



WORKERS ON THE MOVE

Exploring issues related to
circular migration and labour
market dynamics in India



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Based on the proceedings of the round table conference on "Improving Conditions of Work and Living for Circular Migrants in India" held at the YMCA Tourist Hostel, New Delhi, on 3-5 June, 2019.

Organized by ActionAid Association, in collaboration with Workers Solidarity Network (WSN) and Citizen's Rights Collective (CiRiC) and supported by Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS).

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Foreword

While the last century was centred on the agrarian question, the question of labour and migration has occupied centre-stage in the present century in the Global South. The focus has shifted from how to curb migration in the 1990s to how to make migration safe and improve the living conditions of workers. The political ramifications of a large stateless disenfranchised informal migrant labour force must not be undermined in the construction of the neo-liberal space of the city; especially considering migrant workers as city-makers.

The questions of informal work, urban spaces, and migration must be deliberated in order to fill the intersectional policy vacuum existing in contemporary times. ActionAid Association is particularly concerned with the engagement of the multiple stakeholders in strategizing and implementing actionable policy interventions for city-makers in their urban work spaces.

I am grateful for the concerted contributions of Workers Solidarity Network (WSN) and Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS) in the conception and arrangement of the round table. I also thank my colleagues in ActionAid as well as Citizen Rights Collective (CiRiC), the urban knowledge activist hub, hosted by ActionAid, and Mr. KT Suresh, the hub leader of CiRiC, for anchoring this report. I acknowledge the efforts and contributions of Preksha Mishra (Project Co-ordinator), Bhavya Sinha (Consultant Researcher), and Aarushi Joshi (Rapporteur), in organising the roundtable discussions and drafting the conference proceedings report.

This publication emerges from the debates and discussions of the round table conference. We hope to integrate the findings and recommendations of the conference in building our future strategies of intervention with the circular

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labour migrants. We look forward to comments and suggestions so we can carry this conversation further.

In solidarity,

Sandeep Chachra

Executive Director

ActionAid Association

Preface

The three-day round table was conceptualised as a platform for initiating fruitful dialogue among multiple key stakeholders on the primary issues pertaining to circular migration and the labour market dynamics. The roundtable aimed to bring together representatives from civil society, trade unions and international organizations with the objective of (a) analysing the issues through multiple lenses – theoretical as well as that of lived realities (b) documenting key recommendations and learnings towards the larger improvement in work and living conditions for migrant workers with special focus on women.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Workers Solidarity Network (WSN) and Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS) for their support in organising this important discussion. I would particularly like to thank Mr Stefan Mentschel, Director, RLS, for his contribution. Special thanks to Mr Rajiv Kumar for providing crucial inputs at all stages of this conference. Further, I also thank my Co-convenor and WSN Co-ordinator, Dr. Rahul Sapkal, for his immense help in bringing this report out. I am thankful to my team – Preksha Mishra (Project Co-ordinator), Bhavya Sinha (Consultant Researcher) and Aarushi Joshi (Rapporteur) for their tremendous efforts in making this event successful.

It brings me immense pleasure to say that the roundtable marked a successful step towards bridging the gap between the academicians and practitioners engaged directly with the issues of migrant workers through discussion on theory, empirical research as well as anecdotal details.

The consequent meta-analysis brought forth the core themes like identity, rights and citizenship on one hand, and some key policy recommendations for

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the government as well as civil society organisations, on the other. I am very optimistic that this shared vision will yield great outcomes for the advancement of migrant workers' rights in the near future.

I hope to take our cross-learning initiative further to advocate the adoption of the intervention recommendations by the diverse stakeholder groups.

KT Suresh

Hub Leader

Citizens' Rights Collective (CiRiC)

Improving Conditions of Work and Living for Circular Migrants in India

A summary of the proceedings and recommendations of the round table conference

1 Introduction

At the global level, there has been a macroeconomic drive towards fiscal austerity with the neo-liberal theorization of growth and development. The increased austerity has translated into increased taxes, in complex forms, that weigh on small producers and consumers as well as decreased public spending and subsidies both of which, in turn, have pushed a greater number of people into precarious work for their livelihood. The precarity of work for multitudes of people has been further exacerbated by increasing regional disparity, both among and within countries, as governments have attempted to channelize their reduced fiscal budgets on a few urban centres of production. Accompanied by the slower growth in the agricultural sector and the decline in farm sector employment, workers have been compelled to migrate from the shrinking production spaces of their homes, villages and small towns to urban areas of activity in search of sustainable employment opportunities. This has led to unbalanced growth, unemployment, and social insecurity as the demand for labour has fallen far short of the supply; the gap being further exacerbated by the decline in employment intensity in rural areas of production. Moreover, the lack of production linkages between urban-rural segments as well as stiff competition in the domestic market has skewed the employment growth towards urban low-wage low-productivity sector. The denial of access to migrants to

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welfare schemes and public entitlements, at both the source as well as the destination centres, further instigate repeated rounds of migration. As a result, circular migrants inadvertently put increased pressure on the public resources such as water, health, sanitation, roads, electricity, etc. while their issues are compounded by the absence of a robust social security net.

India's particular experience is significant because of its position as a developing economy with high growth rates, persistent government efforts to curtail expenditures, and its strong flow of inter-state migration. The 64th Round (2007-08) of the National Sample Survey estimated the level of inter-state migrants at approximately 10.27 crores which further increased to 13.56 crores in the estimates of the 68th Round (2011-12). To reduce the plight of migrant workers, the Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act was enacted by the government in 1979 to cover the registration of establishments employing 5 or more migrant workers and to ensure the payment of journey allowance, displacement allowance, residential accommodation, medical facilities, protective clothing, etc. by the contractor to workers. The wage rates, hours of work, holidays, and other conditions of service of an inter-state migrant worker are provided to be the same as those of another local worker and specifically the wage rate cannot be less than the fixed wage rate in the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, of the destination state. The Central Labour Commissioner is responsible for the enforcement of the Act and the State Labour Departments are responsible for their respective institutions and establishments. However, in order to improve India's global position in the Ease of Doing Business Index and to create a competitive product market, loose labour laws and minimum governance reforms were then unleashed by the state. The pro-market reforms further compounded the struggle of workers especially since the state has turned a blind eye to institutional enforcement mechanisms. Therefore, the lived-realities of migrant workers as "city-makers" have been observed to be devoid of rights and entitlements. According to Sapkal & Shyam Sundar (2019) in 'Perspectives on Neoliberalism, Labour and Globalization in India'

(p.24)¹, India's improved position in the Ease of Doing Index from 139 in 2014 to 52 in 2018 has, however, resulted in India's downfall on ITUC's Employment Protection Index by 7 percentage points.

The discourse on the visibility of otherwise 'invisible' migrants must engage with core labour and human rights of citizenship, portability, and entitlements. Migrants are often pushed into the shadows in the implementation of public welfare schemes, largely due to hostile social perceptions; especially in city spaces. In this context, the struggle to integrate the migrants with the portable identity of workers along with the provision of social security has become increasingly complex. Circular migrants, specifically, have been difficult to organize because of their temporary status of work and their continual movement between source and multiple destination centres; between rural and urban areas. The question of migrants, therefore, must address the rights of migrant workers to schemes that provide social security such as National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and Public Distribution System (PDS) as well as their education and their freedoms.

There is, at the moment, a spectrum of social actors that deal with the issues of migration and migrants. On one end, there are civil society organizations that have developed systems that have provided basic services and/or have eased access to public services for migrants. Then, there are governmental and native organizations that have stressed on the need for a rigorous documentation of migrants in order to ensure the provision of public services as well as to prevent the spread of anti-social tendencies among the migrant groups. The debate on migrants amongst these social actors extends to the issue of migration out from the source centre itself; governmental organizations have argued that it is a drain of labour and native organizations have stated it as disenfranchisement. This strand of the debate often overlooks the specific problems of trafficking, especially those of women and children, which are lost in the blurring of the line between migration and trafficking.

1. Sundar, K. S. (2019). Perspectives on Neoliberalism, Labour and Globalization in India. Springer.

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Intra-governmental organizations have considered displacement as a form of migration and, firstly, it has been treated as a part of trade that involves an arbitration of wage differentials, profit, and loss. Secondly, as the trade involves the movement of workers across places in search of profits, it necessarily calls for a form of neo indenture and trafficking to sustain the profitability of those trades. On the other end, there is a radical thinking that a constantly mobile workforce is the future of the world of work in so far as the wage differential is exploited as an employment opportunity. The proponents of this line of reasoning argue that policies should be re-oriented to accommodate migrant inflows, as city-makers, that would contribute to the development of the local economy as well as enhance the socio-economic reality of the migrants. Large and established workers organizations have argued that while it is important to recognize the role of migrants in shaping their destination constituencies, it is also important to devise strategies to sustainably organize migrant workers for their rights without alienating them from their traditional bases.

The following report is a brief about the debates and discussions that engaged the academics, the unionists, the activists, and the members of State organizations (both intra and inter-governmental) over the three days of the round table conference. The structure of the report is the introduction to the problem of circular migrants and the specific structure of the round table on "Improving Working and Living Conditions of Circular Migrants in India"; followed by the second section detailing the issues of work and living of circular migrants from employment to identity, rights, and entitlements; then highlighting the challenges and imperatives of policy as discussed on the round table; finally concluding with lessons and strategies for an action plan in the society, economy, and policy to be implemented by the representative participants in their fields of work.

2 Thematic Issues of Living and Working Conditions of Circular Migrants

2.1 Patterns and Conditions of Employment

Migration occurs along the pathways of rural-rural and rural-urban; rural-rural migration, or diversification of occupation from farm to non-farm, has sustained significant numbers of circular migrants over the last three decades, but it is rural-urban migration that has witnessed an exponential growth with the boom of construction and services. Migrants have, thus, tended to flow into certain destination centres that offer higher employment and mobility opportunities; primarily urban centres of production. Although migration is undertaken to often escape informality and insecurity of employment, there has nevertheless been a persistent trend of informalization in the migrant labour force as well.

The lack of regulation in the informal sector as well as of informal workers in the formal sector has essentially denied workers stable employment and social security which, in turn, has exacerbated their exploitation in the overlapping power structures of class, caste, gender, religion, and space. Moreover, the feudal structure of informal employment has evolved from the landlord-serf relationship that was enforced through interlinkages of land, labour, and credit to also utilize the politico-legal system to initiate action against individuals and organizations of workers that attempt to trespass, protest, or work for the betterment of migrants. The structure of exploitation has perpetuated with the parallel migration of the landlord class to white-collar occupations and the tenant/landless class to low-productivity low-income occupations. Along with the extension and intensification of social networks of caste and kinship for absorption of labour in the urban space, this has contributed to the loss of dignity of the 'worker' as the white-collar class does not identify with the term and, hence, the lower class of workers immediately loses the dignity of labour. In other words, circular migration, as one form of labour process, has continued to reinforce the social reproduction of labour among marginalized groups which inevitably block the scope of occupational mobility.

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A strategy of informal employment through bonded contracts has tapped into the aspirations of the migrating lower social classes. It involves the lure of supposed skill development along the lines of sewing, stitching, sales, delivery, driving, etc. and the recruitment of the skilled workers to sectoral activities in retail and services on bonded contracts.

Then, there are also those migrants who are explicitly exploited in the lower rungs of employment, such as domestic work and brick kilns, both at the city centre as well as in the peripheries. The deplorable working conditions of the migrants can be attributed to the lack of awareness of the power of the middleman in policy and activist circles. The middleman engages in the trafficking of swathes of migrants to brick kilns as labourers, households as domestic workers, and other informal sector activities as bonded labour. The bondage, however, applies to the extent that the middleman appropriates a sum to get the migrants to the work site, often leaving them without sufficient resources to settle down, but does not ensure the daily provision of work. This implies the loss of wages since employment is on a per-day basis with daily wages which weighs on the worker along with the lack of basic amenities such as housing, water, sanitation, and allied infrastructural facilities. Collectively, this further hampers the dignity of labour.

Circular migrant workers, with their temporary domicile statues, have been consistently denied minimum wages and other political rights which can only be ensured through their collectivization and socio-political movements.

Uttar Pradesh has been one of the most active source centres for circular migrants. The major causes of seasonal migration were reported to be poverty, unemployment, and landlessness. Approximately 48.90% of SCs, 31.04% OBCs, 8.95% minorities, 7.52% upper castes, and 3.57% STs undertake seasonal migration. Of the migrating individuals and families, 74.20% do not have access to government employment and welfare schemes. Further, at 88.09% destinations of migration, schools and educational infrastructural facilities are not available to migrant children. An abysmally low 15.38% destinations of migration were found

to be safe and secure for women and children. Nai Pahal has intervened and implemented measures to rectify the problems of migrant families in 20 districts across 11 divisions of Uttar Pradesh.

Kerala, on the other hand, has been an active source centre for internal circular migration. It has largely attracted migrants in the sectors of construction, street vending, and hospitality due to better wages and social acceptance. The receiving sectors of employment are essentially characterized by unskilled male labour and recruitment is continued through previously migrated workers who facilitate greater migration of related castes and communities from their native areas. However, although migration continues through caste and kinship, migrants have not asserted their rights to housing and healthcare. They have been found to be susceptible to diseases and health hazards because of the deplorable conditions of their settlements. Moreover, they have attempted to learn the language and culture of Kerala in an attempt to transition their socio-economic lives but, in return, they have not yet been assimilated in the local indigenous communities.

Construction has emerged as the prime driver and absorber of circular migrant workers in the neo-liberal economic growth cycles. A study by Prayas on Surat construction workers across 18 nakas (labour posts) and 3,450 workers found that most of the migrant workers were scheduled tribes. The dispossession of the tribes of their land and resources in their native areas has led to the tribal youth opting for unskilled work in the towns and cities, albeit with high wage thefts as they are exploited for their cheap labour but not paid at a fair rate or on time. Open settlement areas and the lack of health and sanitation facilities has further trapped them in a vicious cycle of poverty. These communities of migrant workers are neither unionized nor mobilized for a movement towards demanding their rights and entitlements.

Street vendors have been the most visible set of informal workers but their rights and demands have been treated as invisible. The interests of pedestrians, drivers of vehicles, and, most importantly, of beautification projects have largely been accorded greater importance in the framing

and implementation of policy. It is essentially the ease of doing business and the low entry barriers that have made street vending a significant absorber, after construction, of circular migrants. Most street vendors are recorded to be migrants and most migrant vendors are recorded to be circular migrants of which about 30 percent are women.

2.2 Gender and Migration

Women are doubly oppressed – in the processes of production and then reproduction – and more so in migrating families, whether left behind or taken along. Their opinions are often disregarded on matters of whether to migrate and, if to migrate, who should migrate; decisions which are dominated by the men of the household. In the oppressed position of the household power structure, most women are left behind to undertake the unpaid work of managing the household, children, and older family members. Denied the freedom of choice and exploited through violence for reproduction, many flee from their villages. It has been noted that dalit, separated, and widowed women predominantly feature in the lot that escapes; therefore, the marital status of a woman may be taken to be critical towards her decision of mobility. In other cases, with different and smaller family structures, when the man migrates, the woman is also expected to migrate and support him in the process. This is essentially another form of a forced choice whereby the woman is not allowed to partake in the decision-making process but, instead, is taken along by her male partner to still be restricted to the sphere of the household. The absence of choice is aggravated by the lack of safe and secure employment opportunities that are available to the women at the source which propels the distress-driven migration.

The interlinkages between production and reproduction by migrant workers often forces women to migrate with men where, although they are involved in the production process, they are not listed as workers. In informal terminology, they are referred to as the 'jodi'. This implies the expectation of unpaid work without any right to wages and they are, thus, undervalued in their contribution. The issues of lesser wages and gender discrimination against women also reveal that women are often

delegated the harder and dirtier parts of the occupation. For example, women are expected to engage in activities of cleaning, weaving, stitching, etc. but, as soon as technology is introduced in the production process, men take over the process with labour-helping technological improvements. The greater expectations of work from women include work over odd long hours, lesser skilled jobs, and more laborious tasks without any recognition and pay. The concentration of migrant workers is highest in the unskilled and semi-skilled sectors, with women migrant workers being largely employed in these sectoral activities.

In the recent past, there has been an increase in the general education level of women but this has been accompanied by a decline in their workforce participation rate and the proportion of educated employed women has fallen. In India, few women have joined the labour force in the initial working age and employment has been observed to peak at the age of 37. It may seem that women are opting for education and empowering themselves through employment at a later experienced stage but it is important, here, to distinguish women by class of income and wealth. For women in the lower-income class, the choice of work is restricted by the lack of basic infrastructure and their work to ensure the availability of basic necessities, such as water and food, further hinders their participation in the labour market. Moreover, at the destination centre, the lack of infrastructure and sanitation facilities also acts as a roadblock to recognized employment. At a higher level of income and wealth, though not to be considered upper class, women migrate to fulfil marital responsibilities and not for the primary purpose of work. Those who migrate for employment opportunities are seen as deviating from the norm and are labelled as vagrants while also outcaste from society.

Of the different sectors, services, retail, and nursing are the major employers of migrant women workers. These sectors are also marked with violence, both verbal and non-verbal, on workers by their employers as well as their clients/patients. Migrant women workers are, therefore, at a greater disadvantage while facing discrimination, harassment, and exploitation from individual agents, recruitment agencies, customers, and third parties.

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The women who migrate with the men of their household, some who have been working for several years alongside their jodi, continue to love without an identity. This is especially so in the brick kilns at the periphery of city spaces. Further, the rampant exploitation (both physical and sexual) of children in brick kilns where they constitute around 36 percent of total workers is appalling. Most migrant children are denied the right to education due to the lack of schools near their settlements and worksite. The children are also denied citizenship rights for the local education system and they are rather exposed to hazardous working environments with no provision of healthcare facilities.

2.3 Identity, Rights, and Entitlements

Social identities are key determinants of work in India. Born into marginalized communities with lack of access to economic and productive resources, workers tend to migrate to towns and cities in search of better jobs and, consequently, better lives. Occupational mobility among marginalized migrant workers is largely constrained by their social identity (caste, class, and religion) which pits them in an equivalent form of employment in urban areas. The government has provided for the rights and freedoms of migrant workers in its Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, 1979 but the lived realities do not reflect the thorough and impartial implementation of the Act.

