their entitlements. Unfortunately, employers discourage workers forming or joining unions.

Chapter 1

1.1 Migration and Development: Understanding The Linkages

Migration of labour takes place for different reasons, for different durations and with different terms of employment. This study focuses on internal migration of labour that is temporary, seasonal and is from rural to urban areas. It is observed that rural to urban migration has increased significantly in the countries in the South in the recent decades. It is also expected to rise further in the future. It is important therefore to study the dynamics of this migration in the context of its relationships with the process of development.

An important research question therefore is what are the factors responsible for this migration and why is it expected to rise in the future. Another question is whether this rural to urban migration has promoted or is likely to promote development, and not just growth, of migrant workers and their households as well as of the regions of their origin and destination. This chapter examines the theoretical developments in this context in order to study their relevance and importance in explaining the linkages between migration and development.

Historically speaking, there are several theories of migration presented by scholars and researchers at different points of time. The first major and well known theory of migration has been presented by Todaro and Harris (1969). It is based on the neo-classical equilibrium theory. According to this theory, labour move from rural or traditional sector to urban areas or modern sectors to maximize incomes. Since the expected income in urban areas is higher than that in rural areas, labour migrates to urban areas. This movement of labour continues until the price of labour falls in urban areas and it rises in rural areas so that gradually the prices are equalized in both the regions. In this perspective of balanced growth, the re-allocation of labour from rural to urban industrial sector is considered as a pre-requisite of economic growth and hence as a constituent component of the development process. This theory thus believes that the process of factor price equalization ensures growth along with equal prices of the factor, labour in this case.

However Lewis theory illustrates that the capitalist sector (i.e. in urban areas) develops by taking labour from a non-capitalist backward subsistence sector (i.e. in rural areas). This movement of labour promotes expansion of the capitalist sector along with employment at an early stage of development. When the excess labor in the subsistence sector is fully absorbed into the modern sector, and where further capital accumulation begins to increase wages, i.e. the “Lewisian turning point”, the migration stops and prices of labour are equalized.

This theory however ignores market imperfections and the structures that do not allow markets to perform freely. In fact, these structures impede the functioning of markets. In the 1970s and 1980s therefore several scholars, including Marxist political economist presented historical-structural theories that accepted asymmetric nature of growth (Castles and Miller 2003). It is argued by the proponents of this theory that because of socio-economic- political structures, people living in rural / disadvantaged areas do not have an equal access to markets

with others. They are pushed out of these areas and forced to migrate to urban / prosperous areas for survival or to minimize risks and vulnerability. In the process they contribute to the growth of better off regions. Lagging regions on the other hand lose productive labour and remain backward, i.e. fall in the trap of disadvantages. Migration thus leads to regional disparities, increasing under development and dependency of lagging regions. This is also described as “the lost labour effect” (Taylor 1984) and “development of under development” (Baran 1993).

But, the chain migration and network theory point out that there are several other factors such as spatial factors like proximity of the destination, institutions facilitating or obstructing migration, social networks, cultural and historical factors etc who affect the labour migration. Labour moves to places where there are contacts, people whom they know are there and there are known contractors who are willing to take.

The new economics of labour migration (NELM) argues that migration is not a decision of an individual, but it is a household decision. Focusing on remittances, this theory argues that households decide to migrate (or to send one member out for work) to diversify their income sources and to minimize their risks. In other words, households use migration as a tool to overcome their constraints in the area of origin and decide to send one or more household members out to earn income. These theories, thus consider migration as an obstacle to development of lagging or backward regions. Though they recognize the role of migration in smoothing consumption levels, remittances are not seen as a means of development of backward regions because remittances are used on consumption of households than productive activities.

The pluralist approach goes one step ahead and considers migration as a mechanism to protect livelihoods, a means to acquire a wider range of assets that insure against risk. Remittances have an important role to play for migrant households.

Prevailing Development Paradigm and Social Policy

It appears that Migration theory is always placed in the broader development paradigm and social policy paradigm. Under the era of neo-classical theories, migration of labour was seen as a positive mechanism of balanced growth and economic diversification. When the neo-classical thinking was challenged, also by Marxists, the role of the structures was recognized in the process of migration. This was followed by economists on both sides, theories that recognized the role of structures and the agency, ultimately leading to the pluralist theories.

In the present environment of neo-liberal policies, migration is seen as a positive point for development. Flows of remittances to the areas of origin are expected to produce multiple positive impacts on migrants as well as the source region.

- Remittances improve the quality of life of people (as spent on housing & basic facilities) as well improve education, Skills of migrant population
- The experience to better off regions help in modernizing volumes and outlook of migrants (socio cultural impact) to help them to move ahead

- Remittances used on housing can have multiplier impacts on the local economy
- Remittances used on consumption goods also have multiplier impact in the source region, as increased spending result in setting up of grocery shops, tea shops and other business subsequently

It is therefore argued that migration results into development of the area of destination as well as development of the area of origin. Migration should be seen as a healthy mobility of labour across regions for diversification of workforce in the economy, and should be promoted for overall growth of the economy.

1.2 Missing Elements in Theories

Though this study is devoted to temporary migration, it seems to us that there are water tight compartments between the theories of temporary and permanent migration. Historically speaking, all migration flows usually start as short term migration, as migrant workers keep their roots in rural areas because (1) they have land / asset that generates incomes – through insufficient, or the family members have some livelihood activities in the rural areas, or (2) the whole family does not migrate but only one or a few members migrate for helping families to start with , or (3) migrant workers take time to adjust in new urban environments and bring their families to cities, or (4) they earn enough from migration and decide to go back to their village after collecting good savings. The theories that explain migration are therefore applicable to short term or long term migration. The real research questions are when and why do they decide to settle down in urban areas or in their village, or decide to remain circular migrants all their life. The study proposes to find out the relationship between migration and development in the short and long run.

The movement of theories from one extreme (Neo-classical) to another extreme (structures) has definitely clarified several issues; however it does not help in understanding the linkages between migration and development in the present context. One missing element in the above set of theories is that they do not explain that under what circumstances migration gives positive or negative results and how. The theories do not explain when and how migration results in raising regional disparities or reducing these. They do not help in designing policies that strengthen positive relationship between migration and development.

For example, it is important to understand that under what circumstances remittances are large enough to make an impact on development; or under what circumstances migration results in the structural transformation of the workforce; or what kind of government interventions are needed for forging positive linkages between migration and development; or what kind of development paradigm helps in migration leading to sustainable development and so on.

Empirical evidences on rural to urban seasonal or temporary migration in the South and particularly in India show that in most cases it end up in exploitation of migrant workers. Though the migrant households get some advantages out of migration, it is doubtful whether it can work for their development in the medium term or even in the long run. The major theoretical and research questions that need to be replied are as following:

- What are the factors that can strengthen the relationship between migration and development in the developing countries at present?
- When is this migration likely to result in healthy diversification of the workforce in the areas of destination – without exploitative segmentation of the labour market between the migrants and local labour?
- What are the factors that could reduce and then remove the distress element of out-migration of workers so that their bargaining in the areas of destination improves?
- What kind of role the government – in the state of the origin and in the state of destination – need to play to strengthen linkages between migration and development:
- What are the implications of the above for the macro development process and for the established development paradigm?

It is important therefore to develop building blocks for a new sound theory of migration of labour based on the questions presented above.

The present research study tries to address these questions. It requires study of migration sectors and migrant workers in an area of destination as well as in the area of origin of the migrants.

This is the first part of the study devoted to the area of destination.

Migration of labour from rural to urban areas or from agriculture to non-agriculture/manufacturing sector is an essential feature of development of an economy, as it diversifies the sources of incomes to high productivity sectors and also diversify the workforce into non primary/manufacturing sectors. However, for a smooth transfer of labour and healthy transformation of the economy it is essential that it is not a distress migration of desperate labour, or a coping strategy of survival of labour, who land in exploitative urban environment without any bargaining power.

A smooth transformation requires that regions have basic infrastructure and people have an easy access to elementary education, basic health etc. so that when the surplus labour moves out as migrant workers, they do it with a well thought and choice of diversification sources of incomes and to improve their levels of living. A smooth transformation also requires that the migrant labour, who meets the demand for labour in the area of destination, have some bargaining power to bargain for at least good wages and acceptable working and living conditions.

A good theory of migration should show how the above happens so as to have close linkages between migration and development. That is, migrant workers decide to settle down in urban areas, or come back to the areas of origin what makes this transformation possible is a major research question for this study.

The role of the state is also examined in this context. The state has regulatory function as well as obligation to provide basic services and infrastructure to all in the state. It will be important therefore to examine how far the structural constraints of backward regions can be addressed by the governments of the states of the origin.

When migration is put in a macro perspective, it becomes clear that perhaps the increase in migration originates, at least to an extent, from the macro growth path that has that has enhanced inequalities and regional disparities, increased depletion and degradation of environment, has not created enough employment opportunities; or it has promoted narrow based unsustainable development. May be this process pushes people out in search of work, or is it capital flows only to better off areas and therefore these areas attract labours. Similarly, what are the factors that determine the nature of the impacts of migration: is it education or skill of migrants, duration of migration, or the seasonal/round the year nature of migration work on the qualities that need to be answered? And finally, the role of the state is promoting positive relationship between migration and development is worth exploring in this theoretical explorations.

1.3 Emerging Issues in Migration: A Survey of Literature

It is important at the outset to define the concept of circular / seasonal migration or temporary migration from rural to urban areas. This migration can be defined as migration where labourers migrate from rural (area of origin) to urban areas (area of destination) for a season or for a part of the year to earn incomes; but come back to their own village when the work is over. Thus they live (as well as work in most cases) at both places, the place of origin and the place of destination. Temporary migration also includes workers who migrate to non-seasonal or round-the-year activities but some or all members of their families live at the origin with which they have strong links and send remittances to them. In other words, temporary migration includes all those labours that migrate to urban areas to earn extra incomes for their families living in rural areas. This Section discusses the emerging issues related to rural urban migration of labour, based on our brief survey of the literature on the subject, and then presents the objectives and the approach of the empirical study that we intend to undertake.

Number of scholars and researchers in India has undertaken empirical studies in the field of seasonal or temporary migration of labour. These studies have thrown useful light on the multiple dimensions of this migration. These studies refer to a variety of streams of migration and discuss causes of migration, process of migration, working and living conditions of migrants, remittances and their use etc. They cover migration to large number of big and small urban centers in India, such as, Mumbai (Mukherjee et al 2009), Bangalore (Jonathan 2012; Kala Seetharam, Sridhar A. et al 2010), Indore (Saxena 2009), Nasik (Borhade 2006), Coimbatore (Ambiga, Geetha & Gomathi 2009), Delhi (Ramesh 2012), Ahmadabad (SEWA 2009), Kolkata, Chennai (S Sundari 2005) and several urban centers in Kerala (Ajith Kumar 2011). The focus of the studies also is varies, ranging from gender (Arpita and Saraswati 2009, Deshingkar 2010, Mahapatro 2010, Sundari 2005), to wages and labour markets, human development, poverty, working / living conditions at the destination and at the origin and so on. The findings of these studies do not always match with each other; however some of the common observations of these studies can be described as follows:

To start with, analysis of the trends in migration based on the census of population (1991, 2001, and 2011) and NSSO rounds indicates that there has been considerable increase in rural to urban seasonal migration of labour including inter-state migration in the recent decades in India. Based on the secondary sources, Deshingkar has estimated the size of circular migration at about 100 millions, who seem to contribute 10 % of the national GDP (2009). Circular migration is observed to be a national phenomenon, spread from NE region to Gujarat, from Punjab, Himachal Pradesh to Kerala! The major sectors where migration takes place are brick kiln and construction industry, which has been growing very rapidly in the recent years; textile and Garment industry, again showing rapid increase in the recent years; agro processing; engineering and electrical/ electric industries; domestic work, petty trade and petty services etc. It appears that most rapidly growing regions / states have been able to access cheap labour from backward and lagging regions / states to feed their growth. Inter-state migration is particularly increasing fast, with labourers traveling increasingly longer distances to prosperous regions.

It is interesting to note that the share of women in this migration has shown considerable increases in the recent years, and most women migrants are migrating as domestic workers to middle class and relatively rich urban households. Women seem to travel with or without their families to earn extra incomes for the family (Mazumdar et al 2013).

Several reasons have been observed why labour migrates. A major reason appears to be environmental depletion and degradation of the regions of the origin that has affected livelihoods of people adversely. This includes non-viability of small and marginal farmers, growing landlessness, increased frequency of droughts and other natural disasters, absence of multiple cropping, degradation of forest and depletion of water resources in many areas, all of which has resulted in rising distress migration in the country. In addition, poor infrastructure and lack of adequate non-farm employment opportunities in these regions as well as overall neglect of these areas by their respective governments also is responsible for increasing out-migration of labour to better off urban centres (Deshingkar 2006, Ambika, Geetha & Gomathi 2009, Srivastava 2005, Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003, Deshingkar 2010). Growing power of naxalites also has been observed an important reason for out-migration from Chhattisgarh (Alpa Shah 2005, Parvaze and Naseer 2012). In short, both push and pull factors seem to be operating behind this rising migration in the country.

Another important observation of these studies is relating to poor working and living conditions of migrant labour in urban centres. Studies show that overall, migrant workers suffer from very poor quality of life in destination areas (Beena Naryan 2010, Deshingkar 2006, Arjan Haan 2011, Mitra and Murayama 2008, Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003). Some of the pressing issues are poor access to potable drinking water and water supply for washing and cleaning, sanitation, clean environment, housing with minimum facilities etc. The life of migrant workers is observed to be extremely miserable in some cases. At the worksites also safety and security are frequently not ensured resulting in severe injuries, disabilities and even death as well as number of occupational diseases. Also, there are long working hours, poor wages and multiple exploitations including sexual harassment are some of the major concerns of the migrants (Deshingkar 2010, Deshingkar and Akter 2009, Bhagat 2009, Anjali Borhade 2006, Srivastava 2003). It is clear that migrant workers pay a high price for additional incomes that they earn through migration.

It appears that NREGA has not worked well in most cases in reducing distress migration. This is largely because of the problems with the working of the scheme. As studies show, the major problems are (1) absence of the guarantee of 100 days of work under the programme so that workers are not encouraged to reduce if not eliminate distress migration, (2) the wages on NREGA are paid late and workers cannot wait for long for wages, and (3) frequently, there is absence of information about the programme or about the ongoing works under the programme (Arjan Haan 2011, Jonathan 2012).

Migrant workers, in most cases, do not have much access to social security schemes such as RSBY, AABY, OAP, Widow pensions etc as well as to public services like health and

educational services, ICDS etc (Ajith Kumar 2011, Srivastava & Sasikumar 2003, Srivastava 2005, Borhade 2006). As a result, they have not much to fall back on in the events of crisis on the one hand and not many opportunities to move up in the ladder on the other hand.

Remittance is another major subject of research. The amount of remittances sent back home depends on many things, such as the wage rates, employment in days, regular payment of wages and whether migrants live with some members of their families or live alone. Studies have shown that the most important uses of remittances are (1) buying food, i.e. consumptions smoothing, (2) debt repayment to reduce debt-bondage, (3) health related expenditure, and (4) buying other consumption items. Households also spend huge money (they can borrow more after migration) on social functions. The next choice is repairing or constructing house. A few migrants also spend money on children's education. Only a very few migrant labourers use remittances on buying productive assets. It appears that the deprived migrant households give first priorities to take care of their basic consumption needs. In short, remittances are meant mainly for protecting or increasing consumptions of migrant households (Ambiga, Geetha & Gomathi 2009, Deshingkar 2006, Jonathan Pattenden 2012, Katnalli 2012, Deshingkar and Start 2003, Srivastava 2005, Deshingkar and Akter 2009, Parida & Madheswaran 2011). The productive impacts of migration are too small and too weak to play a bottom up approach for the developments of the areas of origin.

There are several other migration related issues investigated by some of the studies. A few studies have shown some socio cultural impacts of migration: Migrant workers feel free of the social customs and traditions that they are tied up with in their native areas. They also enjoy urban surroundings as these are not available in their villages (Alpa Shah 2005). On the other hand a few studies have also shown that migrant workers find it difficult to assimilate with the local people in urban areas due to language barriers, cultural barriers and income gaps. They frequently feel dejected and isolated (N. Ajith Kumar 2011).

Though, the available literature provides rich insights into the subject but, does not focus much on understanding linkages between migration and development under different migration streams. It is important to discuss how far this migration is capable of promoting smooth transfer of labour from rural to urban areas to diversify the economy as well as the workforce on the one hand and to help the process of development of backward regions / states on the other hand.

The specific objectives of the present study are as follows:

1. Based on the insights the study provides, to develop an appropriate approach to understand the linkages between migration and development
2. To analyze the impact of migration on employment, income, debt and assets of migrant households and on the overall development of the rural economy,

Chapter 2

Approach of the Study and Sampling Design

Gujarat state is a prosperous state in India, with 4.99% of the national population, and 7.6% of the national income. Its per capita income at current prices is Rs. 89668 compared to Rs. 61564 of India (2012-2013), i.e. 146% higher than the national average. The state has been almost at the top of the Indian states in economic growth with more than 10.00% annual rate of growth during 2002-2011. With rapid growth of industries (10.3% annual growth rate) and large inflows of investments, the state has done very well in the last two decades.

Internal migration within the state (from tribal areas to non-tribal prosperous areas) or inflows of migration from outside the state is not a new development in Gujarat. However, one observes a significant jump in the migration in the recent decades. A number of studies have suggested that Gujarat is now one of the important magnets that attract migrants from large number of other states, like Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Bihar etc where economic opportunities are rather limited (Shah and Dhak 2014). Also, there has been a significant increase in intra-state migration from less to more developed regions, which may have been further facilitated by increased connectivity and infrastructure within the state. In 2007-08, Gujarat was among the 5 states having the highest incidence of net migration next to Maharashtra, Haryana, Chhattisgarh and Uttara Khand.

An important feature of the high growth experience in the state is that the state has witnessed fair amount of vibrancy in both agriculture and industry-infrastructure sectors. This may have significant positive ramifications for increased labour migration into the state. On the other hand, inter-regional disparity within Gujarat also seems to have triggered mobility of people and workers within the state. Rapid increase in the rate of urbanization, amounting to about 42 per cent of the state population, is likely to be yet another important factor leading to increased migration to the state. Gauging this complex interplay of forces that support economic growth and urbanization on the one hand and boost up labour mobility on the other is difficult.

A large number of micro studies focusing on migration in Gujarat, have revealed that migrant workers tend to concentrate in certain sectors and locations such as textile and diamond industry in Surat; engineering industry in Ahmedabad, Rajkot, Jamnagar, Vadodara and Kachchh; domestic work to Ahmedabad and to large cities; and migration to prosperous agricultural areas. Some of the well known migration streams are internal migration of tribal workers to agriculturally developed Saurashtra region; migration of workers from Madhya Pradesh and other neighboring states like Maharashtra to agriculturally well developed regions in Gujarat; child workers from Rajasthan in the cotton fields in north Gujarat etc.

