



EVALUATION STUDY OF MIGRATION OF LABOUR TO AND FROM KARNATAKA

EXTERNAL
EVALUATION



ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಮೌಲ್ಯಮಾಪನ ಪ್ರಾಧಿಕಾರ
Karnataka Evaluation Authority

STUDY CONDUCTED FOR
KARNATAKA EVALUATION AUTHORITY
AND
DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR,
GOVERNMENT OF KARNATAKA
BY

M/S COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
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PREFACE

The study on 'Migration of Labour to and from Karnataka' is an attempt to understand and bring out the various push and pull factors that contribute to labour migration within and outside the Karnataka State. It was initiated by Labour Department to be taken up by Karnataka Evaluation Authority (KEA). KEA outsourced the study to the ECO Council for Social Development New Delhi. The study analyses the intra district and inter district migration from Yadgir and Koppal to Bangalore and Mysore and from Karnataka State to Goa and Sholapur (Maharashtra). A sample of 518 migrant labourers is taken from these groups of migrants for study. The findings of the study indicate that migration is mainly due to lack availability of work in the local place and it is more prevalent among the poor and marginalized groups.

The study received constant support and guidance of the Additional Chief Secretary / Principal Secretary and the Secretary Planning, Programme Monitoring and Statistics Department, Government of Karnataka. The officers of the department also extended their support and cooperation by providing the necessary information. The quality of the report is ensured through a review by members of the Technical Committee of KEA, and an Independent Assessor. Their useful insights and suggestions have enhanced the quality of the draft report.

I expect that the findings and recommendations of the study will be useful to the Department in formulating effective strategies to meet the practical needs of the migrants and to mitigate the magnitude of migration in the State.



Chief Evaluation Officer
Karnataka Evaluation Authority

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We are grateful to Karnataka Evaluation Authority for providing us an opportunity to work on this extremely crucial study. We are short of words in expressing our gratitude to Mr. Shiv Raj Singh (CEO, KEA) and members of Technical Committee for their valuable inputs and support. We are also thankful to Mr. M. Ranganna (PC, KEA) for his support.

We express our gratitude to Late Anita Kaul, former Director of CSD, who played a crucial role in leading this project. We are deeply thankful to our senior colleagues at the Council for Social Development (CSD), specially Prof. Muchkund Dubey, Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty, Prof. K B Saxena, Prof. Imrana Qadeer, Prof. T Haque and Prof. Ashok Pankaj who guided us through this project, starting from conceptualization, study tool designing and conducting study. We are especially thankful to CSD's Director Prof. Ashok Pankaj for his guidance and generous support in facilitating research, especially for field work in Yadgir, Koppal and Solapur.

We are grateful to Ms Suparna Majumdar Kar at Christ Church University and Prof. Rahul Tripathi and Dr Shringare Alaknanda P. at Goa University who helped us in identifying investigators. The students and activists who conducted study in Karnataka, Goa and Solapur were: Sameera, Jayant, Prajwal, Santosha, Apeksha, Madhu, Deepa, Irawa, Christopher, Anand, Rashmi, Bharati and Vinay. We are deeply grateful to these young scholars.

We are deeply indebted to migrant labour and concerned personnel who spared time to participate in and contributed to this study. Without their cooperation, the study would not have been completed. We dedicate this report to the migrant labor participants of this study.

March 26, 2017
New Delhi

Dr Anamika Priyadarshini
(Project Director)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Study

“Study of Migration of Labour to and from Karnataka” aimed at understanding the factors that influence the push and pull factors in Karnataka by analyzing available data and literature and conducting a study with 518 migrant labour in Karnataka, Goa and Solapur. The study participant migrants included: intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal; inter-district migrants from Yadgir and Koppal in Bangalore and Mysore; inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore; inter-state migrants from Karnataka in Goa and Solapur.

The current assignment is to prepare a document on various push and pull factors that shape labour mobility and more importantly lives of migrant labour in Karnataka as well as Karnataka’s labour migrating outside Karnataka. Council for Social Development (CSD) has been assigned the study after signing a contract with KEA (Karnataka Evaluation Authority).

Objectives

The main objectives of the study are to examine:

- ▶ Factors that motivate/compel individuals and families to migrate
- ▶ Social and economic profile of migrant labourers and their families
- ▶ Extent of migration of labourers compared to the total strength of labourers in an area
- ▶ Proportion of migrants who:
 - migrate alone

- migrate with their families
- migrate with only adult members of the family
- ▶ Typical movement annual calendar for the three categories of migrant labourers
- ▶ Comparative analysis of facilities in terms of better income, housing, food, access to health care, education etc.
- ▶ Condition of women and children of those migrant labourers' families who migrate with families and who leave families behind
- ▶ Savings and remittance pattern of migrant labourers' and their families
- ▶ Impact of MNREGA on migration
- ▶ Process of implementation of the Inter-state Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act 1979 and awareness level regarding the Act among migrant labour, their employer and the enforcement machinery
- ▶ Availability and impact of redressal mechanism of grievances of migrant labours and similar (like the 1979 Act) regulatory protection for intra-state migrant labours
- ▶ State's possible role in improving migrant labours' skill to ensure better opportunities
- ▶ Impact of labour inflow from other states in Karnataka on employment opportunities of Karnataka's resident labourers and on the status of crime and law and order in the state

Sample

Study was conducted with following groups' migrant labours:

- 218 inter-district migrants in Bangalore and Mysore from
 - Doranhalli (Shahpur taluk), Yediapur (Shorapur taluk), Ashoknagar (Yadgir taluk) and Chintenpalli (Yadgir taluk) villages in Yadgir district
 - Mainhalli (Koppal taluk), Alwandi (Koppal taluk), Siddapura (Gangawati taluk) and Venkatpur (Kushtagi taluk)
- 143 inter-state migrants from 11 states (West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Assam) in Bangalore and Mysore
- 56 intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal
- 51 inter-state migrants in Goa from-
 - Joida village of Uttara Kannada district (Karnataka) and
 - Kauar, Mukhnar, Tigadi and Pathihal villages of Belgaum district (Karnataka)
- 50 inter-state migrants from Vijayapura , Raichur and Gulbarga district of Karnataka in Solapur

Methodology

The study was conducted in six districts of three states. We adopted a mixed method approach, which included tools like survey, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Combination of qualitative and quantitative tools facilitated us in capturing the complex socio-economic realities of diversified groups of intra-district, inter-district and inter-state

migrant participants of six study districts. Study tools were used for the pilot study first and after the pilot study report was approved by KEA, the same tools were adopted for the study.

Main Findings

- I. Unavailability of work was recognized as the most compelling reason behind migration. Over 60 per cent participants at all study sites noted that they migrated not because of better wages or to explore more livelihood options but because there was no work available.
- II. Over 68 per cent participants from socially marginalized castes (SC, ST and OBC) of this study were landless, with highest proportion of landless SCs. Labour migration is most common among SCs and most uncommon among socially privileged castes (Other/General caste category).
- III. More than 50 per cent migrants in all three categories (intra-district, inter-district and inter-state) earned less than Rs 6000 per month. Study indicates that labour with a family income of more than Rs 25000 usually do not migrate.
- IV. About 74 per cent women and 79 per cent men participants of this study noted that they have never witnessed gender based discrimination at work place of their migration destination. About 62 per cent women and 77 per cent men believed that there is no discrimination at work places of their native place as well.
- V. Over 64 per cent women migrants' annual income is less than Rs 75000 whereas 61 per cent of male migrant participants' annual income was above Rs 75000. This trend also reflects the prevalence of gender-based wage discrimination, a commonly accepted malpractice acknowledge by over 73 per cent female and 84 per cent male labour participants.
- VI. Over 90 per cent participants from Yadgir and Koppal, both working within home-district and other districts of Bangalore and Mysore, considered living condition of their native place better than their migration destination.
- VII. Majority of participants felt the condition of affordable and accessible education for children and health care facilities to be of good quality in Karnataka. Participants of

Karnataka were very appreciative about their native place's education and health care facilities.

- VIII. Migration of labour, especially in Karnataka, is also connected to affordability as it requires financial ability to spend for travelling as well as surviving until finding work at a place far away from the nexus of home and family. Inter-state and inter-district migration is not common for extremely poor workers in Karnataka.
- IX. Caste and gender based violence was also recognized as a push factor by inter-state migrants in Karnataka. Some SC migrants shared that the violence they had to experience by local people in Begur (Bangalore) did not affect them much as subjugation to violence on a regular basis was a common phenomenon at their native village. An Oriya garment factory worker also shared that verbal abuse at the factory doesn't bother her much as she had been subjected to regular physical violence in her marital home.
- X. With declining industrial significance and livelihood opportunities, Solapur has not remained a preferred destination of migration for people from Karnataka, including those hailing from Joida (Uttara Kannada) and Belgaum.
- XI. Despite declining industrial significance, migrant labour participants in Solapur were living and working in a comparatively better condition. Because of the initiatives taken by the government, many of the migrant labour participants, who have settled in Solapur, owned house in regularized colonies. They had access to regular electricity, toilets, water supply and welfare policies which made their life easier and to some extent healthier as well.

Limitations

- The most critical constraint of this study emerged due to pre-defined sample. Finding exact sample was not possible for three of the six study districts.
- Majority of the migrant workers are not registered. In this context, finding exact size of migrants in any administrative unit was a major challenge.
- 2011 Census data on migration at district level has not been published yet and it is not possible to find district wise data on migration. The district Census Handbook has data on

workforce and main and marginal workers but not on migration. Migration data is not available at District Labour Offices as well. Hence, finding required data on the extent of migration of labourers compared to the total strength of labourers in an area was not possible.

Short Term Recommendations

- ▶ Effective implementation of MNREGS and generating livelihood options at local level
- ▶ Ensuring farmer's access to seeds, fertilizer etc. at subsidized rates and also availability of loan at lower interest rate
- ▶ Ensuring easy access to credit to small entrepreneurs and petty traders
- ▶ Stringent law/policies to counter monopoly of unregistered contractors who charge commission from migrant workers of almost all study sites
- ▶ Effective implementation of redressal mechanism
- ▶ Strengthening bodies and cells meant for protection of women workers' rights and ensuring their safety at work place
- ▶ Creating provision for organizing regular training workshops to educate workers' about their rights
- ▶ Creating provision for organizing workshops on gender sensitization

Long Term Recommendations

- ▶ Adequate measure to generate employment at local level

- ▶ Enhancing awareness about Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA)
- ▶ Convergence of MNREGA with other developmental programmes/projects at local level
- ▶ Ensuring easy access to good quality health care services and education for children (specially in other states as most of the migrant labours of Karnataka were appreciative about the quality and accessibility of education and health care services at their native place)
- ▶ Effective implementation of welfare policies, specially pertaining to income generation, health and education
- ▶ Stringent policies to discourage child labour
- ▶ Stringent policies to stop gender based wage discrimination
- ▶ Effective implementation of policies for protection of rights of migrant women and children
- ▶ Effective role of anti-sexual harassment committees

Policy Changes

- ▶ Ensuring registration of migrant workers and issue them identity cards.
- ▶ This identity card should also ensure their access to:
 - PDS shop at migration destination
 - Public health care institutions

- Government schools

- ▶ Formulation of policies to ensure migrant workers' easy access to basic services such as health, sanitation and also other necessary welfare services
- ▶ Stringent policies to discourage violation of migrant workers' rights; exploitation of women migrant workers; wage discrimination; and child labour
- ▶ Formulation of policies/laws to regulate unregistered contractors
- ▶ Provision to organize training workshop on rights of migrant workers at work sites for workers, employers and management staff
- ▶ Provision to organize gender sensitization workshops at work sites for both male and female workers as well as employers and management staff

INTRODUCTION

Context: Migration in Karnataka

The pattern of growth in the past two-three decades has steadily widened the gap between agriculture and non-agriculture; between rural and urban areas; and also between the states with good and critical growth indicators. It has steadily concentrated in a few areas and a few states. In India, states like Karnataka, Kerala and Gujarat emerged as promising zones of development, a dynamic often conflated with economic growth, whereas states like Bihar, Orissa and Chhattisgarh are known for appalling growth indicators. Migration of labour from states with critical growth indicators to states with comparatively better growth indicators, often manifested in more and better livelihood options, is a common phenomenon. But intra-state migration within states like Karnataka reflect various complex layers of a socio-economic context that influence labour mobility, including push factors in a comparatively well-to-do state.

Like many other Indian states, intra-state migration is not uncommon in Karnataka. The state, however, is primarily known for its pull factors as it draws thousands of labour as well as professionals from other parts of the country every year. Nevertheless, peripheral characteristics are visibly prevalent in this state with dominant features of what might be called the “core” space. Regional disparity has been a political issue in Karnataka and the southern part of the state has been the dominant geopolitical zone of the state. This dynamic is evident in the better quality of basic infrastructure, irrigation facilities, availability of loan etc. in south Karnataka. These factors, essential for overall development of any geopolitical region, are often manifested in push and pull factors and not surprisingly every year thousands of people, especially marginal farmers and landless agricultural labour, migrate from north Karnataka to south Karnataka as well as

other states like Goa and Maharashtra. Karnataka's migration patterns present a good example to research development of "underdevelopment" within a somewhat "developed" geopolitical zone. In other words, studying migration to and from Karnataka could facilitate in understanding the dynamics that manifests/preserves kernels of a marginalized socio-economic context in a well-to-do state like Karnataka that pulls students and professionals from all over the country at a massive scale. This study allowed us to understand the complex dynamics of migration of labour to and from Karnataka.

Background of the Study

"Study of Migration of Labour to and from Karnataka" aimed at understanding the factors that influence the push and pull factors in Karnataka by analyzing available data and literature and conducting a study with 518 migrant labour in Karnataka, Goa and Solapur. The study participant migrants included: intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal; inter-district migrants from Yadgir and Koppal in Bangalore and Mysore; inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore; inter-state migrants from Karnataka in Goa and Solapur.

The current assignment is to prepare a document on various push and pull factors that shape labour mobility and more importantly lives of migrant labour in Karnataka as well as Karnataka's labour migrating outside Karnataka. Council for Social Development (CSD) has been assigned the study after signing a contract with KEA (Karnataka Evaluation Authority).

Objectives

The main objectives of the study are to examine:

- ▶ Factors that motivate/compel individuals and families to migrate

- ▶ Social and economic profile of migrant labourers and their families
- ▶ Extent of migration of labourers compared to the total strength of labourers in an area
- ▶ Proportion of migrants who:
 - migrate alone
 - migrate with their families
 - migrate with only adult members of the family
- ▶ Typical movement annual calendar for the three categories of migrant labourers
- ▶ Comparative analysis of facilities in terms of better income, housing, food, access to health care, education etc.
- ▶ Condition of women and children of those migrant labourers' families who migrate with families and who leave families behind
- ▶ Savings and remittance pattern of migrant labourers' and their families
- ▶ Impact of MNREGA on migration
- ▶ Process of implementation of the Inter-state Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act 1979 and awareness level regarding the Act among migrant labour, their employer and the enforcement machinery
- ▶ Availability and impact of redressal mechanism of grievances of migrant labours and similar (like the 1979 Act) regulatory protection for intra-state migrant labours
- ▶ State's possible role in improving migrant labours' skill to ensure better opportunities

- ▶ Impact of labour inflow from other states in Karnataka on employment opportunities of Karnataka's resident labourers and on the status of crime and law and order in the state

Study was expected to be conducted with following groups of migrant labours:

- ▶ Labourers migrating from 5-7 villages from various Taluks of Koppal and Yadgir to Bangalore or Mysore (200 respondents)
- ▶ Labourers migrated to the city of Bangalore from other states like Bihar and Orissa (100 respondents, including at least 80 from states not bordering Karnataka).
- ▶ Labourers migrating from one village to another village in Koppal and Yadgir (50 respondents)
- ▶ 100 labourers migrating to Goa and Solapur from: Joida (Uttara Kannada) and 3 villages of Belgaum District

Study was conducted with the exact sample of the three of the abovementioned groups of workers. But the sample of the last two groups was improvised after consultation with KEA. It was realized during the field research that migration from one to another village within a district is very rare in Yadgir and Koppal. The Research Team consulted with officials of district Labour Office at Yadgir and Koppal and was informed that people go from their village to other village (at times even 20 kilometer away) of their district for work but usually return home in the evening. Intra-district migration in these two districts was apparent in form of rural to urban migration. Labour from rural Yadgir and rural Koppal migrate to their respective districts' headquarters for work. This context was communicated to KEA and after getting approval from

KEA, study was conducted with rural Yadgir's migrant workers in Yadgir town and rural Koppal's migrant workers in Koppal town.