The duality of visibility and invisibility of migrant workers is perpetuated by the State. They have been starkly visible as workers to meet the demand for cheap accessible labour in the expanding sectors of construction and services whereas they have been relegated to the invisible realm in the provisioning and ensuring of rights and entitlements. Moreover, there has been a discontinuity in the portability of the identity and rights of circular migrants. It, then, becomes a case of stateless identity for circular migrants whereby the identity, as recognized by the politically influential middle class, has become that of a national identity or the 'other'. They have been typecast as the 'other' to the local communities, which causes a pervasive sense of alienation and isolation in their economy as well as society, often leading to anti-social petty criminal activities. Faced with the associated conditions of work and living, the

alternative of adopting a national identity which integrates the migrant workers with the local communities on a larger platform, then, seems appealing.

Thus, the sense of nationalism has given the circular migrants a concomitant sense of identity and solidarity with the mainstream. This has been particularly relevant in context of social security schemes which have failed to deliver due to complex corrupt systems, especially in the failure of middlemen, and this has further contributed to the alienation of the migrant working class from the destination centre society. The alienation and exclusion of the large sections of circular migrants across states has essentially been the outcome of neo-liberalism which adopted a development trajectory that required the circular migrants to establish a nationalist identity within the regressive constructs of Hindutva.

However, policy and micro social interactions still function on the peculiar identity of the migrant worker. The differentiation of the domicile identity from the destination identity has excluded the migrants from the political process of voting in their destination centres. Furthermore, existing social security schemes and policies are based on the domicile identity of migrants which implies that they cannot be availed by circular migrants in their cycles of seasonal employment. Hence, circular migrants are accorded a separate identity from that of the working class and even from that of permanent migrants. The mobilization and organization of migrant workers is required to be integrated with the struggles of the working class in order to weigh in on the demands for better welfare, living and working conditions.

The issues of identity of circular migrants have caused antipathy and insensitivity in the society which has increasingly become anti-migrant. There is a certain hostility towards not only workers but also migrants, hence migrant workers doubly so. For the workers and migrants to believe in any movement, it would then be required to maintain a momentum for which it would be necessary for migrant workers to partake in the political process, such as attaining and exercising voting rights and union membership.

3 Policy Challenges

Circular migrants are significant in their temporary worker status, and hence, policy planning and implementation as well as trade unions, in the premise of political processes, acquire an importance in including migrant issues in their strategies and agendas. It is important to discern the specific rights and requirements of migrant workers from local workers and, hence, the issues of identity cannot be ignored, rather must be translated from lived realities to decisions in policy and organization. The organization of worker collectives, specifically, must emerge from the abstract notion of class and account for the reality of differing identities.

The State has attempted, through policy and intervention, to put in place a number of legislatures to ensure circular migrants a right to livelihood but these have failed to provide the expected safeguard. For example, the Street Vendors Act - 2014 aimed at formalizing the informal nature of livelihood but excluded a large proportion of circular migrants as well as those without voter identification cards. The initial plans of smart cities also featured special vending zones, but they are absent from the updated plans. Regardless of the change in the plan, the high cost of smart push-carts had made it unaffordable for most circular migrants.

Acts, such as the Apprenticeship Act, have also caused a reduction in permanent employment as the companies can appoint apprentices, on temporary contract periods, without a fixed time limit to formalize permanent employment. Thus, in the employers versus employee conflict of interests, policy benefits weigh in favour of employers to the extent that the non- payment of minimum wages is not registered as a cognizable criminal offence.

Policies, thus far, have disregarded issues of women's mobility with the regressive notion of protection whereby certain societal norms have been strengthened, instead of remedied, ensuring that women remain safe in the space of their households. At the level of ground movements as well, labour movements have not incorporated women's struggles

and demands for liberation. Trade unions continue to be dominated by men, with a low representation of women, which results in the demand for greater women's mobility being inhibited and not propelled forward along with other labour demands.

Another challenge in policy for gendered migration has been the accounting difficulties for domestic workers which is one of the major occupational absorbers of migrant women workers. The disuse of time-based work categorization has effectively merged the paid and unpaid work done by domestic workers which, in turn, has blunted the understanding for policy requirements for this specific set of migrant workers.

A government initiative had adopted the rescue-rehabilitation-reform (RRR) model to help women forced into migration and employment but it has been found that the women are still prone to exploitation in the state homes. They are held year after year against their will and it is generally perceived by them that they would be better-off out of the system.

3.1 The Curious Case of Kerala

The state of Kerala has recognized the significant contributions of migrants in its productive economic activities and it has attempted to sustain its population of migrant workers. Analyzing the policy framework in Kerala, the policies formulated for international migrants have essentially been replicated for internal migrants as well. However, the approach adopted in policy formulation has been top-down with no consultation with the diverse stakeholders.

Kerala has also implemented several schemes to improve the living and working conditions of migrant workers. There have been consistent efforts to invest in the provision of education and related services to migrant children, including the teaching of the Malayalam language to help integrate the migrants in their local environment. The Indian Institute of Infrastructure and Development (IIID) has also been working on upskilling the migrant labour and several health insurance and housing schemes have also been initiated.

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However, although it is imperative to acknowledge results, it is also important to remain critical and improve upon policies for better implementation and delivery. This is especially significant since reverse migration in Kerala has been on the rise, people are returning from middle-eastern countries that had hitherto attracted migrants, thus posing a serious employment situation wherein the state has to sustain employment opportunities for both in- migrants as well as reverse migrants.

It is difficult to organize circular migrants into a collective due to their continuous mobility. Several attempts, such as the Hyderabad Solidarity Group and other worker collectives, formed at organizing solidarity movements amongst workers, have failed precisely due to the mobile nature of the migrant working class. The denial of rights and entitlements to workers has not been considered an attack on the working class and has not been able to raise uproar. Coupled with the lack of collectives, the denial of rights and integration into the working-class identity has continued for circular migrants; such as those working in exploitative brick kilns.

3.2 Policy Imperatives

The organization of circular migrants to fight for their rights has become extremely relevant. Towards this end, migrants must be organized at their place of origin as well as their destination centre. This is particularly relevant for seasonal migrants as they flit between home and destination for work but retain a domicile status at the source. The dignity of circular migrant workers must also be addressed, at the destination centre, which implies the need to change the perception of migrant workers of themselves and their projection to the local communities.

Apart from the lack of collectivization, the lack of an identity proof for circular migrants has also been a roadblock in the provision of public welfare schemes and services. The problem must be politicized to ensure that the migrants may hold political power as legal citizens of the country in order to demand their rights and entitlements. The identification of

agencies, beyond civil society organizations, such as larger informal collectives, religious organizations and multiple stakeholder initiatives that would aim at holding employers accountable can also act as an effective platform for the upliftment of the workers.

A persistent problem in the documentation and tracking of migrants has been their temporary domicile status in the destination centre and the subsequent difficulty in their registration. This has aggravated the invisibility of circular migrants and their demands for their rights and entitlements. The Kamgar va Mazdoor Sangh has made concerted efforts in the registration of migrants at the source centre in order to avail the benefits of public welfare schemes. Migration facilitation centres, therefore, may contribute in the methodology of registration and provision of circular migrant workers; especially at the source centre since, strategically, they return home to fill seasonal gaps in employment and the tracks of migration could then be regularly updated. Caste and kinship ties could also be utilized to bring the migrants in the loop of facilitation centres towards establishing a shared migrant worker identity.

It is imperative to remedy micro-level insecurities amongst locals against migrants and prevent them from transforming into frustration and fear to stem the continuation of a right-wing national identity. In such a scenario, collectivization of workers and mobilizing them for a political struggle for their rights and not for the nation must be accorded prime importance. One solution to placate the local workers and assist the reception of migrant workers could be unemployment insurance to the local workers in order to assuage the fear of losing jobs to migrant workers.

A culture of fear (of backlash) has also been instilled in the migrants as opposed to a culture of demanding rights and entitlements. Rampant physical and sexual abuse amongst women and children as well as physical torture against men has been recorded. Lack of healthcare further put women and children at risk of diseases and premature death. Problems of breathing emanating from dust and pollution have also

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been found to cause asthma and tuberculosis. The closest anganwadi centres are located far from the work-sites and the pregnant migrant women have been unable to access pre and post-natal care. There have also been no schooling opportunities for children who have been forced into child labour. The situation of human rights and legally minimum wages continues to be abysmal (From *Wealth to Dust*, Vishy Teki)².

The employer must be held accountable, in policy, for the timely disbursal of fair wages as well as the provision of decent work and working conditions. Further, there must be governmental institutional support for the redressal of complaints against employers for unsafe and insecure working conditions.

In a positive direction, a few policies implemented in Orissa have led to an improvement in migrants' situation, following which other local governments should also reconsider the redrafting of the Interstate Migrant Workmen Act for their states. Furthermore, the money allocated for labour welfare must be made portable across states for circular migrants and the documentation of workers for the portability of their entitlements must be streamlined. The Vishakhya Guidelines for migrant domestic workers and ragpickers must be refined and implemented to assist and empower the women migrant workers.

Voting rights for migrants are still denied but they can dictate the political power that migrants wield. For instance, about 30 per cent of the population has migrated or seasonally migrates from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh; with voting rights, they can make demands for rights and entitlements using this voting power. However, at present, they are rendered powerless due to their identity of circular migrants with temporary domicile status.

To influence policy direction, the labour must be organized at the worksite as labour and not be divided on the basis of type, gender, and

2. Teki, V. (2007): "Wealth Amidst Dust" a film commissioned by ActionAid.

occupation. Also, cooperative structures should be used to further the cause of migrant workers.

4 Conclusion

India is governed under a federal structure of government wherein State administrative power is concentrated in the central government. A one-size-fits-all policy is, however, bound to fail if applied to all the states with their different histories and socio-economic contexts. There is, then, a problem of bureaucratic capture where concerted efforts at improving the living and working conditions of migrant workers are not attempted. State machinery continues to be ignorant towards the gross violation of migrants' rights and, further, the absence of participation of legislators and other government officials is worsening the situation. Moreover, the state's capacity to enforce labour laws has declined due to lack of administrative human resource personnel.

The absence of data on migration, and especially circular migration, persists and hinders a complete analysis of internal seasonal migration in India. Moreover, the denial of fundamental rights by the State and rampant workplace violence has facilitated the proposal of various legislatures which have been vehemently opposed by employees. In the employers versus employee debate, benefits weigh more in favour of employers, and the government must acquire a more balanced pro-worker attitude. In the proposed labour codes, the issue of migrant workers has been neglected and left to the mercy of individual states to formulate state-specific codes that receive migrant workers. In sum, the proposed codes will increase the plight of migrant workers as soon as it is executed.

States such as Kerala are witnessing in-migration from the vulnerable states due to their perceived image of a safe state with better wages and working conditions. However, this also implies a pending demographic crisis in such states that attract a large number of migrants as the pressure of returning migrants as well as in-migrants will break the equilibrium of the labour market and disrupt the assimilation of cultures.

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Moreover, due to the slump in the construction sector, employment opportunities are projected to decline creating an impending job crisis for migrant and native workers.

The resultant trust deficit amongst workers, from the lack of government initiative, is caused by the joint failure of institutional workers, civic bodies, and ideological inconsistency. Hence, in this scenario, trade unions must play an important role in organizing the circular migrant workers and civil society organizations must deploy their resources to support their workers' movements.

In addition, it is necessary to provide some form of legal support to the migrants who face exploitation and violence at the hands of several middlemen and employers. However, given the complex nature of supply chains, it is often difficult to ascertain the principal employer and put the onus on a single employer. The active role of trade unions is expected to clarify and ease the situation. Moreover, it is important to note that the earlier form of circular migration has changed drastically in the last one decade. Due to shifting capital across the cities and in search of destinations which have relaxed several provisions of labour laws, the nature of circular migration has changed. Therefore, it is imperative to study the labour process which is embedded in supply chains as a whole rather than looking at sources and destinations separately.

Most recommendations for policy involve identification and recognition of migrating families so that they are able to avail the benefits of government schemes. There must also be rules for mandatorily providing basic amenities at work sites including work-site schools, shelter, water, health, sanitation, etc.

There is an absence of a strong national union in the service sector and most employers are out of the surveillance of existing unions. It is imperative to bring together informal workers to form a union as all the negotiations for wages and working conditions are currently dominated by employers. Given the nature of informal economy, there is a need to adopt an innovative approach for a pilot project of unionization

which can then be expanded to the macro level. Furthermore, the idea for a movement of workers at uniting globally and ensuring solidarity to prevent companies from exploiting labourers must be concretely considered.

City, Migrant and the Changing Forms of Labour

Dr Rananbir Samaddar

First, as regards labour mobility and informality, given that the historical experiences of labour, both in Europe and the post-colonial world, I do think that the informal condition of labour is the general condition, I do not think that it is an exception. And I also think that the contract regulated wage firm, trade unions and many other things that we have come to associate with industrial capitalism actually may form only a particular phase in the history of labour under capitalism and there may not be sufficient ground to take that as the model as the standard to which we then have to strive or the informal labour market and that indeed may turn out the whole thing upside

When we reinforce the point that the migrant sits in the heart of the city in the neo-liberal time we are actually suggesting a provisional theoretical framework that can accommodate the figure of the migrant labour as a critical element in the transformation of the city as a rental outlet and at the same time a site of extraction. These two transformations cast new light on the relationship between the labour and urban space, the fundamental problematic in the emergence of the neo-liberal city. These also reflect on the hidden processes of the shift of the modern city from being a city of industrial production being one of a logistical economy requiring besides localised concentration of human capital, a complex of place based services to support the circulation of capital and commodity. From this angle the relationship between the migrant and the neo-liberal city encapsulates the central social contradiction of modern

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global capitalism, namely increased return from global connectedness and the increasing informality and precarity of life and work which the migrant in the city represents. This is indeed the main question arising out of the massive infrastructural programmes in and around the cities of the world and certainly India. The theories of urbanization like Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey to name the two most influential have shed light on the various practices of space making. These space making exercises have impacted on the new and emerging forms of labour leading to new zoning practices and policy interventions and to new issues of life like old age labour, dangerous work as in west processing and new kinds of biological work as in surrogacy, caring, nursing and sex and entertainment industry. Flexible wage forms and new kind of precarious work regime, anyone working on these occupations knows the overwhelming presence of the migrant labour in these industries and the gendered nature of migrant work. All in all the phenomenon of migration remains at the core of these material developments. They mark the dynamic of entry and disbursement of migrant labour force at the moment of arrival in the city. They also show how the arrival of the migrant labour force becomes an occasion of the restructuring of the city along the neo-liberal lines and the emergence of a neo-liberal urban authority. The city becomes global only with the presence of the migrant. In the post-colonial condition, we have besides the factory firm other forms of labour, disbursed informal and unorganized with labouring subjects moving from one site to another. We need to study as to how this disbursed labouring population is managed under the post-colonial capitalism. Marx foresaw the capitalist task of the management of the mobile population. In sections 3 and 4 of chapter 25 in capital-volume I, he discusses the phenomenon of relative surplus populations and its different forms. In section 5 he discusses the nomad population whom he described as a class of people whose origin is agriculture but whose occupation is in great part industrial. There the light infantry of capital in his words thrown by it according to its need, now to this, now to that. When they are not on the march, they camp. These sections suggest the ways in which we can study the formation of a mobile army of labour by way of identifying its foundational elements namely primitive accumulation, laws of population, violence and the government of market led economy.

Thus, with regard to the composition of labour, we must attend to the specific transient form, while with regard to the composition of capital we must attend to the specific forms in which capital can produce profits. The situation acquires further complication when as in the circular process the labour is involved without adding substantively at times to the total value, which means that much of the migrant labour will remain at the bottom ring of the income sharing process of the society. It does not require much imagination to see that the logistical agent of capitalism acquires even greater significance in the post-colonial condition, known above all, by the lack of infrastructure for the sale and buying of goods and capital. Massive amount of migrant labour will be employed in construction, cable laying, container handling, data infrastructure, building etc., yet remaining in a permanent precarious condition. Hence, the anxiety all over the capitalist world is in the face of this permanent precarity of labour, which is its own creation, how to make the post-colonial labour which is what migrant labour is, resilient and hence the demand for making labour resilient, goes hand in hand with the global agenda of infrastructure building In the post-colonial world.

Now, the second important theme is the migrant labour spectral presence. Much of the mobile labour is involved in processing, reprocessing and particularly logistical processes. Financial processes and data economy just like waste processing and reprocessing play a significant role in the marginalization of mobile labour. This is now witnessed in the backdrop of a tidal wave of bankruptcies and closures of monetary institutions which threaten to submerge global labour markets in a backlash against neo-liberal market economies. Free market neo-liberal economics means complete freedom for the various circuits of the economy like money circuit, production circuits, circulation circuit etc. to run even when competing and conflicting with each other to a point of complete ruin. The entire logistical process in the economy creates also waste which involves a lot of logistical labour for the reprocessing of waste. Thus waste of money, material, organic elements, biological remains, e-waste becomes a permanent feature of capitalist circuits. And the capitalist circuits in one form or the other must include processing waste

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also so that the circuit does not come to an abrupt end and the logic of circuit can proceed. Waste appears in this way as the other form of value, waste must now produce value it represents capital's attempt to salvage recuperate and recycle the remains of production, the disposable that must not become irretrievably. The post-colonial labour is the guarantee that nothing will be irretrievably waste for global commodity change. It is not surprising that migrant labour is heavily deployed in the processing of waste that characterises the urban economy. Given the dynamics of post-colonial capitalism, we may ask, will there ever be in capitalist system of production, anything that will not have value. Can we assume always, that waste is a by-product, residual, epiphenomenon, inconsequential for the understanding of value production and realization. Given the fact that without labour, waste renewal is not possible, the question will be, how do we situate the migrant labour in the production of a commodity which puts capital at the centre and pushes labour of the migrant at the margins. Not without reason the contemporary global capitalism is marked by the increasing global production of waste, recycling of waste and ever-expanding waste processing economy and a rapidly expanding impoverished labour force involved in waste recycling.