It is interesting to note that Gujarat ranks high in rural to urban inter-state migration to the state. Rural-urban migration accounts for 54.1 per cent of the total migration in Gujarat as compared to only about 42 per cent in the case of Maharashtra, another state that attracts

migration from all over. However, of the total R-U migration, intra-district R-U stream is fairly large (20 %), and very close to the inter-state R-U stream (22.1%) that represents the largest among the R-U streams in the state. Overall, as regards employment related mobility among male workers is concerned Gujarat state offers more broad based opportunities, especially in urban areas within (rather than) across districts.

The major rural to urban migration streams to Gujarat are mainly to (1) construction industry, (2) brick kiln industry, (3) diamond cutting and polishing industry, (4) textiles and power looms, and garments, (5) engineering and electrical industries, (6) domestic work, (7) salt pan workers and other informal sectors. It is clear that several major industries in Gujarat owe their progress to migrant workers. To put it differently, migrant workers have contributed significantly to rapid economic growth in Gujarat.

The study covers three different sectors, namely construction industry, diamond cutting and polishing industry and textile industry – power loom sector in Gujarat. The construction industry employs mainly unskilled and manual migrant workers from tribal areas of Gujarat or backward areas of other states; diamond industry employs predominantly migrant workers mainly school drop outs that are trained on the job and from particular communities or known workers; while the textile industry attracts semi-skilled and skilled migrant workers from far and distant states. The three migration experiences are expected to give answers to the above mentioned questions.

2.1 Selection of Industry and District for Survey

Construction Industry

Construction industry has been one of the fastest growing industries in India. It is also a major source of employment for migrant populations in the country (Deshingkar and Akter (2009). It has been estimated that there are more than 40 million migrant construction workers (both skilled and unskilled) in the country.

Gujarat, a rapidly growing economy, also has a fast growing construction sector. The real estate & infrastructure market has been developing very rapidly in the state particularly in its urban centers. According to an ASSOCHAM study, the real estate sector in the state has attracted 41 percent of new investments across India during last year (2012-13), and the state stood second among the major 20 states in under-construction road projects in that year (Survey report November 2013). Presently (2011-12), the state has 22 road projects worth about Rs 13,700 crores under construction, as per the 'PPP in Road Sector 2012' report.

Ahmedabad city, one of the fastest growing cities in Gujarat, is experiencing a construction boom where large numbers of real estate & major infrastructure projects are being undertaken by private as well as public sectors. According to Gujarat Institute of Housing and Estate developers (GIHED), the construction industry is playing an important role in the state's infrastructure & real estate sector, with 40 percent of real estate transactions taking place in Gandhinagar & Ahmedabad. Therefore, we have selected Ahmedabad for the primary survey in the construction industry.

Textile Industry

The textile industry in Gujarat is another major sector where large numbers of migrant workers are employed. Historically speaking, textile industry has been an important industry that has contributed to the rapid industrial growth since the middle of the 19th century in Gujarat. After the crisis in the industry in the 1980s, the composite units of the industry got decentralized into smaller spinning, weaving (mainly power looms) and processing units. Textile units spread to larger areas within the state and increased their dependence of migrant workers.

At present also, the textile industry in Gujarat contributes almost 3% of the national GDP and shares 12% of the national textile exports. The state is the largest producer of cotton and contributes more than 30% of the cotton produced in India. During the last decade the cotton production in Gujarat (particularly BT cotton) increased from 23 lakh bales in 2001 to 123 lakh bales in 2012.

Ahmedabad is a major centre of textile – power looms in the state. The favorable Industry policy, subsidized land, electricity, availability of raw materials and yarn, cheap labour and easy transport connectivity are the major reasons for this. The industry has become a great centre for migrant workers in Ahmedabad. The work in the industry is not seasonal, but it is round the year. It has been observed that of the large number of workers, some prefer to go back within two to five years, while the others decide to stay on and become permanent residents of the city.

Diamond Industry

The diamond cutting and polishing work started in India is one of the most globalized industries in India, with almost entire raw diamonds coming from abroad and more than 80 % of the production exported out. It started in a small way in the 1960s in Surat, when some entrepreneurs belonging to Patel community started these units after importing rough diamonds from outside. The industry expanded gradually and took a big jump in the 1980s. Proximity to Mumbai for importing raw diamonds and for exporting finished products on the one hand and the enterprise of Patels from Saurashtra and Jains from North Gujarat resulted in the rapid growth of this industry. With the introduction of the economic reforms in 1991, the industry took a great leap by taking advantage of the new environment. At present, more than 80 percent of the diamond cutting and polishing in the country is done in Gujarat.

Though reliable data on diamond units as well as workers are not available, it has been estimated that there are about 7000-8000 small and big diamond units that employ more than 7-8 lakhs workers. Most workers in this industry are informal workers, not protected by any social security measures. This is because most diamond units are not registered under the Factories Act, and those registered also do not report all the workers.

We have selected the biggest centre of diamond industry, Surat for our study. This city employs around four lakh workers of whom more than 90 % workers are from outside. Many of them have settled down here while others are still undecided.

The structure of the diamond industry is like a pyramid: At the top are a small number of large modern factories, each employing up to 4000-5000 workers; below them there are medium units employing up to 500 workers; and at the bottom are a large number of small units employing up to 50 workers. The large units are registered under the Factories Act. However, 60-70 percent of their workers are temporary or contract workers. These units also sub contract job work to smaller units including the units located in distant towns and villages. Small units are usually engaged in job work, though some of them do sell their products to local traders (who in turn sell these to exporters). The medium size units are somewhere in between, and are primarily engaged in job work of a slightly higher quality. Small units are almost always un-registered, while some medium units could be registered if they are exporting directly.

Majority of the workers are from Patel community from Saurashtra, who have migrated to urban centers through family connections. As diamonds are expensive, employers prefer workers from their communities; Patels are Jains from Saurashtra and North Gujarat. Recently they have started hiring workers from other communities in Gujarat and from Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and even Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Since most diamond units undertake job work for larger producers or traders, the workers usually float from one unit to another. Most of these workers are school drop outs trained on the job.

2.2 Sampling Design

Finally, for primary survey, Ahmedabad is selected for construction and textile industry workers, however Surat is chosen for diamond industry workers. Each aspect of migrants considered at the time of preparing the questionnaire. Keeping in mind the main objective of the study, questionnaire of 84 questions was prepared with covering of all -important issues related to the migrant workers. We approached workers through visiting their workplace or room where they stay so that we could evaluate their actual living as well as working conditions. It is important to note at the outset that entry into the selected industry units was extremely difficult, as most of the employers refused to allow us in their units initially. We therefore changed our approach. We met the heads of industry associations and then to unit heads to discuss with them the status of the industry. We discussed with them the problems and prospects of the industry and asked for their suggestion for moving forward. After this we asked them if we could meet their workers, to which they said yes.

The industry wise selection of sample is as follows:

The sample size was composed of total 317 migrant respondents including 104 from Textile units in addition to 105 from ongoing construction sites and local Nakas in Ahmedabad as well as 108 workers from Diamond Processing Units in Surat city (most urbanization cities in Gujarat). For construction, four sites are selected: two private sites and two public sites. The two private sites are building construction companies (Aryavrat Housing constructions of the

Dev construction group and Vasna Housing Complex of Bakeri Housing Construction Group) constructing housing complexes. The public sector worksites are the IIM flyover and the Sarkhej-Gandhinagar Six-lane Highway. Construction workers live mainly on worksites or on road side or in illegal Basti (settlements). Those not living on worksites usually stand on “Naka” – fixed locations on cross roads and wait for contractors to pick them up. There are about 100 Naka in Ahmedabad, and we have selected three Naka located in the different parts of the city - Ambavadi Naka, Akhbar Nagar Naka and & Shahpur Naka. Finally, our sample included 105 migrant construction workers: 35 workers from private construction complexes, 35 from public worksites and 35 from workers standing on Naka.

In textile industry, two centres, namely, Narol and Naroda of Ahmedabad city are selected for our in-depth primary study. We therefore selected 104 fresh migrants to this industry for our study. Of them, 48 from large units, 26 from medium and 29 from small units are chosen. In order to get a comparative view of the situation, we also selected a small sample of 21 migrants who are living here for more than 5 years and who intend to stay in Ahmedabad “permanently”. These workers are from textile and power loom industry. Of the total, 37 are skilled workers (on the job trained), 19 were semi skilled (on the job skilled) and 9 are unskilled.

In diamond, the major operations in the industry are Cutting, Blocking, Bruting, Polishing, and Grading. The main centers of the industry in the Surat city are Varachha and Katargam, followed by Punnagam and Mehadalpura. We selected 108 migrant diamond workers from Varacha, Kapuwadi, Katargam and other areas in Surat where majority of diamond polishing units are established and maximum migrants are working. Our sample consisted of workers from each of the skills and from the three localities. 32 (30%) workers are selected from Large Units, 38 (35%) workers from Medium units and 38 (35%) from small units. Majority of the workers investigated in the late evening in their localities as we were not allowed to interview them in their work places. Indeed the entry into any unit was very difficult and we had to request the Surat Diamond Association to help us out.

The final sample structure is given in below table 1:

Table 2.1: Sample Distribution by Gender and Industry

City	Gender	Construction	Textile	Diamond	Total
Ahmedabad	M	96(91.45)	103(99.04)	0.0	199(95.22)
	F	9(8.55)	1(0.96)	0.0	25(4.78)
	T	105(100)	104(100)	0.0	209(100)
Surat	M	0.0	0.0	100(92.59)	100(92.59)
	F	0.0	0.0	8(7.41)	8(7.41)
	T	0.0	0.0	108(100)	108(100)
Total	M	96(91.45)	103(99.04)	100(92.59)	299(94.32)
	F	9(8.55)	1(0.96)	8(7.41)	18(5.68)
	T	105(100)	104(100)	108(100)	317(100)

Note: Bracket figures are in percentage.

Chapter 3

Profile, Process and Causes of Migration

This section discusses the profile of migrant workers at the destination as well as at the origin. It analyzes, how, from where and in what circumstances the workers migrated in the city. Table 3.1 describes the sample distributions by gender and industry. The figure in bracket shows percentage number of surveyed migrant workers. The diamond industry is running as a male dominant industry therefore ratio of female workers is very less in this sector. The large and medium diamond polishing units generally do not hire female workers.

3.1 Demographic Profile of Respondent

Table 3.1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Sex	Construction	Textile	Diamond	All
Sex				
Male	91.67	99.01	92.52	94.25
Female	8.33	0.99	7.48	5.75
Total	100	100	100	100
Marital Status				
Married	61.11	55.45	59.05	58.47
Unmarried	37.04	43.56	40.95	40.58
Widow	1.85	0.99	0	0.96
Total	100	100	100	100
Age				
15-24	44.44	39.0	30.48	38.02
25-34	29.63	33.0	45.71	36.1
35-59	24.07	27.0	22.86	24.6
60+	1.85	1.0	0.95	1.28
Total	100	100	100	100
Average Age	28.71	29.10	29.08	28.96
Caste				
ST	52.78	14.0	13.33	27.16
SC	8.33	8.0	28.57	15.02
OBC	18.52	20.0	47.62	28.75
Others	20.37	58.0	10.48	29.07
Total	100	100	100	100
Education				
Primary	18.52	21.0	10.48	16.61
Middle	12.96	21.0	20.95	18.21
High school	22.22	32.0	34.29	29.39

Intermediate	6.48	5.0	21.9	11.18
Graduate	3.7	9.0	7.62	6.71
Illiterate	36.11	12.0	4.76	17.89
Total	100	100	100	100

Sex: The above number gives an idea about the demographic Characteristics of respondents. The total number of migrants in the sample is dominant by male since the number of men migrating is higher in entire sector.

Age: The age wise distribution of migrants shows that in construction & textile the largest proportion of migrants is in the 15-24 age groups whereas the majority of diamond workers are in the 25-34 age groups. In other words, more than 70 percent of total migrants are youth that is between 15-35 age groups. It is showing that large younger group of workers migrated in the city and working in informal sector. Historically too the higher migration among the younger groups observed. In the sample, also similar trend observed. The mean age of workers is 29 years. The elder workers also migrated as one could see a number of migrants in the age groups of 35-59 in each sector but there proportion is less. Overall, more than 70 percent of sample in each industry belongs to 15-34 aged groups.

Marital status: The ratio of married migrants is higher in each industry. For instance, a total 186 (59%) workers are married in the sample. About 41 percent workers are unmarried, indicates that a larger proportion of unmarried youth workers migrated in the city and majority of them are working in construction and textile sector.

Caste: It is observed that lower caste people migrate more and the present study verify it. But this pattern is not common for all industry. The data shows that the proportion of ST (53 percent) is highest in construction industry, however in diamond industry, about 47 percent workers are OBC and textile includes about 57 percent others caste workers. Earlier studies on migration found similar observation. Deshingkar and Start (2003), for example, found that the scheduled tribes had higher migration rates in Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Parvaze and Naseer (2012) revealed same observation in their study in Chhattisgarh. Devi, Geetha and Gomathi (2009) have found higher ratio of migration in backward community is because of having limited income opportunity at their origin state. Landless agricultural labourers in Gujarat, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Jharkhand, who trapped in debt bondage and belong to the lower social group (scheduled tribes and castes or STs and SCs), migrate seasonally within or outside their states (Bremar 1994; Deshingkar and Farrington 2009). Rogaly et. Al. 2002 also estimates the total numbers of migrant in Bardhaman district of west Bengal were more than 500000 mainly belong to ST, SC and Muslims. The data from NSSO 2007-08 also confirms the higher ratio of migration among ST& SC people. Overall, with reference to no formal education, the 66% of illiterate migrants are coming from lower social group including 40% ST and 17% OBC and 9% of SC. The majority of those lower group of workers found in construction sector that implies migrants in this sector also identified as a groups of lower classed people with no education or lower level of literacy. However, informal sector as a whole it not looks true since in the

sample of textile the 83% of illiterate workers are coming from upper caste. IT indicates as a whole, the migrant can be classifying primarily as group of illiterate or lower education that comes from any social group. The majorities of the sample comprise of workers studied below or equal to intermediate. Overall, the sample of 317 migrant workers composed of OBC 28% (91) followed by others 29% (93), ST 27% (86) and SC 15% (47).

3.2 Education: The distribution of migrants by education level shows that migrants in diamond & textile industry are better educated as many workers studied up to graduate level. Moreover, the samples consist of 8% graduate in Diamond and 9% graduates in textile. There are two diamond workers studied up to postgraduate & B.ed. The construction workers characterized by more illiterate workers because the large number of illiterate workers found in the sample of construction workers. The sample having no formal education is consist of 36 % in construction followed by 12% in textile & 5% in diamond industry that shows higher share of illiterates worker’s in construction and maximum share of literate workers in diamond sector. The Migrants with the educational level below inter are 63 in construction followed by 74 in textile & 66 in Diamond. Overall, the majorities of the sample comprise of workers studied below or equal to intermediate that point out lower level of education in poor also works as a push factor in migration decisions. The schooling information as whole industries shows higher illiterates workers engaged in construction works coming for backward group that implies less educated poor migrant from backward community generally works in construction sector more. The higher level of education among the workers in diamond as well as textile sector indicates better job prospectus in urban areas attracted them to come and work in the city. Kala Seetharam (2010) discovered same observation in his study of push and pull factor behind the migration in India. In other words, the major group of educated youth in textile & diamond sector migrated to urban areas for better employment opportunities.

Table 3.2: BPL status of Migrants

Industry Type	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
Construction	45.6	55.6	50.0	40.9	46.3
Textile	50.0	37.5	42.9	62.7	54.9
Diamond	33.3	53.3	32.0	41.7	39.3
Total	44.2	51.1	38.5	54.8	46.7

There are total 148 respondents (46 percents) belong to BPL family. The distribution of BPL workers is not similar in all three-industry categories. As table 3.2 indicates that the proportion of migrant having BPL status is observed highest among SC in construction (56 percent) and diamond (53 percent). However, in textile industry, proportion of BPL is highest among others (62 percent). The results confirmed lower caste and backward community migrates more relatively from rural areas. Besides, about half of the OBC workers who engage in construction belong to BPL family. Though, there is no certain pattern of caste wise distribution across industry, yet maximum proportion of BPL workers of each caste category is employed in construction sector.

3.3 Housing in the Native Place:

Table 3.3: Type of Houses in Native Place

Type of House	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
Construction					
Kachcha*	73.68	66.67	70.0	54.55	68.52
Semi-Pakka*	19.3	11.11	5.0	22.73	16.67
Pakka*	7.02	22.22	25.0	22.73	14.81
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Textile					
Kachcha	50.0	75.0	52.38	49.15	51.96
Semi-Pakka	7.14	12.5	33.33	23.73	22.55
Pakka	42.86	12.5	14.29	27.12	25.49
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Diamond					
Kachcha	6.67	3.33	8.0	0.0	5.61
Semi-Pakka	20	13.33	20	8.33	16.82
Pakka	73.33	83.33	72	91.67	77.57
Total	100	100	100	100	100
All Industry					
Kachcha	58.14	27.66	31.87	44.09	41.96
Semi-Pakka	17.44	12.77	19.78	21.51	18.61
Pakka	24.42	59.57	48.35	34.41	39.43
Total	100	100	100	100	100

*Katch house- made with dried brick and mud with timber columns and beams or CGI sheets

*Semi pukka –made with good brickwork with cement mortar and RCC/CGI Roof but without RC beam or column

*Pucca house –made with RCC roof and beam or column with wall made by bricks and cementing on it

The next section discusses the housing conditions of migrant workers at native place. About more than 58 percent family of ST workers survive in Kachcha houses, however almost same proportion (59 percent) of SC workers have Pakka houses at native place. Notwithstanding about 44 percent others also live in Kachcha houses. On the other hand, industry wise details provide some interesting picture. Majority of construction workers live in katcha houses is belongs to ST (74%) followed by OBC (70%) and SC (66.67%). It confirms their economically poor grade of livings at source place. In terms of house assets these workers looks poorer as over all merely 14 percent have pucca house in the village. In textile, also the majority of backward workers have no proper living place as 50 percent of ST workers, 52 percent of OBC workers owned in katcha house. Moreover, about 49 percent of general category workers also live in raw house. The 75 percent of total SC workers investigated in textile sector also have no pucca house facility in the village. However, the ratio of ST & SC migrants are less in the data but more than half of them have no appropriate living facility. The ratio of textile workers living in pakka house is less for all the workers whether they belongs to ST, SC, OBC or other caste. The diamond workers look richer in terms of having house assets as large numbers of workers (83 workers) are staying in pucca house. The six

workers, include four OBC workers, are living in katcha house. The remaining all workers (13%) are living in semi pucca house. It says that in terms of house assets these workers are richer.

The result shows large number of workers living in katcha house are belongs to lower social group since overall, the poor backward families who have no pucca house is 40 percents in the data. The existence of large number of upper caste workers having no house in textile indicates that not only the backward community but Upper class people also migrate in the city for getting employments since the ratio of those migrants found higher in the study of textile workers.