Finding exact sample in Solapur was not possible as Solapur has not remained a preferred destination of migration for workers from Joida village (Uttar Kannada) and Belgaum district. Following closing down of important factories and mills like Laxmi Mill and W. G. Mill, Solapur's commercial significance has declined in recent past. Subsequently, wages have also declined. Concerned officials at district labour office and some migrant workers from Karnataka shared that Solapur has ceased to exist as a popular labour migration destination and in fact now known for outflow of labour. Research Team could find some migrants from Karnataka's Gulbarga, Raichur and Vijayapur districts who had migrated to Solapur few years ago and have settled in the district with their families. This situation was also intimated to KEA and after getting approval from KEA, study in Solapur was conducted with migrant workers from Karnataka's Raichur, Vijayapur and Gulbarga districts.

Thus there was a change in the sample as finding exact sample was not possible at Solapur, Yadgir and Koppal. Finally, after getting approval from KEA, the study was conducted with:

- 218 inter-district migrants in Bangalore and Mysore from
 - Doranhalli (Shahpur taluk), Yediapur (Shorapur taluk), Ashoknagar (Yadgir taluk) and Chintenpalli (Yadgir taluk) villages in Yadgir district
 - Mainhalli (Koppal taluk), Alwandi (Koppal taluk), Siddapura (Gangawati taluk) and Venkatpur (Kushtagi taluk)

- 143 inter-state migrants from 11 states (West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Punjab and Assam) in Bangalore and Mysore
- 56 intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal
- 51 inter-state migrants in Goa from-
 - Joida village of Uttara Kannada district (Karnataka) and
 - Kuar, Mukhnar, Tigadi and Pathihal villages of Belgaum district (Karnataka)
- 50 inter-state migrants from Vijayapura , Raichur and Gulbarga district of Karnataka in Solapur

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Context

The study aimed at exploring push and pull factors of migration in Karnataka and impact of these factors on the lives of migrant labour. A combination of qualitative as well as quantitative approach was adopted to approach the study goal. Research method included survey, in-depth interview and focus group discussions (FGDs). This approach was helpful as it facilitated in not only validating numerical findings but also in contextualizing the specific responses of study participants gathered during the in-depth interviews. Combination of qualitative and quantitative methods facilitated in capturing the complex social reality of intra-district, inter-district and inter-state migrants across six study sites (of three states). While survey was useful for encapsulating an overview of study participants' perception, in-depth interview facilitated in encouraging participants to share their opinions on various issues. We envisage research/study as a collective venture of learning for both the researcher and people who participate in the research/study, often recognized as respondents. We opt to call them "research or study participants" (SPs) as they participate in dialogues/interactions with the researcher/study team to share information required for policy formulation, an essential governance initiative that calls for constant improvisation with the changing dynamics of society and economy.

Study Objectives and Tools

Thus the study made an attempt to approach its goal of understanding the push and pull factors of Karnataka and impact of these factors on the lives of migrant labour through a mixed study method approach, including survey, in-depth interview and FGDs. The survey was substantiated by in-depth interviews and focus group discussions on specific issues like impact

of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MNREGS) on migration. While survey questionnaire was designed with an objective to obtain information pertaining to each of the study objectives, objective of conducting in-depth interviews was to understand study participants' response on some sensitive/specific issues that they might have not been comfortable to share in a group or in response to structured survey questionnaire. Focus Group Discussion (FGD), on the other hand, was conducted to register participants' reflections as a group or community on various issues of common concerns. Furthermore, some concerned personnel like government officials, academics, social workers, journalists etc. were also interviewed for the study.

While an attempt was made to address all study objectives in the questionnaire, in-depth interviews and FGDs were conducted to gather information regarding some specific objectives of the study. For instance, condition of women and children at migration destination was an issue which could have been best understood through in-depth interview of women migrant labour. Subsequently, questions pertaining to this issue were raised during in-depth interview with women participants. Similarly, the study team believed that registering study participants' collective input, emerging from discussion, on a policy based issue of common concern like impact of MNREGS on labour migration would be helpful and therefore this issue was invoked in FGD.

The table mentioned below has information about the study tools used to approach each of the study objectives:

No.	Study Objectives	Study Tools		
		Survey	In-depth Interview	FGD
1	Factors that motivate/compel individuals and families to migrate	All migrant participants	Few men and women migrant participants	
2	Social and economic profile of migrant labourers and their families	All migrant participants		
3	Extent of migration of labourers compared to the total strength of labourers in an area	All migrant participants	Concerned government officials at block, district and state level	
4	Proportion of migrants who migrate alone; migrate with families; migrate with only adult family members	All migrant participants	Concerned government officials at block, district and state level	
5	Typical movement annual calendar for the 3 categories of migrant labourers	All migrant participants		FGD: mixed group
6	Comparative analysis of facilities in terms of better income, housing, food, access to health care, education etc.	All migrant participants		FGDs: one with women and one with men migrants
7	Condition of women and children of those migrant labour's families who migrate with families and who leave families behind	All migrant participants	Few women participants	
8	Savings and remittance pattern of migrant labours' and their families	All migrant participants	Few men and women migrants	
9	Impact of MNREGA on migration	All migrant participants		FGDs: one with women and

				one with men
10	Process of implementation of the Inter-state Migrant Workmen Act 1979 and awareness level regarding the Act among migrant labour, their employer and the enforcement machinery	All migrant participants	Few men and women migrants; their employers; Government officials; trade union leaders; activists; media personnel; academics	
11	Availability and impact of redressal mechanism of grievances of migrant labours and similar (like the 1979 Act) regulatory protection for intra-state migrant labours	All migrant participants	Few men and women migrants; their employers; Government officials; trade union leaders; activists; media personnel; academics	
12	State's possible role in improving migrant labours' skill to ensure better opportunities	All migrant participants	Few men and women migrants; their employers; Government officials; trade union leaders; activists; media personnel; academics	
13	Impact of labour inflow from other states in Karnataka on employment opportunities of Karnataka's resident labour and on the status of crime and law and order in the state.	All migrant participants	Few men and women migrants, concerned government officials (specially from police and administration)	FGD with mixed group participants

A questionnaire, which has been attached as Annexure 1, was developed by the core study team (CST) at the Council for Social Development (CSD) and was improvised after consultations with senior faculties at CSD. Another consultation meeting for improvising questionnaire was held at Bangalore where it was shared again with some experts, who had worked on the issue of migration in Karnataka, from Karnataka Health Promotion Trust (KHPT) and Field Researchers. Important suggestions were incorporated in the questionnaire and it was tested first at a garment factory and then at construction site in Bangalore. The questionnaire was

revised again after field testing and the study began with a pilot study of a group of 47 study participants. There was no structured or semi structured questionnaire for in-depth interviews. Rather, a list of concerned issues pertaining to the specific study objective was prepared and study participants were encouraged to narrate their experience in somewhat uninterrupted manner. Actual study started after the approval of Pilot Study report, which also included questionnaire, by KEA.

Study Team and Challenges of Identifying the Sample

Study team was expected to interact with over 500 people from following groups of labourers:

- ▶ Labourers migrating from 5-7 villages from various Taluks of Koppal and Yadgir to Bangalore or Mysore (200 respondents)
- ▶ Labourers migrated to the city of Bangalore from other states like Bihar and Orissa (100 respondents, including at least 80 from states not bordering Karnataka).
- ▶ Labourers migrating from one village to another village in Koppal and Yadgir (50 respondents)
- ▶ 100 labourers migrating to Goa and Solapur from: Joida (Uttara Kannada) and 3 villages of Belgaum District

The Study Team comprised of Core Study Team members and Field Researchers. The Core Study Team (CST) comprised of three researchers, including the primary researcher, associated with CSD. The study was conducted with the help of five teams of Field Researchers, comprising of local university students and/or social scientists from local organizations. Each

team comprised at least one female and one male member. Five orientations cum training sessions were organized for the five study teams who conducted study for this project. The training cum orientation session included briefing the FRs about: 1) the project and its objective; and 2) study tools and its application. The CST accompanied and facilitated each FR team in the first few days of data collection and conducting in-depth interviews.

The first training cum orientation session was conducted for FRs who gathered data for the pilot study in Bangalore. This team, however, was not available after the pilot study. Hence the CST consulted local universities and organizations, interested in working on the issue of migration. After few consultations, the CST collaborated with Sociology Department of Bangalore's Christ University and Political Science Department of Goa University for conducting field study in Bangalore, Mysore and Goa. One faculty (Assistant Professors) from each of these two Departments facilitated the Core Study Team in identifying MA students with prior experience of conducting study on social issues. The second orientation cum training session was organized for the three Field Researchers (FRs), enrolled as MA students in the Department of Sociology at Christ University, Bangalore. This team conducted study in Bangalore and Mysore. Third team of FRs consisted of two MA students of Political Science Department of Goa University and this team conducted study in Goa.

Fourth team included two MA Sociology students of Christ University and a social scientists with prior experience of conducting study on migration in north Karnataka. This team was expected to conduct study in Yadgir, Koppal and Solapur. As per TOR, the sample for Yadgir and Koppal comprised of people migrating within their home district's one village to another village. But the team could not find the exact sample for the study. In case of Solapur, study participants were expected to be migrant labour from Joida village of Uttar Kannada

district and three villages of Belgaum district. The team could not find this category of migrants in Solapur as well. The CST consulted district labour offices to trace the sample. Concerned officials and local migrant labour shared that intra-district migration, including rural to rural migration, was not so uncommon in Yadgir and Koppal until cities like Pune, Goa, Mangalore, Mysore and Bangalore emerged as popular destinations of migration in the wake of construction boom. Now people usually migrate to urban areas or at least to the district headquarter town. The CST informed KEA about this context and after getting approval of KEA, the study team finally conducted study with those migrating from rural Yadgir and Koppal to their respective districts' headquarters.

In case of Solapur, though the study team consulted concerned institutions/organizations and labour offices, they could not gather any information/clue about migrants from Joida of Uttar Kannada and Belgaum district in Solapur. Solapur used to be a popular migration destination due to its mills, mainly of rice, sugar and textiles. But the district's economic significance has declined in the recent past. Though labourers from north Karnataka were present in Solapur, the study team could not find labour from Uttar Kannada and Belgaum district of Karnataka. The team consulted district labour office and some labour contractors to approach the exact sample. But all concerned personnel consulted for this study believed that people from Joida and Belgaum district are not migrating to Solapur. This information was intimated to KEA and after getting approval from KEA, the study was conducted with migrants of Raichur, Vijayapura and Gulbarga districts of Karnataka in Solapur.

Finally, after getting approval from KEA, the study was conducted with:

- 218 inter-district migrants from Yadgir and Koppal in Bangalore and Mysore;

- 143 inter-state migrants from 11 states, mainly from northern part of India, in Bangalore and Mysore;
- 56 intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal; and
- 101 inter-state migrants of Karnataka in Goa and Solapur.

Following table offers gender and place of origin wise data of the study participants at various migration destinations:

Inter-district Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore				
Migration Destination	Place of Origin	Transgender	Women	Men
Bangalore	Yadgir (District)	0	38	65
	Koppal (District)	0	51	51
Mysore	Yadgir (District)	0	1	4
	Koppal (District)	0	5	3
Intra-district Migrants in Yadgir & Koppal				
Yadgir	Yadgir Taluk	1	8	15
	Shahpur Taluk	0	1	3
Koppal	Koppal Taluk	0	4	3
	Gangawati Takuk	2	12	7
Inter-state Migration: Outflow of Labour from Joida & Belgaum				
Goa	Joida (Uttar Kannada)	0	1	14
	Belgaum (District)	1	9	26
Solapur	Vijayapura (District)	0	2	2
	Raichur (District)	0	21	19
	Gulbarga (District)	0	2	4
Inter-state Migration: Inflow of Labour in Karnataka				
Bangalore	West Bengal	1	3	8
	Bihar	0	1	16
	Jharkhand	0	2	6
	Orissa	0	3	6
	Chhattisgarh	0	3	0

	Madhya Pradesh	0	1	0
	Tamil Nadu	0	2	3
	UP	0	0	2
	Andhra Pradesh	0	4	0
	Punjab	0	0	2
Mysore	West Bengal	0	5	16
	Bihar	0	2	18
	Jharkhand	0	2	6
	Orissa	0	6	8
	Chhattisgarh	0	8	0
	Madhya Pradesh	0	4	1
	Assam	0	0	2
	Punjab	0	0	2

Pilot Study

The study began with a pilot study in Bangalore. Pilot study was of immense help in approaching specific study participants in Bangalore. With the help of Karnataka Health Promotion Trust (KHPT), we identified 3 researchers with prior experience of conducting surveys with migrant labour. The questionnaire was shared with experts from KHPT and the identified field researchers. It was revised further and a one day training was given to the researchers before starting the pilot study. Objective of the training was to educate researchers about the study and make them acquainted to the study tools like-

- using structured questionnaire for conducting survey
- conducting in-depth interview on specific issues
- conducting FGD on specific topics

Since the field researchers had had the experience of conducting survey with migrant labourers, they knew some labour contractors. Three labour contractors were approached for the pilot study. These contractors facilitated the study team in approaching garment factory workers and construction workers. Only one of the three labour contractors approached for the pilot study

was a registered contractor. He was from Yadgir and used to provide workers from few districts of north Karnataka, including Yadgir and Koppal, at construction sites of Bangalore.



Field Researchers Facilitating an FGD at a Factory

Second contractor was from Belgaum and he was primarily connecting north Karnataka's female workers to Bangalore's garment factories. Third contractor was from Bihar and he brought labour from Bihar for construction sites of Bangalore. For the pilot study, study was confined to only two categories of migrant workers: 1) garment factory workers (12 SPs) and 2) construction workers (35 SPs). Garment factory workers were from two factories situated at Bommanahalli and Garvebhavi Palya whereas construction workers were working at DLF and SRS construction sites at Begur. All 12 garment factory workers were women, comprising 6 from Yadgir; 4 from Koppal; and 2 from Orissa. Among the 35 construction worker SPs, 26 were from Karnataka; 4 from Orissa; 3 from Bihar; and 2 from Jharkhand. The construction worker migrants of Karnataka comprised 15 from Yadgir and 11 from Koppal.



Garment factory workers being interviewed at their workplace in Bangalore

Survey at each site was often followed by informal group discussions. Two FGDs were also conducted for the pilot study. First FGD was conducted with 5 women garment factory workers from Yadgir and Koppal and another FGD was conducted with 7 construction workers from other states (Bihar, Orissa and Jharkhand). Besides, in-depth interview was conducted with women garment factory workers, construction workers, labour contractors and construction site manager at DLF Begur. The in-depth interviews, informal discussions and FGDs were remarkably helpful in validating the information we gathered during surveys.

Study Sites in Bangalore & Mysore

Study was conducted both at migrant labour's workplace and their residence. Though participants were interviewed at their workplace, visiting participants' home facilitated in obtaining critical input about participants' living conditions. In Bangalore, study was conducted with Yadgir's migrants living in Ideal Home Club, Kenchanhalli, Aditya Layout and

Rajrajeshwari Nagar. Study participants from Koppal comprised of labour migrants living in Bangarappa Gudde and Utharalli. Study participants from other states were primarily from Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa. In total, 267 study participants were working in Bangalore.