Apart from the fact that waste processing structures labour migration we have to note another factor in making labour's presence spectral in the economy. If one thinks of the post-colonial condition under which labour migrates from work to work and the peasant becomes a semi-worker to become a full worker, only to return to till his or her small parcel of land or work in other's fields when industrial or semi-industrial or semi-manufacturing or even extractive jobs like small scale and artisanal mining or sand mining or stone crushing becomes scarce. Researchers on the transformation of agrarian economy through some light on transformation of labour, yet our understanding of the transformation of labour will remain incomplete unless we take into account the rise of a city-centric economy with all its logistical complications that occasion massive influx of migrant labour into cities and towns. The unremunerative rural small scale economy, the impact of neo-liberal governance, massive migration and consequent multiplication of labour firms, all these were much in evidence. For instance, in India, for than a

decade back when the report on the conditions of work and promotion of livelihoods in the unorganized sector came out in August 2007, migrant work in various logistical processes brought back the focus of studying the interchangeable labour forms. In this context it is important to note that the footloose post-colonial labour is also a consequence of international investment chains in countries like India, Bangladesh, Jordan, Turkey, Egypt, Columbia, Panama, Cambodia, Mexico etc. in garment production, iron-ore mining, manufacturing of ancillary parts and instruments In industries such as automobile, electronic production such a mobile telephony, leather products, toy products etc. these are overwhelmingly export oriented with the production sites being of special zones. Think of these supreme logistical sites such as building financial corridors or special economic zones upgrading ports of greater container capacity, creating seamless multi-modal transport hubs, building new town, re-processing e-waste, constructing highways, airports and logistical cities. All these requiring and creating footloose labour. The later forever remaining in the shadows of the logistical sites but moving from construction work to plumbing to driving, transportation vehicles to perhaps quarrying and reprocessing of urban e-waste. Profit is never derived from these logistical activities directly, For instance in a town where land prices will soar up, built in environment will bring in money, financial hubs will be established, BPOs will populate the town and new steel and glass buildings will come up. The immediate revenue will be in the form of rent and interest whereas without labour the soil couldn't have been ready, bridges could not have been built and airports could not have been constructed, additional iron ore supply would have been impossible, and steel and glass buildings could not have come up etc. etc. yet, in this circuit of commodity production, capital will continuously change form and value producing labour will be more and more distant from the final stage when the profit will be realized from the capital invested and revenue will be shared. For capital, and this is important, this is desirable history of labour, labour at work but not visible, ready at hand but not always necessary. Labour leaving but whenever required must soon be dead. Everywhere this strategy seems to be successful only to fail at the most unexpected hour of crash. In this ghostly transformative exercise, money, increasingly in credit and

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digital mode seems to be the most tool in determining the mode of living labour. Money capital and not industrial capital is the spectral other of the living labour in the post-colonial condition. Study of migrant labour has shaped by logistical requirement must take this fact as a central question.

Lastly, it is important to discuss the issue of migration and the changing forms of labour. The issue of migration and border has become a central question in the studies of labour. In the post-colonial situation, this is significant as the post-colonial composition of labour shows increasing multiplicity and heterogeneity of labour forms. For instance, the movement of workers impelled by the supply side of the economy and the overall logistical reorientation of the economy provides new shapes to labours living existence and its organization. Supply of labour accompanying these changes also brings in changes in the labour regimes. From body shopping of IT workers to strict vigil over workers who may escape the informal small and artisanal mines, we have a range of controlling modes that show the coexistence of freedom of workers to move from one work to another involving change in workplace country etc and modes of controlling and tying them to the work, where and when they are needed. This duality requires variety of wage systems, contract procedures, labour laws and differing degrees of freedom to unionize. Multiplicity is in the gene of capitalism, there is then, as always another scene, the other scene of supply, the logistical reorganization of capitalism points to that other scene of reorganization of the supply labour. The continues redrawing and rearrangement of political boundaries within post-colonial countries, and among these countries, including various types of border arrangements, border flexibilization, trade facilitation show the global space of modern capitalism made possible by a series of new lines of enclosure, separation and partition. The entire debate on GST, i.e the goods and services tax in India, is an instance of the new mercantilism that is on its way to become the ruling ideology in the post-colonial capitalism. The world-wide trade and currency wars resemble the spirit of new mercantilism perched on logistical agreements and arrangements both within the country and internationally, the new mercantilism while consolidating, strengthening

and rationalizing and unifying the supply system, cannot do away with the internal differentiation within the commodity market, including the market for labour as commodity. In the capitalist economy all these will function to exacerbate the fault line of race which accumulation will enhance. Besides, migrant labour negotiates and institutes boundaries of similar other kinds like gender, caste and region. Recent investigations suggest a broader connection between today's border and labour migration. Climate changes added to the already heavy migration taking place in and from the colonial countries. Our time, in many ways following the colonial age marked as it is now by famines and massive population movements induced by dry weather, floods, hunger and the forcible exit of large peasant communities from the emerging global foot market.

The humanitarian response to what is known as migrant crisis has grown in range as governments discover why the people move. They move not only because of violence, threat of violence and torture and discrimination, which now you may say by now are banal causes but also because of natural disasters, man-made famines and floods, climate change, development agenda, resource crisis, environmental catastrophe and the like. It is in this complex context that the basic labour market control system have been put in place. Historical comparisons with the colonial time can yield valuable insights, think of the imperial infrastructure in the context of the reorientation of the post-colonial economy towards being an infrastructural sight for global supply of commodities. Imperial infrastructures focus on facilitating supplies or more correctly on the circulation of data, money soldiers labour in other commodities. Rural migrant labour, waste reprocessing worker, train operator, crane operator in the shipyard, construction worker, these figures complete the other side of the software systems that link and run the ports cargo handling capacities, the toll plazas on the highways, the working of the data centres, the diffusion of mobile telephony and the rest of the infrastructural sights of logistics. All these tell us of the urban turn in the capitalist policy universe. Cities where they are always with us, but with infrastructural growth, the world of cities have now produced the urban in which migrant labour remains the hidden subaltern figure. Labour follows the commodity chain, in

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the process, labour also becomes a part of the commodity chain. The structure of one predicates the other, if this has been true of the colonial and post-colonial history of South Africa, for example, this true to the migration to the gulf regions in the middle east today. In case, of South Africa this has been evident in the production of primary commodities like minerals, mineral market and labour market have moved together. On the other, hand in the gulf, the specific requirement of pink collar jobs have shaped migration flows there. The gulf is the region where women labour in pink collar jobs migrate in large number from South Asia and the Gulf Economy has produced there a society which continuously calls for the reproduction of such labour. One can notice a specific type of labour recruitment patterns or a regime recruitment modes which produce women as labouring subjects. These patterns resemble many of the past patterns of labour recruitment. In short infrastructure and logistics of supply of commodities, human beings, money, information, waste etc. do not make labour flows homogenous, even and standard but heterogeneous. Post-colonial capitalism is a confirmed evidence of this law of mobility.

The reason why I say the line which separates the internal displacement of people and therefore, internal migration of labour and international labour migration, one of things you will see, take the case of Assam, now clearly this whole question, the remark that I made in the beginning, that the informal condition of labour is the general condition that is not an exceptional condition. Whereas the organized, the privileged and all that in Lenin's language labour aristocracy, we do not have to, you know remember that, it is very clear that you have therefore a very large amount of labouring population where the challenge for capitalism will be how to play the duality of the visibility and the invisibility. On one hand labour is economically visible, it is needed whether you repair the road or you construct a building or you handle a container ship. This of or handling waste, the informal labour is visible, but politically, it must be made invisible. And that is what I meant, when I said that the labours presence will be spectral. One of the ways in which this has been done globally and has started in India, is that the way the massive number of labour will be completely below the surface of visibility. In other words

they will not have any citizenship. Citizenship we must remember, if you think of Marshall's famous book on social citizenship, citizenship came, and the way that we are used to this notion of citizenship is this enfranchised claim making enabled subject who speaks to the subject and says that these are my rights and these you have to give. On the other hand, at that time it took time a hundred years to make the subject in Marshall's language a social citizenship. On the other hand, you have precisely at the time Marshall was looking at only a few cases of European history, you can see that a large number of labour force was working and contributing to capitalism without having any enfranchisement in terms of citizenship. That is the normal condition, so what you see today in Assam, that part of people will be thrown into detention centres, quite an amount of people will then register suicides and there will be huge amount of people who after five or six years or ten years will be given one more attempt to prove themselves as citizens but by and large you will always have a labour issue where few workers will have political visibility, in other de jure rights, large number of workers who will not have in that sense any rights. You have to understand that civil society is an accomplice in this whole process of de-enfranchising or as you say killing or disempowering and confining. This is the age of great confinement, Marx speaks of the primitive accumulation, Marx speaks that the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, they were the centuries of great confinement but if you look at the new model of power that is emerging, labour is an extremely crucial question. I am sorry to make this my point of difference that I do not think that the way you are looking at it, is the appropriate one. In other words you think that the government might do something for informal labour, it is simply the ways in which you make the labour resilient. This is a global neo-liberal strategy, on the other hand, the idea is how do you make the nation pure, in other words the purity of the nation the collusion of the civil society, take Assam, you can take other examples in that and the disenfranchisement and the state of the un-unionized, unorganized labour informal labour are a pure political question. They have economic implications, I am not saying that they do not have, but my only appeal is that please underestimate the political ramifications of making a large swamp of population stateless today. It actually today is the model on

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which global labour supply is based, that is how Mexicans will be working in United States, that is how Syrians will be working, that is how you will see the number of workers increase and the number will not decrease. So that is something, where I have a feeling that the politics of informality, how it features in politics and by politics I mean contentious politics, politics of struggle, politics of clashes, politics of making a claim. That is an important point in view of the emerging model of poverty.

Some Reflections on Circular Migration

*Connecting the local and the global in the
employment crisis*

Prof. Praveen Jha

For the last roughly 40 odd years, the global economic system is in the throes of the worst kind of employment crisis. The phrase called 'jobless growth' became quite prominent at the end of the 1980s, if you look at several reports of all international institutions (regardless of whether they are Left or Right) like ILO, IMF, World Bank, OECD etc . In fact, the situation has continued to be pretty bad and has continuously worsened for the past three decades or so. The obvious question then arises why is such a state of affairs that has plagued global economic systems. Although there are country-level specifics, inter- and intra-state dynamics (as for the case in India) and the impact of not only national and within it, the local, but also global systems and circumstances, it is extremely important to look at the lowest common denominator in terms of looking at the large picture; the picture as highlighted by the conference concept note, points to the neo-liberalism that is currently presenting itself in many hues - 'Dominant Neo-liberalism', Reluctant Neo-liberalism (what India started with) and 'Punitive Neo-liberalism'. Although they are all analytically different, yet some inherent features remain common to all shapes and forms of Neo-liberalism.

In terms of then understanding the economic conjuncture of roughly the last three decades or so, neo-liberalism is an important and a very complex economic architecture. In fact, it starts from the early 1970s

and become dominant by the 1990s. Stiglitz is quite optimistic that it has already passed as indicated by his phrase - 'After Neo-liberalism'. However, it does not seem to be the case, at least in the foreseeable future. Although tactics may change (for instance, Mr Trump's policies of protectionism aimed to control some trade) but that does not mean that these strategies can control the single most important economic actor, that is, Finance Capital. It is not a new phrase, yet its essence has changed over the years. In fact, it can be traced back to Lenin and others where they talked about the fusion of capital in production and capital as finance (where accumulation is through circulation and not through production) that would lead to the establishment of powerful conglomerates; and the first world war right at our doorstep.

The finance capital that we are talking about today is something that is antithetical to production. A number of economists including Prabhat Patnaik, Paul Sweezy etc. Traditionally, financial expansion has gone hand in hand with prosperity in the real economy, that is, capital in production; is it really possible that it is no longer true? Now in the late 20th Century, the opposite is more nearly the case? In other words, that financial expansion feeds not on a healthy real economy but on a stagnant one? The answer to this question is - yes, it is possible and it has been happening. I am quite convinced that an inverted relationship between the financial and the real is the key to understanding new trends in the world economy" (1994). In fact, the free mobility of finance at the click of a mouse today has led to money that is committed to not producing. It is basically a 'Casino Economy' as it tends to divert the finance away from investment in machines and other real means of production. Secondly, to the extent that it is interested in production, it also determines the structure of production. For instance, the capital is diverted from, let's say, livelihood requirements to production of real estate. Essentially, these two features common to all forms of neo-liberalism collectively generate an antipathy to employment generation. This point is often not adequately emphasised in the literature. This is evident from the fact that in terms of the share in GDP, the most important sectors in India in the last 40 years are Finance, Insurance and Real estate (FIRE); their corresponding labour requirement and the consequent contribution to

employment generation, however, is very low. In fact, real estate tends to primarily create informal and seasonal employment.

The rise in ascendancy of Finance Capital has a lot to do with the perceived crisis of profitability in the western world which was partly real and partly imagined. This has resulted in a massive assault on the global model of regulated capitalist architecture. In a small or big way, this was the architecture everywhere across the globe. Even Lyndan Johnson way back in the 1960s said, "We are all Keynesian now". Consequently, there was a reconstitution of class power on a global scale. This was a gradual process that roughly began in 1948. We see the emergence of the Mont Pelerin Society (MPS) wherein a handful of young, smart and utterly right-wing thinkers had come together. Their manifesto was a dramatic denunciation of what was unfolding in the nature of regulated economic system but they were completely on the margin then.

Besides the rise of finance capital, another important correlate of the neo-liberal architecture was the de-centering of global production systems where there was a shift in some (not dramatic) measure of some production from the North to select destinations in the South. For instance, China became the factory of the world and India, the office. Essentially, you have a process that leads to transnationalization of global production - a shift to selected destinations in the Global South which has happened for the first time in the history of capitalism. Gradually, capitalism unfolded as a global, combined and uneven system. There exist myriad simple explanations for this phenomenon. One of those, popular among the Progressive Marxist Political Economy literature, was the wage-difference. It was indeed the case that real wages in these destination countries was lower than that in the global North. In 2005, the average hourly industrial wage in the US was about \$21/hour while the Chinese wages were \$0.64/hour. Basically, the structural changes which had happened within Capitalism, in its long pursuit of profit, had muted (albeit to a very small extent) racism of certain kinds. This is not to say that racism or casteism (in the Indian context) has disappeared but the pursuit of accumulation inherent in capitalism has made the nature of this capital relatively less vetted to the North than it earlier

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was. However, it was not the only factor precipitating this kind of division of labour. If it were so, then instead of China, India (with wages roughly 1/3rd of that of China) or Africa would have become the manufacturing hub of the world.

Within this broad restructuring and re-organisation of global production, the pertinent question which arises is: Are we (the destination countries) getting more jobs? China does became the manufacturing hub accompanied by their impressively high share in the global manufacturing workforce (almost 50%). For developing countries as a whole, this share is an impressive 80%. Now, what does it mean in terms of its implications on the overall employment. It is absolutely essential to emphasise here that many of these processes and production systems are in fact much more capital-intensive compared to the domestic production systems that they have replaced. This low rate of employment generation is further hampered by increasing mechanisation. In fact, during 2015-16, 227,000 robots have replaced human workers globally - which was 25% more than the preceding year (Kaushik Basu, ISLE Conference, December 2019). This, in turn, raises serious issues for the future of work in the wake of Information Communication Technology.

Thus, through these different channels, substitution of the 'domestic' for the 'foreign' using elitism which creates a direct loss in itself, on one hand, and increasingly more capital intensive systems and innovations, on the other; one cannot really imagine significant expansion in employment generation.

Another interesting thing that has been doing the rounds is that China has actually taken care of its surplus labour; nothing can be farther from the truth. China is in serious crisis. For China, out of its approximately 1.2 billion workforce - not population but workforce - approximately 800 million are still in agriculture or agriculture related activities. Many in manufacturing jobs - if we look at Chinese statistics - those who are perennial migrants have numbers that read between 200 million and 400 million. So, today in Shanghai, tomorrow in Beijing, day after in Tianmen, and when they get into a slack situation, they run back to their village.

In China, there is also the hukou system in which you have to be registered in a particular place for a particular place and they have access to a whole range of public services.

These three things, in my mind, when we look at contemporary global capitalism - neo-liberal global capitalism - are central in understanding what I would consider the most important correlates of the overall employment situation. Essentially, we are in a serious employment crisis, globally speaking.

To conclude and summarize this part, given that the core of financial accumulation rests on circulation and speculation, and capital finance has got globalized, the real economy everywhere has come under huge pressure. Second, the share of surplus in world output has seen a noticeable increase; so much so that, as Stiglitz says, the share of wages has flattened and the share of surplus has increased greatly. Within the salaried class, the managers are better-off, whereas the shop floor workers are worse-off; the gap has widened. Around 1917, the difference between the CEO of General Motors and its average shop floor worker was 1:7. I made a calculation for what is today the difference in Walmart; the CEO was getting 1400 times what the average shop floor worker was getting. On an average, income inequality has increased from 1:5 to 1:50.

Here, Niall Ferguson has a distinction between something called "planet finance" and "planet earth". Planet Finance basically has a valuation of all the activities that are not connected to real activities but only circulation and speculation and so on. Even on the Indian rupee, which no one bothers about.

The biggest market which we have - the single most powerful market is speculation in currency. Following Ferguson, roughly 2007-08, planet finance was 7-8 times more than planet earth; approximately 1400 trillion dollars in planet finance. I have been saying for 10 years now that, in the US, there is a direct corridor between Wall Street and the White House; bosses of the Wall Street determine their policies - a revolving door. Third, there is a squeezing of wages as a result of which there is

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underconsumption; workers cannot have an increase in their purchasing power which affects production as well. This has affected policy too.

Therefore, two important things are (i) the levels of employment in each of the categories - stock or flow - is significantly on the higher side but, along with that, (ii) the workforce participation rate which determines unemployment has a high number of discouraged workers. The workforce participation rate has come down in every state of India which largely comprises of discouraged workers, as a global tendency, who feel they have no chance. Workforce participation of women in India is only 17-18% in some states of India.

The RBI database on Labour in 2018 divides into 27 sectors. Across sub-sectors, the rate of growth of employment generation has gone down; even though there was an acceleration in GDP growth rates to 6-7%. Agriculture, hunting, forestry, fishing had its annual rate of growth at 1.8% from -0.36% in 2016. Mining and quarrying was 6.54% and is now -0.80%. Wood and wood products was 3.32% and is now -0.66%. Others remain positive but are low. There are a few sectors in which it has improved such as electricals and electronics where it increased from 3.05% to 9.14%. But, otherwise, rate of growth of employment generation was 2.4% in the early 1980s and is currently -0.2%,; we're shedding growth, so it is not job less but job loss. This has affected workers who have become cannon fodder. If anyone can think of a way out of it in neo-liberalism, he/she is in a fool's paradise.