Table 3.4: Caste wise respondents having no in house facilities at their village (multiple response)

In house facilities	ST	SC	OBC	Other	Total
	Construction				
Electricity	55.36	44.44	36.84	66.67	53.33
Toilet	91.07	100.00	84.21	71.43	86.67
Bathroom	91.07	100.00	84.21	76.19	87.62
In house water tab	100	100	84.21	80.95	93.33
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Textile					
Electricity	20.00	50.00	28.57	38.33	34.62
Toilet	80.00	100	85.71	81.67	83.65
Bathroom	73.33	100	85.71	78.33	80.77
In house water tab	66.67	87.50	80.95	25.00	75.96
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Diamond					
Electricity	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Toilet	20.00	46.67	49.02	8.33	39.81
Bathroom	13.33	13.33	21.57	8.33	16.67
In house water tab	53.33	73.33	68.63	33.33	63.89
Total	100	100	100	100	100
All					
Electricity	39.53	17.02	14.29	39.78	29.02
Toilet	76.74	65.96	64.84	69.89	69.72
Bathroom	74.42	44.68	49.45	68.82	61.20
In house water tab	86.05	80.85	74.73	70.97	77.60
Total	100	100	100	100	100

As the majority of ST households have no pucca house at place of origin noticed in the research, the poor status of in house facilities will obviously higher amongst them. The Group wise status of amenities at home can be seen in the above data. The study found extremely poor rating when workers asked about in-house facilities since most of workers in each group are struggling in terms of having facilities at home. The 29 percent of workers have no electricity, 70 percent have no toilet and 61 percent have no bathroom facility at their residents. The majority of the worker's families are living without accessing of basic amenities. The situation of ST families is not differing since 40 percent of total ST has no electricity, 77 percent have no toilet and 74 percent have no access of bathroom in village. It indicates relatively weaker status of these (ST) workers. The results shows poor status in terms of accessing of drinking water is more as averagely more than seventy percent of workers in each group have no access of drinking water in the house. They are managing

water from common tap or well in the village. The numbers of worker have all the facilities are only 9 percent in construction and 11 percent in textile sector.

Details of basic amenities at native place across industry presents that majority of diamond worker's families are living in pucca house, the 60 percent are accessing all the basic amenities at their house. Here also the diamond workers have shown positive results in terms of having status of basic amenities. All the families of diamond workers have electricity against 65 percent textile and 47 percent construction workers families. However, about 14 percent families of construction workers and the same proportion in textile have toilet facility which is very less as compared to diamond (70 percent). The large number of migrant families struggling in terms of living status at village level found in textile & constructions more whereas in diamond it is less as per the data.

3.4 Process of Labour Migration

In trying to understand the process of labour migration, the section highlights the major characteristics of the rural to urban migration. The National commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector (NCEUS) underlines that the short and long run migration has an apparent link with regional inequalities. Mobility of labour takes place when workers in source areas lack appropriate options of employment and livelihood and there are expectations to get better jobs in terms of more days and comparatively increased income in the area where they intend to migrate (Mukharjee, Bino and Pathan, Lall, selod and Shalizi, 2006). But, the growing population of unskilled migrants in urban cities to be absorbed in the informal sector and earn lower returns (Srivastva & Kumar, 2003). Therefore, it is important to comprehend the process of migration.

Table 3.5: Distribution of Migrant Workers by their native state

State	Construction	Textile	Diamond	All Industry
Bihar	6.67	11.54	0.0	5.99
Chhattisgarh	1.90	0.00	0.0	0.63
Gujarat	30.48	7.69	79.63	39.75
Haryana	0.00	1.92	0.00	0.63
Himachal Pradesh	0.95	0.00	0.00	0.32
Jharkhand	6.67	0.96	0.93	2.84
Kerala	0.95	0.00	0.93	0.63
Madhya Pradesh	8.57	3.85	1.85	4.73
Maharashtra	1.90	0.96	2.78	1.89
Orissa	1.90	7.69	0.00	3.15
Punjab	0.00	0.96	0.00	0.32
Rajasthan	27.62	12.50	1.85	13.88
Uttar Pradesh	10.48	50.96	12.04	24.29
West Bengal	1.90	0.96	0.0	0.95
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The study has examined the origin place from where workers arrived at the destination. Overall, there are thirteen origin states found in the study. There was high ratio of local

migrants since 40 percent of the total workers migrated from inter districts of Gujarat. The other leading states are Uttar Pradesh (24 percent) and Rajasthan (14 percent) from where the large number of workers migrated as per the report. The Dungarpur and Banswara in Rajasthan (nearer place to Gujarat) as well as Dahod in Gujarat are the leading districts from where the large number of tribal and backward workers have migrated and working in construction areas. Banswara is located about 300 kilometers distant from Ahmedabad thus it is more favorable destination for them. This also confirms that people firstly move from rural areas to nearby or distant cities to find jobs in construction or the other unorganized informal sector (Deshingkar and Farrington 2009). The higher pattern of those migrants observed among constructions workers. The 22 percents of investigated workers in construction areas found from Jharkhand (7), Bihar (7) and Madhya Pradesh (9).

In textile sector, 51 percents of surveyed respondents belong to Uttar Pradesh. Lower employment and higher trend of following personal group for getting job in textile industry are the main reasons for it. When these workers visit their hometown in Uttar Pradesh, they generally come back with their unemployed relatives so that they can get job in the same sector. Bihar and Rajasthan are the two other states who supply larger proportion of workers. However, Gujarat alone supply about 80 percent workers in diamond industry and out of which more than 55 percent workers belong to only two districts i.e. Junagad (39 percent) and Bhavnagar (16 percent). Besides, Uttar Pradesh is the second largest supplier of workers in diamond industry. The proportion of other states i.e. Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Maharashtra contribute less than 3 percent in total workers of diamond industry. Overall Uttar Pradesh (24), Rajasthan (14) and Bihar (6) found as major outgoing states in the research. The primary outcome noticed in the report is that majority of the workers (99 percent of respondents) are from rural areas. According to NSO (2007-08) also, the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa are the states from where largely poor people migrate to other states. The Rate of migration per 1000 in rural area shows greatest seasonal rates in Bihar. In Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan the migration rate in rural areas was many times higher than that in urban areas.

The second pattern observed in the study is employers of visited construction sites have recruited majority of workers from other states. There are 70 workers investigated on construction sites in which around 51 workers were migrated from out of Gujarat. The proportion of those outsiders was higher at four out of five visited sites. It indicates higher frequency of travelling by workers. It also says that migrated construction workers employed at large constructions projects generally covers long distance. The local migrant workers were less on the sites. However, at Nakas (market where migrant gather early in the morning to search the works) number of local migrants that come from other districts of Gujarat was more. The frequency of travelling between origin & destination amongst out-state workers will obviously be less relative to local migrant workers. In textile also, number of local migrants was less. It has employed majority of migrants from Uttar Pradesh (51%), Bihar (12%) & Rajasthan (13%). In diamond, the local migrant population found more (80%). Overall, the data shows higher ratio of inter-state migrants in textile and higher ratio of inter-district local migrants in diamond sector. In construction, we found both outcomes, since at

Naka the local migrants were more whereas on working sites higher pattern of inter-state migrants observed.

Further, the study tries to understand that whether a worker belong to particular caste category and state, work in a specific industry or there is uneven pattern among migrant workers regarding caste and state. About 79 percent SC migrants belong to Gujrat followed by ST (40 percent) and OBC (52 percent). However, majority of others category workers (47 percent) come from Uttar Pradesh. In construction, it shows the similar pattern as appears for all industry for ST and SC. However, majority of OBC workers belong to Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan both in construction and textile. The other caste category shows the different pattern across industry. In construction, majority of workers come from Bihar (27 percent) followed by Uttar Pradesh (18 percent), Rajasthan (9 percent) and Madhya Pradesh (9 Percent). However, it differs in textile industry. About 61 percent others caste workers in textile industry belong to Uttar Pradesh followed by Rajasthan (13 Percent) and Bihar (Bihar). But, in diamond industry, majority of each caste workers belong to only Gujrat such as 73 percent ST, 96 percent SC, 80 percent OBC and 40 percent others.

Table 3.6: Distribution of Migrant Workers by their Native State and Caste

State	Construction					Manufacturing					Diamond					All Industry				
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
MP	7.0	22.2	5.0	9.1	8.3	0.0	0.0	14.3	1.7	3.9	6.7	3.3	0.0	0.0	1.9	5.8	6.4	4.4	3.2	4.7
Rajasthan	35.1	11.1	30.0	9.1	26.9	0.0	12.5	19.1	13.6	12.8	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	1.9	23.3	4.3	13.2	10.8	13.9
Maharashtra	0.0	0.0	5.0	4.6	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.0	6.7	0.0	2.0	8.3	2.8	1.2	0.0	2.2	3.2	1.9
UP	3.5	0.0	30.0	18.2	11.1	50.0	12.5	42.9	61.0	52.0	13.3	0.0	14.0	33.3	12.2	12.8	2.1	24.2	47.3	24.6
Gujarat	38.6	55.6	20.0	9.1	30.6	7.1	37.5	14.3	1.7	7.8	73.3	96.7	80.0	41.7	79.4	39.5	78.7	51.7	8.6	39.8
Orissa	3.5	0.0	0.0	4.6	2.8	14.3	25.0	4.8	3.4	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	4.3	1.1	3.2	3.2
Bihar	0.0	0.0	5.0	27.3	6.5	14.3	12.5	4.8	13.6	11.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.1	2.2	15.1	6.0
Chhattisgarh	1.8	11.1	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.6
Haryana	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.6	0.9	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.6
Jharkhand	8.8	0.0	5.0	4.6	6.5	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.9	7.0	0.0	1.1	2.2	2.8
Punjab	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.3
WB	1.8	0.0	0.0	4.6	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	2.2	1.0
Kerala	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 3.7: Sources of Information about Destination Place

Industry	Type of workers	No.	Relatives	Friends	Colleagues	Others	Contractor	Total
Construction	Machine operators	3	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	100
	Skilled work	75	42.67	32	17.33	1.33	6.67	100
	Supervisor	3	0.00	66.67	0.00	33.33	0.00	100
	Unskilled work	24	66.67	20.83	8.33	0.00	4.17	100
	Total	105	47.62	30.48	14.29	1.9	5.71	100
Textile	Contractor	2	50	50	0.00	0.00	0.00	100
	Machine operators	37	64.86	24.32	5.41	5.41	0.00	100
	Semi Skilled	19	52.63	31.58	10.53	5.26	0.00	100
	Skilled work	37	54.05	32.43	8.11	5.41	0.00	100
	Unskilled work	9	88.89	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	100
	Total	104	60.58	27.88	6.73	4.81	0.00	100
Diamond	Manager	1	0.00	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	100
	Skilled work	107	42.99	48.6	8.41	0.00	0.00	100
	Total	108	42.59	49.07	8.33	0.00	0.00	100
Total	Grand Total	317	50.16	35.96	9.78	2.21	1.89	100

Basically, process of migration begins with information about destination place put across at native place through different sources. The study indicates that relatives and friends are main sources who convey the information about destination place among all kind of workers i.e. skilled, unskilled, supervisor, machine operator etc. and in all the industry groups. Here, contractor's role is negligible in textile and diamond industry.

In order to analysis, monetary support is also important factor which lead to migration process. It is accepted that migrant workers especially socially excluded and unskilled casual workers do not have required money for bearing travel cost of migration and for stay alive till new job obtain. Therefore, they borrow monetary support from relatives or other sources for travel and other expenditure incur during migration. However, this study underlines different pattern in getting monetary support against earlier believes. Table 8 shows that about more than 91 percent workers in textile industry followed by construction industry (about 85 percent) did not take any kind of financial support from others and this proportion was less (69 percent) in diamond industry. Even, social group wise analysis is also followed similar pattern except schedule caste workers in diamond industry. About 43 percent schedule caste (SC) workers move towards urban area through the monetary support of relative and friends in diamond industry.

Table 3.8: Monetary Support for Migration

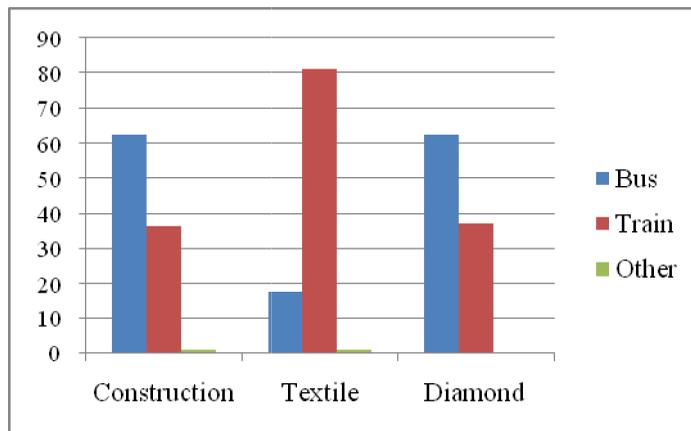
Sources	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
		Construction			
Self	85.96	88.89	90	81.82	86.11
Family	5.26	11.11	0.00	4.55	4.63
Relatives	3.51	0.00	5.00	4.55	3.70
Friend	5.26	0.00	0.00	4.55	3.70
Other	0	0	5.0	4.55	1.85
Total	100	100	100.00	100.00	100.00
		Textile			
Self	92.86	87.5	90.48	91.53	91.18
Family	7.14	12.5	9.52	3.39	5.88
Relatives	0	0	0	3.39	1.96
Other	0	0	0	1.69	0.98

Total	100	100	100	100	100
		Diamond			
Self	80.00	56.67	74.00	66.67	69.16
Family	0.00	3.33	4.00	8.33	3.74
Relatives	20.00	40.00	20.00	25.00	26.17
Friend	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.93
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Field survey

Availability of good transportation between native place and destination place also promotes migration process as well as frequency of to and fro migration. Even, distance from destination place to native place also matters in case of frequent migration. It was observed that some of the workers engage in farming in pick hour of cultivation and again come back to city after end of the cultivation work. This kind of migration pattern is only possible in case of short distance between native and destination place. The study demonstrates that construction and diamond industry workers prefer bus for travel than train due to come from nearby district of Ahmedabad and Surat. Besides, train is the main source of travel for textile workers. In fact, about 50 percent textile workers belongs to Uttar Pradesh which far from Ahmedabad (Gujrat).

Fig 1: Mode of Travel



3.5 Reasons of Migration and choice of Industry for work

Land ownership is the most important push determinant of migration. Household who have large size of land holdings are less likely to migrate. Besides, in some cases it is observed that persons have large size of landholdings at native place, but they move to urban area in search of better option of supplementary income. Caste is another important determinant of migration. Even, choice of work and migration tendencies is restricted by caste in developing and hitherto society. In this section, we have tried to understand the nexus between landownership, caste and migration across industry. A total of 47 percent migrant workers are landless and majority of workers in each caste category belong to same land owning class. About 36 percent ST, 60 percent SC, 56 percent OBC and 43 percent others are landless which confirm that about half of total population move towards cities due to the less opportunity in agriculture sector. Even marginalization of land holdings is taking place across country which also gradually reduced employment opportunity for casual workers in agriculture. On the other hand, rural non-

farm sector is unable to absorb additional workers who pushed out from agriculture. Hence, landless workers have only opportunity to move towards cities for livelihood. The study also present that there is uneven pattern among different caste category across industry. In diamond, about more than 50 percent workers in each caste are landless. In contrast, about one third workers of each caste group in construction belong to landless category except OBC (50 percent). But in textile, SC share (75 percent) is highest among all caste followed by OBC (52 percent) and others (44 percent). Now turn towards land having class within each caste category. ST workers who belong to higher land holding class (more than 2 acre) are mainly employed in textile and diamond. The similar pattern is appeared for others in both textile and diamond industry.

Table 3.9: Percentage Distribution of Workers by Caste and Landholding Category

Land Category	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
			Construction		
Landless	35.09	33.33	50	27.27	36.11
<1 Acre	5.26	33.33	5	27.27	12.04
1-2 Acre	31.58	22.22	10	22.73	25
2.1-5Acre	21.05	11.11	30	9.09	19.44
>5Acre	7.02	0	5	13.64	7.41
Total	100	100	100	100	100
			Manufacturing		
Landless	21.43	75	52.38	44.07	45.1
<1 Acre	21.43	0	19.05	16.95	16.67
1-2 Acre	21.43	0	4.76	10.17	9.8
2.1-5Acre	28.57	25	9.52	18.64	18.63
>5Acre	7.14	0	14.29	10.17	9.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

			Diamond		
Landless	53.33	63.33	60	66.67	60.75
1-2 Acre	0	0	8	0	3.74
2.1-5Acre	33.33	30	22	8.33	24.3
>5Acre	13.33	6.67	10	25	11.21
Total	100	100	100	100	100
			All Industry		
Landless	36.05	59.57	56.04	43.01	47.32
<1 Acre	6.98	6.38	5.49	17.2	9.46
1-2 Acre	24.42	4.26	7.69	11.83	12.93
2.1-5Acre	24.42	25.53	20.88	15.05	20.82
>5Acre	8.14	4.26	9.89	12.9	9.46
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The percentage figure in the table 3.10 shows industry wise and caste wise workers village level family incomes. The income range data divide according to caste category. About 14 percent workers family have no income at native place and still they survive on remittances received from migrant family members. Most of them belong to landless category. Almost equal proportion of workers belongs to each income class families but it is differ across industry. The study shows that about 40 percent diamond workers belong to income range more than Rs. 50 thousand, however 14 percent in textile and 19 percent in construction workers families also belong to same income class which confirms that the workers who belong to this higher income category and working in diamond industry had chosen work while in other industries it was the outcome of coping of strategies of workers. The caste and income class wise distribution of workers shows two contrast patterns. The majority of OBC and other caste categories workers belong to either no income group or highest income group (more than Rs. 50

thousand). A very small proportion of ST workers (3 percent) belong to no income group. Table 7a also confirms that majority of workers of all caste come from higher income group are employed in diamond industry except ST. However, in construction, majority of workers in each caste category belong to lowest income range less than Rs. 1000. In textile, OBC and others caste shows the similar pattern across income groups, however it is different than ST.

Overall, there are 52 percent workers (including 13 percent of have no income as well as 39 percent of have income of less than RS. 20,000) in the report that indicates the poverty, low income and unemployment at native place are the main causes for their working in urban areas. Historically the experts also experienced similar higher trend of migration in landless and small farmers in the study. For example, the landless workers in western India have no option other than going out for earning and temporary migration is becoming an important survival option for them (Deshingkar and Farrington 2009;) Because of absence of earning opportunities the temporary migration is emerging as a livelihood strategies especially for the poorest people in rural India (Deshingkar and Start 2003; Srivastava and Sasikumar 2003). The above data verify the same outcomes. It confirms the positive relationships between lower income people and temporary internal migrations.

However, it also turned out that despite having sufficient income; many workers have migrated in the city especially in diamond sector. It confirms that only lower income group does not migrate temporarily, but people belong to high income group also migrates in urban areas. It reveals the existence of the pattern of temporary migration among the higher earning group who likes to work in urban areas and frequently visits the destination place with either relatives or friends. The similar trend exposed by Alpa (2003) in her study on seasonal workers, who moves from Jharkhand to the brick kilns of other states. She revealed that the workers change the place not for earnings only, but also for fun, adventure and other social reasons. Overall, in diamond sector, Many Worker’s village level annual earning found better in the report.