Workers of a construction site in Bangalore arranging for wedding ceremony



Workers' Home in Bangalore

Migration in Mysore is mainly concentrated in industrial townships around Mysore city like Nanjangud Industrial area, inhabited by many industries such as Nestle, Granite and Rubber

factories. Apart from industrial sector, migrants in Mysore were also engaged in construction, domestic work and petty trading. However in petty trading migrants usually were from north Indian states and in domestic work migrants were usually from neighbouring districts. Hotels and restaurants have also emerged as popular livelihood options for migrants, especially for inter-state migrants from Assam and other north-eastern states. The study team was advised by concerned personnel like officials and labour contractors to interact with migrant labour of Nazarbad area in Mysore city and industrial townships like Nanjangud, adjacent to Mysore. In the industrial townships, migrant labour usually lived at accommodation facility provided by their employer in or around the factory premises. Study was conducted in a labour colony of Nazarbad neighborhood of Mysore city; two labour colonies in Nanjangud industrial township, located in the suburbs of Mysore; and in the premises of renowned companies like Nestle and Reid & Taylor. In sum, 93 labour migrants, comprising 13 inter-district (from Yadgir and Koppal) and 80 inter-state, were interviewed in Mysore.



Hostel for migrant workers in Mysore

Study Sites in Yadgir & Koppal

As noted earlier, finding recommended sample in Koppal, Yadgir and Solapur and even in Goa was a major challenge. The study team, comprising members of both CST and Field Researchers, visited several neighborhoods of these towns as per recommendations of local concerned personnel and officials they consulted to find the sample. Concerned officials and organizations were also of the opinion that labours from rural Yadgir and rural Koppal prefer to migrate to other districts and/or states or at least to the town of Yadgir and Koppal rather than another village of their home district. As noted earlier, after getting approval from KEA, we focused our study on migrants from rural Yadgir in the town of Yadgir and from rural Koppal in the town of Koppal.



Intra-district Migrant Workers' Home in Yadgir

Koppal is a small district town of Karnataka and there are very limited livelihood options for migrant workers in the town. The study team visited Mehboob Nagar, Chukunal Road, Bhagyanagar, Ojanhalli Road and Vijay Nagar Colony in Koppal. Employment for labour was available only in few sectors such as brick kilns and construction sites and these avenues mostly attracted labours either from north India or from the town itself. People from surrounding areas of Koppal, both rural and urban, usually came to the town to work during the day time and returned back to their place in the evening.



Brick Kiln Workers in Koppal

Intra-district migrants were found in Ojanhalli Road and Vijay Nagar Colony of Koppal. Ojanhalli Road was home to workers of four brick kilns and Vijaynagar Colony hosted one brick

kiln's workers and construction workers. Labourers living in these two neighborhoods were usually from Koppal taluk itself. The 28 intra-district migrants interviewed for this study in Koppal were from Abbigeri village of Koppal block and Kakkargol and Kesarhatti villages of Gangawati block, about 35-40 kilometers from Koppal town.

In Yadgir, the study team visited several neighborhoods of Yadgir town and found intra-district migrant labour in Rajeev Gandhi Nagar, Sainagar and Shajivan Nagar. Intra-district migrant labour of these neighborhoods were from Kamulu, Madechalli, Garesmagi, Makshi, Kadamatti, Yamachur, Kalavalagudi villages of Yadgir district. 28 participants were interviewed in Yadgir.

Study Sites in Goa & Solapur

Finding migrant labour from Joida village of Uttar Kannada district in Goa was a challenge for the study team conducting study in Goa. The team consulted the office of Labour Secretary, who gave contact of some concerned personnel and organizations. Two of these personnel/organizations facilitated the study team in approaching the study participants. One of them worked on solid waste management and was familiar with few labour contractors and another, a human rights activist, was associated with an organization called *Sahas* that advocates the issue of workers in Goa. Following their recommendation, the study team visited Berna, Ponda, Vasco and Porvorin and interviewed 15 migrant labour from Joida (Uttar Kannada) and 36 from Belgaum.



A group of inter-state migrant workers getting down at work site in Goa

But migrant labourers from these districts were not found in Solapur. The team even visited Belgaum district to get some sense of migration destination from Belgaum. The team consulted concerned officials in Belgaum town but could not get clear information regarding trend of migration from Belgaum to Solapur. Belgaum has emerged as a city of industrial significance with some important educational institutions and subsequently has become an important destination for migrants, for both labour and professional. One journalist of Belgaum shared that people from this district used to migrate to Solapur about a decade ago when the town was not safe for business because of rampant criminalization in town. In case of Joida taluk of Uttar Kannada district, people prefer to migrate to Pune, Goa and even Mysore and Bangalore.



A migrant workers' neighborhood in Solapur

Solapur, a town with declining industrial significance, has not remained a popular destination for people from both Belgaum and Joida. The study team consulted officials of district labour office and visited neighborhoods of migrant labour like Pune Road, Mangalwada Road, Bhaiya Chowk, Mohadi's Jagjivan Ram Colony and Laskar (Sadar Bazar). Residents of these neighborhoods were mainly from districts of Maharashtra. Karnataka's migrant labour mainly hailed from Raichur and Vijayapur. Some of them were also from Gulbarga and Mysore. With the closer of some important factories of Solapur, the district's significance has drastically declined in recent past. It has not remained the popular destination for migrants. In fact, the district is now known as an important labour supplying district. Besides, wages in Solapur was reported to be less than Rs 300 for men (about Rs 280) and about Rs 250 for women (Rs 220-250). Labour in Karnataka usually got similar and in most of the cases higher wages than the common wage rate in Solapur. Finally, we interviewed 46 migrants from Karnataka's

Vijayapura, Raichur and Gulbarga districts in Solapur. These migrants had come to Solapur few years ago and had now settled in Solapur with their families.

In sum, this study intended to understand complex layers of structural constraints and subjugations that shape the push and pull factors of migration in a given socio-economic context. People's response to survey questions were often more formal and to some extent mechanical whereas they seemed to be more comfortable during in-depth interview and FGDs.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Context

History of human society is also a history of people's movement in various directions. Migration is not a new phenomenon as migration from one place to another, especially from rural to urban areas, had been a prevalent feature of Indian society even in pre-colonial era when emerging demand of labour for construction and production instigated migration (Habib, 2011). With the advent of industrial and subsequently the modern age, the extent of migration became a prominent factor in economic growth and development. Deepening influence of globalization has intensified investment of capital within the urban spaces, often manifested in overwhelming rural to urban migration. Moving and settling from one place to another has been a normal trend and migration has become the logical corollary of urbanization. In the past three-four centuries, migration was shaped by structural transformations such as colonization, industrialization, urbanization and globalization. An important push factor that stimulated labour outflow from some specific locations is, what Andrew Gunder Frank calls, "the development of "underdevelopment"", the impact of development's paradoxical manifestation that marginalized majority of population and geopolitical regions in the process of developing few groups/regions (Frank, 1966). Historical context, smelting within the contours of economy and polity, play a crucial role in shaping the development discourse of any particular region. However, vertical concentration of wealth and power through horizontal dispossession, mostly violent, at a massive scale has been ethos of the majority of development projects. This context often pushes people from the marginalized regions with meager possibilities of livelihood to the promising opportunities available at comparatively "developed" regions.

Labour migration may be defined as a form of labour mobility towards places where employment is expanding. According to E.G. Ravenstein, the founder of modern migration study and analysis, migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develops and transport improves and that the major cause of migration is economic (1885). This thesis is apparent in patterns of migration, particularly in case of inter-state migration. Loes Schenk-Sandbergen has highlighted the role of economic factors in migration. Based upon a primary field survey in Orissa, she concluded that more than 60 percent of migration takes place due to economic reasons (Karlekar, 1995). Social factors like caste and gender also play a crucial role in shaping the pattern of migration. In India, as this study underscores, institutions like caste and gender has also been critical determinants of migration.

Internal Migration in India

Short distance migration is very common in India and about 60 per cent of the total migrants change their residence within their district of birth and about 20 per cent within the state. Only 20 percent of the total migrants move across the boundaries of their district and state. As per NSSO data for 2007-08, an estimated population of about 32.6 crore (28.5 percent of the total population) in India are internal migrants. But some scholars have been insisting that this category of migrants remains “grossly underestimated due to empirical and conceptual difficulties in measurement”¹. Limited employment opportunities, changing demands of labour market, agrarian crisis, oppressive social institutions like caste and gender are some of the crucial factors that push people to migrate in search of better life.

In India, migration constitutes as an overwhelming factor for development of any state

¹ As noted by Bernard D’Sami in his paper on “Internal Migration” presented at Indian Social Institute at Bangalore. Retrieved from, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/caste-shadows-migration-patterns-in-karnataka-says-study/article7478173.ece>

(Misra, 1998: 2). Internal migration in India is characterized by intra and inter-state migration. This type of migration occurs primarily because of the difference in the level of development between the rural and the urban areas as well as between states with better and meager employment opportunities. Planning and the process of development has helped cities to grow at a higher rate than the rural areas. The higher growth rate results in increasing employment opportunities which is manifested as a pull factor for migrants from regions with limited livelihood options and/or lower wages. Migration is characterized by uneven development between the cities and the countryside whereby growth and employment opportunities are concentrated within the urban space. The spiral effect of such a development process is so intense that the rural areas are kept in perpetual state of underdevelopment (Myrdal, 1957).

Flexibility of the labour market in the context of insecurity of job has been a recent cause of concern in India, a dynamic being experienced by many developing countries in the wake of neoliberal reforms. Informalization of work and compulsion to work under indecent conditions, especially for women, has become a common feature of the glocalising economy. The process of informalization mainly comprises subcontracting of work and reducing the size of work-force. This is widely practiced by the employers in their attempt to reduce wages, save on fringe benefits and deny trade union rights to their employees (Tripathy and Dash, 1997). Thus informal workers are compelled to work at very low wages with almost negligible rights and entitlement as workers. Their vulnerability is further intensified because of unregulated intermediaries and middlemen who literally control and regulate the income as well as the working and living condition of labourers (Kuptsch, 2006).

S. N. Misra examines the genealogy of backwardness and underdevelopment associated with rural areas and argues that in the absence of commercialization of agriculture combined

with dominance of subsistence farming within the countryside has led to increase in unemployment. Subsequently, people are compelled to migrate towards the cities in search of livelihood (Misra, 1998: 7). He further argues that through the course of planning and development most of the resources and investment has taken place within the urban agglomeration and cities. Financial resources have been primarily concentrated in cities for the infrastructural development which facilitated for large scale requirement of manpower, thereby acting as a major pull factor for people coming from rural areas (Misra, 1998: 7; Joseph and Stanislaus, 2007: 05). This dichotomy of rural urban divide in terms of concentration of capital is further accentuated by the near absence of small and medium scale industries in the countryside.

Manon Domingues Dos Santos has tried to analyze the dynamics of migratory flow and growth in a developing economy (2003). They point out that the mobility of worker can have an expansionary effect on the growth of economy of a particular region where they migrate. Connection between the inflow of migrants and development of a particular region has been dynamic in nature. Earlier much of the focus was directed on the negative effects of migration on development. It was considered as an obstacle of development that needed to be restricted and controlled. However, globalization and the subsequent penetration of global finance capital into the market has led to a very different understanding of migration. It has been argued by various scholars that prospect of employment, education, distance from the place of origin, availability of health and sanitation facilities and the actual cost to migration are some of the important factors that determines the migration destination for any migrant (Misra, 1998: 7; Sundari, 2007: 67).

Migration: Impact and Challenges

About two out of ten Indians are internal migrants who have moved across district or state lines and this fact is significant as it reflects the extent of migration in a country with a

population over 1.2 billion (Varma, 2014). While marriage is a common driver of internal migration in India, especially among women, a significant share of internal movements are driven by long-distance and male-dominated labour migration. These flows can be permanent, semi-permanent, or seasonal. Seasonal or circular migrants in particular have markedly different labour market experiences and integration challenges than permanent migrants. But precise data on seasonal migration flows and a systematic accounting of the experiences of these migrants are major gaps in existing knowledge.

Census 2011 data shows that for the first time, India's urban population has grown faster than its rural population since the last five censuses. As against of about 28 per cent in 2001, 31 per cent of India's population is now classified as urban. In 2007-08, the National Sample Survey measured the migration rate (the proportion of migrants in the population) in urban areas at 35 per cent. In addition to migration, natural population increase and the inclusion in census data of newly-defined urban areas also account for some of this urban growth.

Regardless of the duration of their stay, labour migrants face myriad challenges at their destinations in a country that is dizzying in its diversity of languages and cultures. Restricted access to basic needs such as identity documentation, social entitlements, housing, and financial services are some of the major challenges for migrant labour. Many migrants, especially those who relocate to a place where the local language and culture is different from that of their region of origin, also face harassment and political exclusion. The very few legislation with provisions for workers' rights is rarely enforced.

Internal migrants have widely varying degrees of education, income levels, and skills, and varied profiles in terms of caste, religion, family composition, age, and other characteristics. There is no clear data reflecting on these features. However, micro-surveys suggest that most

migrants are between ages 16 and 40, particularly among semi-permanent and temporary migrants, whose duration of stay may vary between 60 days and one year. Scheduled tribes and castes, the tribes and caste groups that are explicitly protected in India's constitution because of their historic social and economic inequality, are over-represented in short-term migration flows.

Labour migration flows include permanent, semi-permanent, and seasonal or circular migrants. Much of the available data polls migrants in the permanent and semi-permanent categories, and considerably less large-scale statistical data are available on the numbers and characteristics of circular migrants. Semi-permanent migrants are those who are likely to have precarious jobs in their destination areas, or lack the resources to make a permanent move. While they may reside in their destination cities for years or decades, they likely have homes and families at their place of origin.

Seasonal or circular migrants, by contrast, are likely to move from place to place in search of employment, or to continue returning to the same place year after year. Such circular flows encompass migrants who may stay at their destination for six months or more at a time and hence need social services at their destination. Scholars have characterized this migration as a type in which the permanent residence of a person remains the same, but the location of her economic activity changes. Many of the women who migrate for marriage are also participants in the labor market, even if their primary reason for migration is marriage. The domestic maid industry in urban areas, for example, is a rapidly growing sector that employs women, most of whom are rural-to-urban migrants.

The 2001 Census lists 307 million internal migrants, but defines as a migrant anyone who lives in a place that is different than their place of birth or place of last residence. This definition

implies a massive spectrum. It includes many people who migrate to places around their native place, often within the same district, and most probably misses a significant number of seasonal migrants, who have as much of a chance of being counted in their place of birth or last residence as they do at their new destination. National policy entitles migrants to a new ration card as long as they remove their names from their ration cards at home. But it is very difficult for the migrant labours to avail the benefits of this policy. Many do not know the correct procedure for obtaining a new ration card, and others face obstacles if they have never previously held a card because they were absent from their home states when identification documents (such as voter ID cards) were issued. Additionally, officials are often unwilling to accept the documentation provided by some migrants (for varied reasons, including bribes and discrimination). For this reason, many migrants do not want to risk removing their names from a ration card in their home state because they are uncertain of obtaining a new ration card at their destination. In sum, their migrant status makes it difficult for them to obtain identity documents in both the sending and receiving places.

The basic problem of establishing identity results in a loss of access to entitlements and social services. Lack of identification means migrants are not able to access provisions such as subsidized food, fuel, health services, or education that are meant for the economically vulnerable sections of the population. The issue of lack of access to education for children of migrants further aggravates the intergenerational transmission of poverty. Overall, discrimination in the provision of rights and entitlements combined with internal migrants' identity as outsiders in the receiving society often perpetuate the economic and political exclusion of many groups, and suggest that there are deeply exclusionary trends in India.

Changes in the rural and urban population between decennial censuses over the period

1961-2001 indicate that the migration rate for working age adult males (those aged 25-49) ranged from 4 per cent to 5.4 per cent. The India Human Development Survey, an independent measure of migration, suggests a male rural-urban migration rate of 6.8 per cent whereas in the male subsample of the Indian Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), the migration rate is 5.3 per cent (Munshi and Rosenzweig, 2016). Cost of living in urban areas is higher than the rural areas and hence, to some extent, rural-urban wage gap, which is over 45%, could be justified. One alternative explanation for the lack of mobility is that individuals cannot enter the urban labour market without the support of a (caste) network at the destination. Alternative explanations are also available for redistribution within the caste and the increased exit from the network by relatively wealthy households (Ibid).

Gender and Caste Factors of Migration

The context and extent of migrations differs for men and for women. S. Sundari, in an extensive case study of female migration in Tamil Nadu, has pointed out that livelihood concern is one of the most basic and important concern that compels a labour to migrate (Sundari, 2007). Of the total migrant population in India, female migration is the most dominant in terms of numbers. Female migration has outnumbered male migration in India since 1971 (Census, 2011). The number of female migrants is more than double from that of their male counterparts. Several studies have also pointed out that labour migration is increasingly feminized, especially in the developing countries (Sundari, 2007; Shanthi, 2006; Karlekar, 1995) Because of the feminized nature of migration, informalization and exploitation has increased many fold. Moreover, the inability to capture the actual reality of female migration in India makes it difficult to intervene through policies.