One of the fastest-growing sectors, globally speaking, is the so-called 'comfort sector'. In this sector, young women are employed to comfort men in big cities. So, the second point is that it is not only neo-liberalism but only it has a lot to do with the development trajectory that we pursue even in the dirigiste era, even in the regulated economy. The way we thought of development trajectories in the 1950s and 60s was deeply flawed. However, the Chinese experiment with land reforms in the 1960s was a wonderful experience. We want something to be done but that depends on the nature of class forces, the political economy, and so on. It opens up the 1980s with the shift away from collectivization. The

1990s, in my opinion, was a disaster, the way China was headed because they are basically abandoning something to hold on to; not only from the point of view for the Indian crisis but also for the environmental crisis, the larger crisis, the employment crisis that I mentioned earlier - all the major crises of our time. Now, the elite is least interested in solving these crises.

In terms of new engagement of the rural and the urban, the kind of diversification of economic opportunities within rural areas in ways that people had not thought about earlier, we are hurtling towards a global disaster - climate change being a major point. This is also because of the fissures in our development trajectory.

Given this backdrop, we of course expect more and more circular migration. If the rural areas are in the kind of crisis that they are in, and India also of course, essentially you are throwing people out of the rural context at rates which are dramatically higher and in many ways they cannot participate anymore which is connected with the macroeconomic policy. There is a huge rubric of literature (Praveen Jha, Utsa Patnaik) on this. A great deal of it has been manufactured - the agrarian crisis - through acts of omission but there is a lot of literature on it.

How do we think of a policy framework and is that possible in neo-liberalism? That's the huge challenge. So, as a result of that, you have people outside agriculture that aggravates it, then the agrarian crisis, and then the crisis of survival which is simple reproduction. Migrants are not able to reproduce themselves. An average Indian farmer's income is Rs. 36000 and an average Indian farmer's debt is Rs. 47000, 11000 more. So, you now have one person employed in one sector and another person employed in another sector - in multiple livelihood strategies. In fact, according to a NABARD survey, for an agricultural labour household, the income from agriculture has been reduced to 23-24%, the earlier assessment had put it around 34%.

A recent study by Chinmaya Tumbe (India Moving: A History of Migration) covers the changes from the 19th century to the current period.

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The 19th century movement was mostly eastward, from UP and Bihar to Bengal (Videshiya - the folk song) which changes to mostly westward to Maharashtra and Gujarat. Then you must look at the how the hub was Surat which moved to Ahmedabad which then moved to Mumbai; after Mumbai, how it was destroyed in the 1980s because of the assault on labour. So theres is historiographic account. Likewise, if you look at the gender issue in Surat, there are 750 women for every 1000 men. Look at Ratnagiri where the representation of figures is much higher.

Today, the activities of circular migrants are much more temporal. Especially look at what is called the 'platform economy'. In 2016-17 in India, we had more than 100 mn circular migrant workers. A phrase used by Jan Breman in 2010 - 'footloose labour' - I like because, in terms of their prospects, they are in a 'planet of slums' - a phrase used by Mike Davis. It is indeed the case that some of them precisely because of the mobility. Like, in rural areas, if they go somewhere, they get some benefits but is it in terms of giving them whatever our constitution said that every citizen of our country must have adequate means for a secure and dignified livelihood.

Now, UP and Bihar outdoes Kerala in out-migration to other countries as well. Bengal is also sending migrants in cohorts across a range of activities. So, the el dorado of India has become the nightmare of India in the past 200 years.

Roundtable on Improving Conditions of Work and Living for Circular Migrants in India – The Rapporteur's Note

Aarushi Joshi, Bhavya Sinha and Preksha Mishra

Introduction to the Conference

**Panel: KT Suresh, Vaibhav Raaj, Sandeep Chachra
and Stefan Mentschel**

The roundtable was started off with introductory remarks from Mr. KT Suresh. He highlighted the need for engaging in a conversation about circular migrants when the phenomenon of circular migrants has gained greater pace with rapid urbanization and changes in the rural sector. It was deemed imperative to engage with various stakeholders in a discussion on this issue to ensure that a more in-depth and holistic analysis of the situation can take place.

In a discussion on circular migration, it is imperative to define the phenomenon in the Indian context and various reasons such as natural calamities which have been pushing people towards migration. It is also necessary to study the impact on destination centres for the provision of civic amenities, hence putting the urban context in focus. From a policy framework, the question is how and on what parameters should the policy framework be emerging, recognizing the importance of the informal economy, and building a coherent framework putting these factors in context. The portability of entitlements also continues to be a pertinent issue.

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Mr. Vaibhav Raaj spoke on the importance of the roundtable; highlighting the various approaches to working with migrants which largely revolve around trafficking, entitlements and regulation issues. With a plethora of organizations working in these domains, there is still much to be done. The growing migrant population which is highly dynamic and mobile hasn't witnessed a commendable progress in their living conditions. Looking at the current state of affairs, precarious and informal work might become the norm where there might be a flattening of pay and working conditions going forward. The roundtable discussion is then an opportunity to discuss all the issues under an umbrella issue of migration. This can help undertake a meta-analysis of new ideas.

According to Mr. Sandeep Chachra, the question of labour and migration is at the centre-stage of the national question of the Global South. While the last century centred around the agrarian question, the present century is faced with the question of labour issues and resolving the labour question with an unresolved agrarian question. Therefore, there is a growing focus on the informal workforce in the government. With about two billion people in the informal workforce and no updated data on migrants (including refugees), adding to this the number of national migrants, we can expect the numbers to soar considerably. This has led to a marked shift in the discussion circles, wherein the focus has shifted from how to curb migration in the 1990s to how to make migration safe and improve the living conditions of workers. The questions of informal work, migration and urban issues need to be raised in order to fill the policy vacuum existing in contemporary times.

Migration affects a huge proportion of population both nationally and internationally. Due to the growing refugee crisis, many developed economies have been facing a large influx of migration and are struggling to deal with the situation effectively. The Global South has been dealing with the migrant issues since a decade, and hence, policy frameworks implemented in these countries can provide key takeaways to the developed economies.

Keynote Lecture: City, Migrant, and Changing Forms of Labour

Dr. Ranabir Samaddar

Prof. Samaddar³ spoke on cities, migrants, and changing forms of labour. First, he detailed labour mobility and informality whereby the informal condition of labour was equated to the general form of labour; given the historical experiences of labour in not only Europe but also the post-colonial world. Further, many things that have come to be associated with industrial capitalism, such as the contract form of wage labour and trade unions, may only be a phase in the history of labour. Then, he explained the spectral presence of migrant labour. Migrants are largely involved in processing, reprocessing, and logistical processing, and the marginalization of labour occurs in the wave of bankruptcy and closing of financial institutions. Lastly, he concluded that the political ramifications of a large stateless disenfranchised informal migrant labour force must not be undermined in the construction of the neo-liberal space of the city.

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses

- » Preparing workers for a political struggle where they fight for their rights and not for the nation was highlighted. It was argued that a new form of rising nationalism is evading the struggles on the ground and the existence of a welfare state was put into question. In such a scenario, collectivization of workers and mobilizing them for struggle was found to be paramount.
- » Given that the informal economy has become a reality and the norm, we need greater policy interventions to avoid the exploitation of labour and ensuring their rights and entitlements.
- » The classic case of a stateless identity wherein the identity is provided by the middle class poses the question of a national identity. What is the claim to identity by particular workers and how can they prove

3. See Chapter 2 for full text of key note lecture.

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their identity without any paper trail? Portability of rights and identity was highlighted as one of the most fundamental problems faced by migrants.

- » The duality of visibility and invisibility of migrants, wherein they are needed for providing cheap labour but still invisible in terms of identity and rights establishes that their plight is being warranted by the state.

Session: Gender and Migration

Session Moderator: Ananya Chakraborty

**Presenters: Basudev Barman, Neha Wadhwan
and Shiraz Bulsara Prabhu**

Basudev Barman spoke on the issue based on his experience with domestic and retail workers. He highlighted the concentration of migrant workers in semi-skilled and unskilled sectors, with women migrants being highest in these sectors. Such informalization of work can be considered as a degradation from formal work.

Women workers are at a greater disadvantage facing discrimination, harassment and exploitation from recruitment agencies, individual agents, customers and third parties. Of the various sectors, service, retail and nursing sectors are the major employers of migrant women labourers. These sectors are also marked with rampant perpetration violence, both verbal and non-verbal, on women mostly by the individuals they engage with.

Identification of different agencies beyond civil society such as informal collectives (to regulate wages), religious organizations and multiple stakeholder initiatives aimed at holding the brand accountable can act as an effective platform for the upliftment of the workers.

Neha Wadhwan spoke about how the growing agrarian distress and migration from rural to urban areas has been ironically accompanied by a decline in the employment rates. A marked decline in the women

participation rates also needs careful deliberation. Women are also at a disadvantage with regard to the decision making power at the household level. They are often left out of the decisions of who migrates; which are largely taken by the male members. Further, to facilitate male migration, women are often left behind and undertake unpaid work involving looking after the household, children and other family members.

Denied the freedom of choice, many flee from their villages to avoid doing unpaid work. Amongst this section, widowed and separated and dalit women feature predominantly. It is often observed that the marital status of a woman is critical to her mobility and they often undertake domestic work. For women who do migrate, they find themselves still restricted to the household sector and hence are not able to escape this sector and find alternative options.

The policy approaches so far have disregarded the issue of women's mobility on the pretext of protection. Certain norms banning the migration of women aged less than 30 has encouraged illegal and unsafe migration. Therefore, issues concerning women's safety need to be reviewed and the process of migration needs to be safeguarded. The focus on the employer, either from the perspective of violence or exploitation, should be brought in the centre stage.

Shiraz Bulsara dealt with the interlinkages between production and reproduction by migrant workers often forces women to migrate with men where, even though they are involved in the production but, they are not listed as workers. In an informal terminology, they are often referred to as the 'jodi partner'. This translates to doing unpaid work without any right to wages, and hence, they are undervalued in terms of their contribution.

Focusing on the issue of lesser wages and the gender discrimination played against women, it was also emphasized that for a certain work, women are often delegated the most excruciating and unskilled part. The stereo-typing of work based on gender involves expecting women

to work at odd hours, doing lesser skilled and more laborious tasks without any recognition and pay.

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses.

1. Do we have any reintegration policies for women who return in their 40s without family bonds and financial stability? There isn't any institutional support from migration to return of such women migrants. The lack of support without any rights and entitlements has left these women in a vulnerable state.
2. The issue of forced choices was also highlighted wherein the male partner migrates and the female is de-facto expected to migrate and support him in the process. Lack of choices available to these women because of the lack of employment opportunities at the source is a cause of distress.
3. Given that the policy environment is being changed, we would expect changes in the policy environment aimed at curbing the exploitation of women in the last decade. However, the participants highlighted that the rescue model implemented by the government has failed to play its role as women are equally prone to exploitation in these homes. They are held against their will year after year and find it better to not be placed in this system. But, by far, the policy environment has failed to provide any safeguards.
4. The issue of moralizing sex-work as demeaning risks the policy makers ignoring aspects of people migrating into this sector. Many communities, such as the LGBTQI, are often faced with sex-work as the only viable work option which gives them greater pay and dignity at work as opposed to begging.

Session: Employment Conditions And Informalisation - I

Session Moderator: Prof. Pushpendra Kumar Singh

Presenters: Ananya Chakraborty, Vishy Teki and Shefeeque V.

Ananya Chakraborty shared about how several studies have contested the premise that women migrate to fulfil marital responsibilities as

opposed to for work. The section which does migrate for employment opportunities is outcasted by the society as the acceptable norm is that only males migrate for work. Therefore, a women worker is seen as deviating from the norm and a vagrant. Coming out of the traditional role as a homemaker is often considered as derogatory. At present, there is an increase in the education level of women accompanied by a decline in workforce participation and the proportion of educated unemployed women is alarming. In India, very few women join the labour force in the initial working age and employment only peaks at the age of 37.

For the lower-income group of women, the choice of work is restricted by the lack of basic infrastructure and working to ensure the availability of basic necessities hinder their participation. At the destination centre, lack of infrastructure such as sanitation facilities further acts as a roadblock. The discounting of position as a secondary partner to the spouse warrants revising how work is defined. How we define work and employment needs to be revisited to avoid putting a large chunk of the population at a disadvantage.

A video film was shown by Mr. Vishy Teki, titled 'From Wealth to Dust'. The film is a case study of 500 families employed in brick-kilns in Hyderabad. It highlighted the issue of invisible labour, violence and exploitation faced by them. A culture of fear is instilled in the migrants as opposed to a culture of rights and entitlements. In the film, rampant sexual abuse amongst women and children and physical torture against men became evident. Lack of healthcare put women and children at a disadvantage and infants were found to be highly vulnerable to diseases. Breathing issues emanating from dust and pollution were found to be major concerns, further causing asthma and tuberculosis. Pregnant women were denied pre and post-natal care and the closest anganwadi centres were located far from the work-site. Similarly, there were no schooling opportunities for children who were forced into child labour. It was concluded that, in terms of human rights and wage negotiation, the situation continues to be abysmal.

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Shafeeqe V. spoke about how the informal economy has led to a shift in focus from the agrarian distress. The growing migrant situation characterised by the move from productive activities to the services sector has caused a wage crisis. Focusing on the situation in Kerala, given that the number of in-migrants outnumber the natives, the existence of the sense of security was concluded as the dominant force. Besides, high wage rates and sustainable employment opportunities act as pull factors.

The state has also implemented several schemes to improve the living conditions of migrant workers. There are continuous efforts to invest in the provision of education services to migrant children. Further, Indian Institute of Infrastructure and Development is working at upskilling the migrant labour. Several health insurance and housing schemes have also been initiated. The need for ensuring greater portability of rights was also discussed wherein the need for engaging local bodies was argued for.

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses.

1. In the discussion which followed, several participants raised the issue of wage differential between local and migrant workers, where the latter has been discriminated against. However, the state of Kerala has been successful in removing this phenomenon as well.
2. Ms. Shiraz also raised alarm to the pending demographic crisis in states attracting large number of migrants. States such as Kerala are witnessing in-migration from the vulnerable states due to their perceived image of a safe state. However, due to the slump in the construction sector, employment opportunities are projected to decline creating an impending job crisis for migrant and native workers.
3. It was also mentioned by Dr. G.Vijay that even in states where migrants feel safe, they are basically being patronized. It is also required that they be assimilated in the mainstream for the locals to feel equally safe.

4. The discussion also mentioned the accounting difficulties for domestic workers whereby it was suggested that time-based work categorization for unpaid and paid work done can be an effective tool to account for the unpaid work done by women.

Session: Employment Conditions And Informalisation - II

Session Moderator: Mr. Dharmendra Kumar

**Presenters: Dr Gudavarthy Vijay, Basudev Barman
and Chandan Kumar**

Dr. G.Vijay said that apart from the issues highlighted, this session also brought on the table the issue of social exclusion. Migrants continue to feel like the 'other' in any state they migrate to and are often not a part of the mainstream. The sense of nationalism gives them a sense of identity and solidarity with the mainstream. Further, the social security schemes failed to deliver due to rampant corruption and the failure of middlemen which led to a sense of alienation amongst the worker class. The outcome of neo-liberalism in which the adopted growth trajectories excluded a large section of the population – the worker – caused them to rely on more regressive forms of solidarity.

To avoid the continuation of these tendencies, it is imperative to remove the micro-level insecurities and prevent them from transforming into frustration and fear. It is also necessary to analyse how certain political affiliations are spreading these regressive forms of solidarities.

Chandan Kumar shared that due to the continuous mobility of migrants, it is difficult to organize them into a collective. Several such attempts in the past, such as Hyderabad Solidarity Group and other collectives formed at organizing solidarity movements amongst workers, have failed precisely due to the mobile nature of this working class. The denial of rights and entitlements to workers is not considered as an attack on the labour class and has not been able to raise an uproar. This coupled with the lack of collectives has resulted in the continued sad state of affairs for a large section of migrants; such as those working in brick kilns.

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Apart from the lack of collectivization, the issue of lack of an identity proof was also raised. The need to politicise this issue is necessary to ensure that they hold some power as legal citizens of the country to ensure the provision of rights and entitlements.

Basudev Barman spoke about how lack of regulation has denied workers any form of security and, given that informal work has become the new norm, migrants are being exploited in every form. The feudal structure of employers has also evolved wherein they are able to initiate legal action against individuals and organization of workers when they feel they are trespassing or are working for the betterment of migrants. The collection of data has also become increasingly difficult.

Though workers have also evolved new forms of collectives like Ola and Uber, they are more predatory in nature with no entry to new members. The question of how to organize migrants to fight for their rights is becoming extremely relevant. To this end, it was suggested that the migrants be organized at their place of origin rather than the destination. It is also imperative to change the perception of how migrant workers view themselves; the issue of dignity needs to be addressed. It is important to view the working class, especially the migrants, as an 'aspiring class' which is trying to move up the social ladder.

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses.

1. It was argued that the society has become insensitive to the plight of such labourers and is increasingly becoming anti-labourers. There is a certain hostility towards worker rights and the workers have a deep realization of this. Hence, for the workers and migrants to believe in any movement, it needs to have a continuous momentum. An immediate solution to solving the question of rights and entitlements, then, is ensuring that the migrants have political rights.
2. Secondly, to gather momentum for any movement, organizing them at the place of origin can have greater effect due to the presence of strong social networks.

The loss of dignity of the workers also emanates from the fact that white-collar workers do not prefer to be called a 'worker'. Hence, there is an immediate loss of dignity to the labourers we refer to as 'workers'. The undignified-ness of worker is seen as a part of the contrast creating a systematic link for the feudal structure to persist.

Session: Employment Conditions And Informalisation - II

Session Moderator: Shiraz Bulsara Prabhu

**Presenters: Nirmal Gorana, Prof. Pushpendra Kumar Singh,
Dharmendra Kumar and Anushka Rose**

Nirmal Gorana said that a major reason behind the deplorable condition of the migrants is the lack of awareness of the middleman who ends up trafficking a vast population of migrants. These migrants gain employment primarily at brick kilns, domestic works and other informal sectors, but mostly work as bonded labour. It is necessary to call these workers "bonded labourers" to lay emphasis on their plight. Living without basic amenities of sanitation, housing, water and allied infrastructure facilities, these migrants often do not find work daily (lapses of employer), and working on a per day basis, it translates to huge losses in wages. This further constrains their ability to live with dignity. It was deemed necessary for the government to rescue these labourers and ensure that they find employment opportunities to escape the traps of bonded labour. There is a gross inadequacy of social security benefits for the migrants. With no minimum wages and political rights, any change in the foreseeable future can be ensured only through collectivization and movements.