Table 3.10: Caste wise Household Income Range at Origin place

Income Range	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
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Construction					
<10000	41.07	55.56	47.37	42.86	43.81
10001-20000	17.86	22.22	5.26	19.05	16.19
20001-50000	28.57	22.22	10.53	9.52	20.95
>50001	12.50	0.0	36.84	28.57	19.05
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Textile					
No income	0.00	50.00	33.33	25.00	25.00
<10000	6.67	12.50	23.81	23.33	20.19
10001-20000	40.00	0.00	14.29	15.00	17.31
20001-50000	40.00	12.50	9.52	25.00	23.08
>50001	13.33	25.00	19.05	11.67	14.42
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Diamond					
No income	20.00	0.00	23.53	16.67	15.74
<10000	0.00	3.33	7.84	8.33	5.56
10001-20000	6.67	16.67	15.69	0.00	12.96
20001-50000	46.67	30.00	19.61	8.33	25.00
>50001	26.67	50.00	33.33	66.67	40.74
Total	100	100	100	100	100
All					
No income	3.49	8.51	20.88	18.28	13.56
<10000	27.91	14.89	19.78	25.81	23.03
10001-20000	19.77	14.89	13.19	13.98	15.46
20001-50000	33.72	25.53	15.38	19.35	23.03
>50001	15.12	36.17	30.77	22.58	24.92
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 3.11: Other reasons of Migration

Reason of Migration	Construction	Textile	Diamond	All
High wage	88.89	56.86	82.24	76.34
Scarcity of labour	6.48	2.94	18.69	9.46
Ample work available	51.85	63.73	63.55	59.62
Easily Work available	74.07	81.37	79.44	78.23
Secure place	10.19	23.53	55.14	29.65
Others	0.93	2.94	4.67	2.84

Higher wage rates, easily getting works and more job opportunities are the principal pull factors that played a key role in decision of selecting the destination as 89 percent of construction workers reported same reason for their migration. The 82 percent of diamond workers have also confirms the similar reason. The employment opportunities in the destination place also attracted them more as 74 percent in construction, 81 percent in textile and 79 percent of diamond workers have arrived in the city because of more job opportunities too. According to the textile workers, the main Reason of reaching in Ahmedabad attributed to more employment opportunities that can be access by them easily whereas the construction & diamond workers have shown higher wage as a principal reason for their arrival. The other secondary causes for coming in the city include secure place and scarcity of labour but higher wage and employment opportunities are the main concerns of all the workers. They have considered these factors on primary basis and thought about the other factors later. It means they can further go to other place of works if they offer higher wages. The place may be other city or state. Overall, the result confirms that better employment and high wage motivated the workers more that can be consider as a main pull factor behind their migration as per the data.

Factors Associated with Temporary and Short Term and Seasonal Migration

To understand the factors that are associated with seasonal and short term migration in urban area, we estimate the logit model where the outcome variable short term migration takes value 1 if the individual is short term migrant and 0 otherwise. A short term migration is an individual who stayed away from village or town for one month or more but less than six months. We have used both household and individual characteristics as explanatory variables. In individual characteristics, we include age, gender, marital status and educational level. While, in household characteristics we include household size, per capita household income and per capita land. For ease of the interpretation of the result we present odd ratio rather coefficient.

Table 3.12 confirms that there is negative relationship between household income quintiles and seasonal migration, which implied that persons belonging to lower income groups were more likely to migrate frequently or temporarily. The effect of land possession is also statistically significant. Further the per capita land ownership is negatively associated with temporary migration, confirms that as land size increases the probability of temporary migration decline. This result is similar to earlier studies (Zhao, 1999, Connell et al 1976, Agrawal and Chandrasekhar, 2015, Keshri and Bhagat, 2012) which show that workers belonging to small land holdings have a higher probability to migrate temporarily. A possible explanation may be that an individual migrate on temporary basis to diversify household risk and supplement income to their respective household in agriculturally lean season. Besides, household size is negatively associated with temporary migration.

Table 3.12: Determinants of Temporary and Seasonal Migration in Urban Area: Results of Logistic Regression

Variable	Odds Ratio	z
Age	0.6363	-3.52
Age square	1.0062	3.28
Gender (Ref: Female)		
Male	1.0174	0.03
Marital Status (Ref:		

Married	1.0174	0.03
Household size (Ref: <5)		
Household size >5	0.8007	-0.58
Educational Level (Ref: Illiterate)		
Primary	0.4082	-1.48
Middle	0.2797	-2.24
Secondary	0.2985	-2.14
Higher Secondary	0.3105	-1.84
Graduates	0.3225	-1.57
Per Capita Household Income (Ref: Lowest Quintile)		
2 nd Quintile	1.5266	0.83
3 rd Quintile	0.9695	-0.06
4 th Quintile	1.1660	-0.33
Highest Quintile	0.7942	-0.48
Per capita Land	0.9052	-0.46
Social Group (Ref: Others)		
ST	0.5547	1.35
SC	0.3789	2.09
OBC	0.2091	4.09
Pseudo R – squared	0.163	
Observations	313	

Source: Field Survey

We also found that a negative association between educational level and seasonal migration which shows that as an individual education level increases less likely to migrate on temporary basis. Even it's not distorted after controlling social group and

other individual variables. Relative to illiterate, the probability of temporary migration is less among graduates or higher degree holders. The plausible reason may be that those who will be more educated could be get opportunity close to native place. The odds for social group is indicating that in relative to other caste group OBC, ST and SC frequently migrate from rural to urban area. In fact schedule caste and schedule tribes are historically disadvantage groups. By and large schedule tribes have the highest level of poverty followed by schedule caste and other backward caste. So that proportion of SC and ST is more in total temporary migrant workers. But, due to the paucity of enough earnings in cities, they migrate without family and frequently visit his native place.

Chapter 4

Labour Market Segregation, Employment Intensity and Wage Income

Migrants at the lower end of the market comprise mostly unskilled casual work or those who owns small means of livelihood and are self-employed (Srivastva & Sasikumar 2003). The study also shows that about more than 50 percent workers are either illiterate or have below middle schooling education (Fig.2). In fact, migrant labourers are exposed to large uncertainties in the potential job market. They have not enough knowledge of the market and unable to stay long without job due to high cost of living in urban areas. Therefore, as soon as possible they try to get any job. In this regards, quality and status of job do not matter. Even, middleman also helps in searching of job. But, incidentally they work for employer and try to arrange labour on low cost. The present segment is primarily focused on job segregation and segmentation by industry, status, education level, social group and class (based on land owning category).

There could be several reasons for regional specific sources of migration. One could be proximity or distance to the place of destination. For example, Gujarat gets maximum migrants from Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Region specific migration also depends on contacts and networking. If a labour contractor is from a particular village, many workers from the village would migrate with him; or if some migrant workers migrate to a city from a particular village because of contacts, other villagers are likely to follow them to the same city. As a result, a contractor from UP may get large number of workers from UP join the contractors, and once a flow of migrant workers start, the others would follow. In some cases the caste also influences flows of migration. For example, weaving caste (SC) prefers to go for weaving work in textile industry.

Table 4.1 reveals that the proportion of unskilled labour is higher in construction industry than textile and diamond industry which underline that construction industry still absorbed bulk of unskilled workers. There is less scope of unskilled employment in textile and diamond industry, which suddenly attract the attention of academicians and policy makers towards increasing size of unskilled workforce and the scope of their employment in job market. In diamond industry, there is a clear

division of workers. About 99 percent workers are skilled due to the requirement of work. However, textile industries significantly employ machine operator and semi skilled workers.

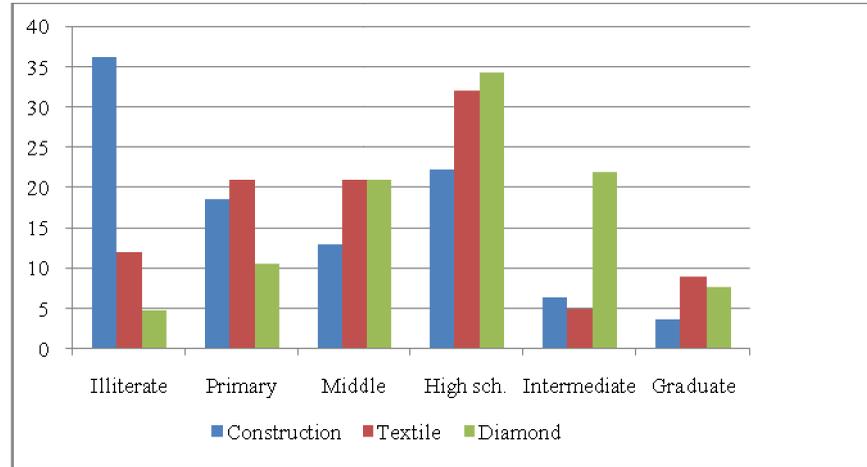
Table 4.1: Percentage distribution of workers by Industry and Skill Status

Skill Status	Construction	Textile	Diamond	All Industry
Unskilled	23.15	8.82	0.00	10.73
Skilled	70.37	35.29	99.07	68.77
Semi skilled	0.00	17.65	0.00	5.68
Machine operator	3.7	36.27	0.00	12.93
Supervisor manager contractor	2.78	1.96	0.93	1.89
Total	100	100	100	100

3.7 Education Wise Participation in Different Industry

The migration rates are high among both the highly educated and the least educated workers, and among seasonal migrants, there is a high preponderance of illiterate people (Connell et al, 1976, Srivastva & Sasikumar 2003). It is accepted that better education level help in getting more remunerative job and decide the status of job. Fig. 2 indicates that about more than one third construction workers are illiterate which is significantly higher than textile and diamond industry. However, against it, the proportion of graduate workers are more in textile and diamond industry than construction industry which shows that more educated workers are less likely to engage in construction industry. Besides, there is a similar pattern in textile and diamond industry that with the increase of education level proportion of workers also increases till metric (high school) level and after that it has declined, but declining share is more in textile industry than diamond.

Fig. 2: Percentage Distribution of Workers by Industry and Education Level



Further, it is important to comprehend the employment segregation by education level and occupational status in which actually they are involved. In case of construction, proportion of workers those who are unskilled decrease with the increase of education level, but this is not true for textile industry. In textile industry, the proportion is highest among those who have metric level education. Even, majority of skilled workers in construction industry are also illiterate are low educated than textile. In fact, modern production process of manufacturing industries like that textile open up more opportunities to educated people in different kinds. Overall, about 4 percent graduates are employed as skilled workers and about 1 percent semi skilled workers. Apart from this, diamond workers are dominantly employed in skilled work and highest among those who have high school level education followed by intermediate (21 percent) and middle (22 percent) education level workers.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Workers by Skill Status and Education Level

Education Level	Unskilled	Skilled	Semi Skilled	Machine Operator	Supervisor/ Contractor/ Manager	Total
			Construction			
Illiterate	56.00	31.58	0.00	0.00	33.33	36.11
Primary	12.00	22.37	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.52
Middle	12.00	14.47	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.96
High school	12.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	33.33	22.22
Intermediate	8.00	3.95	0.00	50.00	0.00	6.48
Graduate	0.00	2.63	0.00	25.00	33.33	3.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
			Textile			
Illiterate	22.22	13.89	5.56	11.43	0.00	12.00
Primary	0.00	27.78	0.00	31.43	0.00	21.00
Middle	22.22	22.22	11.11	25.71	0.00	21.00
High school	44.44	16.67	55.56	28.57	100	32.00
Intermediate	11.11	5.56	11.11	0.00	0.00	5.00
Graduate	0.00	13.89	16.67	2.86	0.00	9.00
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
			Diamond			
Illiterate	0.00	4.81	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.76
Primary	0.00	10.58	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.48
Middle	0.00	21.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.95
High school	0.00	34.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	34.29

Intermediate	0.00	22.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.9
Graduate	0.00	6.73	0.00	0.00	100.0	7.62
Illiterate	0.00	4.81	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.76
Total	0.00	100	0.00	0.00	100	100

Skills are definitely an important factor that influences the wage level. Skilled workers definitely get higher wages than semi-skilled workers, and semi-skilled workers earn higher wages than unskilled workers. In fact, the average age of workers of skilled migrant workers is higher than that of unskilled workers.

Any young boy can start working as a construction worker, but for diamond work or work in textiles, workers need to have education at least up to 8-9th standards.

3.8 Age wise Participation in Labour Market

Age is an important determinant of choice of work. In fact, young people take risk in searching better opportunities, however comparatively elder workers are less likely to change their native place and occupation. Even, in India, younger population is steadily growing which is drawn attention of academicians and policy makers towards new challenge of job creation. Even, the debate of decent work for youth bulk is also relevant. Therefore, the age wise analysis of workers is necessary which provides an idea about future prospects. The field data reveals that majority of migrant workers belong to age between 15 and 34 years in all three industry. In construction industry, majority of workers (about 44 percent) have age between 15 and 24 years followed by textile industry (39 percent). However, in diamond industry, about 46 percent workers belong to age between 25 years and 34 years.

Table 4.3 presents the distribution of workers by their age category and status of work. It is clear that about more than 70 percent workers are employed on skilled work or machine operator in both construction and textile industry however in

diamond industry about 99 percent workers are engage in skilled work due to the requirement of work. Further age group wise analysis indicate that majority of skilled and unskilled workers belong to age between 15 years and 34 years in construction and textile industry, however in diamond industry, majority of skilled workers come from age between 25 and 34 years. About 75 percent unskilled workers in construction industry belong to age group 15-34 years followed by textile (63 percent). Whereas, about 75 percent of skilled workers in construction and 87 percent of skilled workers in textile industry belong to age group 15-34 years. Besides, majority of machine operators belong to below 25 years of age.

Fig 3: Age group wise participation of workers in different Industry

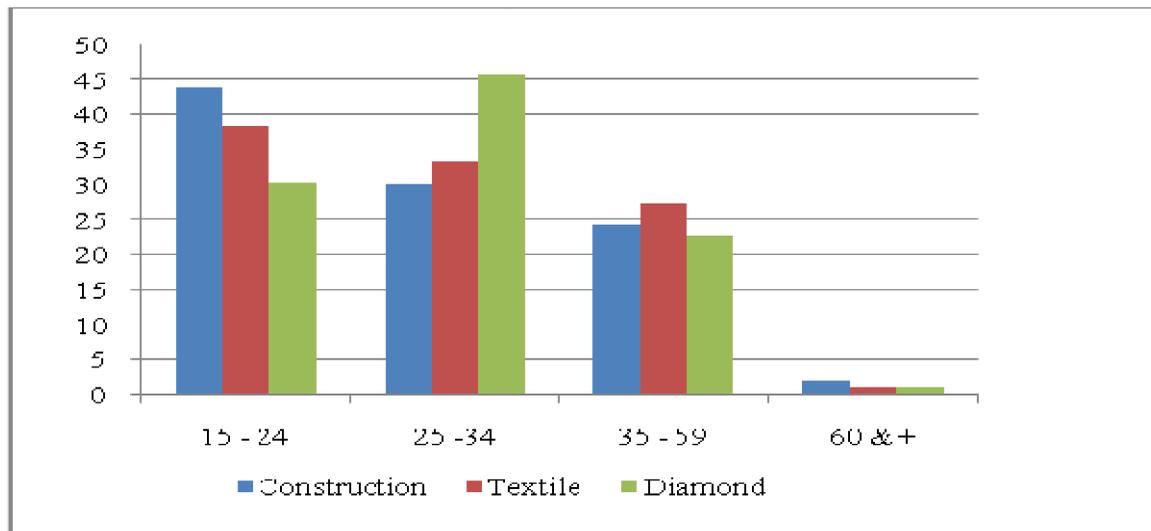


Table 4.3: Age Group & Skill Status wise Participation of Workers in Different Industry

	Construction					Textile					Diamond				
	15-24	25-34	35-59	60 & +	All Ages	15-24	25-34	35-59	60 & +	All Ages	15- 24	25-34	35-59	60 & +	All Ages
Unskilled	37.5	37.5	20.8	4.2	23.2	50.0	12.5	37.5	0.0	9.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Skilled	46.1	29.0	23.7	1.3	70.4	50.0	36.1	13.9	0.0	36.0	29.8	46.2	23.1	1.0	99.1
Semi skilled	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	61.1	16.7	22.2	0.0	18.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Machine operator	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	14.3	42.9	40.0	2.9	35.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Supervisor /contract/Manager	0.0	0.0	100	0.0	2.8	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	2.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Total	43.9	29.9	24.3	1.9	100	38.4	33.3	27.3	1.0	100	30.5	45.7	22.9	1.0	100

3.9 Caste and Work Segregation

In Indian rural settings, choice of work resist by caste and class and the study reports that majority of workers belong to rural area. Therefore, it is important to comprehend that whether caste determines work or other factors are more likely to determine the work and industry. Several studies highlight that certain categories of castes have higher propensity to migrate and work in specific industry and on specific occupational status. Deshingkar & Stat (2003) found that ST had higher migration rates in Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh and similar result have been made by Dyal and Karan (2003) for Jharkhand. Even, Karan (2003) also drew same observations for Northern Bihar. The present study shows a clear segregation of workers in different industries. The proportion of ST workers is mainly high compared to other social groups in construction industry. However, OBC is dominated group in diamond industry and others social category is dominated in textile industry. Even, SC has equal participation in construction and textile industry. The disaggregate analysis of caste wise participation in different industries and on different occupational status gives some fascinating area of discussion. Majority of unskilled workers of construction industry belong to ST category followed by OBS category, however the proportion of other categories is high in textile industry for unskilled workers. In case of skilled workers, ST participation is again high in construction industry than other

caste category, however, in diamond industry, OBC is dominated group which account about 47 percent. Besides, other category has more dominated participation in textile industry for skilled and machine operator.

The relationship between a caste and crafts are important. In the case of diamonds, Patels who started the business, want people from their own kith and kin, and also the caste, as diamonds are very expensive and workers have to be known, preferably from the same caste.

Unskilled work is associated with low castes. Most construction workers belong to the lowest castes.

Wearing is traditionally done by people from the weaving caste (Bunkar) who are the scheduled caste people. One finds most weavers in the textile industry from the weaving caste.

Fig 4: Occupational Segregation by Caste and Industry

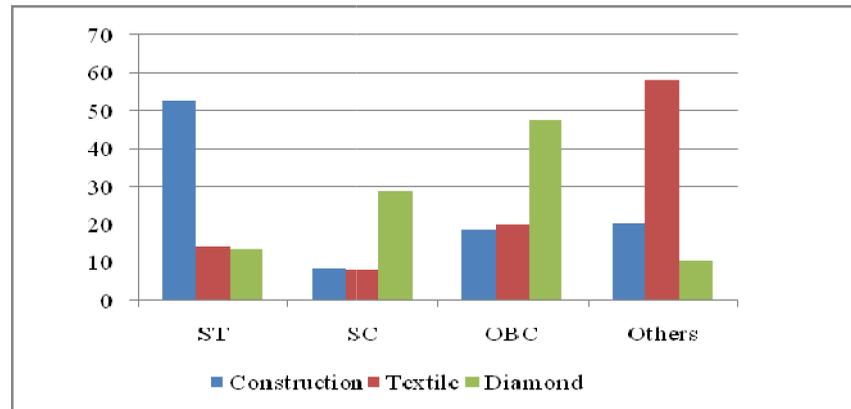


Table 4.4: Occupational Segregation by Caste, Status and Industry

	Construction				Textile				Diamond			
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	ST	SC	OBC	Others	ST	SC	OBC	Others
Unskilled	60.0	8.00	24.00	8.00	11.11	22.22	11.11	55.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Skilled	53.95	9.21	14.47	22.37	11.11	5.56	22.22	61.11	13.46	28.85	47.12	10.58
Semi skilled	0.0	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.67	5.56	33.33	44.44	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Machine operator	0.00	0.00	50	50	17.14	8.57	11.43	62.86	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Supervisor/ Contractor/ Manager	33.33	0.00	33.33	33.33	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100	0.00
Total	52.78	8.33	18.52	20.37	14.00	8.00	20.00	58.00	13.33	28.57	47.62	10.48

3.10 Land Owning Class and Work Segregation

It is accepted that the rate of migration is higher among those who have less land size (marginal farming) as well as landless households. However, having more land and as consequent higher income from agriculture support in getting better job through education and also reduced the probability of migration. Table 4.5 reveals that about 56 percent unskilled workers are landless in construction sector followed by about 66 percent in textile. In contrast, about 61 percent skilled workers in diamond industry are landless and only 10 percent who have more than 5 acre land, skilled worker. Further, percentage distribution of skilled workers decline with increase land size in textile industry and similar pattern followed by construction and diamond. In case of machine operator, a distinct pattern has been observed in construction and textile industry. In construction sector, about

50 percent workers belong to land owning category 2.1-5 acre as against 40 percent machine operator come from landless category in textile.