Unlike United Nations National Accounting System, NSSO does not recognize domestic work as well as work done for personal consumption like collecting and manufacturing free goods (collecting fuel wood, sewing, etc.) as economic activities (NSSO, 2007). Women's contribution to the economy and society usually fall under these two categories. Hence it is not surprising that despite women's visibly active role in various fronts of production, our statistical system of measuring labour is not able to consider women's work as work and India holds 127th rank in female labor force participation among the countries with available data (ILO, 2013). Women's economic role is rarely acknowledged and there has been gradual internalization of this denial by society, including women. This dynamic also accentuates the difficulty in capturing the reality of women's economic contribution.

Trade liberalization and market oriented nature of economy has far reaching consequences on the mobility of labour. The docile and vulnerable nature of female labour makes them preferable labour for many sectors and this factor is often manifested in rising female migration. There has also been gender specific demand of labour in cities. With the informalization of work, labour market segmentation is being accentuated and the female dominant jobs are being devalued, degraded and are the least paid jobs (Shanthi, 2006).

Apart from more livelihood opportunities, migration is also a strategy for economic diversification, upward mobility and the desire for personal growth and autonomy. In a study of seasonal migrants in Maharashtra, Divya Pandey traces the reasons behind women's migration. She points out that rural elite women migrate in search of better education and opportunities whereas poor women migrate to towns and cities in search for livelihood options (Pandey, 1998). Intra-state, especially intra-district, migration is more common among women labour. Women are migrating not only with their families but also alone. They could be seen in both popular

conventional sectors to unconventional and emerging sectors, ranging from domestic labour and factory work to avenues generated through emerging infertility industry. In many cases, these emerging sectors are not adequately covered under law and migrant women are compelled to live and work in very vulnerable conditions. One such emerging sector is infertility industry where poor women's womb is rented for surrogacy. Process of artificial conception, pregnancy and child birth often generate numerous health complications, including death, for surrogate mothers (Pande, 2014). Pinki Virani elaborately discusses how this industry, in the absence of adequate legal measures, has commodified poor women's bodies while almost invisibilizing their contribution (Virani, 2016).

The relationship between caste and migration is another dimension which has been explored by many scholars. Karan notes that people from Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Scheduled Caste (SC) have a higher propensity to migrate in states of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Jharkhand (2003). A study on north Bihar showed that migration rate among Scheduled Caste and Backward Castes have increased more than socially privileged castes of Other or General category (Karan, 2003). Job market for migrants are often segmented along caste lines and in some cases there has also been some incidences of discrimination where migrant from a particular caste is debarred from entering a specific sector of employment² (IOM, 2005). Recent NSSO data on migration pattern in Karnataka indicates the evident impact of caste and various other push factors that become more relevant in highly stratified context of rural India. Eminent scholar Sukhdeo Thorat notes how migration patterns show strong bias against Dalits in this rapidly urbanizing state with 38 percent of people living in urban centres (2015).

Migration in Karnataka

The pattern of growth in the past two-three decades has steadily widened the gap between agriculture and non-agriculture; between rural and urban areas; and also between the states with good and critical development indicators. It has steadily concentrated in a few areas and a few states. In India, states like Karnataka, Kerala and Punjab emerged as promising zones of development whereas states like Bihar, Orissa and Chhattisgarh are known for appalling development indicators. Migration of labour from states with critical development indicators to states with comparatively better development indicators, often manifested in more and better livelihood options, is a common phenomenon. But outmigration from and intra-state migration within states like Karnataka indicate towards various complex layers of a socio-economic context that influence labour mobility, including 'push' factors in a comparatively well-to-do or 'developed' state.

States with growing projects in infrastructure and construction see more inflow of labour from states which are relatively stagnant in terms of industrial development. The state of Karnataka, with rapidly growing electronic cities like Bangalore, could be referred as a state that benefited from development projects and has been a popular destination for students and professionals across the country, especially from states like Bihar. As per Census 2011, every third Indian migrant heads to south in search of work and Karnataka has sustained as one of the most popular destination of labour migration in the recent past. However, apart from intrastate migration, outflow of labour from this well to do state is also prevalent. Karnataka's migration patterns present a good example to study development of 'underdevelopment' within a somewhat 'developed' geopolitical zone. In other words, studying migration to and from Karnataka could facilitate in understanding the dynamics that manifests/preserves kernels of a marginalized socio-economic context in a well-to-do state like Karnataka that pulls students and professionals from

all over the country at a massive scale.

As discussed above, caste is playing an important role in determining the pattern of labour mobility in Karnataka. Referring to the study on “Status of Dalit Development in Karnataka”, Sukhdeo Thorat indicates access to education and resources as one of the crucial determinants of caste-based migration pattern in Karnataka. Average landholding size for SCs in the state is 0.42 hectares; for STs 0.77 hectares; for OBCs 0.89 hectares; and for others 1.39 hectares. This caste based hierarchy evident in the average landholding size is pertinent in access to education as well. Only 7 percent SCs and 5 percent STs of the state are enrolled into higher education whereas the state has almost 18 percent average enrolment in higher education with as high as 22.2 percent for Other/General castes and 21.3 percent for OBCs. Thus proportion of educated people among the socially dominant caste is more than three times higher in comparison to socially marginalized caste students. It is evident that SC and ST youth’s access to education is very limited. Ironically, even if SC and ST youth manage to join Universities and obtain higher degrees, probability of them accessing employment does not increase as much as it does in case of socially dominant caste youth. The proportion of unemployed SCs with university degrees is 11.6 percent as against of 4.2 percent General/Other castes and 3 percent OBCs in the same category. In this context, socially marginalized caste people are left with no option but to take up lower paying jobs despite higher education. Uma, Madhu and Habeeb also notes in their study “Regional migration for inclusion” that “majority of the poor agricultural labourers, who migrate for their livelihood, are from marginalized groups” like SCs (Uma, Madhu and Habeeb, 2013: 3). Thus, as Thorat notes, caste hierarchy is still playing a crucial role in obstructing socially oppressed castes’ access to education, resources, employment and subsequently better life.

Push factors for the socially marginalized castes are evidently more compelling in comparison to socially dominant castes of the state. One would assume that rate of migration among the socially marginalized castes should be higher than that of the socially dominant castes. But the overall rate of migration for the Scheduled Caste in the state is 34 percent and for the Scheduled Tribes is 25.7 percent whereas for OBCs and other category this rate is 38 percent and 41 percent, respectively. Remarkably, rural-to-rural migration is highest among STs with 78 percent and among SCs with 73 percent, as opposed to OBCs with 58 percent and General/OCs with 42 percent. But proportion of OCs or socially dominant castes among people migrating from rural-to-urban area is much higher. The category of OCs marks highest rate of rural-to-urban mobility with 25 percent, followed by OBCs with 20 percent. Proportion of SCs and STs migrating from rural to urban areas is only 14 percent and 16 percent, respectively. SCs and STs of the state usually migrate within the state and mostly from rural-to-rural areas of the state. Rural-to-urban migration is more prevalent among the privileged castes falling under General and OBC categories. This indicates that socially dominant caste usually migrate from rural to urban areas for education and/or in search of better livelihood. On the other hand, SCs and STs, who either have very small landholdings or are landless labourers, possibly migrate to work as wage labourers.

Thus, available data indicates the impact of caste evident on migration. Certainly there are many other factors that influence mobility of Karnataka's labour, both internal and outmigration. But the state is primarily known as a very promising migration destination for migrants of other states. Construction sites of this rapidly growing city are full of migrants from far away states like Bihar, Orissa and Assam. The context of intra-state or inter-district migration in Karnataka is primarily influenced by the uneven development within the state. South

Karnataka is relatively better in terms of infrastructural and industrial development which instigates migration from the north to south Karnataka. Emerging options of work and higher wages in South Karnataka has become a prime pull factor for people in North Karnataka (Uma, Madhu and Habeeb, 2013: 4). Subsequently, every year south Karnataka witnesses substantial inflow of not only inter-state but also of intra-state migrants, who primarily work in construction, hospitality and manufacturing sectors (Menasinakai, 2017).

MIGRATION IN KARNATAKA: CONTEXT, PATTERN & REMITTANCE

The Study Participants

The study team interacted with total 518 migrant labour and about 50 concerned personnel for the study. Of the 518 migrant labour, 47 comprised the participants of pilot study. Concerned personnel included academics and activists working on the issue of migrant labour and officials of labour department, ranging from Labour Secretary in Bangalore and Goa to Labour Officers in Solapur, Yadgir and Koppal. Of the total 518 participants, 5 participants were transgender, 201 were women, and 312 were men. Thus about 39 per cent migrant labour participants of the study were women whereas 60 per cent were men. Transgender participants were only 5 in number and they comprised about 1 per cent of the total migrant labour participants.

Two of the five (about 40 per cent) transgender participants; 68 per cent of women participants; and 74 per cent of men participants were wage labour. Thus, most of the workers across genders were daily wage workers. Second most common profession of labour migrant participants was factory work.

Gender	Occupation					
	Farmer	Self Employed	Daily Wage Worker	Factory Worker	Agricultural Labour	Others
Transgender	0%	20% (1)	40% (2)	40% (2)	0%	0%
Female	0%	6.54%	67.85%	19.64%	2.38%	3.57%
Male	0.36%	6.49%	73.64%	15.52%	1.8%	2.16%

While number of transgender participants in factory work and in wage work was same (40 per cent), about 20 per cent female and 16 per cent male participants were working in factories. Factory work was more common among women, especially those migrating from Yadgir and Koppal to Bangalore and Mysore. Some women were also working as domestic workers. In fact, all the 6 women participants who had migrated from neighboring states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh were domestic workers.

Except for Goa, majority of migrant participants belonged to SC category. 45 per cent participants of Karnataka were SCs. In Goa, 51 per cent migrant participants from Belgaum and Uttar Kannada belonged to socially privileged castes and 37 per cent were SCs. On the other hand, 80 per cent labour migrant participants from north Karnataka in Solapur belonged to SC category as against of 12 per cent OC (other category). Baring Goa and Solapur, OBCs (with 29 per cent) comprised the second largest group of migrant participants in Karnataka. Proportion of STs and Other category participants in the study sites of Karnataka was 11 per cent and 17 per cent, respectively. OBCs and STs comprised 6 per cent each in Goa and 4 per cent each in Solapur.

Migration Destination	Caste			
	SC	ST	OBC	OCs
Goa	37.25%	5.88%	5.88%	50.98%
Karnataka	44.81%	10.08%	28.29%	16.8%
Maharashtra	80%	4%	4%	12%

Thus, baring Goa, majority of migrant study participants at all study sites belonged to SC category. Goa was also an exception in the sense that more than half of the study participants at

this site came from socially privileged caste. If we exclude Goa, the study shows that migration is most common among SC.

Economic Profile of Migrants

For majority of participants of this study, migration was a regular phenomenon of their native place. The most apparent reason behind migration of labour seems to be unavailability of work. Many participants insisted that they did not migrate for better income but because they were finding it difficult to survive at their native place due to unavailability of livelihood options and low wages. This factor is deeply connected to labour's social contexts like caste and gender. Over 68 per cent participants from socially marginalized castes (SC, ST and OBC) of this study were landless. For majority of those who owned land among socially marginalized caste participants, the land holding size was less than 1 acre. On the other hand over 46 per cent participants from socially privileged castes owned more than 3 acres.

Landholding Size					
Caste	No Land	Less than 1 Acre	Less than 2 Acre	Less than 3 Acre	More than 3 Acre
SC	74.65%	14.72%	9.58%	0.68%	0.32%
ST	70%	26.6%	3.3%	0	0
OBC	68%	17.32%	10%	3.3%	1.3%
Others	33.3%	6.6%	6.6%	0	46.6%

About 50 per cent male labour migrant participants were earning more than Rs 100,000 annually or about Rs 8400 monthly. Of this total 50 per cent, about 21 per cent were earning over Rs. 125,000 annually (about Rs 10,500 monthly). Proportion of women labour migrants in this income bracket was little over 5 per cent. Over 50 per cent women migrant labour participants were earning between Rs 50,000 to Rs 100,000 annually (Rs 4200 to Rs 8400). Those who

earned less than 15000 annually comprised about 12 per cent of women and 8 per cent of male migrant participants.

Gender	Annual Income (in rupees)						
	Less than 15000	16000-25000	26000-50000	51000-75000	76000-100000	100000-125000	More than 125000
Transgender	0%	20%	40%	20%	0%	20%	0%
Female	11.76%	12.94%	15.88%	23.52%	30.58%	2.35%	2.94%
Male	7.09%	11.7%	10.28%	10.28%	10.63%	29.43%	20.56%

Thus, above data indicates that migration is not very common among people with very low income. However, a region wise break up shows that intra-district and inter-state migration in Karnataka is most common among labour with very low income.

Migration Destination	Monthly Family Income				
	Less than Rs 6000	Rs 6000-15000	Rs 16000-25000	Rs 26000-35000	More than Rs 36000
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	97.91%	2.09%	0%	0%	0%
Migrants in Bangalore From Yadgir & Koppal	57.43%	32.87%	9.34%	0.3%	0%
Migrants from other states in Bangalore & Mysore	52.94%	30.39%	16.66%	0%	0%
Migrants in Goa from North Belgaum & Uttar Kannada	37.25%	52.94%	9.80%	0%	0%
Migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	56%	40%	2%	2%	0%

As the abovementioned data shows, more than 50 per cent migrants in all categories (intra-district, inter-district and inter-state) earned less than Rs 6000 per month. About 98 per cent labour from rural Yadgir and Koppal migrating to their district's headquarter town were earning less than Rs 6000 a month and about 2 per cent of them were earning between Rs 6000 and 15000 per month. Though proportion of labour with less than Rs 6000 monthly income migrating from these two districts to Bangalore and Mysore was not as high as it was in case of intra-district migrants, they comprised about 58 per cent of inter-district migrants. Migrants coming from other states with such low income also comprised about 53 per cent of total inter-state migrant participants in Bangalore. None of the intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal earned more than Rs 15000 per month. In case of inter-district and inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore, almost all of them earned less than Rs 26000 per month. Situation in Goa and Solapur was not very different. About 90 per cent migrants in Goa and 96 per cent in Solapur earned less than Rs. 15000 per month. Except for few participants in Solapur (2 per cent), none of the migrant participants earned over Rs 25000 per month. Though the sample of this study was very small, it can be assumed that labour usually do not migrate if they earn over Rs 25000 per month.

Migration Pattern

An important objective of the study was to explore prevalent migration pattern of people migrating alone, with family and with other adults like friends and relatives. Majority of migrant labour participants of this study had migrated alone. Except for intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal, where 64 per cent of participants had migrated with their families, proportion of labour who migrated alone ranged from 63 per cent to 90 per cent. The trend of migrating with other adults was very uncommon for migrant participants in Karnataka. None of the inter-district

migrants had migrated with other adults and proportion of such people in case of inter-state and intra-district migrants was as low as 4 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively. However, about 16 per cent of Karnataka's migrant participants in Goa and 14 per cent in Solapur had migrated with others.

With whom did you migrate?			
Migration Destination	Alone	Family	With others
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	34%	64%	2%
Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore From Yadgir & Koppal	82%	18%	0%
Migrants from other states in Bangalore & Mysore	90%	6%	4%
Migrants in Goa from North Belgaum & Uttar Kannada	63%	22%	16%
Migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	74%	12%	14%

Migration pattern across the four caste categories of this study reflects that caste is not an important determinant of labour's decision to migrate alone or not. Proportion of those who migrated alone varied between 15 per cent and 22 per cent across the four caste categories. Majority of participants across all caste categories had not migrated alone and their proportion varied between 75 per cent and 91 per cent.