Prof. Pushpendra Kumar Singh spoke about how global supply chains and production networks have led to extreme exploitation of workers. The fragmentation of the work process and the franchise system of distribution network has laid immense pressure on the producers to cut margins. The brunt of this falls on the workers as producers attempt to reduce wages to maintain their margins. The supply chains are formed like pyramids where the returns increase as one moves up the supply chain; with workers earning the least.

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In certain industries, such as garments and sport merchandise, producer-driven manufacturing is the bare minimum and is mostly sub-contracted to developing countries. The prevalence of under-employment and the presence of seasonally available labour translates into the availability of cheap labour and the readiness of workers to work in hazardous conditions. The race to the bottom phenomenon and the desire of remaining competitive through cheap labour has weakened the legal and institutional framework.

In this light, it is important that there is a movement of workers at uniting globally and ensuring solidarity to prevent companies from exploiting labourers.

Dharmendra Kumar spoke about bringing street vendors to the forefront– the most visible section of informal workers – the issue of how to define street vendors was raised. The interests of car owners, pedestrians, and beautification projects often conflict with the interests of street vendors and the former are often accorded preference. Given that this section also has a right to livelihood, a number of legislatures have been put in place but have failed to provide the expected safeguard. The Street Vendors Act, 2014, aimed at formalizing the informal nature of livelihood but excludes a large proportion of circular migrants and those without voting cards. Most street vendors are migrants of which circular migrants and women form about 30 per cent. The preference of migrants to take up street vending as an employment alternative stems from the ease of doing business and low entry barriers.

Anushka Rose shared about a study on Surat construction workers across 18 nakas and 3,450 individual workers concluded that most of these workers were tribal workers. With the younger generation opting for unskilled work, they were faced with high wage thefts. Denial of wages along with open settlement areas, lack of sanitation and healthcare facilities trapped them in a vicious circle of poverty.

The comparative advantage of cheap labour has become a pertinent issue. These migrant workers lack any form of unionization, and

hence, are not able to mobilize a movement asking for their rights and entitlements. In this light, the political economy aspect of these workers cannot be overlooked. (See Annexure IV for the presentation slides)

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses.

1. The existing trust deficit amongst workers is caused by the joint failure of institutional workers, civic bodies and ideological failure. In this condition, trade unions have an important role to play and civil society organizations have the resources to organize a movement.
2. Given the emphasis on smart cities, how does the concept integrate with the existence of street vendors? The earlier plans featured vending zones but the same seem to be absent from the new plans. Even in the earlier plans, the high cost of smart push-carts made it unaffordable for most migrants.

Session: Issues Of Identity, Rights And Entitlements Of Migrant Workers

Session Moderator: Dr Gudavarthy Vijay

**Presenters: Dr Rahul Sapkal, Dr. Smitha Pillai,
Umi Daniel and Vishy Teki**

Dr. Rahul Sapkal shared that according to Period Labour Force Survey (PLFS) 2017-18, it has been found that the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes form the majority of migrant workers. (See Annexure V for presentation slides) At the aggregate level there are 430 millions are estimated to be migrant workers in India as per the report. Confined by the social identity in their native areas, these sections migrate and end up getting trapped into low-wage and low-productive jobs. As opposed to this, general and other backward class category move into upper category jobs.

The cheap labour supply on which the economy thrives pushes most migrants in precarious work with abysmally low wages. The lack of identity of migrants leads to greater mobility amongst migrants pushing them into low-productivity jobs and deficiency of income. This has been supported by lack of institutional support in the form of reducing the

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number of labour inspectors and the ease-of-doing-business index which eroded the status of migrant workers.

On the other hand, the political hostility of certain regional parties has shown a marked decline. Over a period of time, with the productive sector requiring their services, political groups have stopped resisting migrant workers. This reflects the importance of political rights and how providing a portable identity to these workers is non-negotiable. It is also observe that the regional parties which once used to considers migrants workers as their opponents and used to have confrontation for local resource sharing is no longer treat them as their opponents rather the new narratives subsume them as a newly emerged political constituency.

In addition, it is necessary to provide some form of legal support to the migrants who face exploitation and violence at the hands of several middlemen and employers both at the source and destination levels. However, given the complex nature of supply chains it is often difficult to ascertain the principal employer and put the onus on a single employer. The active role of trade union is expected to ease the situation.

Dr. Smitha Pillai said that Kerala as a destination state has seen an influx of migrants in construction, hospitality, street vending and hospitality sectors, characterised by unskilled labour. Due to favourable wages and greater societal acceptance, migrants act as a bridge in facilitating greater migration from their native areas. These comprise of mostly single men from backward classes.

However, the migrants are still at a disadvantage in terms of housing and healthcare. Due to the deplorable conditions of settlements, migrants are susceptible to diseases and health hazards. Besides, they also face backlash in situations of compromised national and local security. Several adjustment issues caused by linguistic barriers continue to exist. It is important to understand the role of social assimilation through including them in our every life so that their apprehension and fear of being as outsiders may be reduced. This will surely add to maintaining the social cohesion in the society.

Umi Daniel shared that the issues raised by the differentiation of domicile identity from destination identity excludes the migrants from exercising their voting rights. The existing domicile-based identity policy implies that migrants are excluded from all social security schemes when they migrate. In a positive direction, some of the policies implemented in Orissa have led to an improvement in the situation and, in this light, the Interstate Migrant Workmen Act needs careful reconsideration.

The pertinent issue of debt migrants wherein people borrow money from local moneylenders and non-repayment of debt forces them into migration shows the lack of institutional support to this class of the society. Further, of such migrating families, only the men are registered as workers, excluding women and families from the process. Therefore, the registration on paper, if any, is done only for the worker. There is also a need to make the money allocated for labour welfare portable and documentation of workers for portability of their entitlements and implementation of Vishakha guidelines for women migrant workers.

Vishy Teki spoke about the rampant exploitation of children in brick kilns where they form around 36 per cent of total workers, which is appalling. Most of the migrant children are denied the right to education due to lack of schools near the settlements and worksite. On humanitarian grounds, it is the responsibility of the society at large to protect them from violence and exploitation. The children are denied their citizenship rights and are exposed to hazardous working environments with no provision of healthcare facilities. Besides physical violence, sexual exploitations are also rampant.

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses.

1. Rethinking the question of affordable housing, it is important to think of a low-cost prototype. Given that the homeless incur expenditure for water, sanitation and security amenities, a low-rent housing prototype can be an economical solution.
2. The housing issue can be thought of in terms of labour camp sites with temporary tents, toilets and water which can be dismantled.

3. There is a greater need for documentation of birth and death, registration of workers and the inclusion of brick-kiln, quarrying and sand excavation in the Construction Welfare Board.

Migration facilitation centres solve the problem of registration of workers and providing support.

Session: Collectivisation And Policy Challenges For Mobile Population

Session Moderator: Umi Daniel

**Presenters: Amitava Guha, Dharmendar Kumar, Shiraz
Bulsara Prabhu, Shefeeque V. and Akhil C S**

Amitava Guha shared about how the global migration situation is marked by the continuing refugee crisis and deteriorating employment conditions. There is a growing dissent towards globalization and multinational retail corporation are further worsening the situations. The growth in artificial intelligence (AI) and robotics is posing another labour market – rendering skilled labour obsolete. Given that about 47 per cent of global merchandise consumption is concentrated in the skilled workforce, the rise of AI and Robotics will reduce this consumption further creating a glut in production.

The denial of fundamental rights by governments and rampant workplace violence has facilitated the proposal of various legislatures which have been vehemently opposed by employees. The government needs to acquire a more pro-worker attitude. Certain acts, such as the Apprenticeship Act have caused a reduction in permanent employment as the companies can appoint apprentices without any time limit to permanent employment. In the employers versus employee debate, benefits weigh more in favour of employers. In order to improve India's global position in the ease of doing business the government proposed labour laws will an attempt to overthrow the foundation of industrial relations and collective bargaining in India. It is these two foundations, they allows trade unions to form solidarity for migrant workers and act in the unity to secure the legal rights of all category of workers.

Dharmendra Kumar said that there is an absence of a strong national union in the service sector and most employers are out of surveillance. It is imperative to bring the informal workers to form a union as all the wage negotiations at present are dominated by the employers. Given the nature of informal economy, there is a need to adopt an innovative approach for a pilot project of unionization which can then be expanded to the macro level.

Voting rights for workers continue to be the top priority dictating the amount of political power migrants have in any city. At present, they are rendered powerless due to their identity. For instance, about 30 per cent of the population has migrated from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh and, with voting rights, they can make demands for rights and entitlements using their voting power.

Shiraz Bulsara spoke about how the blatant denial of citizen and worker rights across the country requires the setting of achievable goalposts and working towards achieving them. At present, workers are living on less than the bare minimum in all aspects and certain non-negotiables such as minimum wages need to be defined. There is a need to rethink the denial of minimum wages at the policy level, making non-payment a cognizable criminal offence. The amenities of housing, healthcare and education should not be compromised upon.

It is also important to provide identity to workers and a union without diluting the process by NGOs and civil society organizations to render stronger momentum to the worker movement. A collective is required to eliminate the network of middlemen and contractors.

Shafeeque V shared that migrant workers, as a subsection of workers, accords them a separate identity alienated from the working class as a whole. Mobilization and organization of workers based on their identity as migrants can backlash in several situations such as compromised national security. However, given that collectivization is extremely important for increasing labour welfare, local as well as migrant workers should be organized in the same unit. The state of Kerala has

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been successful in attracting huge number of migrants because it has intervened in the production sector to sustain the growing population of migrant workers.

In terms of the policy direction, it is suggested that labour must be organized at the worksite as labour and not be divided on the basis of type, gender and occupation. Secondly, cooperative structures should be used to further the cause of migrant workers.

Akhil CS held that India has a federal structure and a one-size-fits-all policy is bound to fail if applied to all the states. There is a problem of bureaucratic capture where concerted efforts at improving the living conditions of migrant workers are not attempted. The government machinery continues to be ignorant towards the gross violation of worker rights. The absence of participation of legislators and other government officials is worsening the situation. Further, the absence of data on migration is incomplete and hinders complete analysis of internal migration situation in India. Secondly, analysing the policy framework in Kerala, it was highlighted that the policies formulated for international migrants are being replicated for internal migrants as well. The approach adopted in policy formulation is top-down in nature with no consultation with diverse stakeholders. An emphasis was laid on acknowledging results but to remain critical. International as well as internal migrants need sustainable policy efforts at remunerating migrants.

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses.

1. The issue of identity cannot be dissolved and the needs of a migrant worker in terms of policy framework are distinct from a local worker. Further, the submergence of the migrant workers identity is potential danger and policy cannot be formulated using an abstract idea of a class. Identity is a reality and we also need to adopt a balanced approach while organizing worker collectives.
2. Reverse migration in Kerala is actively on the rise, where people are returning from middle-eastern countries which is also evident from the air flight data. This poses a serious employment situation wherein

the state has to sustain employment opportunities for both in and reverse migrants.

3. Unemployment insurance to the locals was suggested as a policy tool.
4. The role of Global Performance Indexes such as Ease of Doing Business in domestic policy making and competition between the state's are indeed increasing the magnitude of the plight of migrant labourers in India.

Session: Migration and Destination Centres

Session Moderator: Dr. Smitha Pillai

**Presenters: Khalid Choudhary, Nirmal Gorana
and Ananya Chakraborty**

Khalid Choudhary spoke about the Nai Pahal intervention which is being implemented in 20 districts encompassing 11 divisions of Uttar Pradesh, aiming at reducing the number of Out-of-School Children. It was observed that of the major causes of seasonal migration, poverty, unemployment and landlessness were the dominant forces. About 48.90% SC population, 31.04% OBC, 8.95% Minority, 7.52% General and 3.57% ST population are affected by seasonal migration. Of the migrating families, about 74.20% whereas 26.80% families have access to government schemes. At 88.09% places of migration, school facilities are not available to children whereas this facility is found at 11.90% places.

An abysmally low 15.38% places of migration were found to be safe and secure for women and children whereas 84.61% were not. Some of the recommendations following these suggestions involve identification and recognition of migrating families so that they are able to avail benefits of government schemes and mandatory rules for provisioning basic amenities at work sites including work-site schools. It is interesting to note that debt, marriage and young migrant workers aspirations are key factors that compel workers to migrate into other states/cities.

Nirmal Gorana said that there was no legal aid support to workers who have to rely on civil society organizations for legal battles. Vishakha

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guidelines for migrant domestic workers and ragpickers need to be looked into; how can these guideline help in providing support to females need to be critically analysed. Bringing to light the plight of workers, it was also highlighted that there is also a restriction on the mobility of workers and they are kept under strict surveillance. The bonded labourers are also denied earned wages and no redressal mechanism has been put in place for these workers.

Female workers who migrate with men and have been working as migrants since several years continue to live without an identity. Despite the continuum of the same issues since the past decades, no regulation has been implemented to address the issues of forced labour, non-payment of wages, violence against migrants and lack of identity.

Ananya Chakraborty said that of the total migration, about 47% is from rural to rural areas and the rest from rural to urban areas. In the rural to rural migration, a significant proportion of migrants are women who are then involved in the agricultural sector. There is a marked gender segregation of sector in which women get into and are often forced to migrate with the male partner. There is a need to organize women as the existing trade unions are male dominated and issues relating to women have failed to garner requisite attention. Regressive policies prohibiting women to work continue to exist and have not faced much resistance from trade unions.

It is also felt that opposed to western theories which suggest migration as a coping mechanism against poverty, in India, migration is found to be perpetuating poverty. Even if the migrants are found to be moving wilfully, their freedom is lost in the pathways which migrants adopt. Safeguarding the process of migration and strengthening the institutional framework is required.

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses.

1. Do schemes such as MGNREGA help in reducing the volume of migration? The problem of circular migration is largely caused by

distress borrowing, and hence, due to the credit market. Schemes such as NREGA only address the employment issues and cannot plug-in circular migration. Also lack of available work under NREGA also discourages workers on relying on these schemes and encourages migration.

2. There is an upcoming phenomenon of bonded labour wherein the younger population is lured into migrating on the false pretext of skill development. These type of migrants are then forced into different types of work such as domestic work, sales industry and are bound by contracts. This new form of slavery is making misuse of aspiration.
 - i. Issues of the labour movement as a whole have not been aligned to the women struggles. We continue to have minimal representation of females in trade unions, and collectives and regressive policies inhibiting women mobility do not raise requisite resistance compared to other labour issues.

Special Session: Some Reflections on Circular Migration - Connecting the local and the global in the Employment Crisis

Presenter: Prof Praveen Jha⁴

The global economy, over the last 40 years, has been going through an employment crisis of 'jobless growth' (reports by ILO, WB, IMF). Why is this? What is the lowest common denominator in the larger context of 'punitive' neo-liberalism?

Neo-liberalism set in from the 1970s, was concretized in the 1990s, and fully set in by the 2010s, especially with the thrust of finance capital. Finance is used as capital and it dictates the structure and direction of production. In fact, increased share of GDP over the last 40-50 years has been through FIRE – finance, investment, real estate.

4. See Chapter 3 for full text, what follows is a summary of the presentation and the discussion that ensued.

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Further, there has been a reconstitution of class power in the global economy; a de-centering of global production systems from a traditional division of labour to a transnational system of production. Manufacturing shifted from the North to centres in the South; apparently because of a wage difference but also because capital has become less wedded to racism.

However, it remains that the core of production has become finance, and finance has become globalized, because of which the employment crisis has perpetuated. The real economy has been subsumed by money and finance in spheres of circulation and speculation. The employment crisis has been not only because of the neo-liberal reforms but also dirigiste reforms of the regulated economy. This has had multiple effects such as the climate crisis, the agrarian crisis, etc.

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses.

1. We can expect an increase in the rise of circular migration against the backdrop of reducing employment opportunities. In this backdrop, it is extremely necessary to think in terms of a dignified livelihood.
2. Even though the government has implemented a number of schemes, the impact on reducing migration is often questioned. That has been caused by the failure of policies to focus on the provision of employment and livelihood opportunities. Policy-making is failing to address these root causes and the focus should be on creating employment opportunities, providing rights and entitlements to ensure a life of dignity.
3. Neo-liberalism has heightened the tendencies of exploitive capitalism. Capitalism individuates the individual wherein the class struggle is limited to that particular class and other social groups are oblivious to the existing issues. The tendency of creating self-centred individuals is at the centre of why labour struggles have not picked momentum.

Session: Policy Imperatives and Recommendations

Session Moderator: KT Suresh

Presenters: Dr Gudavarthy Vijay, Chandan Kumar, Neha Wadhwan, Dr.Rahul Sapkal and Prof. Praveen Jha

Dr Gudavarthy Vijay said that the unavailability of data and general apathy has left gaps in research hindering the in-depth analysis of the on-ground situation. However, from the current state of affairs it is felt that interventions at the federal level – state governments would be more responsive to circular migration. Given the existing rural distress, state governments can be more effective in monitoring the different modes of migration.

At present, rights such as Right to Freedom holds no significance to the sections of the society which continue to face violence and exploitation. The mode of social democratic system resisted any movement which fought for the rights of migrants creating a huge trust deficit. States such as Tamil Nadu and Kerala, with stronger social security nets, were able to minimize the damage. These states have also been able to reduce the notion of the 'other' avoiding widespread rivalry amongst the local population and migrants. Such interventions should be practiced by all states to improve the condition of migrants.

Chandan Kumar stated that the portability of the right to vote is an important political issue and cooperation at state level is needed to resolve the same. Giving the worker a national identity will facilitate the provision of citizen rights and hence an improvement in condition. A system which provides support to migrant workers on a national level is needed so that even with circular migration, the worker has an effective support mechanism. Every state should have representation in the other state for rescuing its migrant workers.

It is also felt that regulation at the source can facilitate regulation at the destination and help in ensuring the provision of facilities to the migrants. Wage regulation at the source centre whereby the workers are

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registered at the local level and pre-fixing of wages can be instrumental to changing the plight of workers.