Table 4.5: Percentage Distribution of workers by land owning categories

	Landless	<1 Acre	1-2 Acre	2.1-5Acre	>5Acre	Total
	Construction					
Unskilled	56.0	12.0	16.0	16.0	0.0	100
Skilled	30.3	11.8	27.6	19.7	10.5	100
Machine operator	25.0	0.0	25.0	50.0	0.0	100
Supervisor/Contractor/Manager	33.3	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	100
Total	36.1	12.0	25.0	19.4	7.4	100
	Textile					
Unskilled	66.7	0.0	11.1	0.0	22.2	100
Skilled	38.9	27.8	13.9	13.9	5.6	100
Semi skilled	50.0	11.1	11.1	11.1	16.7	100
Machine operator	40.5	13.5	5.4	32.4	8.1	100
Supervisor/Contractor/Manager	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
Total	45.1	16.7	9.8	18.6	9.8	100
	Diamond					

Skilled	61.3	0.0	3.8	24.5	10.4	100
Supervisor/Contractor/Manager	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	100
Total	60.8	0.0	3.7	24.3	11.2	100

3.11 Econometric Analysis

In this section, we estimate a model of industry choice. Here, it is important to comprehend that whether work in different industry is the subject of choice or only the outcome of coping up strategy of migrant workers. For this, we employ Probit model. In present data set, we have three industry categories i.e. construction, textile and diamond. The study comprised both individual and household level characteristics along with supply side factors as explanatory variables. At the individual level, we consider age, educational status and caste of each worker.

Table 4.6: Probit Estimate for choice of Industry

variable	Construction		Textile		Diamond	
	dy/dx	z	dy/dx	z	dy/dx	z
Age	-0.022	-1.35	-0.002	-0.19	0.078*	3.15
Age2	0.000	1.41	0.0	0.32	-0.001*	-3.21
Married	0.034	0.45	-0.040	-0.63	-0.046	-0.51
Household size	-0.005	-0.33	0.012	1.1	-0.008	-0.49
Primary	-0.213*	-2.83	0.211***	1.86	0.048	0.34
Middle	-0.255*	-3.63	0.170	1.56	0.202	1.4
High school	-0.257*	-3.4	0.193**	2	0.190	1.49

Intermediate & +	-0.221*	-2.83	0.139	1.22	0.227	1.51
Per capita Household income	0.000	0.14	0.000**	-2.17	0.000**	2.08
Per capita own land	0.011	0.2	0.056	1.28	-0.119***	-1.74
ST	0.390*	4.77	-0.271*	-6.17	0.140	1.3
SC	-0.053	-0.49	-0.214*	-5.25	0.553*	5.33
OBC	0.063	0.75	-0.247*	-5.59	0.413*	4.43
Availability of Social security	-0.298*	-4.92	-0.073	-1.39	0.355*	4.74
Monthly wage	0.000	0.24	0.000*	-6.24	0.000*	3.55
Nature of work (Regular=1, other=0)	-0.497*	-5.41	0.235*	6.59	0.202*	2.78

Note: *,** and *** represent significance at 1, 5 and 10 per cent levels respectively.

However, at the household level, we comprised size of household to which each person belongs, household's per capita landholdings¹ and per capita household income at native place as important proxy of push factor. However, supply side factor that attract workers includes availability of social security, nature of work and monthly wage income. Rather than report the parameter estimates from probit model, we report marginal effect in table 4.6.

The result of marginal effects confirms that a person get older, he or she is significantly more likely to be employed in diamond industry. However, age is insignificantly associated with choice of construction and textile industry. It is hypothesized that education improves individual's ability to get employment in higher income producing sectors. The estimates of marginal effects validate that people who have education are less likely to be employed in construction sector than textile. The household size is negatively associated with construction and positively associated with textile industry suggesting

¹ Land ownership is taken as proxy of wealth and contacts who provides some indication of the extent to which individuals are better placed to take advantage of opportunities in the non-farm sector (Kijima and Lanjouw, 2005).

that participation in construction industry is an outcome of coping up strategies of workers rather than positive economic response. Actually, large household size reduces the probability of working in wage work, possibly because the economic support is provided by the rest of the family members. Households with larger per capita land holdings are significantly less likely to be employed in diamond industry. Even, there is a less probability to be employed in construction sector than textile if he or she belongs to larger land holding household.

Turning to caste, it is clear from table 3.1, the Schedule Tribe (ST) are more likely to be employed in construction sector and less likely to be employed in textile industry. In contrast, Schedule caste (SC) are significantly more likely to be employed in diamond and less likely to be engage in textile industry. Even, OBC also shows the same pattern. The availability of social security attract to workers. Social security is positively associated with diamond industry explaining that with one unit increase in availability of social security, about 35 percent workers would be more likely to be employed in diamond industry. The result of marginal effects also confirms that wage income is equally attract workers in both textile and diamond industry. Nature of work also significantly affects in choice of industry. By nature, people want regular work. Table 16 reports that with 1 unit increase in availability of regular work, the probability in being employed in textile and diamond industry increased by 23 and 20 percent respectively.

5.1 Employment Intensity

It is greatly accepted that the size of labour force in informal sector is still growing, even in case of migrant workers and primarily circulating to unskilled workers in low return construction sector. Besides, informalisation is characterized by growing size of irregular work in nature. However, this study reports something different situation. Majority of workers are employed on regular basis in all three industries. In diamond industry, no one is working on irregular basis. Even, majority of unskilled workers obtain regular work in construction industry as well as textile industry (100 percent). But, in construction industry, only 56 percent skilled workers get regular work which too much less than textile (91 percent) and diamond (100 percent). This is so because lees scope for skilled workers in construction sector. In addition, about 100 percent machine

operators and supervisor/contractor/ manager are also working on regular basis except textile machine operator (94 percent). However, the regular job is not the confirmation of better living standard. It was observed that sometimes-casual workers earn more monthly income than regular workers due to the less amount of daily wage.

Table 4.7: Percentage distribution of workers by Nature of employment and occupation category

Occupation Status	Construction		Textile		Diamond	
	Regular	Irregular	Regular	Irregular	Regular	Irregular
Unskilled	80.0	20.0	100	0	0.0	0.0
Skilled	56.58	43.42	91.67	8.33	100	0
Semi skilled	0.0	0.0	100	0	0.0	0.0
Machine operator	100	0	94.59	5.41	0.0	0.0
Supervisor/Contractor/Manager	100	0	100	0	100	0
Total	64.81	33.33	94.12	4.9	100	0.0

The living conditions of migrant workers depend on quality of job as well as availability of working days per month. The study shows that workers are able to get about 25 days of employment per month in each industry. The unskilled workers in construction are able to get more employment days (27 days/month) than textile industry (23 days/month), however in case of skilled workers, the reverse pattern has been observed. Even, in diamond industry, skilled workers get almost same employment days as construction. Besides, machine operator and supervisor/manager are in better situation than textile and diamond industry in terms of getting employment per month. In addition, machine operator, supervisor, contractor and manager are getting more employment days within each industry. In construction, machine operator and supervisor are able to get 12 additional days work per month than skilled and 7 more days than unskilled workers. The

similar pattern has been observed in textile industry for unskilled workers but skilled workers and machine operator get equal working days per month.

Table 4.8: Employment Intensity by Occupation and Industry (in number of days/month)

Skill Status	Construction		Textile		Diamond	
	Regular	Irregular	Regular	Irregular	Regular	Irregular
Unskilled	22.6	4.4	22.8	0.0	0.00	0.00
Skilled	16.2	8.5	24.3	1.7	25.4	0.0
Semi skilled	0.0	0.0	25.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Machine operator	28.8	0.0	24.9	0.8	0.0	0.0
Supervisor/Contractor/Manager	28.7	0.0	25.5	0.0	26.0	0.0
Total	18.5	7.0	24.5	0.9	25.4	0.0

5.2 Wages Income

Wage is important factor who attract to migrants in cities. The study shows that the average monthly wage income is higher in construction industry than textile industry for each occupation category. The difference of wage income is more for contractor/supervisor followed by machine operator and unskilled workers. However, in general, monthly wage income is much higher in diamond industry than textile and construction.

In case of skilled worker, monthly wage income in diamond industry is 1.5 times more than construction industry and 1.7 times more than textile industry. Even same pattern is observed for supervisor/manager. In diamond industry, his monthly wage income is 1.3 times more than construction and 3 times more than textile industry wage income. Hence, due to the lower wage income, construction and textile workers survive in poor and unhygienic conditions. Apart from these, there is a large difference between skilled and unskilled wage

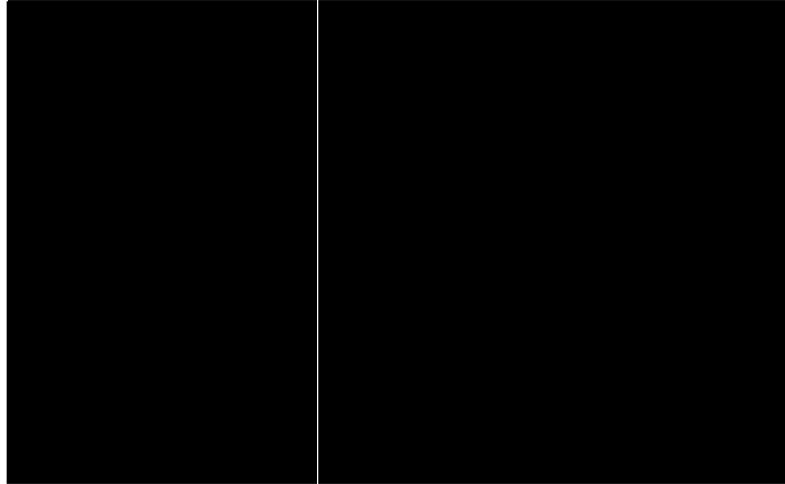
income in construction industry followed by textile industry, but this difference is high in textile industry compared to construction due to less involvement of illiterate workers in textile industry.

Table 4.9: Monthly Wage Income by Industry and Occupation

Skill Status	Construction	Textile	Diamond
Unskilled	6400.0	5136.6	0.00
Skilled	8002.6	7525.2	12863.1
Semi skilled	0.00	7626.8	0.00
Machine operator	8825.0	6098.1	0.00
Supervisor/Contractor/Manager	11333.3	4725.0	15600.0
Total	7754.6	6759.8	12888.7

A clear division of mode of payment of wages has been observed. The study reveals that about 91 percent wage payments in diamond industry has been done on work basis. However, about 84 percent in textile industry and 66 percent in construction industry, wages have been paid on monthly basis. Even, around one third workers in construction industry are working on daily basis which is really alarming indication for policy makers. In fact, it was observed that when worker receive their wage income on daily basis, less likely to save than those who get income on monthly basis. In India, unskilled workforce is steadily growing especially in construction sector and they receive wage on daily basis or weekly basis.

Fig. 5: Mode of Wage Payment by Industry



Further analysis tries to understand that how wages are paid for different occupation within each industry. In construction, more than 60 percent wages have been paid on monthly basis even for machine operator and supervisor, it is about 100 percent. However, in case of textile industry, more than 80 percent wages have been paid on monthly basis except supervisor/manager. About 8-10 percent skilled and semiskilled workers are being paid on daily basis. Besides, wage payment on work basis is more in practice in diamond industry. As this study highlights that only two type of workers i.e. skilled and supervisor/manager are involve in diamond industry and mostly workers (more than 90 percent) got wage income on work basis.

Table 4.10: Mode of Wage Payment by Industry and Occupation

Type of workers	Construction				Textile					Diamond			
	Hourly	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Hourly	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Work basis	Hourly	Daily	Monthly	Work basis
Unskilled	4.0	32.0	0	64.0	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	

Skilled	1.3	34.2	1.3	63.1	0.00	8.3	2.7	80.5	8.3	0.9	1.8	6.6	90.5
Semi skilled	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.1	0.00	88.8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Machine operator	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	2.7	2.7	0.00	83.7	10.8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Supervisor/Manager/ contractor	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	0.00	50	0.00	50.0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.0
Total	1.8	31.4	0.9	65.7	0.9	6.8	0.9	84.3	6.8	0.9	1.8	6.5	90.6

Chapter 5

Insecurity and vulnerability of Migrant Workers

This chapter discloses living as well working status of migrant workers. It describes the situations of how migrant workers live in difficult conditions and their daily struggle. It is not easy to survive for common person after suffering and facing the issues as these migrant workers experience during their stay in urban areas.

4 Living conditions of migrant workers in Ahmedabad and Surat City

4.1 Housing condition

Migrant labourer especially seasonal and temporary workers in cities live in awful condition. Most of them live in open spaces or improvised shelter and there is no provision of safe drinking water or hygienic sanitation (Srivastva & Sashikumar 2003). However, some of the academicians take as positive impact of migration in terms of access to good quality houses and hygienic places than native place. This study reveals that about 52 percent unskilled workers in construction and more than one-third in textile have no proper living place consequently they survive in katcha houses. However, in case of skilled workers, machine operator, supervisor and manager, majority live in semi-pacca or pacca houses in all three industry groups. In diamond, about 83 percent workers use pacca houses.

The above analysis indicates one sided approach of whole story. Comparison with housing facility at native place would give real gains of migration. Table 5.1 represents that the housing status of workers by occupation and industry. It is clear that housing conditions have been improved in all occupation categories after migration. About 31 percent unskilled construction workers and about 66 percent textile workers are living in better houses i.e. semi pacca or pacca than katcha in native places. The similar pattern has observed for skilled workers as well as machine operator and supervisor/manager in all three industry i.e. construction, textile and diamond.

Table 5.1: Type of Housing Condition at destination place

	Construction	Textile	Diamond

	Katcha	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Katcha	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Katcha	Semi Pucca	Pucca
Unskilled	52.0	44.0	4.0	33.3	55.6	11.1	0.00	0.00	0.00
Skilled	35.5	44.7	19.7	13.9	55.6	30.6	1.9	15.1	83.0
Semi skilled	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.6	27.8	66.7	0.00	0.00	0.00
Machine operator	25.0	75.0	0.0	16.2	51.4	32.4	0.00	0.00	0.00
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	0.0	66.7	33.3	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	38.0	46.3	15.7	14.7	50.0	35.3	1.9	15.0	83.2

**Katch house- made with dried brick and mud with timber columns and beams or CGI sheets*

**Semi pucca –made with good brickwork with cement mortar and RCC/CGI Roof but without RC beam or column*

**Pucca house –made with RCC roof and beam or column with wall made by bricks and cementing on it*

4.2 Migrant Workers with Families

It will be interesting to see how the migrant workers who have migrated with families find their work and life in the city. The data show that 28.57 % construction workers, 49.04 % textile workers and 49.07 % diamond workers have migrated with their families, and overall 43 % workers have migrated with families. They have migrated with their wife-children or with brothers / father, mainly because (1) there is nobody to take care of children at home, or (2) children are big enough to help in work or (3) more than one member of a household migrate to earn higher wage incomes for the family. When they come with families, with wife and children, they expect some minimum facilities and amenities. However, life is not very easy for them, and more so for construction workers.

The conditions of the construction workers are the worst of all. Only 16.67 % of these families live in pucca houses, 37 % live in makeshift houses and 47 % live in pucca houses, usually tin sheds provided on worksites by the employers. 67 % of these families do not have access to electricity, 57 % have no water supply nearby, 74 % have no toilet facility and 74 % do not have any bathroom facility. 74 % families do not have an easy access to medical facilities. It is important to note that 90 % of their children do not go to school. In other words, they live a tough life in the city mainly to be able to survive.

The conditions of textile and diamond workers are far better, with only 4 % of diamond workers and 16 % of textile workers living in makeshift houses. They also have better access to electricity (80 % +) and higher access to water supply, toilet facilities and other facilities. Also, 93 % of children of diamond workers and 60 % of children of textile workers go to school.

Though the conditions families of textile and diamond workers are better than those of construction workers, they are definitely less than desirable, and far inferior to the conditions of the regular city workers. In short, though migrant workers have compulsion to travel with their families, the quality of life available to them in the city is not satisfactory. Those with higher skills and incomes tend to enjoy better life, and they ultimately decide to settle down in the city.

4.3 Health accessibility

Access to better health facility is another important gain of migration. There is a significant difference in access to health facilities between different industry workers. It was observed that probability to access public health facilities are more among skilled as well as unskilled workers in construction than textile, even it is also high for skilled workers in diamond than textile and construction. However, in contrast, 64 percent machine operator in textile use public health facilities compared to 25 percent in construction. But, a different result has been drawn in case of access to private health facilities. The percentage of each type of occupation category of workers in textile and diamond are more used private health facilities than construction. A comparison between access to public and private health facilities for same industry represents that percentage of access to private health facilities are more than public health facilities in each occupation category which again put a question of quality of public health facilities. Even low income workers such as unskilled and semiskilled are also more likely to prefer to private health facilities.

Table 5.2: Access to Health Facilities by Skill Status of Workers

	Public Health Centre			Private Health Centre		
	Construction	Textile	Diamond	Construction	Textile	Diamond
Unskilled	76.0	55.6	0.00	76.0	88.9	0.00
Skilled	54.0	41.7	84.9	88.2	94.4	97.2
Semi skilled	0.00	66.7	0.00	0.00	100.0	0.00
Machine operator	25.0	64.9	0.00	75.0	86.5	0.00
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	33.3	0.0	100.0	66.7	100.0	100.0

Total	57.4	54.9	85.1	84.3	92.2	97.2
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Now we turn toward kind of health facilities provided by employer or company to their workers. It is observed that small units only cover small injuries however some of the large units paid all injuries charges which was happen during work on site. During the survey we got three type of health facilities provided by employers i.e. they have tie-up with private hospitals, they send to government hospital and some companies or units had appointed doctors for caring during injuries. Table 18a reveals that employers are given preference to private hospitals for treatment than government. And the same pattern followed in all three industries. Employers/companies prefer two times more to private health facilities than public hospitals in construction and textile industry but in diamond, it 1.5 times more. Only few information reported about company doctors in textile (0.98 percent) however, in diamond about 14 percent employers/companies have their own doctors. Besides, skilled workers have got more private health facilities than others in all three industries. However, unskilled workers get treatment mainly in public health facilities.