Caste	Do you migrate alone?	
	Yes	No
SC	15.38%	84.64%
ST	9.67%	90.32%
OBC	24.48%	75.51%
Others	21.42%	78.57%

Except for intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal, most of the participants struggled in responding to the question pertaining to seasonal migration from their native place. They were

more confident in sharing information about their migration. About 50 per cent or above participants of all three categories had not migrated in any specific season whereas proportion of those who had migrated in any specific season varied between 40 per cent and 51 per cent.

Do you migrate in any specific season?		
Migrants' Categories	Yes	No
Migrating Alone	41.27%	58.73%
Migrate with family	46.88%	53.13%
Migrate with other adults	50.50%	49.50%

Response on seasonal migration regarding native place of participants widely varied among various groups of migrants across six study districts. Proportion of those who refrained from responding to the question or were not aware about prevalence of any seasonal migration at their native place ranged from about 8 per cent to as high as about 61 per cent. More than 92 per cent inter-district migrants of Yadgir and Koppal in Bangalore and Mysore were sure that there is no seasonal migration at their native place and people migrate as per availability of work or need. However, more than 57 per cent intra-district migrants in their home districts acknowledged that seasonal migration is prevalent at their native place.

Are there any specific season when people from your native place migrate?			
Migration Destination	Yes	No	Don't know
Inter-district in Bangalore	-	92.31%	7.69%
Inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore	6.50%	49.59%	43.90%
Intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal	57.41%	12.96%	29.63%
Inter-state migrants in Goa and Solapur	35.64%	19.80%	44.55%
Goa	31.37%	7.84%	60.78%
Solapur	40%	32%	28%

Interestingly, only 6.5 per cent inter-state migrants were sure about prevalence of seasonal migration at their native place and about 44 per cent of them were not sure about it. Goa, a globally known tourist destination, is known for seasonal migration. However, field work for this study was conducted during off season and most of the study participants in Goa had settled in Goa. All migrant participants of Solapur had also settled in Solapur. However, as against of about 61 per cent participants of Goa, only 28 per cent participants of Solapur were unsure about seasonal migration at their native place. 40 per cent migrant participants of Solapur and 31 per cent of Goa confirmed that seasonal migration is common at their native place.

Inter-state migrants came from 11 states and their response regarding prevalent season of migration at their native place widely varied. Inter-state participants noted that seasonal migration usually depends on harvest season of their native place. Majority of migrant participants of the study were SC and about 75 per cent of the SC participants of this study were landless. In case of other three caste categories, migrant participants were mostly either landless or the size of their land holding was very small, often less than 1 acre. This context, added with meager livelihood options and low wages, compel poor migrants to migrate as per availability of work. Many of them migrate with their families and usually do not migrate in any specific season. Factory workers, construction workers, workers in hospitality sector usually do not follow any specific calendar for migration. However, majority of them return home during main harvest seasons of their native place. They come to the migration destination as per availability of work. But in case of brick kilns of Yadgir and Koppal, labour migrate for 6-8 months, from February-March to September-October. Participants of Goa and Solapur referred time period

between October-November and March-April as the most common season of migration from their native place.

Savings & Remittance

Over 90 per cent inter-state and about 82 per cent inter-district migrants in Bangalore and Mysore had migrated alone as they had to earn for the survival of their families. Most of the participants noted during in-depth interviews and FGDs that they have to save to support their families back home. However, over 66 per cent female and over 68 per cent male migrants registered that they don't save.

Gender	Do you save money?		
	Yes	No	Don't Know
Transgender	20%	80%	0%
Female	22.64%	66.04%	11.32%
Male	20.99%	68.32%	10.69%

In fact, majority of migrant labour participants noted during survey that they do not remit money to home. About 81 per cent female and 79 per cent male migrant labour participants said that they don't send money to home as against of about 15 per cent women and 15 per cent men who remit money home.

Gender	Do you send money to your family?		
	Yes	No	Don't Know
Transgender	20%	80%	0%
Female	14.56%	80.58%	5.82%
Male	14.85%	78.21%	6.93%

The caste segregated data also shows a similar pattern. Over 70 per cent participants from all five social categories do not remit money home. With 16 per cent, trend of remittance is highest among SC, followed by 12 per cent OCs. Proportion of participants who remit money to their homes varied between about 10 per cent and 16 per cent.

Caste	Do you send money to your family?		
	Yes	No	Don't Know
SC	15.89%	77.48%	6.62%
ST	9.52%	71.42%	19.04%
OBC	10.52%	82.45%	7.36%
Others	11.94%	85.07%	2.98%

The data regarding migrant labour participants' origin shows that remittance is most common among migrants from other states in Bangalore and Mysore. Over 50 per cent of them remit money to their family as against of their less than 6 per cent inter-district migrant counterparts from Yadgir and Koppal. Over 57 per cent migrants from north Karnataka in Goa and 64 per cent in Solapur also remitted money to their families whereas 39 per cent of them in Goa and 36 per cent of them in Solapur did not send money home.

Remittance Pattern: Do you send money home?			
Migration Destination	Yes	No	Not Applicable
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	16%	74%	10%
Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore From Yadgir & Koppal	5.81%	90.69%	3.48%
Migrants from other states in Bangalore & Mysore	50%	23.52%	26.47%
Migrants in Goa from North Belgaum & Uttar Kannada	57.44%	38.29%	4.25%
Migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	64%	36%	0%

Migrants of Goa and Solapur had settled with their families and yet they noted that they remit money home. Hence, this question was raised during in-depth interview. Participants of Goa noted that they remit money back home, especially in tourist season when they get additional opportunities to earn. Two women migrant participant of Solapur noted that though Solapur has not remained a popular destination of migration and wages offered here are comparatively low, it is a good place for migrants who have already settled here. Migrant participants of Solapur lived in their own house which they had constructed with the help of government and they also had access to welfare policies for poor. Though they could not earn much, their expenses on accommodation, subsistence, health and education for children was very nominal. This context helped them in leading a satisfactory life and even remitting money to their parents back home.

Interestingly, proportion of intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal who send money to their families was not as low as inter-district migrants from same districts. About 16 per cent intra-district migrants of Yadgir and Koppal remitted money to their families despite the fact that majority of them (64 per cent) had migrated with their families. On the other hand, only 18 per cent of the labour participants had migrated to Bangalore and Mysore from Yadgir and Koppal with their families. Yet, only 6 per cent of them remitted money home.

It emerged during in-depth interview and FGDs that intra-district migrant labour who migrate alone often remit money through their peers/friends/relatives visiting their native village. As the table mentioned below demonstrates, majority of migrants from Yadgir and Koppal, in case of both inter-district and intra-district migration, return home at least 2 to 4 times a year. About 38 per cent of intra-district and 26 per cent of inter-district migrants from these districts shared that they visit their home at least once a month. Migrants from Koppal in Bangalore

shared during FGD that they save money and take their savings with them when they visit home, usually 3 to 4 times a year. The study in Yadgir and Koppal was conducted in November, after the demonetization of Rs 500 and Rs 1000. Majority of participants, especially women, in Yadgir and Koppal shared that they do not have a bank account. Though we do not have exact data, it can be assumed that majority of inter-district migrants also don't have a bank account and possibly this is the prime reason behind their decision to carry cash home.

Visiting Home

Intra-district migrants from one village usually live together in one neighborhood/labour colony and easily find people from their village going home almost every month and even fortnightly. It becomes easier for them to remit money regularly through their peers/friends/relatives visiting their native village. But the prime reason behind more prevalence of the practice of remitting money home among intra-district migrants than inter-district migrants of Yadgir and Koppal was that the former group belonged to very poor families.

How frequently do you return to your home?					
Migration Destination	Once a month	2-4 times in a year	Once in a year	Once in 2-3 years	Not returned since came
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	38%	60%	2%	0%	0%
Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore From Yadgir & Koppal	25.95%	50.50%	21.54%	1.34%	0.67%
Migrants from other states in Bangalore & Mysore	4.49%	35.95%	52.80%	6.74%	0%
Migrants in Goa from North Belgaum & Uttar Kannada	43.75%	28.12%	25%	0%	3.12%
Migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	50%	16.66%	4.16%	0%	29.16%

Almost all intra-district migrant workers are very poor and they registered during FGD that they would have migrated to cities like Goa, Pune, Bangalore and Mysore if they had money. About 98 per cent of intra-district migrants earned less than Rs 6000 a month. For them, it was extremely crucial to send money back home as their family, often parents and extended family, was living in acute poverty. Intra-district labour mobility was predominantly seasonal and all of the intra-district migrant participants across genders returned home at least 2 to 4 times a year. This trend was common even among inter-district migrants and over 62 per cent men and 44 per cent women migrant labour from Yadgir and Koppal in Bangalore and Mysore noted that they return home 2 to 4 times a year. 27 per cent women and over 25 per cent men inter-district migrants even return once a month. Trend of returning home once a month is most common among intra-district migrants with over 39 per cent women and 42 per cent men visiting home once a month.

How frequently do you return to your home?						
Migration Destination		Once a month	2-4 times in a year	Once in a year	Once in 2-3 years	Haven't returned since I came
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	Transgender	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
	Women	39.13%	60.86%	0%	0%	0%
	Men	41.66%	58.33%	0%	0%	0%
Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore From Yadgir & Koppal	Transgender	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Women	27%	62.16%	9%	1.80%	0%
	Men	25.5%	44.4%	30%	1.1%	1.1%

Two of the five transgender migrants were working in Mysore and both of them visited their home on a monthly basis. On the other hand, the only transgender participant in Yadgir

visited home 2 to 4 times a year. Few inter-district male migrants noted that they go home once in 2 to 3 years and few of them had never returned since they left their home.

PULL & PUSH FACTORS IN KARNATAKA

Context

Short distance migration is very common in India and about 60% of the total migrants change their residence within their district of birth and about 20% within the state. Only 20% of the total migrants move across the boundaries of their district and state. As per NSSO data for 2007-08, an estimated population of about 32.6 crore (28.5 %) of the total population in India are internal migrants. But some scholars have been insisting that this category of migrants remains “grossly underestimated due to empirical and conceptual difficulties in measurement”³. The 2001 Census lists 307 million internal migrants but it defines as a migrant anyone who lives in a place that is different than their place of birth or place of last residence. This definition includes many people who migrate to places around their native place, often within the same district, and most probably misses a significant number of seasonal migrants, who have as much of a chance of being counted in their place of birth or last residence as they do at their new destination. In this context, it is very difficult to find clear data on proportion of labour’s outmigration and inflow at district level.

Migration data of Census 2011 has not been published yet. The District Census Handbook (2011), which includes both Census and non Census data for rural and urban area of a district, has no clear data on migration. Though the handbook contains data on total number of workers, including main and marginal, and non-workers, it doesn’t have specific data on migration. Even district Labour Offices do not have data on the number of people who migrate

³ As noted by Bernard D’Sami in his paper on “Internal Migration” presented at Indian Social Institute at Bangalore. Retrieved from, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/caste-shadows-migration-patterns-in-karnataka-says-study/article7478173.ece>

from the district. In this backdrop, finding extent of migration of labourers compared to the total strength of labourers in an area is not possible.

Sending District/Village	Workforce Participation			Main	Marginal	Agriculture			Household Industry	Other Workers	Non-workers
	Total	MLPR	FLPR			Total	Cultivators	Agricultural Labor			
Yadgir	46.6%	53.7%	39.5%	79.8%	20.2%	71.9%	29.1%	42.8%	2.4%	25.7%	53.4%
Koppal	47.1%	55.4%	38.7%	77.6%	22.4%	66.7%	25%	41.7%	2.9%	30.5%	52.9%
Belgaum	44.1%	56.64	31.11	36.29%	7.77%	64.6%	33.8%	30.8%	2.9%	32.5%	55.95%
Uttarkannada	42.34%	59.29	25.03	34.67%	7.67%	37.4%	18.3%	19.1%	1.6%	60.99%	57.7%
		%	%								

Though data on migration for Census 2011 is not yet available, other data pertaining to workforce of each of the sending research district (as per the ToR) of Karnataka reflects a context with compelling push factors. As the abovementioned table shows, workforce participation rate in these districts hover between 42 per cent and 47 per cent. About 53 per cent to 58 per cent of the total population of the four sending research districts of Karnataka is registered as non-workers. It would be imperative to note that proportion of non-workers and low female workforce participation, as Indira Hiraway registers, does not indicate withdrawal of or non-participation of people, especially women, in the labour market but “inability of the NSSO surveys to capture it adequately” (Hiraway, 2011: 37). A massive section of population is engaged in sectors that are not measured and people working in these sectors, especially within household, are not even recognized as workers. Needless to note that unrecognized workers are compelled to work at very low wages and deal with substantial factors that push labour to migrate. As the table mentioned below reflects, except for Uttar Kannada, all the sending districts have over 12 per cent to 23 per cent SC and over 49 per cent to 26 per cent of non-

literate. Sukhdeo Thorat and several other scholars working on migration in Karnataka have also underscored the strong correlation between labour migration and higher proportion of SC population as well as lower rate of literacy (Uma, Madhu and Habeeb, 2013: 4).

Sending District/Village	Total Population	SC	Literacy
Yadgir	11,74,271	23.28%	51.8%
Koppal	13,89,920	18.6	68.1%
Belgaum	47,79,661	12.12%	73.5%
UK	14,37,169	8.10%	84.06%

Limited employment opportunities, changing demands of labour market, agrarian crisis, oppressive social institutions like caste and gender are some of the crucial factors that push people to migrate in search of better life. This study also testifies abovementioned factors play a critical role in manifestation of migration as a common feature of Indian society and economy. Majority of the participants of this study believed that migration is a regular phenomenon of their native place. Over 87 per cent migrant labour of Bangalore and over 90 per cent of Mysore insisted that migration is a very common dynamic of their native place. Among the intra-district migrants of the two study sites of north Karnataka, 68 per cent in Koppal and 64 per cent in Yadgir also seconded this thought. Over 68 per cent migrants in Goa from north Karnataka also considered migration a regular phenomenon at their native place. In case of Solapur, though 50 per cent of participants considered this dynamic relevant for their native place, 44 per cent of them did not think so.

Migration Destination	Is migration a common or regular phenomenon in your native place?		
	Yes	No	Don't Know
Koppal	68%	32%	0%
Yadgir	64%	36%	0%
Bangalore	87.11%	2.66%	10.22%

Mysore	90.24%	4.87%	4.87%
Goa	54.6%	22.5%	22.8%
Solapur	50%	44%	6%

Socio-Economic Push Factors

According to participants across six study sites, labour migration is most common among Scheduled Caste and most uncommon among socially privileged caste or the castes falling under Other category (OC). This perception about other category migrants' proportion, however, does not match the findings in Karnataka where OBC migrants' proportion was recorded over 13 per cent more than socially privileged caste migrants. About 34 per cent study participants believed that labour migration is most common among SC, followed by OBC (26 per cent) and ST (25 per cent). About 19 per cent participants, however, believed that it is most common among General castes whereas 51 per cent did not think so.

Caste Category	Is labour migration more common among any specific caste?		
	Yes	No	Don't Know
SC	33.96%	44.33%	21.69%
ST	25%	52.5%	22.5%
OBC	26.41%	37.73%	35.84%
Others	18.91%	51.35%	29.74%

Over 60 per cent participants at all study sites noted that they migrated not because of better wages or to explore more livelihood options but because there was no work available. In fact, pull factors like better wages, more livelihood options and welfare policies did not seem to be the prime reason behind migration. None of the participants in Solapur considered these factors as prominent reasons behind their migration. Less than 1 per cent participants of Karnataka and less than 2 per cent participants of Goa referred more livelihood options as the

most common reason behind migration from their native place. Except for intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal, more than 64 per cent participants across all study sites considered unavailability of work as the most compelling push factor. As the data regarding migrants from north Karnataka in south Karnataka, Goa and Solapur reflects, workers from north Karnataka prefer to migrate to other districts and/or states rather than their home district. In fact, people of north Karnataka prefer to migrate to neighboring states like Maharashtra, Goa, and Andhra Pradesh then to distant southern part of their state with cities like Bangalore and Mysore.