Dr. Rahul Sapkal said that the growth of capitalism increases the stratification amongst classes and migration is also an outcome of that. Development keeps on shifting locations because all areas do not progress together and this causes labour to move continuously in search of employment opportunities. For instance, in the case of India, as states link with the global value chains, there is a sudden boom in the agriculture and construction sector which require cheap labour. Competition amongst states created the labour migration problem compromising on labour standards to ensure that labour is employment at cheap rates.

This has also been accompanied by the fact that the global competitiveness index of nations has shown a marked improvement but, at the same time, their social security indices have been on a decline. Due to infrastructure development and global value chains, there has been a marked rise in the demand for migrant labour. At the same time, to maintain the economy's competitiveness using cheap labour, the government no longer wishes to regulate the labour markets. This has resulted in the failure to maintain the dignity of workers and safeguard their families. The steep reduction in labour inspectors in India are a glaring example of governments' apathy.

In this light it is important to study the migration process as a whole and not just the occupation. It is important to analyse how the occupation is created and what structural changes go into creating the same, how the global value chains are operating and what policies need to be formulated at the state level.

Neha Wadhwan shared that the distinction between source and destination centres is important for formulating policies. There is a lack of incentive for the worker to settle at one location against the backdrop of an absent social security net. This said, the issue of gender discrimination continues to weigh the scales against women. For instance, in case of NREGA, employment was guaranteed per household

wherein the decision-making power lies with the male head of the family. Employment is not guaranteed gender-wise, and hence, unless the male worker is unwilling to work at the prevailing wage, females do not get the employment opportunity. Under the scheme, they end up accepting work which is rejected and at lower wage rates. Even the farmer suicides committed by women are not recorded, and hence, there is a systematic exclusion of women from the domain of workers as a whole. Denied the freedom of choice, many flee from the villages to avoid doing unpaid work but continue to work with huge pay differentials.

Due to the criminalization of sex-work, intermediaries are wary of facilitating women migration because the onus is placed on them. However, it is also true that alternative employment opportunities to sex work are limited in scope and pay. For a number of communities, this is the only viable option. A number of occupations such as the Anganwadi workers are treated as honorarium positions and are denied justified payment.

Prof Praveen Jha spoke about two broad approaches in progressive scholarship. One is that which accepts neo-liberalism as the dominant force against which nothing can be done. This approach essentially works within the neo-liberal framework in an attempt to radicalize the system from within the system itself. The other is that which includes the ideas and work of Samir Amin, Prabhat Patnaik, and Utsa Patnaik, among others. This branch of progressive scholarship calls for a disconnection from the dominant contemporary globalization, that is, the neo-liberal form of globalization that has come into its own from the 1970s although globalization itself has been around for over 2000 years.

There is a need to work towards a development trajectory in which citizens are more involved – a citizen-centric politics – such as that of the Karachi Resolution in 1931. Further, an idea of governmentality needs to be developed, along the lines of Gramsci's conception, which engages with the discourse on doles and implements them as a means of sustenance as well as empowerment.

Summary of the questions raised during the discussions and responses

1. It was pointed out that progressive organizations have pitched themselves between vulnerable groups and the State but right-wing organizations, such as the RSS, have employed a more pragmatic strategy and pitched themselves between vulnerable groups and communities. This has entailed the better response of the masses to right-wing organizations while leftist and activist groups have lost ground.
2. The need for outreach programs to the masses was re-iterated wherein the fear of the 'other' needs to be explained and quelled while also integrating migrant societies with local communities with a two-way cultural assimilation.
3. App-based recruitment process was touted as an opportunity of eliminating the network of intermediaries, providing workers with better employment opportunities.
4. Concerns were raised about technology displacing more women workers than men as, with greater sophistication associated with a job, women are discriminated against.

Annexure I

Programme: Round Table Conference “Improving Conditions of Work and Living for Circular Migrants in India”

*3-5 June, 2019
YMCA Tourist Hostel, New Delhi*

Organized by ActionAid India in collaboration with Workers Solidarity Network (WSN) and Citizen's Rights Collective (CiRiC) and supported by Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS).

3rd June \ Day I

Session: Welcome Remarks and Introduction to the Conference

Panel:

1. KT Suresh
2. Vaibhav Raaj
3. Sandeep Chachra
4. Stefan Mentschel

Keynote Lecture: City, Migrant, and Changing Forms of Labour

Dr. Ranabir Samaddar

Session: Gender and Migration

Session Moderator: Ananya Chakraborty

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Presenters

1. Basudev Barman
2. Neha Wadhwan
3. Shiraz Bulsara Prabhu

Session: Employment Conditions And Informalisation - I

Session Moderator: Prof. Pushpendra Kumar Singh

Presenters

1. Ananya Chakraborty
2. Vishy Teki
3. Shefeeque V.

Session: Employment Conditions And Informalisation - II

Session Moderator: Mr. Dharmendra Kumar

Presenters

1. Dr Gudavarthy Vijay
2. Basudev Barman
3. Chandan Kumar

4th June | Day II

Session: Employment Conditions And Informalisation - III

Session Moderator: Shiraz Bulsara Prabhu

Presenters

1. Nirmal Gorana
2. Prof. Pushpendra Kumar Singh
3. Dharmendra Kumar
4. Anushka Rose

Session: Issues Of Identity, Rights And Entitlements Of Migrant Workers

Session Moderator: Dr Gudavarthy Vijay

Presenters:

1. Dr Rahul Sapkal
2. Dr. Smitha Pillai
3. Umi Daniel
4. Vishy Teki

Session: Collectivisation And Policy Challenges For Mobile Population

Session Moderator: Umi Daniel

Presenters

1. Amitava Guha
2. Dharmendar Kumar
3. Shiraz Bulsara Prabhu
4. Shefeeque V.
5. Akhil C S

Session Name: Migration and Destination Centres

Session Moderator: Dr. Smitha Pillai

Presenters

1. Khalid Choudhary
2. Nirmal Gorana
3. Ananya Chakraborty

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5th June | Day III

Special Session: Some Reflections on Circular Migration - Connecting the local and the global in the Employment Crisis

Presenter: Prof Praveen Jha

Session: Policy Imperatives and Recommendation

Session Moderator: KT Suresh

Presenters

1. Dr Gudavarthy Vijay
2. Chandan Kumar
3. Neha Wadhwan
4. Dr.Rahul Sapkal
5. Prof. Praveen Jha

Annexure II

Profiles of Participants

Basudev Barman is a doctoral research student at TISS. He has worked with several organizations on projects looking at working conditions of labour, growing informalization in various sectors like fashion industry, workers at IGI Airport, Indian railways etc. Besides, he has also been actively involved in various scoping studies with Cividep India, Bengaluru.

Dr Ananya Chakraborty is a Senior Researcher at the School of Development Studies, Tata Institute of Social Science, Mumbai. She has worked in several research positions with Landesa, the Prime Minister's Rural Development Fellow, Tata Institute of Social Sciences and Bankable Frontiers Associates.

Khalid Chaudhary is the Regional Manager at ActionAid Association for the states of Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. Several of the projects headed by him work towards empowering the communities to access their rights over land, water, forests and other commons; advocating for their participation in public welfare schemes; and restoring rights of women and girls etc.

Akhil CS Ph.D. Candidate at the Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum. His work focuses primarily on International Migration, State Policy, and migration governance. He has been associated with both state and non-state initiatives related to international migration

Umi Daniel is the Regional Head-Migration Thematic Unit, South Asia at Aid et Action. He is one of the leading activists working on migration in Orissa and has been extensively associated with taking on responsibilities of rights of migrant children, mapping children at worksites, worksite E.C.C.E. and crèches, creating access and inclusion

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for migrant children, government-business collaboration and replication and policy influencing.

Nirmal Gorana is the General Secretary of Bandhua Mukti Morcha and Convenor of National Campaign Committee for Eradication of Bonded Labour (NCCBEL). He has rescued, provided legal aid and rehabilitated 1000 of bonded labourers from brick kilns, construction sites, domestic work, manual scavenging etc. He is also an active member of the Working People's Charter.

Amitava Guha has been associated with the Centre of Indian Trade Unions as a committee member for the past decade. Over this course of time, he has been actively working in the National and International Labour Policy committee of the organization.

Nagesh Jadhav is the Training Manager of the Quest Grassroots Leadership Development Programme at Committee of Resource Organisations (CORO) Mumbai. At present, he is responsible for setting up, conceptualizing, coordinating and executing its Quest Fellowship Programme Training.

Prof. Praveen Jha is currently a Professor at the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, JNU and the founding Chairperson of the Centre for Informal Sector and Labour Studies, JNU. His major areas of research include economics of education, labour economics, agricultural economics and public finance with a special focus on developing countries. He has worked as a consultant for UNDP, ILO, UNICEF, etc. and is a founding member of the Agrarian South Network as well as founding editor of Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy. He works closely with people's movements and labour organizations in India.

Chandan Kumar is a Trade Union Activist. He is an executive committee member of Rashtriya Hamal Panchayat and co-convenor of National Campaign Committee for Eradication of Bonded Labour. He is also a member of the National Minimum Wage Advisory Board and the Working People's Charter.

Dharmendra Kumar is the President of Hawkers Joint Action Committee, a joint platform of market based elected committees of hawkers. He is also the Secretary of JANPAHAL, a community-based organization of low-income families and informal workers.

Ramendra Kumar is one of the founding members of the Delhi Shramik Sangathan. Established in 1994, it is a federation of unorganized sector workers' union in Delhi. They are currently engaged with about 100 slums in Delhi.

Dr Smitha Pillai is currently working as an Assistant Professor at the Department of Sociology, Loyola College of Social Sciences, Trivandrum. She is also the Project Officer of Prabudhta with Kerala State Higher Council. Her areas of interest include social and cultural issues pertaining to migrant labourers and gender issues.

Shiraz Bulsara Prabhu is an activist with the Kamgar va Mazdoor Sangh, a union of unorganized workers (active in the tribal areas of Thane and Palgarh district of Maharashtra) Apart from holding several faculty positions and is also the co-author of the book 'Combat Law' wherein the issue of growing Adivasi migrant labourers has been highlighted.

Anushka Rose works with Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action (CLRA) as Coordinator for Research and Documentation. The organization has developed an alternative paradigm of organizing workers that has proved its effectiveness over the last decade. The focus of organizing is the migration stream rather than the work place only.

Dr Ranabir Samaddar is the Director of the Calcutta Research Group and belongs to the school of critical thinking. He has pioneered along with others, peace studies programmes in South Asia. He has worked extensively on issues of justice and rights in the context of conflicts in South Asia. The much-acclaimed *The Politics of Dialogue* (Ashgate, 2004) was the culmination of his work on justice, rights, and peace. His particular researches have been on migration and refugee studies,

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the theory and practices of dialogue, nationalism and post- colonial statehood in South Asia, and new regimes of technological restructuring and labour control.

Dr Rahul Suresh Sapkal is an Assistant Professor at the Maharashtra National Law University (MNLU), Mumbai. He is on the governing board of Workers Solidarity Network and International Labour Organization. Currently, he is also working as an advisor to Aajeevika Bureau's legal aid, education, and advocacy work with migrant and informal workers in the state of Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Maharashtra.

Prof. Pushpendra Kumar Singh is professor and chairperson of the Centre for Development Practice and Research, a Patna-based centre of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. His areas of interest include migration, rural labour relations, social movements and public policy. He also worked with ActionAid in various capacities as well as with the Planning Division of UNICEF, Institute for Human Development (IHD) and Asian Development Research Institute (ADRI), Patna

Vishy Teki is an activist and filmmaker (Founder of Communications Resource Centre, Hyderabad). He has worked extensively on public policy campaigns on Special Economic Zones, rights of coastal communities, social discrimination, and issues related to governance in Andhra Pradesh as well as on films pertaining to social issues like 'Fishing in Troubled Waters' and 'Suffering in Silence' (voices of HIV/AIDS persons).

Dr Shefeeque V is an assistant professor at MES Mampad College at the Department of Political Science. He is also working as a research officer with the Kerala State Higher Education Council. He has completed two research projects on reintegration of return migrants into the family and local community funded by UGC and Department of Minority Affairs, Government of Kerala.

Dr Gudavarthy Vijay is Assistant Professor in Economics at the School of Economics, University of Hyderabad and has also taught at the Institute of Public Enterprises and National Academy for Legal Studies

and Research as well as the Institute of Human Development. He has published extensively on labour, migration, industrialization, and environment

Neha Wadwan is the national project coordinator of 'Work in Freedom – Making Migrant Work Safer for Women from South Asia' at the International Labour Organization (ILO). Previously, she has also worked with UNESCO and UNSC Gender Community on setting up a research initiative on Gender, Youth and Migration in South Asia.

Annexure III

Profile of Organisations

ActionAid Association is an organization that works in solidarity with the most marginalized communities to achieve a greater modicum of social and ecological justice. ActionAid believes in the leadership and empowerment of the marginalized and socially-excluded communities, in combating poverty and injustice, and for a life of dignity for all. ActionAid draws inspiration from the Constitution of India and other international covenants that envision a just and equal world.

Citizen's Rights Collective (CiRiC) is the knowledge hub and the advocacy group of ActionAid Association. The group primarily focuses on urban issues from the perspective of common citizens (especially the marginalized) in an effort to build a comprehensive approach towards people-centric development.

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (RLS) is a German political foundation that is part of the grassroots movement of democratic socialism. Bearing the name of Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919), RLS works within the tradition of workers' and women's movements. It serves as a forum for debate and critical thinking about political alternatives, as well as a research centre for progressive social development.

Workers Solidarity Network (WSN) is a collective of experts and practitioners engaged in improving the lives and working conditions of labour in India and abroad. It strives to make expert-technical knowledge on labour and policy accessible to the wider workers' movements and endeavours to create resources for informing contemporary theory and policy with lessons from real-world practice.

Annexure IV

Study on Surat Construction Workers – Presentation Slides

Prayas - Centre For Labour Research And Action

BY
ANUSHKA ROSE,
COORDINATOR- RESEARCH AND
DOCUMENTATION

Geography and Sectors

Destination

- Gujarat
- Rajasthan
- Telangana

Source

- Gujarat
- Rajasthan
- Uttar Pradesh
- Odisha
- Maharashtra

Sectors

- Agriculture – cotton seed production, sugar cane harvesting, wage share cropping
- Brick kilns
- Construction
- Cotton ginning

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Migration streams

Cottonseed farms • North Gujarat	200,000	Raj (Dungarpur, Udaipur), Guj (Sabarkantha, Panchmahal)
Brick kilns • North Central Gujarat	100,000	Chhattisgarh (Bilaspur, Janjgir), Rajasthan (Dungarpur, Nagore), UP (Mathura, Etah), Gujarat (Dahod, Dhandhuka)
Cotton ginning factories • North Central Gujarat	20,000	South & West Rajasthan (Udaipur, Jodhpur), Bihar (Mithila), local workers
Construction • Ahmedabad • Surat	100,000	Tribal districts of Gujarat, MP, Rajasthan

Our Modalities

- Migration stream - unit of organizing
- Work of mobilization in both source and destination
- Working with locals as well as migrants from all states
- Engagement with middle men (sugarcane harvesters)
- Efforts are supported by policy advocacy to link workers with public services

Prayas' Labour Mapping - 01

- Labour & migration mapping - unique tool developed to trace seasonal migrant streams across states
- Purpose of mapping exercise carried out to establish a data base (for instance of Surat construction workers in the city)
- Through one line format and short survey schedules we try to generate information on source and destination of workers and other basic information like number of workers in a family, wage rates prevalent, access to entitlements etc.

Prayas' Labour Mapping - 02

- Separate schedules are used for individual workers at *Nakas* and to map family of workers in *Bastis*.
- For the study on migrant construction workers mapping was undertaken in Surat
- Out of 18 *nakas*, the team mapped 3415 individual workers in 15 *nakas*.
- 1869 families were mapped across 30 *bastis*. (The team found 2 new *bastis* in September). All families present at the time of mapping in the *bastis* were surveyed.

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Mapping of Kadia *Nakas* in Surat

- Of 3415 workers mapped across 15 *nakas*, 3074 (90.08%) were male and 341 (9.98%) were females
- Female respondents were hesitant to respond and often their male counterparts would choose to respond on behalf the females
- Across 15 *nakas* in Surat -Kadodara *Naka*, Kapodara *Naka*, Nilgiri *Naka*, Parvat Patiya *Naka*, and Chowk *Naka* have more respondents, given - prime location of the labor markets & that these *nakas* are amongst the older and popular ones, thus the traffic of workers is also higher.

Profile of the workers

- Of the total respondents mapped at 15 *nakas* of Surat,
 - Scheduled Tribe- 71%
 - OBC- 16%
 - Scheduled Castes- 8.96%
 - Muslim – 2.4%
 - General -2.17%

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Inter-state & Intra-state Migration

It was found there are four major sources of migration:

- Gujarat (Dahod)
 - Madhya Pradesh (Jhabua)
 - Rajasthan (Banswara)
 - Maharashtra (Dhule, Jalgaon, Nandurbar)
- } contiguous tribal region

These regions are tribal belts – explains the higher number of workers who are ST (a highly vulnerable social category)

- Other states includes Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Haryana, Karnataka, Nepal, Punjab, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh

Workers being ferried to work site from Chowk Naka



Age distribution of the Respondents



- Certain clustering can be observed around the age group of 22-31 years for all states with 37% respondents falling under this age group;
- While 28% of the total workers fall under the age group of 32-41 years
- We know that a workers' most productive years are between 18-45 years of age, which explains the clustering

Education Level



- 44.7% of total respondents were illiterate
- 22.5% of workers have studied up till the Secondary level of school (a number of students migrate to Surat to work during their vacations)
- Interestingly, there were candidates pursuing post graduation & undergraduate studies

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Nature of work

- Of the total respondents, 69.8% worked as unskilled workers
- Rest 30% were employed as skilled workers
- Almost all women respondents were working as unskilled workers



Incidence of non-payment of wages

- Majority of respondents 73.08% have faced once or more instances of non-payment of wages
- A minority of 26%, have not faced non-payment of wages (ever)
- Large incidence of non-payment is due to the informal & unregulated nature of the sector – the structure makes the migrant workers one of the most vulnerable groups in the economy

Workers on the move

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Access to entitlements as construction workers

- 97.71% respondents were not registered with the BOCW (neither at source nor destination)
- Usually one of the family members were registered thus we found that only 4 women were registered with the Board
- Correspondingly out of the 78 respondents who were registered, only 17 were accessing the benefits under the various provisions of the board
- This means that construction workers who have membership with the board may not necessarily guarantee access to the Board benefits

Housing conditions for workers

- For type of accommodation among the workers in *nakas*:
 - Open settlements -56.90% (settlements on footpaths, along railway tracks, canals, under the bridges)
 - Rented -38.74%
 - Own -4.13%
 - Govt. provided -0.06%
 - On-Site accommodation- 0.18%



Mapping of *Bastis* across the city of Surat- 01

- The team surveyed 30 *bastis* across the city
- Majority of the respondents – 93.47% of 1869 families were Scheduled Tribes from the tribal belt of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan
- Many have been coming to the city for more than 10 years, spending about 6-10 months in the city and who return to the villages for 15 days to a couple of months for festivals or sowing/harvesting time.