Table 5.3: Type of Health Facilities Provided by Employer by Skill Status and Industry Category

Skill Status	Construction		Textile			Diamond		
	Private Hospital	Gov. Hospital	Private Hospital	Gov. Hospital	Company Doctor	Private Hospital	Gov. Hospital	Company Doctor
Unskilled	80	64	66.67	66.67	0	0	0	0
Skilled	84.21	40.79	80.56	25	0	93.4	63.21	14.15
Semi skilled	0	0	66.67	33.33	5.56	0	0	0

Machine operator	50	25	67.57	40.54	0	0	0	0
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	66.67	33.33	100	0	0	100	100	0
Total	81.48	45.37	72.55	35.29	0.98	93.46	63.55	14.02

4.4 Social security at working place

In this section, we discuss about social security benefits of migrant workers in construction, textile and diamond industry in Ahmedabad and Surat city. Social security includes social insurance programmes, social assistance programmes, universal programmes, mutual benefit schemes, national provident funds etc. (Nayak, 2005). However, according to ILO and ISSA define as: access to basic needs such as infrastructure pertaining to health, education, dwelling, information and social protection as well as work related security (Nayak, 2005), however this definition is applicable for developed countries. In India, there is a huge informal sector and mostly migrant workers work under this sector, which belong to vulnerable category and survive in unhygienic conditions. Therefore, social security benefit is most essential requirement for the wellbeing of informal workers especially for deprived migrant workers.

From table 5.4, it is reported that about 1.85 percent workers in construction and 10.78 percent in textile availed provident fund (PF) facility. Even, some of the workers have paid leave and medical leave. About one third in diamond and one fifth in construction and textile workers get financial support during accident. Besides, about one-third workers in diamond industry get insurance facility however; this proportion is very less in construction and textile industry. Even, only 11 percent diamond

workers obtained subsidized food facility as against 0.9 percent in construction and 3.9 percent in textile. In summing up, employer do not provide social security benefits to their employees, only few employees got some facilities i.e. financial support during accident, canteen facility during working hour, group insurance etc.

Table 5.4: Social Security Benefits

Type of Social Security Benefit	Construction	Textile	Diamond
PF	1.85	10.78	0.00
Insurance Policy	0.00	3.92	0.00
Group Insurance	0.93	2.94	28.04
Weekly holiday (Paid leave)	1.85	7.84	0.00
Medical Leave	2.78	0.98	0.00
Canteen facility	2.78	12.75	39.25
Subsidized food	0.93	3.92	11.21
Financial support during accident	19.44	20.59	28.97
Others	0.00	0.00	26.17

The dismal performance of social security calls for some explanation. The poor social security for **diamond workers**, in spite of relatively high wages is due to the high mobility of workers. As was argued by the leaders of the industry, “workers do not want social security because they are very mobile”. Our discussions with workers however did not support this argument. The

main reason for poor security is mainly because most units are operating illegally! They do not get registered under the Factories Act because they do not want to get bided by its provision; and they cannot get registered under any other act because that is not allowed legally (Hirway 2009). What they do is group insurance and gets benefits from the Surat Diamond Association that spends some amounts on welfare of these workers.

The textile is relatively better in terms of registration and labour laws; as a result workers get some PF and other social security. Construction workers are at the bottom and they are almost left out of social security except for some workers getting support in the events of accidents.

The overall low level indicates poor enforcement of labour laws and schemes for labour.

4.5. Long working hours

Table 5.5: Average Working Hour by Occupation and Industry

Type of Occupation	Construction		Textile		Diamond	
	up to 9	10-12	up to 9	10-12	up to 9	10-12
Unskilled work	24 (26)	0.00	3(13)	6(7)	0.00	0.00
Skilled work	66(71)	9(75)	9(39)	28(35)	4(100)	103(99)
Semi Skilled	0.00	0.00	2(9)	17(21)	0.00	0.00
Machine operators	1(1)	2(17)	8(35)	29(36)	0.00	0.00
Supervisor/Manager/Contr actor	2(2)	1(8)	1(4)	1(1)	0.00	1(1)
Grand Total	93(100)	12(100)	23(100)	81(100)	4(100)	104(100)

The data in bracket shows percentage values also. During the survey, it was found that the six workers in construction and in textile too have reported their age between 15-17 years old in the study. As per legal provisions, working hours of these workers are limited up to 4-1/2 hours a day. It also specifies that the spread-over should not exceed 5 hours. Amongst them, no one has replied their working time is less than eight hours.

Those construction workers are working daily eight hours whereas in textile they are working twelve hours too. The Minimum Wages Act, 1948 also specifies about the working hours under the rules 20 to 25 that the number of work hours in a day should not exceed 9 hours for an adult. There are 35 workers in 105 considered from Naka who works independently and free from owners, hence no one can force them to work more than eight hours. The workers including at private and at public sites are more important here. Out of those 70 workers 22 (31%) are working more than ten hours daily. The 78 percent of textile workers have reported their daily working hours between 10-12 hours. There is no pay for extra hours. The overtime wages should be calculated at the rate of twice the ordinary rates of wages of the worker. Over all, results indicate more suffering because of long working hours in textile and diamond. The monthly earnings look much less relative to the working hours. According to many workers, working daily long hours creates body pains and weakness too. Nine textile workers are doing double shift that shows much stressed life of those workers. Some diamond workers reported suffering from body and muscle pains. The long hour working indicates that they are getting fewer wages against their daily working hours in entire sector. The

19 percent in textile and percent in diamond are getting bonus once in a year on Diwali. In diamond performance and work based wage payment exists which is less relative to working hours.

Overall, benefits of overtime are not available to workers.

Chapter 6 Long Term Impacts of Migration

Use of Remittances, Savings and Investment, Skill Up-gradation and Upward Mobility

5.1 Savings, Remittances and Indebtedness

Savings or Acquire Assets

The main purpose of migrant workers is to get more income and acquire assets as well as make savings for future. It is found that the usage pattern is different among the workers even in same occupation category in different industries. **As table 6.1 indicates** that majority of construction workers have been used their wage income mainly on house repairing, payment of old debt and marriage. However, in textile, about 19 percent on debt payment, 17 percent on house renovation and 16 percent on marriage. In contrast, about 58 percent workers in diamond keep their income as saving in bank. A disaggregate level enquiry provide some different pattern of use of wage income. In construction, about 44 percent unskilled workers utilize their income on house repairing followed by marriage (20 percent) and similar pattern has observed for skilled workers. However, 25 percent machine operator reported that they purchase new houses and some money kept as saving in bank. In textile industry, about 11 percent of unskilled workers use their income on debt payment, marriage and house renovation. Even, skilled workers also follow the similar pattern of income utilization. But, majority of machine operators (about 30 percent) gave preference to payment of old debt. Moreover, in diamond, more than half skilled workers preferred to keep as savings with bank.

Table 6.1: Workers response regarding the use of income, acquire assets or saving

Occupation	Debt Paid	Marriage	House Repair	Purchase Land	Purchase new House	Small Business	Saving in Bank	Others
	Construction							
Unskilled	12.00	20.00	44.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00
Skilled	25.00	15.79	26.32	1.32	2.63	0.00	6.58	0.00
Machine operator	25.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	0.00
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00
Total	22.22	16.67	28.7	0.93	2.78	0.00	7.41	0.00
	Textile							
Unskilled	11.11	11.11	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.11
Skilled	16.67	22.22	11.11	0.00	8.33	2.78	5.56	2.78
Semiskilled	0.00	11.11	27.78	0.00	11.11	0.00	5.56	0.00
Machine operator	29.73	13.51	18.92	10.81	10.81	0.00	0.00	5.41
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	18.63	15.69	16.67	3.92	8.82	0.98	2.94	3.92
	Diamond							
Skilled	18.87	18.87	9.43	1.89	25.47	3.77	58.49	3.77
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	100	0.00	0.00
Total	18.69	18.69	9.35	1.87	26.17	4.67	57.94	3.74

In addition to above discussion, to comprehend the amount of expenditure on different component is also important. In construction, on an average unskilled workers expend larger amount of total wage income on marriage, however skilled workers on payment of old debt. Against this, machine operator expends more money on purchase of new houses. In textile, unskilled, skilled and machine operators expend larger amount of total wage on marriage, however semiskilled workers given preference to purchase of new houses. In contrast, only skilled workers in diamond industry are more likely to save in bank. On average skilled workers kept Rs. 21575 as saving in bank. From above analysis, it is found that a very small amount of wages and earnings have been spent on acquiring new assets, savings and opening small and petty business too. In fact, unskilled as well as semi skilled workers belong to poor and vulnerable groups and survive in indebtedness even carry old debt too. Sometimes, their present income does not able to meet the household demand and they still depend on debt. Therefore, after migration when they start work, their maximum income goes to repayment of old and present debt.

Table 6.2: Average Expenditure of Wage Income on Assets Acquire and Saving (in Rs.)

Occupation	Debt Paid	Marriage	House Repair	Purchase Land	Purchase new House	Small Business	Saving in Bank	Others
	Construction							
Unskilled	3800.0	46000.0	3160.0	0.00	0.00	0.00	200.0	0.00
Skilled	11684.2	15000.0	1302.6	9210.5	4868.4	0.00	578.9	0.00
Machine operator	5000.0	5000.0	0.00	0.00	15000.0	0.00	1250.0	0.00
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	8333.3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1666.7	0.00

Total	9518.5	21388.9	1648.1	6481.5	3981.5	0.00	546.3	0.00
	Textile							
Unskilled	8889.1	16666.7	111.1	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5555.6
Skilled	3388.9	10500.0	750.0	0.00	4722.2	416.7	69.4	277.8
Semiskilled	0.00	7222.2	4444.4	0.00	9444.4	0.00	166.7	0.00
Machine operator	7027.1	12567.6	6648.6	21891.9	3702.7	0.00	0.00	216.2
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	1001.0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	4549.1	11009.8	3470.6	7941.2	4676.5	147.1	53.9	666.7
	Diamond							
Skilled	3254.8	4028.4	1783.1	976.5	6679.3	1037.8	21575.5	2264.2
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	35000.0	15000.0	0.00	0.00
Total	3224.4	3990.7	1766.4	967.3	6944.0	1168.3	21373.9	2243.0

5.2 Remittances

The pluralist theory views migration as a mechanism to protect livelihoods, a means to acquire a wider range of assets that insure against risk. Regarding this, remittances can play important role in development of migrant households. It can have also multiplier impact on local economy. In many cases, a substantial proportion of household cash income is attributed to migrants earnings (Haberfeld et al, 1999; Rogaly et al, 2001; Mosse et al, 2002 & Srivastva and Sasikumar, 2003). However, this income may not always add in generate resource base of migrant household as somebody use to adjust for payment of old debt (NCRL, 1991; Mosse et al 2002). The study indicates that

most of the workers in each occupation category send money to respective family. This proportion is only less among unskilled workers (33 percent) in textile industry (annexure table 23).

Further, table 6.3 highlights that how much amount send by workers to their respective family at native place. In construction, about 45 percent unskilled and 61 percent skilled workers sent money between Rs. 2000-5000, however 75 percent machine operator and 50 percent supervisors/contractors are able to send Rs. 5000 and above. In textile industry, more than sixty five percent unskilled workers send Rs. 2000 or less and about 79 percent skilled workers belong to the similar remittances category as construction skilled workers too. Besides, about more than 50 percent skilled and 100 percent supervisor/contractors in diamond industry send more than Rs. 5000².

Table 6.3: Percentage Distribution of Workers who Send Money by Remittances Categories

Range in Rs.	Unskilled	Skilled	Semi skilled	Machine operator	Supervisor/ Manager/ Contractor
	Construction				
Less than 2000	15.0	8.5	0.00	0.00	0.00
2000 - 5000	45.0	61.7	0.00	25.0	50.0
5000 & above	40.0	29.8	0.00	75.0	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0	0.00	100.0	0.00

² Wage income in diamond industry is 1.9 times of textile income and 1.7 times of construction income (Table 19).

	Textile				
Less than 2000	66.7	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2000 - 5000	33.3	79.2	50.0	83.3	0.00
5000 & above	0.0	20.8	50.0	16.7	0.00
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.00
	Diamond				
Less than 2000	0.00	8.5	0.00	0.00	0.00
2000 - 5000	0.00	40.7	0.00	0.00	0.00
5000 & above	0.00	50.9	0.00	0.00	100.0
Total	0.00	100.0	0.00	0.00	100.0

In order to analysis, an enquiry about the average amount of remittances that sent by workers especially by different occupation categories would provide exact capacity of workers, even also shows the income satisfaction of workers at destination place. Workers in diamond industry and construction send almost equal amount to respective families and this is more than textile workers. In case of unskilled and machine operator, there is a large difference between construction and textile regarding sent money to their native family. Further, the amount sent by diamond skilled workers and supervisors/machine operators are more than construction and textile worker for same occupation categories.

Table 6.4: Average Remittances by Occupation (in Rs.)

Occupation	Construction	Textile	Diamond
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Unskilled	4940.0	555.6	0.00
Skilled	3851.3	3583.3	4241.5
Semi skilled	0.00	4083.3	0.00
Machine operator	6625.0	3581.1	0.00
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	4166.7	0.00	8000.0
Total	4214.8	3333.3	4276.6

It is observed that majority use the amount of remittances for access food, health and education in each occupation category. Only some persons utilize their remittances for acquiring assets in all three industries. In contrast, about only 44 percent person associated to unskilled workers in textile spent money for access food. Even, some persons of same group utilize their money of remittance on education, health and repairing of houses. In diamond industry, both skilled workers and supervisor/manager/contractor families preferred to food education and health as utilization of amount of remittances.

Table 6.5: Workers response about utilization of remittances amount (%)

Occupation category	Food	Education	Health	House Repair	Other
	Construction				
Unskilled	88.0	36.0	20.0	8.0	12.0
Skilled	90.8	31.6	47.4	14.5	5.3
Machine operator	75.0	25.0	75.0	25.0	0.0

Supervisor /manager/ contractor	100.0	33.3	100.0	0.00	66.7
Total	89.8	32.4	43.5	13.0	8.3
	Textile				
Unskilled	44.4	11.1	22.2	11.1	0.0
Skilled	75.0	30.6	38.9	5.6	19.4
Semiskilled	77.8	33.3	27.8	0.0	5.6
Machine operator	56.8	29.7	32.4	5.4	10.8
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	64.7	28.4	32.4	4.9	11.8
	Diamond				
Skilled	73.6	42.5	52.8	8.5	3.8
Supervisor /manager/ contractor	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.00	0.00
Total	73.8	43.0	53.3	8.4	3.7

5.3 Skill Up-gradation and Upward Mobility

The 22 percents of respondents in construction sector have reported that they have gained working skills after coming at destinations followed by 35 percents in textile and 70 percents in diamond sector. The large numbers of diamond workers have

gained polishing skills after migrations. They have to manage by themselves to learn the skills since the proper training and learning supports from either by government or employers does not exist. It says more training and developments for skill up gradation require for improving the migrant workers status as well as earnings. However in diamond sector, it was observed that large units provide training to workers and also absorb them in the unit which further depends on terms and conditions of units. The numbers of workers have gained skill after migration in the above table says that migration helps them to learn the works too and they can grow more if further training and development supports provided them.

Table 6.6 : Gained skill after migration (Percentage)

Type of Ind.	Site	Type of worker	Total no. of workers	No skill before migration		Gained skill after migration%					
				Workers	%	Contractor	Machine operators	Manager	Semi Skilled	Skilled work	Unskilled work
Construction	Naka	Skilled	30	7	23.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	0.00
		Unskilled	5	2	40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100
		Total	35	9	25.71	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	77.78	22.22
	Non Naka	Machine operators	3	1	33.33	0.00	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
		Skilled	45	5	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	0.00
		Supervisor	3	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
		Unskilled	19	9	47.37	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100
	Total	70	15	21.43	0.00	6.67	0.00	0.00	33.33	60	
	Total	105	24	22.86	0.00	4.17	0.00	0.00	50	45.83	
Textile	Contractor	2	1	50	100	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
	Machine operators	37	7	18.92	0.00	100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
	Semi Skilled	19	10	52.63	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	0.00	0.00	
	Skilled	37	14	37.84	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	0.00	

		Unskilled	9	5	55.56	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	100
		Total	104	37	35.58	2.7	18.92	0.00	27.03	37.84	13.51
Diamond	Large	Skilled	32	26	81.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	0.00
	Med	Skilled	38	23	60.53	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100	0.00
	Small	Manager	1	1	100	0.00	0.00	100	0.00	0.00	0.00
		Skilled	37	26	70.27	0.00	0.00	0	0.00	100	0.00
	Total			108	76	70.37	0.00	0.00	1.32	0.00	98.68
Grand total			317	137	43.22	0.73	5.84	0.73	7.3	73.72	11.68

Chapter 7

Perception of Migrants towards Migration

It is important to understand how migrant workers perceive migration, as it reveals the degree to which they have adjusted and adapted to the city life. It also reveals their future plan as well as the support that they need to improve their well being in the city.

One point common to most migrant workers is that they have benefitted materialistically from migration in some or other way. About three fourth of the workers have experienced an increase in their household incomes through migration. About 77% households are now able to eat better, and they believe that they are able to support their families better. However there are some migrants, particularly in the construction and textiles, who did not get adequate compensation for injury – sometimes serious and even fatal – and who suffered severely. In spite of their efforts they could not get justice and went back home with a great loss.

As seen above, workers have used the remittances to repay their debt (one fifth of households), to finance social functions such as marriages, and to repair and renovate their homes at the native village (more than one third households). As regards saving, mainly diamond workers have been able to save money from migration incomes (58%).

It is worth noting that there gains have been higher for skilled workers including machine operations. Unskilled workers have gained relatively less in all these areas.

7.1 Adjustment to the City Life

An important question is how they are feeling in the city of migration. To start with, majority of migrant workers (89%) feel safe in the city, i.e. there are no serious law and order problems that they face the percentage being the highest for diamond workers (98%) and the lowest for construction workers (80).

However they face several inconveniences and harassment in the city they have migrated to. Firstly, almost all migrant workers believe that no proper compensation is paid to them if they are injured or even die on the job. There is no adequate compensation for occupational related health problems. As all the three sectors are prone to accidents and / or serious occupational diseases, this is a serious concern of these workers. Secondly, they are also subjected to uncertain and irregular employment – this is particularly applicable to construction workers, though diamond workers also got a huge shock when they lost their jobs on a large scale due to the global crisis in 2008-09. Thirdly, they suffer from very poor living conditions, emanating from absence of basic facilities like water supply, sanitation and housing. The new migrants are particularly feeling harassed by this. Housing is a serious problem particularly for construction workers – for those living on worksites, living on roadsides or in *Bastis* – all suffer from inadequate protection from housing. The struggle to get the minimum needs, i.e. water supply, sanitation, fuel and night is too hard for most workers; the worst conditions are of construction workers.