Migration Destination	Most common reason behind outmigration from your native place.							
	No Work Available	Crop Failure	Drought	Debt Repayment	Better Wages	More Livelihood Options	Better Welfare Policies for Labour	Others
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	56.5%	2.64%	4.4%	2.16%	3.72%	26.2%	4.3%	0%
Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore From Yadgir & Koppal	72.16%	3.18%	1.36%	2.86%	8.86%	4.42%	2.11%	5.05%
Migrants from other states in Bangalore & Mysore	65.77%	0%	0%	7.77%	12.74%	13.7%	0%	0%
Migrants in Goa from North Belgaum & Uttar Kannada	64.7%	1.96%	15.64%	5.02%	4.74%	0.83%	0.55%	0%
Migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	94%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

About 57 per cent intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal also recognized unavailability of work as the most common factor behind migration from their villages. However, they insisted that inter-district and inter-state migration is more common from their native place. Unlike their counterparts migrating to other districts and/or states, more than 26 per cent intra-district migrants considered more livelihood options as the most common reason behind migration from Yadgir and Koppal.

Except for migrants working in one brick factory of Koppal and three in Yadgir, most of the intra-district migrants are seasonal migrants who usually migrate to their districts' urban area either when there is no work available at their native village or when additional work opportunities emerge in towns. Usually they are approached by potential employers through labour contractors and sometimes also through their relatives or other acquaintance living in the district headquarters.

72 per cent migrant labour in Bangalore and Mysore from the two study districts of north Karnataka considered unavailability of work whereas about 9 per cent of them believed better wages is the most common reason behind labour outflow from their native place. Interestingly, some migrants from Yadgir and Koppal referred better welfare policies as the most common pull factor for migrant labour from their native place. These migrants were not only those working in Bangalore and Mysore but also the ones working within their home districts' headquarters/urban area. In comparison to over 2 per cent of inter-district migrants in Bangalore and Mysore, over 4 per cent intra-district migrants referred better welfare policies as the most common reason behind migration from their native. Except for migrants of Yadgir and Koppal (in case of both intra-district and inter-district), only two migrants in Goa considered welfare policies as the most common reason behind labour outflow from their native place. Even the migrants coming from

other states to Bangalore and Mysore did not consider it as an important or most common pull factor of their migration destination. While 67 per cent of inter-state migrants in South Karnataka considered unavailability of work as the most common reason behind migration, about 27 per cent of them recognized better wages and more livelihood options in Bangalore and Mysore as the most attractive pull factor. About 8 per cent of them thought labour from their native place mostly migrate to repay debt. Debt repayment was not recognized as the most common push factor by over 97 per cent migrants of Yadgir and Koppal. About 5 per cent migrant participants in Goa also recognized debt repayment as the most common push factor.

Some migrants from north Karnataka in Goa (17 per cent) and Solapur (6 per cent) considered drought and crop failure as the most compelling push factor of their native place. Drought was referred as the most common reason behind migration by about 4 per cent intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal whereas about 6 per cent migrants from these districts working either within their home district or in Bangalore/Mysore referred crop failure as the most common push factor of their district. None of the inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore registered drought, crop failure and better welfare policy as the most common push/pull factor of their native place. The study finding shows that push factors play a more critical role in migration of labour to and from Karnataka than the attraction of pull factors. Labour often migrates because they do not find work. Unavailability of work emerged as the most compelling reason behind migration of labour to and from Karnataka.

Participants' Perception about Push and Pull Factors

The overall response of participants about most common reason behind migration, however, did not match with their perception about most common push factors for various caste

categories at their native place. While more livelihood options was not recognized by over 97 per cent participants as most common reason behind migration from their native place, 65 per cent of them considered it the most common reason of migration among socially privileged caste people at their native place. 45 per cent and 53 per cent of them recognized it as most common reason behind migration among ST and SC community of their native place, respectively. This factor was recognized as most common reason among OBC of their native place by 35 per cent participants.

Debt repayment was recognized as a common push factor only by little over 5 per cent participants in Karnataka and not a single participant in Goa and Solapur considered debt a compelling reason behind migration. However, 31 per cent of the total participants believed that debt is the most common push factor among SCs of their native place whereas 13 per cent thought it is most common among OCs. About 7 per cent participants were of the opinion that debt repayment is the most compelling reason behind migration among ST communities of their native place. A very small proportion of participants recognized crop failure and better welfare policies as most common reason behind migration across castes.

Caste Categories	Most common push factor for various caste categories of your native place.						
	Better Wages	More Livelihood Options	Drought	Debt Repayment	Crop Faliure	Better Welfare Policies for Labour	Others
SC	8.79%	43.95%	7.69%	30.76%	6.59%	2.19%	0%
ST	6.6%	53.33%	6.6%	26.6%	0%	6.6%	0%
OBC	5%	35%	42.5%	12.5%	2.5%	0%	0%
Others	8.69%	65.21%	13.04%	13.04%	0%	0%	0%

Thus participants' response regarding common push factors of their native place and their perception about common push factors for various caste categories of their native place widely varied. Except for OBC, availability of more livelihood options was recognized as the most common reason behind migration across all caste categories. This was considered as the most common pull factor for 45 per cent SC, 53 per cent ST and 65 per cent General category people of participants' native place. About 42 per cent of them referred drought as the most common reason behind migration among OBCs of their native place. Only 8 percent and 7 percent of them recognized this reason to be the common push factor for SCs and STs, respectively. 13 per cent participants considered drought to be the most compelling reason behind migration for the General category people of their native place.

Impact of MNREGS on Push & Pull Factors in Karnataka

MNREGS was launched for generating employment opportunities in rural India but it emerged during pilot study that majority of migrants from Yadgir and Koppal in Bangalore were not aware of this scheme. On the other hand, most of the participants from other states eloquently discussed about this ambitious programme of government, meant for guarantying employment for 100 days in rural areas. But the final survey reflects a somewhat similar level of awareness about this programme among intra-district, inter-district and inter-state migrants in Karnataka.

Have you heard about MNREGS?		
Migration Destination	Yes	No
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	22%	78%
Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore From Yadgir & Koppal	22.32%	77.68%
Migrants from other states in Bangalore & Mysore	23.52%	76.46%
Migrants in Goa from North Belgaum & Uttar Kannada	50.98%	49.01%

Migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	28%	72%
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In case of migration destination sites of other states, about 51 per cent migrant participants in Goa had heard about MNREGA as against of 28 per cent in Solapur. Part of the reason, as it emerged during Focus Group Discussions and in-depth interviews, behind people's ignorance about MNREGS is that majority of them do not recognize this as a livelihood option. The community with maximum proportion of participants benefitted by MNREGS was ST, with little over 21 per cent, followed by about 15 per cent OCs. However, participants who never received any work under MNREGS across five caste categories, as the table mentioned below shows, ranged between 78 per cent and 95 per cent.

Caste Categories	Did you ever get work through this programme (MNREGA)?	
	Yes	No
SC	10.1	89.89
ST	21.02	78.94
OBC	5.17	94.82
Others	14.58	85.49

The general perception about MNREGS among Karnataka's participants, as they shared during in-depth interviews and FGDs, was that it is an ineffective programme. Participants of Yadgir and Koppal noted that people get Rs 224 as wages under MNREGS whereas even women labour earn more than that in a day. Besides, as Karnataka's participants noted, people prefer to take up other work than going through the tedious process of registration and other official procedure required for getting work under MNREGS. Impractical implementation process,

which often transpires corruption in MNREGS’ implementation, was referred as another crucial factor behind this schemes ineffectiveness in Karnataka. Participants noted during an FGD with representatives of local governing bodies like Panchayat and other rural leaders in Yadgir that concerned officials often have construction targets under MNREGS. But due to low wages, people seldom consider MNREGS as a livelihood option and it becomes difficult for the concerned officials to find labour to execute work under MNREGS. Subsequently, they often use machines to complete the work. The common trend in this context is that workers, mostly women, are given some portion of the wages (about 50 per cent) and asked to sign the receipt without doing any work. Although majority of participants were never benefitted through MNREGS, over 59 per cent male participants and over 39 per cent female participants believed that effective implementation of MNREGS can help in checking migration. Along with 51 per cent women and 35 per cent men participants, as the table mentioned below denotes, all five transgender participants declined MNREGS’ potential as a policy measure for checking migration.

Gender	Do you think effective implementation of MNREGS can help in checking migration?		
	Yes	No	Can’t Say
Transgender	0%	100%	0%
Female	39.28%	50.89%	9.82%
Male	59.04%	34.57%	6.38%

MNREGS once emerged as a point of reference in a focus group discussion on “reasons behind migration” with construction workers from other states in Bangalore. This FGD was conducted with 6 construction workers and 4 of them had worked under MNREGS. As they

shared their perception of MNREGS, some migrants from Yadgir at the site became more curious about this scheme. Though they had heard about it, they were not aware of the benefits offered under this scheme. The study team informed them about the scheme and this information sharing led to another FGD with 5 inter-district migrants along with 7 inter-state migrants. Though language was a barrier and the two groups of migrants struggled in communicating their points, the FGD turned out to be one the most vibrant discussions of the study. All migrants considered this programme very promising and felt that it can play a crucial role in checking migration. However, they also retained that MNREGS cannot completely check migration and many people might still need to migrate. They insisted that it is extremely important to have clear policies for the protection of migrant labor's rights.

Migrant Labour's Expectation from the Government

Apart from effective implementation of MNREGS, participants also discussed about other policy measures to check migration. Majority of participants across all four caste category, however, continued to insist over the need for employment generation at their native place through MNREGS and other such scheme. 44 per cent OBC participants and about 25 per cent to 32 per cent participants in rest three caste groups considered generating more livelihood options a crucial policy measure for regulating outmigration from their native place. Participants also discussed about increasing influence of money lenders who charge extremely high interest rate and in many cases people have to migrate to repay debt. They believed that their life would be much better and they might not be compelled to migrate if the government facilitates their easy access to credit. Proportion of those who believed so was almost as high as the ones who emphasized over the need for generating employment opportunities at their native place. With 38 per cent, proportion of socially privileged caste (Other category) participants who recognized

easy access to credit as crucial measure for addressing the issue of migration was highest. 25 per cent to 33 per cent participants of rest three categories also shared this opinion. Socially privileged caste and socially marginalized caste participants response on possibility of organizing skill training programme for checking migration varied. As against of 25% SC and 23% ST, only 11% OBC and 15% OCs (Other category) recognized this measure crucial for demeaning push factors of their native place.

Do you think migration could be checked through specific policies? If yes, what could be those policy measures?					
Caste	Generating more livelihood options	Skill training programme	Social security benefits	Access to easy credit	Other
SC	32.18%	25.29%	13.41%	24.52%	4.60%
ST	24.56%	22.81%	14.04%	33.33%	5.26%
OBC	44.61%	10.71%	14.29%	26.79%	3.57%
Others	30.77%	15.38%	0%	38.46%	15.38%

None of the socially privileged caste participants recognized social security benefits as important measure for addressing the issue of labour outflow from their native place. In the rest three caste categories, proportion of participants who considered social security benefits crucial for checking migration ranged between 13% and 14%.

Do you think migration could be checked through specific policies? If yes, what could be those policy measures?					
Caste	Generating more livelihood options	Skill training programme	Social security benefits	Access to easy credit	Other
Transgender	0%	33.3%	0%	66.67%	0%
Women	37.57%	22.10%	11.05%	23.76%	5.52%
Men	32.62%	21.99%	12.41%	29.43%	3.55%

Like caste, there was not much difference between men and women participants' response on the question of policy measures for checking migration. Generating livelihood options prevailed as the most commonly suggested measure for defusing push factor by both women (38 per cent) and men (33 per cent). Second most commonly recommended policy measure was easy access to credit (24 per cent women and 29 per cent men), followed by skill training (22 per cent women and 22 per cent men). Social security benefit was considered important policy measure for regulating migration by only 11 per cent women and 12 per cent men. Thus most of the participants across caste and gender recognized generation of livelihood options at their native place as an important policy measure for checking migration. Second most common recommendation to address push factors was easy access to credit and third was skill training. Proportion of participants who considered social security benefit instrumental in checking migration was much lower than other three recommendations.

MIGRANT WORKERS' CONDITION & RIGHTS

Migrant Workers' Condition

Participants' perception regarding their living and working condition at migration destination vis a vis native place varied among migrants from Karnataka and migrants in Karnataka from other states. Over 90 per cent participants from Yadgir and Koppal, both working within home-district and other districts of Bangalore and Mysore, considered living condition of their native place better than their migration destination. During FGDs and in-depth interviews, many inter-district migrants of Karnataka accepted that unlike their native place, they had toilet, electricity and source of drinking water at their residence/hostel in Bangalore. However, they felt living condition in their *kutchha* homes without toilet and gas stove at native place was much better than Bangalore as their homes at native place were more spacious and they had the support of family to deal with any crisis situation. Furthermore, quality of public health services and education was also very good at their native place.

Nature of Accommodation								
Gender	Rented		Own		Hostel		Other	
	Native Place	Migration Destination						
Transgender	0%	60%	100%	20%	0%	20%	0%	0%
Women	11.51%	62.17%	87.05%	18.58%	1.43%	18.58%	0%	0.56%
Men	11.53%	46.53%	88.46%	17.3%	0%	36.15%	0%	0%

Over 87 per cent participants of all three genders had their own houses at their native place, whereas over 62 per cent women and 47 per cent men lived in rented houses at their

migration destination. A significant proportion of them (19 per cent women and 36 per cent men), especially in Bangalore and Mysore, lived in hostel. All 5 transgender participants owned houses at their native place but only one of them lived in own house at their migration destination (Mysore) as well. Another transgender participant of Mysore lived in a hostel. The only transgender participant of Yadgir and two of Goa lived in rented house.

Most of the inter-district migrants in Bangalore and Mysore insisted that quality of health care facilities and education at their native place of Yadgir and Koppal is very good. This was reflected in their response of survey questions as well. None of them considered quality of accessible and affordable health care facilities of Bangalore and Mysore to be “very good” whereas over 6 per cent of them thought these facilities of their native place fall under “very good” category. Interestingly, response of inter-state migrants regarding these facilities in Bangalore was also similar and none of them found it to be of very good quality. However, over 50 per cent of inter-state and over 69 per cent inter-district migrants in these two cities found the quality of health care facilities to be good. None of them thought Bangalore and Mysore’s affordable and accessible health care facilities are non-functional. But over 23 per cent inter-district and over 25 per cent inter-state migrants of these cities thought the quality of accessible and affordable health care facilities in these cities is poor. Over 16 per cent inter-district migrants of Yadgir and Koppal considered quality of affordable and accessible health care facilities at their native place to be very good as against of their 6 per cent intra-district counterparts in Yadgir and Koppal. About 8 per cent inter-state migrants of Karnataka working in Goa and Solapur considered the quality of these facilities to be of poor and about 2 per cent of them even found it to be non-functional at their native place in north Karnataka.

Quality of health care facilities you could access and afford.										
Migrants Category	Very Good		Good		Satisfactory		Poor		Non-functional	
	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination						
Inter-district in Bangalore and Mysore	6.13%	0%	59.77%	69.23%	28.35%	7.69%	5.36%	23.08%	0.38%	0%
Inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore	16.35%	0%	58.65%	50.41%	19.71%	24.39%	5.29%	25.20%	0%	0%
Intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal	6.13%	12.82%	59.77%	41.03%	28.35%	17.95%	5.36%	28.21%	0.38%	0%
Karnataka's Inter-state migrants in Goa and Solapur	34.09%	21.57%	50%	37.25%	7.95%	19.61%	7.95%	19.61%	0%	1.96%

As against of about 5 per cent inter-state migrants, none of the inter-district migrants found the quality of affordable and accessible education for children to be very good in Bangalore and Mysore. On the other hand, about 2 per cent inter-district and over 27 per cent inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore considered the quality of education of their native place to be very good. Over 59 per cent inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore considered quality of accessible and affordable education for their children in these cities to be good. About 44 per cent of them felt similar about the quality of education for children at their native place. Less than 2 per cent intra-district migrants considered affordable and accessible education of their native place in Yadgir and Koppal to be of very good quality and 20 per cent of them felt same about these facilities at their migration destination of Yadgir and Koppal town. There was

no difference in the proportion of inter-district (74 per cent) and intra-district (74 per cent) migrants of Yadgir and Koppal who considered the quality of affordable and accessible education for children to be good at their native place. Based on this study participants' response, it can be assumed that there is no stark difference between the quality of affordable health and education facilities in rural and urban parts of these towns of north Karnataka. Participants in Yadgir and Koppal also substantiated this assumption during in-depth interview.