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Mapping of *Bastis* across the city of Surat-02

- While mapping *bastis* – region wise clustering in the settlements was found.

(Amidkhura *basti* – all 102 families were from Dahod region of Gujarat; Botanical Garden *basti* has large number of families from Dahod and Rajasthan. Similar trend is true for MP, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan.)

- *Bastis* also tend to concentrate around a labour stand. Families shared that they do not want to spend much on travelling and therefore prefer to stay near to their *nakas*.



Years spent living in the city

- Almost 49% of the respondents have spent up to five years in the city
- While 28% of the population has spent more than 10 years up till 15 years

Thus in terms of years spent in the city, migrant workers do spend a considerable time as inhabitants of the city ; and are circular migrants, who come through out the year for work and live in the city for 6-10 months

All 1869 families mapped (in *Bastis*) were living in untenable slums – which means they live outside all public services and basic utilities (like water, sanitation), and Govt schemes & benefits

Identity Documents

- About 99% families had identity documents in the place of origin
- Only 4 out of the total sample of 1869 families, were able to get an identity document (domicile certificate) of Surat

Lack of identity documents of destination reduces the migrant construction worker families' eligibility to access based services.

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Women and Children at the AMC ground Badi, Parvat Puriya

Children and Women in *Bastis*

- Across 1869 families in 30 *bastis*
- 447 children 0-6 years (infants and pre-school children)
- 247 children 6-14 years (school-aged children)
- many of children who were above 15 years get absorbed as workers in the construction sector
- There were 31 women reported as pregnant & 41 were reported at lactating across the 30 *bastis*
- This indicates how a vulnerable group such as women & children of migrant workers living in *bastis*, need to be recognized and their access to health and nutrition services – both at the source & at the destination of the migration are needed to be ensured



Conclusion from the study - 01

- A large segment of migrant construction workers at the *nakas* are found to be ST
- It was found that 93% of the sample population in the 30 *bastis* mapped across Surat were tribal migrant
- Data indicates that the most socially vulnerable group such as the ST population have no other alternative besides living in untenable settlements
- Housing of the workers is largely untenable (living in temporary shanties – thereby tend to remain without any basic utilities – migrant workers continue to live in sub-human conditions in Surat)

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Contd.

- Lack of administrative identity documents – worker families remain administratively unidentified and without identity documents
- Majority of migrant construction workers continue to stay outside the ambit of BOCW and its provisions
- Over 70% of workers have faced at least one instance of non-payment of wages – which indicates the inefficiency of the monitoring mechanisms of Labour departments and legal enforcement agencies



Workers assembled in the morning to seek work at Parvat Patiya naka

Recommendations -01



- Ensure effective labour law mechanisms to protect a highly vulnerable labouring community from exploitation
- Ensure registration of migrant construction workers with the BOCW and incorporate social security provisions of the Board
- Ensuring some form of Identity Documents in destination of migration - both as construction workers and of the address in the city.
- Ensure entitlements of children and women (who together form a socially vulnerable group) living in these untenable *bustis*

Recommendations-02



- Recognition of workers as a homeless and have appropriate housing schemes such SUH, workers' hostel, family shelters, low cost rental housing arrangements etc, should be designed and included in the Master Plan of Surat.

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Challenges



- Rethinking the panaceas of collectivization (occupation based unions, community based collectives/organizations)
- Rethinking the organic intellectuals- perhaps not the kinds who are put through bureaucratized capacity building programs but who emerges out of struggles-may be from amongst the members..
- Continuous engagement with migrant members while they are in the destination of work
- Through conscientization program - Use of Affect as a way of engendering influence to inspire becoming of collectives



- Given employer- employee relationships are difficult to work through -the layers of Sub contracted arrangements which makes implementation of laws and claim making difficult
- What are the possible imaginations of collectivization which can work—given the history of both success and failure of the conventional models of unionization....across the post colonial spectrum in the sub continent..

Annexure V

Labour Market Segmentation, Migration and the Future of Work – Presentation Slides

Labour Market Segmentation, Migration and the Future of Work: The Story of Indian Economy

Rahul Suresh Sapkal (PhD)
Assistant Professor (Economics and Public Policy)
Maharashtra National Law University Mumbai

Presentation at:
Roundtable on "Improving the Conditions of Work and living for Circular migrants in India"
3rd June, 2019
Action Aid, RLS New Delhi and WSN

Structure of the talk

- Background
- The Big Picture
- Theoretical arguments
- LMS & Future of Work
- Data Analytics
- The Way Forward

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Background:

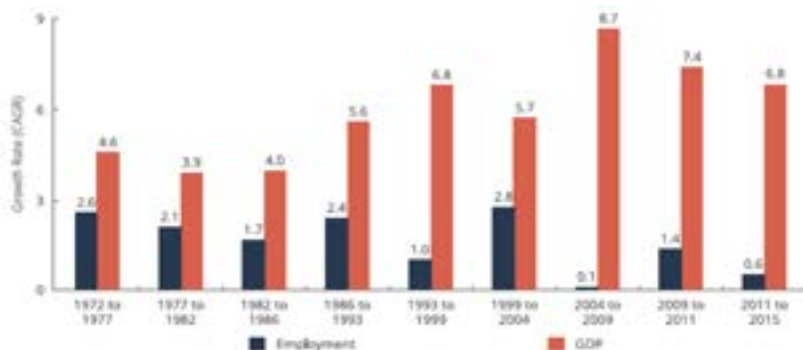
- GDP= Factor of Payments/Income f(L,K,E,T)
- Labour= A Big player -> (Production, Distribution)= AD=AS
- Around the world, the share of labour to the gross value added is declining-stagnant – Worrisome?
- The Job debate in recent period.

Share of factor payments in growth of GVA (%)							
	Wages to workers	Total emoluments	Rent paid	Interest paid	Profits	Others	GAGR of GVA
1980-81 to 1990-91	20.7	10.4	1.6	27.2	20.6	18.2	16.0
1990-91 to 2000-01	13.2	27.5	2.9	24.8	22.2	27.5	11.2
2001-01 to 2010-11	10.1	22.7	1.5	11.6	49.5	14.6	19.5
Total change	10.9	23.7	1.7	13.8	45.2	15.7	14.5

- The phenomenon of labour market segmentation- observed/increasing- the term “Segmentation” Latin words “segmentum”- the division of the labour market into separate submarkets or segments, distinguished by **different characteristics** and **behavioural rules**. Segmentation may arise from particularities of labour market institutions, such as governing **contractual arrangements** (segmentation along permanent/temporary nature of employment contracts), from **lack of enforcement** (segmentation along formal/informal line), types of workers concerned (such as migrant and non-migrant workers) as well as **social markers**.
- **Objective:** To examine degree of transitions between various segments, consequences of segmentation for **equity and efficiency** of labour market outcomes, and viability of policies aimed at alleviating negative consequences of segmentation.

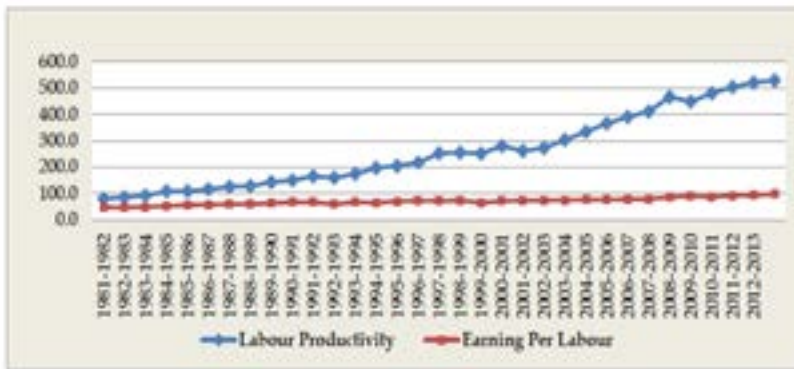
The State of Labour Markets in India (The Big Picture)

- Growth creates **fewer jobs** than it used to;
- There is a slowdown in **the replacement of workers** by machines but work is becoming more precarious in the organised manufacturing sector;
- Productivity has increasingly **diverged** from wages;
- **'Surplus Labour'** industries still dominate as 'new' service economy grows slowly;
- Caste & Gender **disparities in earnings** remain very large;
- **Pushing the LM into a new form of vulnerable regime** arising from precarious work which workers are doing and segmented by gender, race, ethnicity, Caste, citizenship status, and religion



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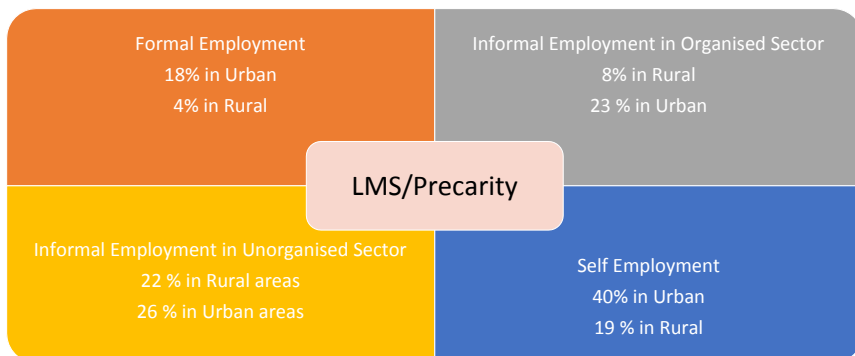


Note: Labour productivity is measured as real GVA per employee; earnings per employee are all real earnings including wages and all other emoluments.

How do we proceed further?

- What models of distributive justice can we adopt to challenge the spread of insecurity, inequality and social fragmentation?
- Laboring workers->Rights of workers->Decent work
- Transition from state socialism->Welfare State Capitalism->Neoliberal state (VoC's)- SBR
- Since the 1970s, globalization, flexible labour markets and supply-side economics have increased insecurity and inequalities. After a period dominated by libertarianism and supply-side economics, politicians and social thinkers must now find ways of promoting distributive justice

Structure of Labour Market in India

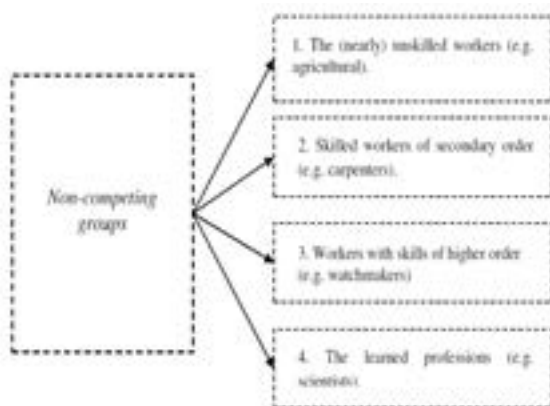
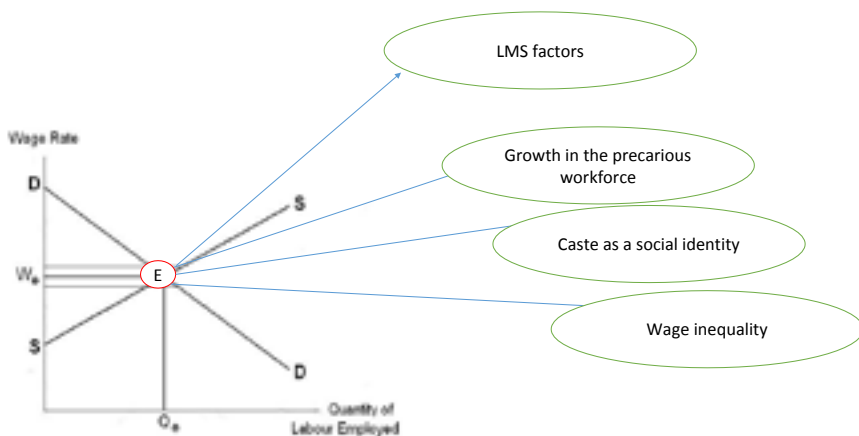


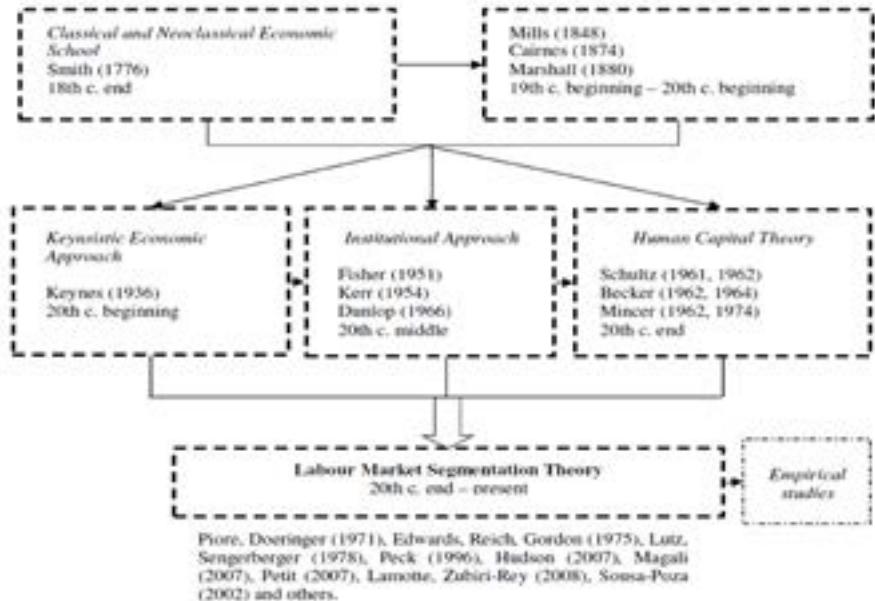
Theoretical Arguments



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MACRO TRENDS IN SEGMENTED LABOUR MARKET (THE BIG PICTURE)

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LMS and the Future of Work- I

	% point change in share of of employment				% point change in share of GDP			
	1993 to 1999	1999 to 2004	2004 to 2011	2011 to 2015	1993 to 1999	1999 to 2004	2004 to 2011	2011 to 2015
Agriculture	-2.88	-3.22	-9.60	-1.99	-5.39	-4.31	-5.49	-3.24
Industry	1.19	2.32	6.13	-1.36	0.23	1.31	1.04	-0.91
Services	1.69	0.89	3.47	3.36	5.17	3.00	4.35	4.15
	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Services				
All India (Total Employment Share)	46.1	10.5	11.3	31.4				

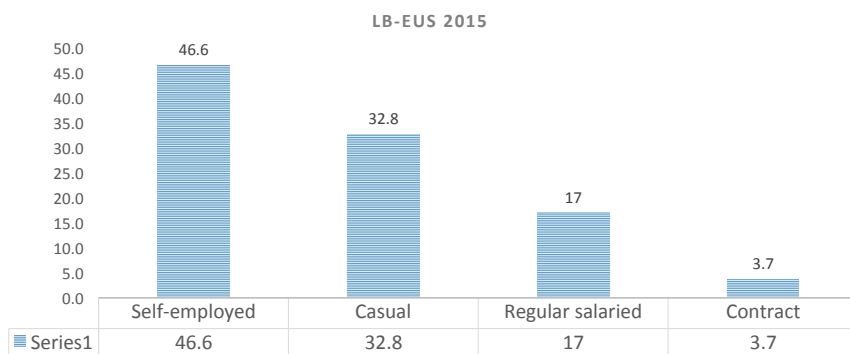
LMS 1- Sector- Decline in the share of employment in agriculture sector & industry than services sector- sectorial segmentation- and deceleration in growth- restrict labour mobility

	Men			Women		
	1999	2004	2011	1999	2004	2011
FE	19.1	12.6	11.2	16.5	13.1	9.1
SE	42.4	46.2	41.6	49.9	53.8	49.6
IIE	27.7	28.0	30.9	20.3	15.5	19.9
IFE	10.5	13.2	16.4	13.4	17.7	21.3

Source: Author's computations using unit-level data from relevant rounds of NSS EUS

Note: FE- formal employment, IIE- informal employment in informal enterprises, IFE- informal employment in formal enterprises, SE- self-employment.