Table 7.1: Harassment at Destination Place (%)

Type of Work	Work injury	Health Prob.	Resident Prob.	Fear of thief	Total Responses
Construction	64.29	14.29	14.29	7.14	100
Diamond	33.33	33.33	33.33	0.0	100
Textile	58.33	41.67	0.0	0.0	100
Grand Total	58.62	27.59	10.34	3.45	100

About 50% of migrant workers can speak Gujarati, though many more understand the language. It is interesting to note that one fifth of the migrant workers do not interact with local people, and usually there are no occasions to meet local population and interact with them socially. How do migrants entertain themselves? One fifth of the migrants reported that they do not get much time for entertainment (27-28% of construction and textile workers). In the case of diamond workers, only 1.85% diamond workers reported that do not get time for entertainment.

The most common source of entertainment for construction workers is to go to gardens and open public spaces (58.44 %), followed by using mobile (25.97 %), watching films (11.69 %) and watching TV (2.16 %). Though gardens and public spaces are important for the other workers, the others have better access to watching TV, going to films and meet socially in social gatherings and listen to the radio. Construction workers have the least access to entertainment facilities.

Table 7.2: Source of Entertainment (%)

Mode of entertainment	Construction	Diamond	Textile	Grand Total
Movie	11.69	20.75	9.33	14.73
Gardens/public places	58.44	34.91	33.33	41.47
Radio	0.00	0.94	5.33	1.94
TV	2.60	30.19	24.00	20.16
Mobile	25.97	1.89	13.33	12.40
Social gathering	1.30	8.49	10.67	6.98
Other	0.00	0.94	0.00	0.39
No time	0.00	0.94	4.00	1.55
Playing cricket	0.00	0.94	0.00	0.39
Grand total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The overall picture of their perception of the city is presented in the following table. As discussed above many migrant workers do not feel at home in the city and suffer from several harassments and inconveniences:

Table 7.3 Inconvenience in this city (%)

Type of Work	Primary infrastructure	Unhygienic living conditions	Traffic	Loneliness	Irregularity in work	High inflation	Basic amenities	Salary doesn't increase	Food trouble	Caste discrimination	Long time working	Total
Construction	25.49	58.82	1.96	3.92	3.92	1.96	3.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100
Diamond	1.82	60.00	7.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.82	21.82	3.64	3.64	100

Textile	15.15	60.61	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.06	15.15	3.03	0.00	0.00	100
Grand Total	13.67	59.71	3.60	1.44	1.44	0.72	2.88	4.32	9.35	1.44	1.44	100

The most bothersome inconvenience is unhygienic living conditions, and this is true with all the three sets of workers. 60% workers feel that the living conditions are unhygienic and this causes huge inconvenience. Irregular and erratic water supply, absence of (clean) toilets, inadequate or overflowing drainages as well as poor overall infrastructure (slums?) bothers them a lot. Secondly, lack of basic services and infrastructure is another major inconvenience experienced by migrant workers. The worst affected by construction workers, (29 %) followed by textile workers (22%) and then diamond workers (1.82%). Clearly diamond workers are in a better position. Heavy unregulated traffic and high inflation in the city also bother them a lot. Thirdly, long working hours, stagnant wages in spite of high inflation, irregularity of work and almost zero social protection to fall back are another set of problems. Finally, loneliness, inability to assimilate with local society, isolation, caste discrimination in and outside working places are commonly felt insults that hurt their dignity. Though construction workers are the worst affected by all these, caste discrimination is felt by textile workers also.

7.2 Contact with Own Families Back in Villages

There are different means of remaining in contact with their own families at home. Cell phones or mobiles are the main means of contact. More than 95% of the workers use cell phones for keeping in touch with their families. Some construction workers also use public phones. Construction workers and textile workers go home more frequently (more than 90 % workers

visit home at least once in six months); while 30 % diamond workers visit once in six months and 44 % visit once in a year. The attachment of diamond workers to their home became very clear when more than 50 % workers who lost their jobs in Surat during the global crisis went home for surviving the crisis.

Table 7.4: Average duration of visiting hometown

Frequency of Visit	Construction	Textile	Diamond
Every Month	10.19	0.98	0.93
Every Three Months	30.56	3.92	2.8
Every Six Months	49.07	85.29	25.23
Every Year	6.48	2.94	43.93
When required	2.78	2.94	21.5
Others	0.93	3.92	5.61
Total	100	100	100

Table 7.5: Loss after migration %

Loss	Construction					Diamond			Textile					
	Machine operators	Skilled	Supervisor	Unskilled	Total	Manager	Skilled	Total	Contractor	Machine operators	Semi Skilled	Skilled	Unskilled	Total

Extremely hard works	66.67	20.00	100	12.50	21.90	-	30.84	30.56	50.00	43.24	15.79	43.24	33.33	37.50
Long working hours	33.33	38.67	66.67	8.33	32.38	-	74.77	74.07	50.00	51.35	31.58	51.35	33.33	46.15
Long term staying out of native place	33.33	36.00	100	8.33	31.43	100	46.73	47.22	-	21.62	21.05	48.65	11.11	29.81
Feel out sider	33.33	5.33	-	0.00	4.76	-	8.41	8.33	-	5.41	5.26	8.11	-	5.77
feel Hopeless	-	5.33	-	4.17	4.76	100.00	4.67	5.56	-	2.70	-	2.70	-	1.92
No more money, It is enough	-	1.33	-	0.00	0.95	-	1.87	1.85	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not want to learn more	-	4.00	-	0.00	2.86	-	2.80	2.78	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dislike to stay here	-	5.33	-	8.33	5.71	-	4.67	4.63	-	2.70	-	5.41	11.11	3.85
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

7.3 Future Plans of Migrant Workers

It is interesting to see that the perception of migrant workers about staying on in the city differs widely from sector to sector. As regards construction workers, who work for 8-9 months in a year, mainly want to work in the city “till work is available”, which also implies that they will work in the city till they are strong enough to perform this strenuous work. 83% workers reported this. However 4% want to stay in the city for 10 years and 4.6% for 5-6 years, as they believe they will earn enough by this period or they will be able to work till this period. Only 7.4 % workers intend to stay here life time. These are all skilled workers – masons, carpenters, and other specialized workers who believe that they will be able to settle down here with slightly higher salary and good demand for their work. 1% workers are undecided. In other words, it is the skilled workers who think they can settle down in the city of their migration.

Table 7.6: Perception on Stay at Destination in Future (%)

Type of Perception	Construction	Textile	Diamond
Life time	7.41	12.75	28.04
Till work is available	83.33	73.53	31.78
5-6 yrs	4.63	4.9	1.87
10 yrs max	3.7	0.98	0
Wish to return to village asap	0	3.92	1.87
Not decided	0.93	0.98	28.04
1-2 years	0	2.94	8.41
Total	100	100	100

In the case of migrant diamond workers, 28% want to stay in the city permanently, while 32 % want to stay till work is available. Surprisingly, 28% diamond workers are undecided mainly because they are not sure that they can survive in the city. This could be due to the experience of the global crisis when 50 % workers had to leave the city. In the case of textile migrant workers almost 80% want to work till work is available.

What do they think of the future of their children? Are they hopeful about the next generation? Except for 10 % construction workers all workers want brighter future for their children. Almost all of them (more than 50%) want their children to study well and take up a good job (perceived

to be permanent and safe) or start a new business (mainly diamond workers). As expected diamond workers have higher and varied expectations from the future. Some construction workers trapped in the vicious circle of hard work and low returns are hopeless about their children's future.

Table 7.7: Perception about Child's Career (%) child

Type of Perception	Construction	Textile	Diamond	Total
No future	10.0	2.25	0.0	5.04
No children	21.11	22.50	24.07	22.66
Want them to study and get good jobs	63.33	62.75	50.00	56.83
Get Govt. Job	4.44	3.75	12.04	7.19
No idea	1.11	8.75	7.41	5.76
Diamond unit owner	0.0	0.0	5.56	2.16
Businessman	0.0	0.0	0.93	0.36
Grand total	100	100	100	100

In short, (1) skills and (2) round the year employment tend to encourage the workers to stay on in the city. However, there is an element of uncertainty, as a lot depends on how long the work will be available. The relatively low wages, lack of social protection do not encourage them to stay on. Only those who have been able to make some savings are sure of their ability to stay on.

Chapter 8

Assessment of Government Policies, Laws and Schemes for Migrant workers

Central and state governments both are expected to play a critical role in forging linkages between migration and development in India. Since labour is in the concurrent list of the Indian Constitution, both the governments have to work together to formulate and implement policies and activities related to migrant labour. Looking to the conditions of migrant workers in the earlier sections, it is difficult to believe that migrant workers are supposed to be well protected by a number of labour laws, social security and welfare schemes and public services in the areas of health, nutrition and education. However the reality is that the concerned governments have passed several laws and rules to help migrant workers in multiple ways (Annexure B).

This section (1) evaluate the existing labour laws, schemes and policies of the governments, (2) explains why the government has not been able enforce these, well and (3) suggests measures for improving the performance of the governments in this area. This section is based on our primary survey, our field visits and discussions with workers and on our in-depth discussions with concerned officers and policy makers at different levels.

8.1 Labour Laws, Social Security Schemes and Policies of Central and Gujarat Government for Migrant Workers

Labour laws in India are of two types, one for the formal organized sector workers, and the other for unorganized workers. As all the migrant workers in the three selected sectors are unorganized workers, the second type of laws are applicable to them.

It is interesting to note at the outset that many of the units in the selected sectors and under the study are expected to be registered under the Factories Act and are therefore expected to be organized workers; however the units have escaped from this registration somehow and therefore the workers remain “unorganized”. For example, according to a Gujarat High Court order, all diamond cutting and polishing units are expected to be registered under the Factories Act, and they are also not allowed to get registered under any other act including the Shops and Establishment Act. However, most of them have refused to do so, with the result that the

workers are “unorganized workers”³ (Hirway 2009). Similarly, most power loom / textile units are registered under the Factories Act; however their workers are not recorded as “permanent” workers and therefore they are “unorganized” workers. All migrant workers in these industries are unorganized workers and are not entitled to the beneficiaries of the formal sector labour laws (Annexure B). They are all covered by the second type of the laws.

All these laws are Central Government laws. State governments are expected to make rules based on the laws and are responsible for their implementation.

As regards Social security for migrant workers, two state related major acts are available, namely, the Building and Other construction workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Services) Act 1996 and the unorganized workers’ Social Security Act 2008. Besides, three Central Government social security schemes applicable to migrant workers are RSBY (Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY), AABY (Aam Adami Bima Yojana) and Group Insurance Scheme. (Annexure B). But, ground reality is lacking of the proper implementation of these central and state government labour laws, policies and schemes.

8.2 Government Policies and Schemes at the Ground Level: Results from Primary Survey

The primary survey shows extremely poor performance of the labour laws and the other services provided by the Central and State governments. The following findings reveal this:

- Negligible numbers of migrant workers in all the three sectors are aware of the labour laws designed for their protection and well-being. Even if they know, they are at the receiving end in this new environment, and therefore do not demand their rights.
- As regards social security schemes, the only social security available to some is provident fund: 2% of workers in construction work and 11% of migrant workers in textile get provident fund. Group insurance scheme provides insurance to 28% diamond workers, but this insurance is available to only 5% workers in textile units and less than 1% in construction industry. Any form of health insurance is not accessible to

construction workers while it is available to 3-5% to other sector workers. The schemes like RSBY or AABY are not accessed by any of the migrant workers.

- As regards access to Public Services is concerned, construction workers are in the worst situation. They do not have any access to PDS, ICDS, or to public educational institutional and very limited access to health services. The other two sectors are slightly better but far from satisfactory.
- For example, as regards health services, government hospitals have provided medical help to 45% of migrant construction workers (mainly in the event of severe injury, 35% of textile workers and 63% of diamond workers. However, more than 80% workers (93% workers in diamond industry) depend mainly on private doctors for health problems. Company doctors are available only some large unit workers in textile and diamond units.
- Unionization or mobilization can help here significantly, in terms of creating awareness as well as mobilizing collective strength for better bargaining. However, no worker from the sample has joined any union. As was revealed during discussions, this is because they are likely to be thrown out of job if they joined a union. Employers clearly do not like workers forming or joining unions.

It appears that migrant workers are here to earn some incomes for survival or to diversify their risks to address their vulnerability. They are totally at the receiving end and accept whatever is available to them. They are not in a position to demand their rights from employers.

Though children of most migrant construction workers are not able to access ICDS and school education (6-14 years), it is important to mention that the Gujarat government has designed a scheme for education of seasonal migrant children.

8.3 Implementation of Labour Laws

The Payment of Wages Act is isolated mainly for construction workers who are seasonal and can be easily exploited. These workers are given some cash (*Kharchi*) to maintain themselves in the

city with the understanding that the rest of wages will be paid at the end of the season/task. Workers are forced to take some extra advances as “*kharchi*” is not enough. Taking advantage of these *kharchi* and advances, employers create false accounts and under pay them. There are cases when workers go back home without any money at all. In cases of large losses some workers have started complaining through a trade union.

The Contract Workers Act is violated mainly because many contractors work without a license, do not keep records of workers and therefore are not obliged to follow the law. Frequently, contractors, including registered contractors, do not ensure the basic necessity, such as, water supply, sanitation, housing etc. to workers which they are supposed to ensure. The states of the origin also do not seem to be discharging their duty of registering contractors and tracking out flows of migration.

Frequently, contractors join hands with employer for protecting their mutual interests at the cost of migrant’s workers. In short, the duties of contractors and principal employers under the contract workers act are not taken seriously by them.

The Workmen’s Compensation Act: is an important act for migrant workers as all the three sectors are pure to injuries, disablement and occupational diseases. Contract workers are highly subjected to small and big injuries causing disablement, diseases or even death. Diamond workers also are observed to be suffering from back pain, body pain, respiratory diseases and problems of eye sight. Similarly textile workers also frequently suffer from injuries and respiratory diseases. According to our investigation, in most cases no compensation or meager compensations have paid. Workers have to fight a long and expensive battle which is difficult for them. Overall, this act has not been able to provide security to migrant workers. Migrant workers are particularly vulnerable due to their isolation and weak bargaining.

Inter-State Migrant Workers Act: is one of the weakest labour law in design and in implementation. There is not much awareness about the act even with the labour department!

The good part however is that the Gujarat government has accepted and passed rules with the effect that (1) the state government is responsible about the well-being of migrant workers, (2) migrant workers are entitled to all social security measures that are available to unorganized

workers and (3) migrant workers are also entitled to services under ICDS, RTE and Mid-Day-Meal and health services.

According to our sample survey, there is almost no access of migrant children to ICDS and to schools for construction workers. In the case of the children of diamond workers and textile workers, however, this facility is available to about 50% households. PDS shops are there in their localities but less than 10% migrant households are able to access this facility because (1) the shops are far away, (2) they do not have any ration card, (3) the shops are irregular or (4) supplies are not available when they are able to reach the shops. This percentage is zero for construction workers and between 10 – 15 % for other workers.

As regards ICDS, it is important to mention that Gujarat labour department agreed to set up ICDS units for children of migrant workers, thanks to the efforts of some NGOs like PRAYAS and SEWA. These were set up on experimental basis on work-sites or in Bastis (settlements) of migrant workers. Government also tried out mobile vans when possible for providing these services. However, several problems were found and no solutions have been reached. Since ICDS centres have to be on work-sites or in settlements of migrant workers (i.e. in illegal sums – not recognized as slums by Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation), it was not easy to get Balsevika or teacher. Two suggestions have been made in this context: shift children to regular ICDS centres and turn these into day schools so that children are cared by professional staff for full day. These suggestions are not yet accepted.

About schools for migrant children, the main problem is about the language and curriculum. If these are local, migrant children find it difficult to learn; and if these schools are organized in the language of origin (how many language?) and the curriculum of the origin (how many curriculum?) it will not work out. The best suggestion made by NGOs is that the state of origin should organize residential schools for migrant workers in their own respective states. Again, this is expensive and the state governments have to agree to this. Nothing concrete is done about this so far.

In short, it requires different or innovative approaches to provide public services to migrant workers. More attention is needed not only at the state levels but also at the national levels. Unfortunately not much attention has been paid by any governments so far.

It will not be out of place have to mention about the efforts of PRAYAS, an NGO that is trying to organize seasonal migrant workers in Gujarat to improve their well-being and more their future (Hirway, Sharma and Batabyal, 2014). Though they have acquired some success in terms of helping migrant workers in crisis, they find it difficult to unionize there workers because (1) workers are seasonal/mobile and scared, (2) employers are against unions (in fact, some PRAYAS workers were beaten up badly) and (3) government is least supportive.

8.4 Constraints and Problems of State Government:

One major problem is that labour is not a priority area for Central government and more so to Gujarat government. Since the focus of the present development paradigm is on growth, almost at any coat, the development goals have taken a back seat in government policies.

The indifference of the government is reflected in tremendous under staffing (Hirway and Shah, 2011a, 2011b). For example, the building and construction workers Board in Gujarat has only one staff member, the rest are holding extra charge of this work, with the result that they have no time or motivation to pay attention to the activities of the Board. Almost same is the situation of the Unorganized Workers Welfare Board. In the labour department the sanctioned posts are 50% of the required posts and the filled in posts are 50% of the sanctioned posts (Hirway and Shah, 2011). The officers just do not have any time in this “extra” work related to migrant workers.

The lack of interest of the government in the issues related to migrant workers is also reflected in poor progress in the enforcement of the Inter-State Migrant Workers Act as well as in the very slow progress of the welfare schemes and social schemes for migrant workers. In fact, the inter-state migrant workers act is grossly violated in multiple ways.

Another important problem with these migrant workers is that there are no reliable data available on them. In the case of construction workers, (1) contractors bring them here without proper license; (2) employers do not report their correct numbers, as they worry about the obligations if they report the correct numbers and (3) very few workers get an ID card from the government Boards as they usually cannot provide a certificate of construction work of 90 days. In the case of diamond industry, not even 10% of diamond units is registered under the Factories Act. The small number of registered units is large units, which also under report the numbers of workers. Not all power looms are registered under the Factories Act. Again, registered units also

underreport the numbers of workers to escape obligations towards the labour. In short, there are no accurate estimates of workers employed in the three sectors. Government therefore does not have any clue about the dimensions of their tasks pertaining to migrant workers.

Our discussions with the government officers revealed that the state government does not have any approach to help migrant workers, who come to the state to add to the prosperity of the state. No efforts are made to create awareness among them about the laws, their enforcements and their welfare schemes. A few ad hoc scattered acts/rules for the welfare of these workers have not made much impact on the life of these workers. Frequent complaints were made by unions (PRAYAS and DISHA) against the unholy nexus between government officers and employers/unit owners.

8.5 Making Government Effective

1. Make Migrants Visible: The first important reason is that migrant workers are invisible to government machinery in multiple ways. Firstly, there are no accurate data available on the size of migrant workers, major streams of migration or their location and problems. Secondly, migrant workers do not have any ID cards or ration cards to ensure them to demand for facilities. And thirdly, migrant workers are not in the priority agenda of the labour department (in fact, the entire labour department is not a priority department for policy makers). The first task therefore is to organize mapping of migration streams in the state and get information on the size, sources, and their pattern of migration as well as about their profile by age, sex and household characteristics. Unless these data are collected, the state government will not be able to design policies and programs for circular migrants in the state.