Quality of accessible and affordable education for your children.										
Category	Very Good		Good		Satisfactory		Poor		Non-functional	
	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination
Inter-district in Bangalore and Mysore	1.64%	0%	73.77%	53.85%	10.93%	38.46%	11.48%	7.69%	2.19%	0%
Inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore	27.08%	4.88%	43.75%	59.35%	9.38%	28.46%	17.71%	5.69%	2.08%	1.63%
Intra-district migrants in Yadgir and Koppal	1.64%	20%	73.77%	80%	10.93%	0%	11.48%	0%	2.19%	0%
Karnataka's Inter-state migrants in Goa and Solapur	50%	30.43%	48.08%	41.30%	1.92%	2.17%	0%	26.09%	0%	0%

Over 67 per cent women noted that their monthly family income was less than Rs 6000 at their migration destination. 60 per cent men also noted same amount as their family income at migration destination. But only a little over 13 per cent women participants' monthly family income was less than Rs 6000 at their native place. About 47 per cent of women participants' family earned between Rs 6000 and Rs 15000 per month at their native place whereas only 26 per cent female participants' family fall under this income bracket at their migration destinations. Thus, majority of male and female participants' family earned less than Rs 6000 at their

migration destination whereas about 60 per cent men's and 47 per cent women's family income was between Rs 6000 to Rs 15000 per month at their native place.

Monthly family income										
Gender	Less than Rs. 6000		Rs 6000- 15000		Rs. 16000-25000		26000- 35000		More than Rs 35000	
	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination
Transgender	50%	80%	25%	20%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Female	13.40%	67.03%	46.91%	25.82%	34.54%	4.95%	1.55%	0%	3.61%	2.20%
Male	5.65%	62.50%	59.80%	27.21%	23.26%	7.35%	5.65%	0.37%	5.65%	2.57%

Gender wise response of participants regarding their monthly family income at their native place vis a vis migration destination reflects that as a family they had better prospect of earning at their native place. This response could also be due to the fact that majority of migrants had migrated alone or with their partner and children and their family income at migration destination usually comprised of one or two person's income. On the other hand, family income at native place implied income of two or more than two people. Furthermore, as it emerged during in-depth interview, they had access to various welfare policies and Public Distribution Shop (PDS) at their native place which enhanced their family income. But at migration destination, they had no easy access to welfare and social security policies and had to spend on every head, ranging from food and accommodation to health and education. Many participants noted that if they do a cost benefit analysis of migration, they realize that they lose more by migration. However, they are left with no option but to migrate in the absence of regular employment opportunity at their native place.

Violence against Migrant Workers

Inter-state migrant participants at Bangalore and Mysore also discussed about violence against them. Some Rajasthani migrant workers of Mysore's granite factories shared that their supervisors as well as labour contractors often abuse them verbally and threaten of physical violence if they demand their righteous wages. Some participants believed that supervisors and contractors often work together and create a fearsome atmosphere for workers so that they could be compelled to work on lower wages.

Participants usually considered local people at their migration destination non-threatening and in Goa they even praised local people's behavior towards migrant labour. None of the inter-state migrants in Mysore, Goa and Solapur complained about violence by local people. But in Bangalore, participants hinted about violence against them during survey. Participants were not comfortable in sharing examples of any form of violence against them or any incidence of their rights' violation during the interview. But gradually they started opening up and many of them shared such experiences during post-interview informal discussions. Some inter-state migrants in Bangalore shared how they are often subjected to anguish of their employer and even violent aggression of local people.

Indication of such response of local people was evident in response of Karnataka's participants about labour inflow in Karnataka. About 78 per cent of them believed that inflow of inter-state migrants in Karnataka has affected the employment prospects for local people. 31 per cent inter-state migrants in Karnataka also felt so. Proportion of inter-state migrants who condemned such possibility was over 46 per cent. About 12 per cent migrant participants from Karnataka also condemned such possibility whereas about 11 per cent of them were unsure about it as against of their 23 per cent inter-state counterparts working in Bangalore and Mysore.

Do you think inflow of migrants has affected livelihood options for local people?			
Category	Yes	No	Can't Say
Migrants labour participants hailing from Karnataka	77.52%	11.63%	10.85%
Inter-state labour migrants in Karnataka	30.53%	46.32%	23.16%

About 48 per cent migrant labour participants of Karnataka thought that inflow of labour from other states has impacted the status of law and order in their state. About 47 per cent of them were unsure about such possibility and only a little over 5 per cent of them condemned such possibility. On the other hand, about 46 per cent inter-state migrants from other states in Bangalore and Mysore condemned such possibility and about 40 per cent of them were unsure about it. But over 15 per cent of them also thought that inflow of migrant labour from other states has impacted the status of law and crime in Karnataka. However, almost all inter-state migrants in Bangalore and Mysore insisted during in-depth interview that crime has not increased because of inflow of migrants in Karnataka. Some of them shared that migrants are usually very vulnerable and are victims of local people's anguish.

Do you think inflow of labour from other states has impacted the status of crime and law in Karnataka?			
Category	Yes	No	Can't Say
Migrants labour participants hailing from Karnataka	48.13%	5.35%	46.52%
Inter-state labour migrants in Karnataka	15.22%	45.65%	39.13%

Thus, abovementioned table indicates that majority of participants from Karnataka are not happy with the inflow of labour from other states in their state. However, except for Begur (Bangalore), inter-state migrants of all study sites considered local people friendly. Inter-state

migrants in Begur shared that violent attack by local people on them is not uncommon. One participant from Bihar casually informed how he was attacked and injured by local people after a minor disagreement over an issue. Ironically, he shared this experience not during discussion on violation of migrant labour's rights but while discussing about migrant labour's access to health care facilities in Bangalore. He and some other migrant labour were hospitalized for couple of days in the local hospital for treatment as they were injured by local people. These migrants, living in the temporary shelters of labour colonies at construction sites of Begur, live under constant threat of being exploited and attacked. One of them noted that construction workers have to face local people's aggression and violence even if they politely stop a five year old local child from causing any disturbance or disruption at their worksite. The participant also noted that they were often harassed by socially dominant caste people in their native place and hence violence against them at migration destination is not an unusual phenomenon of their life.

Living and Working Condition: Yadgir and Koppal

Living condition in terms of access to basic facilities is less than satisfactory in Koppal and Yadgir District. Most of the intra-district migrant workers who are engaged in non-agricultural activities live in acute poverty and face problems in accessing basic facilities. Condition of those working in brick kilns in Koppal is most pathetic as they survive without access to any of the basic facilities such as toilet, water and regular electricity. It emerged during in-depth interview and discussions that accessing drinking water is a serious challenge for most of the participants and they had to fetch water from public sources of drinking water, usually over 500 meters away from their residence. Migrants often suffer and fall sick due to bad quality of water they drink. Another crucial problem, which was visible during study team's visit to the study sites of Koppal, was that of sanitation and hygiene. The condition of sanitation and

hygiene was extremely poor and in perpetual state of negligence. Living condition of those working for construction companies and factories was comparatively better than the brick kiln migrant workers. They had electricity, water and shared toilets. However, one toilet was shared by over 20 workers and the toilets were very dirty. In sum, intra-district migrants' living condition was most critical of all other groups of migrant participants of this study.

Living and Working Condition: Solapur

The living and working condition of migrant workers in Solapur was comparatively better than that of Yadgir and Koppal. The primary reason quoted by participants behind their comparatively better situation was that they received their wages on time. Solapur has emerged as a town with declining industrial significance in the recent past. It has not remained a popular destination for people from both Belgaum and Joida. Migrant workers living in Solapur were from Raichur, Gulbarga and Vijayapura districts of North Karnataka and they had settled in Solapur. Interestingly, this destination with declining commercial significance had much better living and working condition than Yadgir and Koppal. Because of the initiatives taken by the government, many of the migrant workers had own house in regularized colonies. One such colony was Jagjivan Ram Colony where most of the migrant study participants lived. They had access to regular electricity, toilets and water supply which made their life easier and to some extent healthier as well. Impact of their living condition was also clearly visible on children who went to school regularly and were clad in clean clothes.

Living and Working Condition: Goa

The migrant labour participants from Joida and Belgaum were interviewed in Berna, Ponda, Vasco and Porvorin areas of Goa. Migrants in Goa were mainly engaged in hospitality

industry, petty business and construction. Migrant participants for this study usually lived in shelters provided by their owners. But most of them had settled in Goa and were living in rented accommodation. Participants from Joida were usually into hospitality whereas Belgaum's migrants were into construction and many of them were also working as truck drivers. Seasonal migrants in Goa usually came between October and April, the peak season of Goa tourism. Since the field study in Goa was completed before October, the study team could not conduct survey with seasonal migrants. One of the CST members, however, got a chance to interact with some seasonal migrants during an unofficial tour to Goa in December. Condition of seasonal migrants in Goa was extremely vulnerable. While migrants settled in Goa were somewhat satisfied with their living condition, seasonal migrants were vulnerable to exploitations from local goons as well as police. They had to pay commission at various levels. Two seasonal women migrants, who worked as massage therapists at Calangute beach, from Belgaum shared that they do not get more than Rs 100 for about a half day work and Rs 150 for 6-8 hours of work as agricultural labour in Belgaum. Hence they come to Goa every year and save some money to meet their additional expenses, mainly related to health care and marriage. Seasonal migrant labour usually lived around beaches where they had access to electricity and toilet facilities but had no access to drinking water.

Living and Working Condition: Mysore

Mysore, a city known for its silk and sandalwood, has been popular among migrant workers for its industries. Some industrial townships are adjacent to this city. Apart from Mysore city, the study was conducted in Nanjungud industrial area. The number of industries in Nanjungud was around 60-70 and in most of the industries migrant workers are hired through contractors who act as middle men and are responsible for workers' payment. Workers often

have to give certain proportion of commission to the contractor. Migrant workers usually lived in shelter provided by their employer. These shelters had electricity and toilet facilities. But in most of the cases, people had to carry water from other places. Apart from migrant labour working in Nanjangud and some companies like Reid & Taylor and Nestle, study was also conducted with migrants living in Nazarbad area of Mysore city. Migrants living in this neighborhood usually worked for construction company named Simplex and lived in shelter provided by the company. Their shelter, which included about 30 rooms along with water and electricity facility, was made of steel sheets. The shelter also had three toilets. Wages in both Bangalore and Mysore was around Rs 400 per day for men and about Rs 300 to Rs 350 for women. Workers usually got their wages through contractors and in some cases workers had not received wages for 3-4 months. In organized industrial units such as Nestle, the migrant workers are entitled to health insurance, provident fund (PF) and other social security benefits whereas in smaller units their social security is routed through private contractors. Therefore in smaller units the exploitation is more rampant than in larger and organized units.

Living and Working Condition: Bangalore

Of the total 518 migrant labour participants, 244 were interviewed in Bangalore, a city known as popular destination for migrants across class. However, most of the labour migrants were living in pathetic condition in Bangalore. Study was conducted in Bangalore with migrants living in Ideal Home Club, Kenchanhalli, Aditya Layout, Begur, Bangarappa Gudde, Utharalli, and Rajrajeshwari Nagar. Of these, first three shelters had no electricity, water and toilet facility. Open defecation was a common practice for migrants living in Aditya Colony. Labour shelters in Kanchenhelli and Rajareshwari were situated in hard to reach discrete interior location. Study participants from other states were primarily living in Begur area and working for big

construction companies like DLF and SRS. All these labour shelters had basic facilities of water, electricity and toilet.



Migrants' shelter in Bangalore

Apart from these sites, women migrants working in two garment factories of Bangalore were also interviewed for the study. Most of the garment factory workers were in their early twenties and the common practice among these migrants from Yadgir and Koppal was that they save money for their wedding and stop working in factory after marriage. On the condition of maintaining secrecy regarding their and their employer's identity, some women participants shared their vulnerable condition at workplace as well as in the hostel. The employers deduct the hostel rent and amount spent on food provided at hostel from the wages/salary of these workers and they usually do not earn more than Rs 4000 to Rs 7000 a month. Verbal and physical abuse in the name of discipline is very common at both factory and hostel. During the in-depth interview, few participants also shared incidences of sexual abuse, ranging from molestation to rape. Most of these women participants, in their early twenties, were extremely cautious about sharing their experience of violence. While interviewed in factory, most of these women praised their management and insisted that they are living a much better life in hostel than their home. The study team could manage to interact with few of them for in-depth interview in their hostel

and they could share their experience more openly. Their narration of extremely oppressive condition at the factory also indicates why they were reluctant about encouraging their sisters and other female relatives to join garment factories.

Rights of Migrant Workers

Instead of asking specific question about “Inter-state Migrant Workman (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act 1979”, migrant workers were asked if they are aware of any policy that protects migrant workers’ rights. This question was also probed during in-depth interview with labour participants, representatives of employers (management and/or human resource personnel) and labour contractor participants of the study. About 80 per cent male and 80 per cent female participants were not aware of any such policy. All representatives of the employers (total 7) of migrant labour were aware of policies and laws for the protection of migrant workers’ rights. But only 2 of them were aware of the “Inter-state Migrant Workman (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act 1979”. Among the labour contractors, 3 were aware of the Act whereas rest 5 had heard about existence of laws/policies that protect migrant workers’ rights.

Despite prevalence of discrimination as well as violence against women labour, most of the participants had never seen or heard about any provision/policy/committee to address such issues at their workplace. Majority of them were also not aware about migrant workers’ specific rights and any policy for protection of those rights. As the table mentioned below shows, ignorance about existence of policies on migrant workers’ rights was equally prevalent among men and women.

The migration destination wise data also reflects that over 92 per cent migrants across all study sites were not aware about policies meant for protecting migrant workers' rights. In case of Solapur, none of the participants had ever heard about such policies.

Gender	Are you aware of any policy that protects migrant workers' rights?		
	Yes	No	Can't Say
Transgender	0%	66.6%	33.3%
Female	4.67%	83.48%	11.85%
Male	4.40%	83.65%	11.93%

As the table mentioned below shows, less than 5 per cent migrant participants in Bangalore and Mysore and less than 4 per cent in Goa were aware about specific policies for the protection of migrant workers' rights.

Are you aware of any policy that protects migrant workers' rights?			
Migration Destination	Yes	No	Don't Know
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	2%	92%	6%
Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore From Yadgir & Koppal	3.89%	97.53%	3.57%
Migrants from other states in Bangalore & Mysore	4.81%	95.18%	0%
Migrants in Goa from North Belgaum & Uttar Kannada	3.92%	96.07%	0%
Migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	0%	100%	0%

Participants were also asked if they had heard about any redressal mechanism to address grievances of migrant labour. Over 92 per cent participants at all study sites had not heard about any redressal mechanism. Like Inter-state Workman Act (1979), questions pertaining to provision for addressing grievances of migrant labours and similar (like the 1979 Act) regulatory protection for intra-state migrant labours were also asked during in-depth interview with participants, representatives of employers (Management and/or Human Resource personnel) and

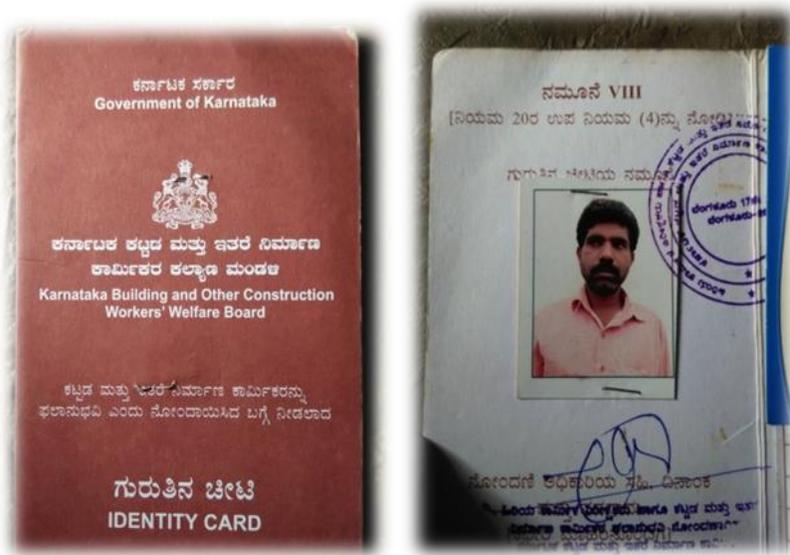
labour contractor participants of the study. 4 of the 7 representatives of employers were familiar of this policy and only one of them knew about the exact policy. Among the 8 contractors, only 2 were aware of any policy for redressal mechanism of grievances of migrant labours.