LMS 2- Share of Self Employment and IIE is higher for both male and female. Share of female is higher in IFE than male

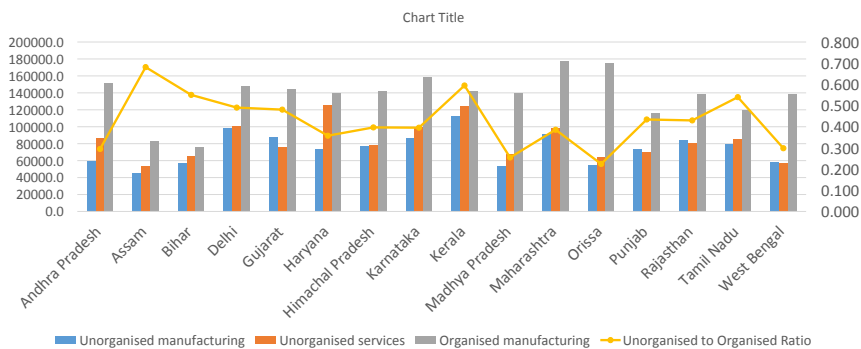
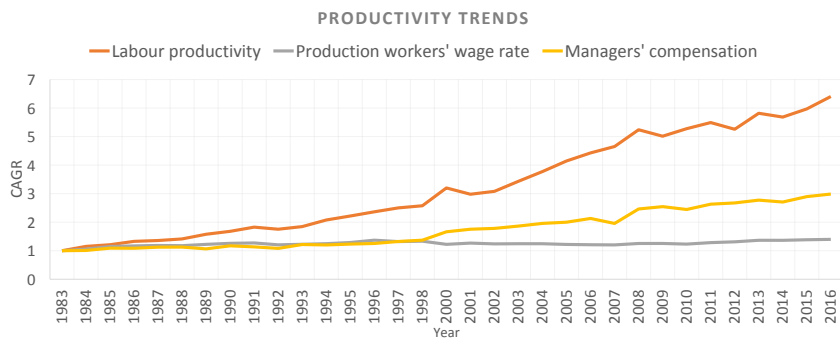


	Levels of Formality in Manufacturing, Construction and Services		
	Share of sectoral workforce (%)		
	Manufacturing	Construction	Services
Regular	62.2	8.6	86.9
Regular + benefits	24.1	2.2	51.6
Regular + benefits + written contract	10.3	1.0	28.2

**LMS 3- Level of formality determine- quality of jobs- and proxy for good job-
Construction and manufacturing sector indicate low level of formality- changing
structure of work arrangements**

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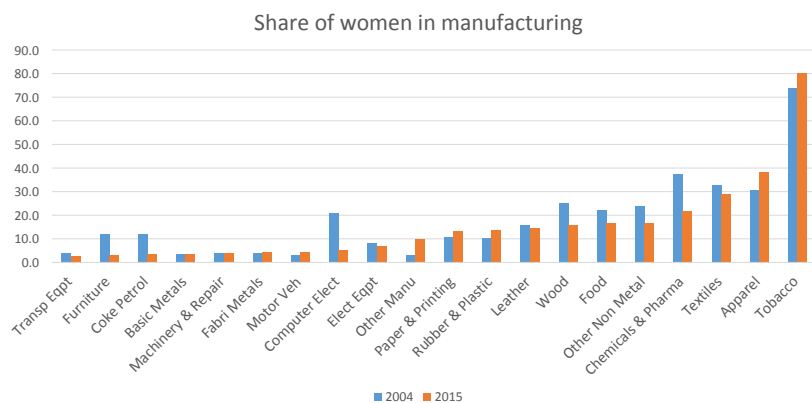
The World of Work: A Gendered View

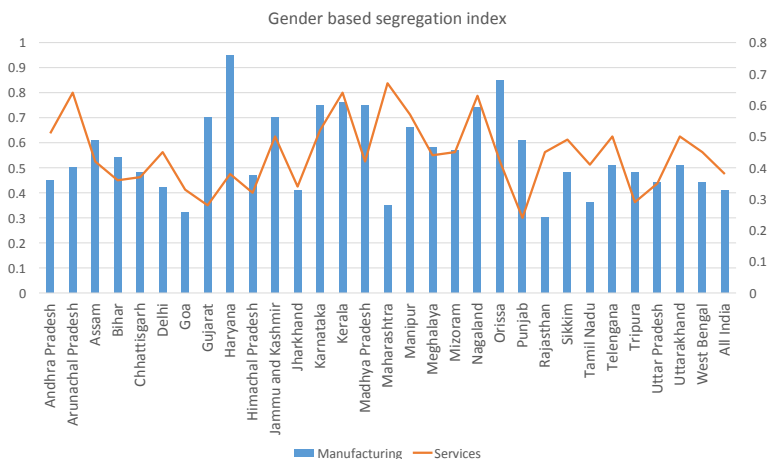
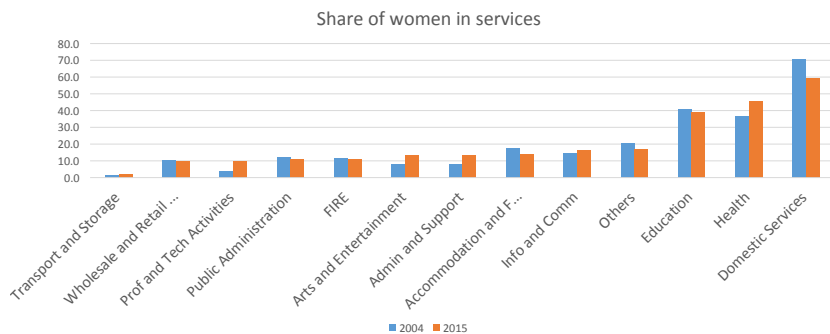
	Share of Women in Various Occupations	
	Share of women in an occupation (%)	
Occupation	2011	2015
Plant and Machine	5.2	3.7
Senior officials and managers	13.0	7.1
Clerks	16.9	14.0
Personal services, sales and security	14.8	17.3
Craft and Trade	18.6	18.9
Skilled agriculture and fisheries	25.6	22.6
Professionals	22.2	22.8
Elementary occupations	27.2	28.6
Technical and associate professionals	28.7	30.8
Total	22.2	21.8

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Share of Women in Various Sectors		
	Share of women in a sector (%)	
	2004	2015
Agriculture	34.9	28.6
Manufacturing	26.4	22.2
Construction	9.9	10.0
Services	16.7	16.3





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Empirical Analysis (NFHS-4)

Women employed all year/season	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
all year	20,530	55.17	55.17
seasonal	14,446	38.82	93.99
occasional	2,237	6.01	100
Total	37,213	100	

Women currently working	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
no	93,713	76.59	76.59
yes	28,638	23.41	100
Total	122,351	100	

Women's occupation (grouped)	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
not in work force/no occupation	85,138	69.59	69.59
professional/technical/managerial	3,458	2.83	72.41
clerical	474	0.39	72.8
sales	1,874	1.53	74.33
agricultural	18,465	15.09	89.42
services/household and domestic	4,002	3.27	92.69
manual - skilled and unskilled	7,534	6.16	98.85
don't know	1,406	1.15	100
Total	122,351	100	

	Type of earnings					Type of earnings				
Currently working	not paid	cash only	cash and in-kind	in-kind only	Total	not paid	cash only	cash and in-kind	in-kind only	Total
No	2,302	4,867	930	476	8,575	6.19	13.08	2.50	1.28	23.04
Yes	4,923	20,079	2,556	1,080	28,638	13.23	53.96	6.87	2.90	76.96
Total	7,225	24,946	3,486	1,556	37,213	19.42	67.04	9.37	4.18	100.00

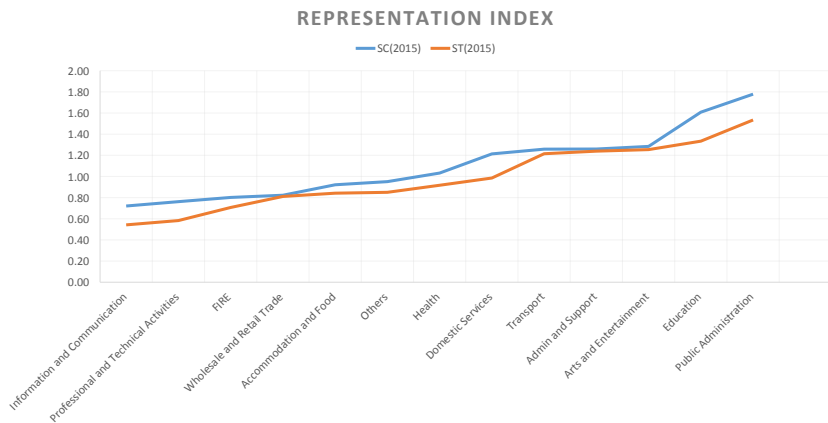
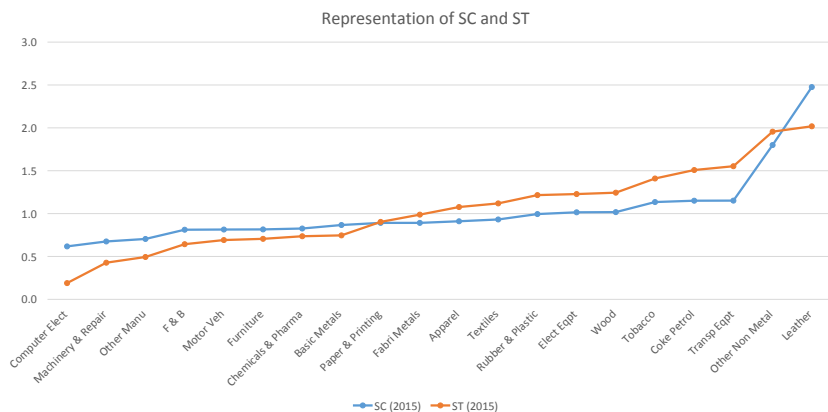
Current ly working	No Education	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total	No Education	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total
no	22,921	10,978	48,798	11,016	93,713	18.73	8.97	39.88	9.00	76.59
yes	10,047	4,180	10,866	3,545	28,638	8.21	3.42	8.88	2.90	23.41
Total	32,968	15,158	59,664	14,561	122,351	26.95	12.39	48.76	11.90	100.00

CASTE THAT DIVIDES THE WORLD OF WORK

	SC and ST Groups Are Over-Represented in Poorly Paid Occupations while Upper Castes are Over-Represented in Well-Paid Ones				
	Representation Index				
	SC	ST	OBC	Others	Average Income
Elementary occupations	1.52	1.18	0.93	0.64	4014
Skilled agriculture and fisheries	0.73	1.44	1.03	0.98	5646
Craft and trade	1.00	0.54	1.16	0.95	6854
Plant and machine	0.90	0.74	1.07	1.07	8234
Personal services, sales and security	0.76	0.57	1.08	1.24	8803
Senior officials and managers	0.51	0.44	1.02	1.55	13633
Technical and associate professionals	0.67	0.66	0.91	1.51	14267
Clerks	0.71	0.61	0.86	1.56	15952
Professionals	0.54	0.40	0.85	1.78	20056

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	Caste Earnings Gaps Are Largest for Self-Employed Workers and Smallest for Regular Workers		
	Caste Earning Gap		
STATUS	SC/Others	ST/Others	OBC/others
Employer	0.46	0.46	0.69
Own Account Worker	0.64	0.60	0.79
Regular	0.68	0.72	0.76
Contract	0.71	0.68	0.84
Casual - public	0.79	0.72	0.88
Casual - private	0.90	0.81	1.05
Casual - agriculture	0.92	0.86	0.96

Caste as a social identity

- Caste plays a significant role at every stage of an Indian's economic life. By virtue of being born into a particular caste group determines the person's ability to access market opportunities, initial endowments and capability to harness his/her full potentials.
- Caste as an institution drives in the power dynamics in the production, distribution and redistribution of economic goods leading to inefficiency in the market. Thorat and Desphnade (1999) argues that following Ambedkar's views, that caste induced power dynamics and discrimination not only causes the overall economic inefficiency and societal deadweight loss but also acute deprivation.

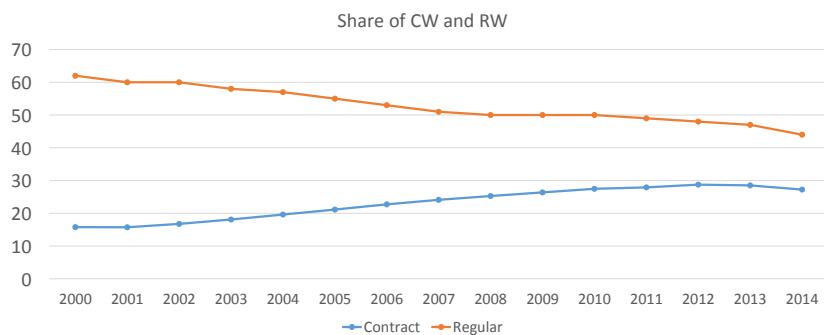
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- With the rise of global capitalism and liberalization drives, few scholars have argued that markets processes may blurs social divide in the economy and provide a level playing field for all. Theoretically, the assumption is the allocation of resources will be efficient, because the global forces eliminates the demand and supply side constraints. On the other hand, a sizeable section of scholars have argued that the forces of globalization has resulted into caste differentials in consumption, income, education, occupation and development indices (Deshpande 2011; Siddique 2011; Thorat and Newman 2007, 2010; Munshi and Rozenzweig 2006, 2009).
- Caste as an institution is re-emerging in a stratified way to block the resources at the allocation level.

	Model 1		Model 2							
	Dependent Variable dummy if Temporary =1		Temporary contract if no written contact		Temporary contract if < 1 year		Temporary contract if >1 and < 3 years		Temporary contract >3 years	
	2009-10	2011-12	2009-10	2011-12	2009-10	2011-12	2009-10	2011-12	2009-10	2011-12
Religion (Base= Hindu)										
Muslim (Dummy=1 or else=0)	2.13***	1.89***	1.48***	1.53***	1.32**	1.47***	1.01**	1.35**	0.91**	1.29**
Other religious community (Dummy=1 or else=0)	1.91**	1.86***	1.55***	1.69**	1.42** *	1.72***	1.29**	1.55** *	1.01**	1.38**
Social Group (Base= General)										
ST (Dummy=1 or else=0)	1.52***	1.36***	0.85**	0.66**	0.99** *	0.89***	1.15** *	0.98** *	1.36**	1.12** *
SC (Dummy=1 or else=0)	2.15***	1.96**	0.91***	0.93***	0.85** *	0.86***	0.43** *	0.56** *	1.10** *	1.69** *
OBC (Dummy=1 or else=0)	1.92**	1.85**	0.12*	0.33*	0.45**	0.62**	0.57*	0.73** *	0.89**	0.96**

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT: REGULAR OR NON-REGULAR



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	2009-10 (66 th round EUS)			2011-12 (68 th round EUS)		
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Permanent	Temporary	Total
Type of Employment	74.17	25.83	100.00	70.97	29.03	100.00
Trade Union Membership						
Yes	73.66	54.21	100.00	69.26	38.21	100.00
No	26.33	45.79	100.00	30.74	61.79	100.00
Gender						
Male	74.91	25.08	100.00	76.10	23.90	100.00
Female	39.71	60.29	100.00	36.18	63.82	100.00
Economic Activity						
Self Employed Own Account workers	47.51	19.54	39.54	42.73	17.22	36.39
Self Employed Employer	3.41	3.05	1.10	2.23	0.40	1.77
Unpaid family workers	19.10	6.34	17.57	17.67	8.01	15.27
Wage/salary workers	16.94	34.65	20.43	23.02	20.24	22.33
Casual wage labour in public works	1.58	4.53	3.15	0.52	2.85	1.10
Casual wage labour in other works	11.46	31.89	18.21	13.82	51.29	23.12

PRECARITY: A NEW FORM OF SEGMENTATION

	2009-10 (66 th round EUS)	2011-12 (68 th round EUS)
No Written Contracts	76.13	79.55
<1 year	3.09	16.59
> 1 year and < 3 years	1.17	0.51
> 3 years	19.62	3.35
Total	100.00	100.00

How do we define precarious work?

Dimension	Description	Indicators used in the Study
Income Security	Having sufficient income or earnings from work.	MPCE of the workers; Eligibility for paid leave; Availability of social security benefits
Labour Market Security	Adequate employment and work opportunities.	Regularity of Work; Nature of Employment
Employment security	Protection against arbitrary dismissal and employment stability.	Type of Job Contract
Work Security	Security of having a safe and healthy workplace.	Location of Workplace
Skills reproduction security	Widespread opportunities to gain and retain skills.	Skill level of the job
Representation or security	Source: Authors' calculations and Anker (2002); Standing (2002)	

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Quantity of Work Indicators

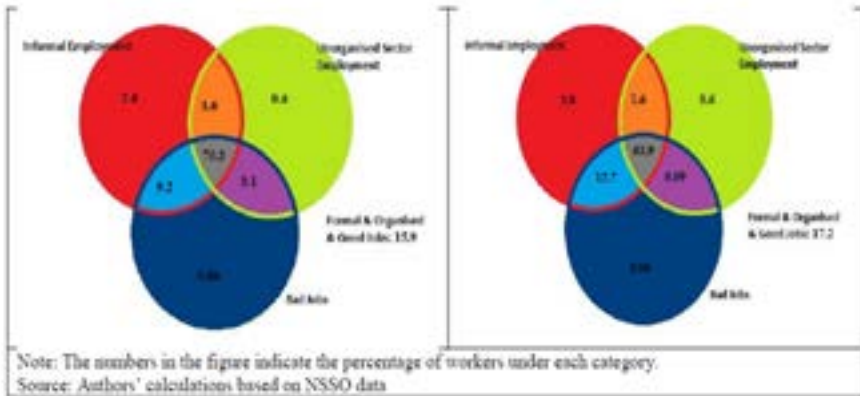
Work-based Security Dimensions	Formal Employment			Informal Employment			Organised Sector Employment			Unorganised Sector Employment		
	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Income Security	0.57	0.55	0.56	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.31	0.27	0.26	0.01	0.02	0.02
Labour Market Security	0.95	0.91	0.94	0.78	0.74	0.78	0.81	0.76	0.79	0.80	0.77	0.81
Employment Security	0.72	0.61	0.63	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.42	0.33	0.32	0.01	0.01	0.01
Work Security	0.91	0.95	0.97	0.64	0.63	0.66	0.83	0.84	0.88	0.62	0.60	0.62
Skills Reproduction Security	0.53	0.52	0.56	0.38	0.36	0.38	0.44	0.40	0.41	0.38	0.39	0.40
Representation Security	0.66	0.54	0.53	0.11	0.11	0.10	0.41	0.31	0.29	0.11	0.11	0.10
Total	0.72	0.68	0.70	0.32	0.32	0.33	0.54	0.48	0.49	0.32	0.32	0.33

Characteristics of the two clusters in the job quality dimensions

Work-based Security Dimensions	Cluster 1 (Bad Jobs)			Cluster 2 (Good Jobs)		
	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12	2004-05	2009-10	2011-12
Income Security	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.51	0.55	0.48
Labour Market Security	0.78	0.74	0.78	0.92	0.92	0.91
Employment Security	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.64	0.63	0.55
Work Security	0.62	0.63	0.64	0.91	0.97	0.97
Skills Reproduction Security	0.38	0.36	0.37	0.52	0.55	0.54
Representation Security	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.56	0.55	0.45
Total	0.31	0.31	0.32	0.67	0.69	0.65

Note: See note for Table 2.

Source: Authors' calculations based on NSSO data



The way forward:

- The Future of work, working conditions and its structure becoming complex, intrinsic and tendency to create deadweight loss.
- Growing incidence of precarity- and vulnerability
- Discrimination, Precarity and Hate crimes _ Causal relationships-
- Constitutional spirit- in providing legal entitlements to workers
- Promoting – Flexicurity Model- Income and Social Security- Human Capital Formation
- Serious attention- for graded inequality – Inclusive policy approach

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