For ID cards, there is no point on depending on getting certificate of 90 days of work from employers for identification of migrant workers, as hardly any employer is interested in giving such a certificate. The power of issuing the certificate should also be given to licensed contractors, recognized trade unions and concerned government officers. The lack of ID cards has prevented migrant construction workers from accessing services from the building construction Workers Board (which has not been able to spend its fund of Rs. 500 crores collected from the cess on construction companies) as well as Unorganized Workers Board. The

lack of ID cards also deprives most diamond workers of the relief measures offered to them by the government during the crisis in 2008 – 2004 (Hirway, 2009).

Since most contractors are not registered in the state of origin and in the state of destination, there is no way to tracking migrant workers. This registration that covers name, address, photograph etc. of migrant workers must be enforced strictly.

2. Commitment and Coordination: A migrant worker is one of the neglected areas of the labour who are also at a low priority at present. It is extremely important therefore to bring the issues of labour and particularly of migrant workers to the fore.

It will be desirable if a “Migrant Cell” is created in the labour department with the required funds and staff. This cell should be made exclusively in charge of all migration related issues. Strict monitoring, accountability and transparency of the cell should be organized so that extremely slow progress of the implementation of the law can be avoided. For example, the Building Construction Workers Act was passed in 1996, the rules were formed by the Gujarat government in 2004 and the activities began in 2008.

3. Amendments in the Laws and Coordination: there are certain basic limitations of the laws that need to be corrected:

(a) The inter-state migrant workers act should be amended as follows: This act does not include internal migration (for example, from tribal areas to urban centers) though all the migrants have similar problems. There is an urgent need to bring all migrant workers under the act.

(b) There is a need to establish single window system for registration of migrant workers for the purpose of all labour laws, all services and all social securities. At present there are several boards and several schemes with the result that a migrant worker has to run to a number of officers to get benefits. Single window system will help them in getting one ID and one source to apply and access all schemes and benefits.

(c) The punishments for violation of the labour laws, as seen above are too small to prevent employers from violating the laws. There is a need to raise these punishments, including imprisonment to make these laws effective.

(d) Training and capacity building of the officers and the staff are essential in this context - not only to inform them about their role and duties but also to make them sensitive about the issues of migrant workers.

(e) A minimum package of social security should be designed for migrant workers to ensure them protection from the vulnerabilities. Small, scattered and ad hoc social security schemes do not ensure the required protection.

(f) The inter-state migrant workers act should also have a clause about the role of the government of the state of origin, guidelines for inter-state cooperation should be laid down and mandatory registration of contractors at both the places.

4. Recognizing the Unions and their Role: When the government is indifferent and non-committed, and when employers are against the interests of migrant workers, unions are perhaps the only powers that the workers can have to demand their entitlements. Unfortunately, employers discourage workers forming or joining unions. As noted earlier union members/leaders are beaten up and false cases are filed to make them weak. There is an urgent need for the state to see that the rights of workers to form unions are not violated and recognized unions get all the powers as per the Trade Union Act. Representatives of unions should be put on tri-partite panels for important decision making.

Chapter 9

Way Forward

One major observation emerging from the study is that the problem of migrant workers is indeed a highly complex problem. To start with, they are not visible in data, i.e. there are no accurate estimates of their size, not much is known about the different streams of migration, and there are limited data on their problems, constraints and aspirations. As seasonal migration of labour is basically a coping strategy of poor households who migrate to urban areas to survive and to diversify their income sources to reduce the risk and vulnerability, they are at the receiving end in their destination. They are too weak to demand their legal entitlements and are not organized into collective strength to bargain a better deal in the market.

Though semi-skilled and skilled migrants in textile and diamond industries earn relatively higher wages than unskilled construction workers, they are informal workers not protected by social protection schemes. Many of them live in shared rooms and send remittances home to enable their families to survive. Their vulnerability was very visible when in the global crisis of 2008-09, half the diamond workers in Surat went back to their villages that they had left behind earlier, and lived a miserable life (Hirway, 2009).

While on work, migrant workers operate in a different segment of the labour market. They are preferred by contractors/employers because they come in group, are weak and docile, work for 10 – 12 hours or even more hours a day at lower wages and are frequently treated as captive labour. Most labour rights and labour laws are violated, and sometimes they also face abuses, insults, violence and frequently sexual harassment also. As local labour are not ready for this treatment, there are conflicts between local and migrant labours.

In addition, neither the government nor employers show any commitment to the well-being of migrant workers. The former are indifferent, if not against to them; while the latter want to use their cheap labour to maximize profits.

Outlook for the Future:

What kind of developments can one expect from the above scenario in the context of the relationship/linkages between migration and development?

There appear to be two flows that appear to be moving towards a healthy transformation of the economy: (1) skilled and semi-skilled migrant workers in non-seasonal (round the year) economic activities may consider setting down in urban centres, and (2) the migrant workers including seasonal workers who send remittances home may develop or strengthen their livelihoods in the areas of origin and settle down there. However both the trends appear to be too weak at present, and unless supported by adequate external interventions may not help in a smooth structural transformation.

It is argued by Lewis and also by Todaro, the workforce structure can be diversified through rural to urban migration. However this can happen only if skilled and semi-skilled migrant workers, who have acquired on-the job skill, can settle down well in urban areas. For a healthy transformation of the workforce it is necessary that they are protected by a minimum package of social security and their employment, their working and living condition and wages are regulated by a set of labour laws. However, the moment they enjoy these laws and social protection, they will not be of special advantage to employers, who have segmented the labour and migrant workers to exploit their vulnerability to earn extra profits.

These workers can then be in competition with local workers, and may not get adequate work opportunities. In other words, skilled/semi-skilled migrant workers will sustain in urban areas only if large scale employment opportunities are generated in the urban economy. In other words, for a healthy structural transformation of the economy it is necessary to follow a labour intensive growth path.

Strictly speaking, migrant workers are also entitled to public services officially available to all the citizens in India. As has been seen earlier, migrant workers are entitled to (1) ICDS services for children's nutrition and education, and for pregnant mothers and new mothers, (2) schooling up to elementary level under Right to Education, (3) nutrition schemes, such as MDM and PDS, (4) health services in public dispensaries and hospitals in urban centres and (5) services from local bodies. Though these services are not working well for local workers, migrant workers are kept far away, outside the purview of these services.

The second positive movement could be that migrant workers create employment opportunities for them in the area of origin by using their remittances. At present, remittances are used for consumption purposes: debt repayment, social functions, housing - repair, maintenance, renovation – and rarely for buying productive assets. However, there are a few migrant workers who have bought land (for cultivation) with their remittances. These trends are too weak to create livelihood in the area of origin or to promote development of the area of origin. In other words, if the distress migration has to stop and opportunities in the area of origin have to expand there, the state government will have to enforce MGNREGS in a better way and to develop basic socio-economic infrastructure as well as ample employment opportunities.

It is interesting to note that while 28% of migrant diamond workers and 13% of migrant textile workers want to settle down in the area of destination only 6% of construction workers want to settle down in the area of destination. The others are undecided. To sum up, healthy structural transformation of the workforce is not possible without a labour intensive economic growth.

The role of the government policy towards migrant workers is critical here. Government's commitment to labour in general and to migrant workers in particular is essential for making life of these workers better. The high exploitation of migrant workers and their vulnerability can be addressed effectively only through commitment of the government to the well being of these workers. Also, higher remittances are possible only with the enforcement of the labour laws and social security schemes. Mobilization of migrant workers is another major factor that can change the life of these workers. Our study of a union of construction workers has shown that mobilization of migrant workers is an extremely difficult task, as employers are against it; government does not provide protection to unions; and workers who are at the receiving end in the labour market have no courage to mobilize for their rights.

Finally without an enabling development paradigm not much is likely to be achieved. Distress migration has its roots in the under development of the states of origin on the one hand and a pre condition for healthy transformation of the workforce has its origin in labour intensive growth path. Both need an enabling development paradigm.

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Annexure

Annexure A

Table A1:

Caste	Land		No income	<10000	10001-20000	20001-50000	>50001	Total
ST	Land in village	Yes	0.00	16.36	27.27	38.18	18.18	100.00
		No	9.68	48.39	6.45	25.81	9.68	100.00
	Total	Total	3.49	27.91	19.77	33.72	15.12	100.00
SC	Land in village	Yes	0.00	26.32	10.53	15.79	47.37	100.00
		No	14.29	7.14	17.86	32.14	28.57	100.00
	Total	Total	8.51	14.89	14.89	25.53	36.17	100.00
OBC	Land in village	Yes	0.00	19.51	17.07	19.51	43.90	100.00
		No	38.00	20.00	10.00	12.00	20.00	100.00
	Total	Total	20.88	19.78	13.19	15.38	30.77	100.00
Others	Land in village	Yes	0.00	30.91	20.00	21.82	27.27	100.00
		No	44.74	18.42	5.26	15.79	15.79	100.00
	Total	Total	18.28	25.81	13.98	19.35	22.58	100.00
Total	Land in village	Yes	0.00	22.94	20.59	25.88	30.59	100.00
		No	29.25	23.13	9.52	19.73	18.37	100.00
	Total	Total	13.56	23.03	15.46	23.03	24.92	100.00

Table A2: Q-40 Do you have employment contract..? (%)

Type of Ind	Type of work	Written	Oral	No contract
Construction	Machine operators	-	-	2.86
	Skilled work	0.95	2.86	67.62
	Supervisor	-	-	2.86
	Unskilled work	-	-	22.86
	Construction	0.95	2.86	96.19
Textile	Manager	-	0.00	0.93
	Skilled work	-	51.85	45.37
	Diamond	-	51.85	46.30
	Contractor	-	1.92	-
	Machine operators	-	8.65	25.00
	Semi Skilled	-	1.92	16.35
Diamond	Skilled work	0.96	9.62	25.00
	Unskilled work	-	1.92	6.73
	Textile	0.96	24.04	73.08
All		0.63	26.50	71.61

Annexure (B):

A. Labour Laws

1. Payment of Wages Act 1936: According to this act, all workers are entitled to wage payment for the work that they have done. These wages should be paid regularly, before the 7th day of a month if the unit employees less than 1000 workers and pays monthly wages. For smaller units also wages must be paid for the work done as per the written or oral contract. The employer is permitted to deduct part of it for taxes or social security etc.

It is laid down that if the provisions of this act are violated, the penalty will be between Rs. 200 – Rs. 1000. Delayed wage payments attract penalty of Rs. 100 per day. Clearly, these penalties can hardly be deterrent to employers from violating the act.

2. The contract Labour (regulation and Abolition) Act 1970: According to this act each contractor bringing / engaging 5 or more workers should obtain license from the authority and pay fees/deposits. Contractors are expected to provide basic amenities such rest rooms, facilities for night halt, water supply, sanitation (sufficient number of latrines and urinals) and washing facilities to workers while on work and after the working hours. They are expected to ensure facilities like first aid box and access to health services.

Contractors also expected to provide to workers facilities for education of children, fair price shops, conveyance or allowances, leave travel concessions and other facilities. It is the duty of principle employers to see that contractors enforce this act so as to provide the legal entitlements to migrant workers

Violation of these provisions attracts up to 3 months imprisonment and/or fine up to Rs. 1000.

3. The Minimum wages Act 1948: The appropriate government is expected to fix minimum wages rates for workers employed in various industries/sectors of the economy. Concerned employers are expected to pay these wages. For overtime work, the wages to be paid are one and a half times of the minimum wage rate. Employers are expected to keep registers and records under this act. The state government can set up a tri-partite committee to fix or revise a minimum wages rate, or pass an ordinance announcing the rate.

For violation of each of the clauses of the act, employers can be punished up to imprisonment of 6 months or fine up to Rs. 500.

4. Employees Compensation Act 1952 (1982): This act, which was known as Workmen's compensation Act, is about compensatory workers for injury and death. Under this act if a worker dies of an injury on work, his family is entitled to up to Rs. 1 lakh to Rs 2 lakhs compensation. The act lays down compensation amounts for different types of injuries, types of

disablement as well funeral charges and other charges.

Violation of this act attracts payment of the amount with interest to concerned workmen as well as fine up to Rs. 5000.

5. Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976: This law prohibits all forms of bonded labour. Under this act, all debts that require people to perform bonded labour are automatically cancelled abolished when the job ends.

Any property held by employer in connection with a bonded debt must be restored to the bonded labour. After a bonded labour is freed from bondage, the District Magistrate is to ensure that his economic interests are secured as far as practicable so that he does not end up in bondage again.

Punishment for violation of this act is nothing less than imprisonment up to 2 years.

6. Inter-state migrant Workers Act 1979: No employer or contractor can employ any inter-state migrant workers without getting a license from concerned authority and without registration of the workers. Contractors also have to get a license from the state government from where the workers are brought. Any movement of workers without this license is prohibited. It is the duty of both the state governments that provisions of this act are enforced through appointment of proper officers.

Contractors as well as principal employers are obliged to perform the same duties as laid down under the contract act. Intra-State migrant labours are entitled to journey allowance, displacement allowance, and other facilities from contractors, who are also responsible for the enforcement of other relevant labour laws, such as payment of wages Act, Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, Minimum Wages Act and others.

Inter-State migrant workers are also entitled to similar wage rates as local workers. The act also provides that any loan obtained by a migrant workers from his/her employer or contractor during employment will be cancelled automatically when employment ends. This is an important provision for preventing bondage of migrant workers.

The principle employer is also responsible for implementation of the provisions of the act. Contractors/Employers are obliged to keep records of workers, payment through bank account, issuing passbook and providing amenities at the site.

Finally inter-state migrant workers and internal migrant workers are entitled to the Central / state social security schemes, welfare schemes and schemes pertaining to children and women as well as pertaining education and health services.

Contraventions of provision of the act attract punishment of imprisonment up to one year and/or fine up to Rs. 1000, or both. For repeated contraventions extra fine up to Rs. 100 per day can be

charged.

7. Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986: This act prohibits employment of children in certain specific hazardous occupations and processes and regulates the working condition in others. For child workers, there are specific rules and regulation regarding period of work, working environment, protection measures such as fencing of machinery, use of power etc., facilities and amenities for children and security of children.

The act has laid down punishment of imprisonment of 3 months and/or fine of Rs. 10,000 – 20,000 or both.

State governments are expected to make suitable rules for each of these central acts. As labour employment fall in the concurrent list of the subjects under our constitution, the major responsibilities for the enforcement of these acts lie with the state governments.

B. Social Security Acts and Schemes for Migrant Workers

As regards Social security for migrant workers, there are two major acts, namely, the Building and Other construction workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Services) Act 1996 and the unorganized workers' Social Security Act 2008.

1. Building and Construction Workers Act 1996: The Building and Other Construction Work Act requires that the state government appoints Advisory Committee to design activities for implementation as well as monitoring of the implementation of the act. Each state is expected to set up Building and Other Construction Workers' Welfare Board.

Government of Gujarat set up a board under the act in 2004 (the act was passed in 1996). This building and construction workers Board gets its funds from a cess collected from building and construction campuses at the rate of 2% of the cost of construction. Construction workers are expected to get registered with the Board by producing (1) a certificate of 90 days of work from employers, (2) age, address and 3 photographs and (3) registration fees of Rs. 25 and contribution of Rs. 75. In return they get an ID card.

These members are entitled to benefits from various schemes, such as, (a) maternity benefit scheme for women (Rs. 3000), (b) accident insurance (up to Rs. 1.00 lakh for injury and Rs. 1.00 lakhs for death), (c) funeral assistance (Rs. 2000), (d) assistance for housing (Rs. 20,000), (e) health services in the event of serious diseases (up to Rs. 1.00 lakh), (f) children's education, (g) skill training, (h) RSBY-Rastriya Swasthya Bima Yojana and (i) accident insurance.

2. Unorganized Workers board: Government of Gujarat is one of the few state governments to set up Gujarat Workers Welfare Board in 2007 for unorganized/informal workers (outside agriculture). The Board was set up in 2007 with the objective of protecting the interests of workers employed in non-agricultural sectors in the state. It is expected to covers more than 30

lakh workers employed in a variety of unorganized ventures in the state. The total budget of the Board was Rs. 50.00 lakhs in 2007-08 and Rs. 16.70 lakhs in 2009-10. The total number sanctioned posts of officers under this Board was 106 (2010) at the Centre (Ahmedabad) and at the four divisions in the state.

Migrant workers are officially covered by this Board.

The main task of the Board, as decided officially, is to help workers in accessing schemes related to (1) assistance in health, (2) assistance for skill development (up to Rs 1000 per worker), (3) tool kit assistance (up to Rs 300 per worker) and (4) health check up in health camps.

3. Gujarat State Social Security Board: This board was set up recently, December 2013 as a statutory requirement under the Unorganized Workers Social Security Act 2008. Its main function is to identify and register unorganized workers and to bring them under the various social security schemes of the Central and the State Government.

This Board is expected to merge Unorganized Workers Labour Welfare Board and Rural Workers Welfare Board. However no decisions have been taken so far and therefore the Board has not yet started its operations. This Board covers migrant workers also within its purview.

Social Security Schemes: The three Central social security schemes applicable to migrant workers are RSBY (Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY), AABY (Aam Adami Bima Yojana) and Group Insurance Scheme.

RSBY: RSBY is a Central Government run health insurance scheme for the Indian poor. It is for BPL households, and the migrant holding BPL card can access this scheme. Every BPL household is expected to pay Rs 30 for registration and get a biometric-enabled smart card containing their fingerprints and photographs. This enables them to receive inpatient medical care of up to ₹ 30,000 per family per year in any of the empanelled hospitals. Pre-existing illnesses are covered from day one, for head of household, spouse and up to three dependent children or parents⁴.

AABY: AABY is for all members between 18-59 years who is an earning member. She/he is entitled to a life insurance of Rs. 30,000/- which will be payable to the nominee. He is also entitled to Rs 75000 for accidental death and up to Rs 76000 for disablement due to accident. In addition, he is entitled a free scholarship benefit for the his/her children. The premium under the scheme shall be Rs. 200/- out of which 50% shall be subsidized from the Fund created for this

⁴ The BPL household is entitled to (1) cashless treatment in any of the empanelled hospitals, (2) pre-existing conditions/diseases are covered from day one, (3) it covers pre-hospitalization up to 1 day before hospitalization and Post-hospitalization up to 5 days from the date of discharge, (3) all expenses related to the delivery of the baby (normal or cesarean) in the hospital/nursing home are covered, (4) medical care of new borns,

purpose by the Central Government and the remaining 50% shall be contributed by the State Government.

Welfare services for Migrant Workers: It is important to note that migrant workers are legally covered by several welfare schemes and public services along with local workers. That is, they are legally entitled to (a) ICDS scheme, (b) PDS shops, (c) right to education (RTE), and (d) health services under NRHM.

It has been accepted by the Government of Gujarat that the government has to provide all the above service to inter state migrant workers. The government has agreed to set up Aanganwadi centers on work sites or near work sites and provide nutritional food to children between 0-6 years. These centers are also expected to provide good services to migrant pregnant and new mothers.

Similarly, the state government is bound to provide schools up to 8th standard to migrant workers on seasonal basis and health services in small and big illness or when injured through government health centers and public hospitals. Under NRHM and under municipal health services, migrant workers are entitled to access facilities of public health centres and public hospitals.

To sum up, the policy framework around migrant workers appears to be very comprehensive. It covers regulation of working and living condition of migrant workers, wages and social security schemes as well as public services like nutrition to children and mothers, education and health services.