Majority of the migrant participants who had heard about such mechanism insisted that such mechanisms are either non-functional or ineffective. None of the participants who had heard about such mechanism in Goa, Yadgir and Koppal found it functional at all. About 92 per cent of them in Yadgir and Koppal found these mechanisms ineffective and 8 per cent thought it is non-functional. Over 96 per cent participants believed redressal mechanism of grievances of migrant labour are ineffective and about 4 per cent considered them non-functional in Goa.

Do you find provisions for redressal mechanism of grievances of migrant labour effective?			
Migration Destination	Effective	Not Effective	Non-Functional
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	0%	92%	8%
Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore From Yadgir & Koppal	1.94%	95.77%	2.27%
Migrants from other states in Bangalore & Mysore	2.02%	90.9%	7.07%
Migrants in Goa from North Belgaum & Uttar Kannada	0%	96.07%	3.92%
Migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	24%	76%	0%

Most of the migrant participants from other states in south Karnataka were also of similar opinion. As above mentioned table demonstrates, about 91 per cent of them considered such mechanisms ineffective and 7 per cent considered it non-functional. However, about 2 per cent migrants from each inter-district and intra-district category, believed that such mechanism are effective in Bangalore and Mysore.

Do you have Migrant Workers' Passbook?			
Migration Destination	Yes	No	Haven't Heard
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	0%	76%	24%
Migrants in Bangalore & Mysore From Yadgir & Koppal	9.18%	68.85%	21.96%
Migrants from other states in Bangalore & Mysore	2%	91%	7%
Migrants in Goa from North Belgaum & Uttar Kannada	0%	0%	0%
Migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	0%	0%	0%



One Migrant Workers' Identity Card, Bangalore

Majority of participants had never had the migrant workers' passbook. Except for Bangalore and Mysore, none of the participants at any study site had the passbook. Participants in Goa and Solapur were not even aware about it. In Bangalore and Mysore over 9 per cent inter-district and 2 per cent inter-state migrants had the passbook and only 22 per cent to 24 per cent Karnataka's participants were not aware about it. Some participants of Karnataka also had the migrant workers' ID card.

The study shows rampant violation of “Inter-state Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act 1979” at various levels. As per the Act, the workers are entitled to the wages for the days they travel to reach their migration destination. But even participants from far away states like Bihar and Assam noted that their contractor never paid them for the days of travel. The Act also ensures equal wages for men and women whereas wage discrimination was a common feature which has been internalized as usual acceptable trend by the migrants. As this study reflects, migrant workers are subjected to not only violation of their rights by their employer/supervisor/contractor but they have also been subjected to anguish and violence of local people. Internalization of such violence and rights’ violations by the migrants has almost pacified their wish to envision and establish institutions/provisions for the protection of their rights. Though participants felt such provision should be available at workplace, they were not sure how any pro labour policies/provisions/initiatives could be effectively implemented.

CONDITION OF MIGRANT WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Gender at Workplace

Gender based discrimination is an evident reality of our social construct. This discrimination is often manifested at work place in varied forms, ranging from wage discrimination to violence against women. However, about 74 per cent women and 79 per cent men participants of this study denied that such practice existed at work place of their migration destination. About 62 per cent women and 77 per cent men believed that there is no discrimination at work places of their native place either. Proportion of men who acknowledged prevalence of gender based discrimination at work places of their native place and migration destination varied between 14 per cent and 15 per cent. About 19 per cent women had witnessed discrimination at work place of their migration destination whereas 32 per cent of them had also seen it at their native place.

Do you see any discrimination against women at work place in any form?						
Gender	Yes		No		Can't say	
	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination
Transgender	25%	33.33%	75%	66.67%	0%	0%
Women	31.77%	18.82%	61.98%	73.53%	6.25%	7.65%
Men	14.29%	14.13%	76.53%	78.99%	9.18%	6.88%

About 95 per cent women participants of this study earned less than Rs 100000 per annum and only about 5 per cent of them earned more than 100000 per annum. On the other hand, over 50 per cent men earned more than Rs 100000 per annum.

Gender	Annual Income (in rupees)						
	Less than 15000	16000-25000	26000-50000	51000-75000	76000-100000	100000-125000	More than 125000
Transgender	0%	20%	40%	20%	0%	20%	0%
Female	11.76%	12.94%	15.88%	23.52%	30.58%	2.35%	2.94%
Male	7.09%	11.7%	10.28%	10.28%	10.63%	29.43%	20.56%

Thus, probability of women in middle income group is higher in comparison to their male counterparts who fall in the higher income slab within the income brackets referred for this study. This trend also reflects the prevalence of gender-based wage discrimination, a fact commonly acknowledged by participants and evident in the table mentioned below.

Gender	Do women and men get equal wages?		
	Yes	No	Can't Say
Transgender	0%	75%	25%
Female	16.31%	73.04%	10.63%
Male	12.55%	83.80%	3.64%

It would be important to note here that one of the provisions in the Inter-state Migrant Labour Act guarantees equal wages for men and women. However, about 73 per cent women and 84 per cent men acknowledged that men and women do not get equal wages. While wage discrimination was common at various migration destinations, about 22 per cent women and 35 per cent men believed that men usually get more days of work than women under MNREGS. But about 64 per cent male and 33 per cent women participants insisted that there is no such practice and men do not get more work days under MNREGS than women. Over 44 per cent women

participants, however, had not heard about the scheme and hence could not respond to this question.

MNRGES and Women

Majority of participants acknowledged that labour migration is more common among men than women and in the absence of men, women, in many cases, become the prime beneficiaries of government policies like MNREGS.

Caste Category	Do men usually get more days of work than women under MNREGS?		
	Yes	No	Don't Know
Transgender	0%	0%	0%
Female	22.2%	33.3%	44.3%
Male	34.09%	63.63%	2.27%

Moreover, as noted in the chapter five's (Push and Pull Factors) section on MNREGS in this report, women often get about 50 per cent of the determined wages under MNREGS without doing any work under the scheme. The concerned officials widely use machines for work completion, or rather, target completion. Rural leaders in Yadgir acknowledged during FGD that such malpractices are common under MNREGS, a scheme about which people in Yadgir are either not aware of or do not consider a livelihood option.

Gender	Have you heard about MNREGS?		
	Yes	No	Don't Know
Transgender	0%	100%	0%
Female	22.24%	75%	0.75%
Male	19.21%	79.47%	1.31%

Most of the women participants of Karnataka were not aware about MNREGS. While some of them accepted during in-depth interview that they receive Rs 100 or more in name of wages under some scheme, they were not able to recollect the name of the scheme. Like men, majority of women participants had not heard about MNREGS. However, proportion of those women who had heard about MNREGS was about 5% higher than male migrants familiar with the scheme.

Violence against Migrant Women Labour at Workplace

Wage discrimination is not the only gender based oppression that women migrating to and from Karnataka have to face. Violence against women at work place was also prevalent across all study sites. Majority of participants, however, declined prevalence of violence against women at their work place during survey. About 63 per cent women and 78 per cent men declined that they have ever witnessed any form of violence against women at their work place.

Gender	Do you see any form of violence against women at work place?		
	Yes	No	Can't Say
Transgender	0%	66.6%	33.3%
Female	24.84%	62.73%	12.42%
Male	10.61%	77.51%	11.83%

Participants' response regarding prevalence of violence against women at work place of their native place vis a vis migration destination also reflects a tendency of the internalization of status quo. They were very skeptical about discussing this issue, especially in the context of the work place at their migration destination. Over 80 per cent women and 79 per cent men noted that they had never seen any form of violence against women at work place of their migration destination. 65 per cent women and 79 per cent men denied of such trend at their native place's

work place as well. About 12 per cent women and 10 per cent men were unsure about prevalence of violence against women at work place of their migration destination. About 13 per cent women and 12 per cent men were unsure about violence against women at workplace of their native place.

Do you see any form of violence against women at work place?						
Gender	Yes		No		Cant say	
	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination	Native Place	Migration Destination
Transgender	0	0	66.67	50	33.33	50
Women	22.22	6.92	65	81.13	12.78	11.95
Men	9.78	10.77	78.62	79.23	11.59	10

Do you see any form of violence against women at work place?				
Migration Destination	Gender	Yes	No	Can't Say
Intra-district migration in Yadgir & Koppal	Transgender	0	0	100%
	Women	32%	44%	24%
	Men	16%	36%	48%
Inter-district migrants in Bangalore & Mysore from Yadgir & Koppal	Transgender	0	0	100%
	Women	55.20%	40.72%	4.07%
	Men	21.59%	69.01%	9.38%
Inter-state migrants in Bangalore & Mysore from Other states	Transgender	-	-	-
	Women	39.07%	33.82%	26.47%
	Men	14.66%	54.66%	30.69%
Inter-state migrants in Goa from North Karnataka	Transgender	0%	100%	0%
	Women	23.07%	46.17%	30.76%
	Men	29.16%	46.16%	24.69%
Inter-state migrants in Solapur from North Karnataka	Transgender	-	-	-
	Women	54.54%	18.18%	27.27%
	Men	25%	37.5%	37.5%

As against of 22 per cent women who had witnessed or experienced violence at work place of their native place, only 7 per cent women acknowledged existence of such trend at work place of their migration destination. Reference of violence against women emerged more prominently during FGDs and in-depth interviews, especially with women. In fact, except for Goa, participants' response on this issue drastically differed in their response to survey questions and to in-depth interview. Over 46 per cent women and same proportion of male participants in Goa registered that they had never witnessed violence against women at their workplace. This was not an unusual response. Baring Solapur, majority of participants at other study sites also declined possibilities of violence against women at their workplace. Nonetheless, it was evident during in-depth interview that women were subjected to violence but a sense of denial about such incidences was prevalent among them. Both male and female migrants in Goa, however, shared during in-depth interview and FGDs that violence against women at workplace is not a usual phenomenon at their workplace. On the other hand, over 54 per cent women participants at Solapur had witnessed violence against women at their workplace and they were vocal about it during in-depth interview.

The place where maximum number of women accepted that they have witnessed violence against women at their workplace was Bangalore. Over 55 per cent inter-district and 40 per cent inter-state women migrants in Bangalore and Mysore registered that they have witnessed women being subjected to violence at their workplace. Almost all inter-district women migrants in Bangalore were women in their twenties and were working in garment factories. They usually live in hostels and, as they shared, were working to save money for their wedding. Although they send part of their income to their families, saving for marriage was referred as an important agenda by most of the women garment factory workers. These women live in very oppressive

conditions and are subjected to various forms of violence in the name of discipline. Most common form of violence against women recognized by those who acknowledged witnessing such practices was verbal. As the table shared below shows, about 73 per cent men and 60 per cent women migrants had witnessed women being subjected to verbal abuse at workplace. About 14 per cent women and 9 per cent men participants insisted that they have witnessed all forms of violence, ranging from verbal and physical to sexual. 17 per cent women and over 16 per cent men shared their experience of witnessing violence against women in ‘other’ category.

Gender	If yes, what kind of violence against women you see at work place?				
	Verbal	Physical	Sexual	All Three	Other
Transgender	40%	0%	0%	40%	20%
Female	59.09%	9.09%	1.51%	13.63%	16.6%
Male	72.52%	1.03%	1.21%	8.80%	16.39%

Internalization of Violence and Oppression

During the initial interactions, intra-district migrant women in Bangalore’s garment factory had a mixed opinion about their living condition in Bangalore. Some women garment factory workers, who usually lived in dorm like facility of the factory hostel, complained about norms of the hostel that strictly regulate their mobility at not only workplace but also at hostel. Nonetheless, during the pilot study most of the garment factory worker women insisted that they are happy to live in the strict atmosphere of hostel as they found it much better than the atmosphere back home where women have to do household chores even after working outside home. But in Bangalore, they are provided with food in the hostel and can enjoy the privileged of watching television in evening. Furthermore, they noted working under a roof of factory is any

day more comfortable than working in open farmlands and construction sites of their native place. Some added that they are not yet married and wish to avoid suntan.

Though the garment factory workers eloquently discussed about the comparative advantage of living and working in Bangalore, most of them did not wish their younger sisters to work in the factory. One reason they shared frequently is that they are sending money home so that their sisters do not have to work. They also noted that they do not wish to continue working in the factory after their marriage. Thus, the response of survey as well as FGDs conducted after survey with women factory workers did not indicate any clear reason behind participants' preference for hostel life while denying the same for their sisters or other female kin.

Available reports and news⁴ about Bangalore garment factory workers had clear indication about prevalence of oppression against them. Based on experience of pilot study, the study team avoided interacting garment factory workers in the factory premises. Even if they were interviewed for the survey at their workplace, in-depth interview was conducted in hostel, mostly after work. In hostels, the young women workers of garment factories were more comfortable in sharing their experience of living and working in Bangalore. And they did not hesitate in sharing how they are subjected to various forms of violence at workplace and even in hostel. This trend of denying a prevalent reality was not unusual. Majority of participants had denied about prevalence of any form of discrimination at workplace despite the fact that they are aware of sexist wage practices and even about incidences of violence against women at workplace. Thus, study participants' first reaction on the question of discrimination against

⁴ Ladies Finger's report on Bangalore Garment Factory workers' protest. Downloaded on December 28, 2016 from: <http://theladiesfinger.com/heres-women-protesters-bangalore-provident-fund/>

women was of denial. But a pattern of gradual realization or acceptance of reality in participants' response was clearly witnessed as the questions progressed from issues pertaining to grand narratives of common practices at work place to specific questions concerning to an individual labour.

Migration & Children

Though not as evident as it emerged on the question of discrimination against women labour, a trend of denying perceived reality was apparent in people's response regarding child labour as well. The meager earnings of adult labour are usually insufficient for the survival of a family. This factor often compels children to work. Children are possibly one of the most unrecognized and vulnerable groups among migrant population in India. Many of the participants shared during informal discussions that children work in tea shops and are also seen assisting vendors in Bangalore. But most of them denied existence of any form of child labour in Bangalore during the survey. Direct questions about participants' own children's access to school and health care facilities made participants more vocal about the condition of migrant labour's children. Many participants were worried about their children's health. Most of the children of migrants labour were malnourished and cases of maternal deaths were also registered in some labour colonies of Bangalore.

Children, who had neither access to clean food nor clothes, were worst affected in such unhealthy and unhygienic living condition in many of the migrant workers' shelters/colonies. Their daily meals lacked nutrition and hygiene. Rice was mostly used as staple food along with potato and some vegetables. Although most of the participants shared that their children go to school regularly, children's education for them was anything but regular and the quality of

education they received also seemed to be sub-standard. Schooling of children was a major constraint across all study sites, barring Solapur and Goa. Even in Goa, schooling for seasonal migrants who live for about 3 to 6 months was a critical issue.

Migrants usually have problems in locating government schools and even if they find one, tedious paper work for transfer often discourages them. Hence, migrants' children usually go to private schools. Some participants migrating with families shared their apprehensions that temporary nature of their work will affect their children's education. In some cases, migrants' children do not attend schools and most of the participants were unaware of government policies for facilitating education of migrant workers' children. Considering the limitations and even absence of regular educational facilities at native place, it is extremely difficult for seasonal migrant workers' children to rejoin the formal education system. Many scholars have gone to the extent of suggesting that migration prevents children from going to and staying in school (Berman, 1996). Moreover, working alongside parents is an important activity for many of the children who accompany their parents on a migration trip where they spend an increasing amount of their childhood in the unfamiliar and insecure migrant work-sites.



A migrant worker in Bangalore with her child

MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

One of the most crucial recommendations of this study is inspired by the most encouraging finding of this study, i.e., Karnataka's participants' overwhelming response regarding good quality of affordable and accessible education and health care facilities in Karnataka. Based on this study's findings, it is recommended that state should continue to play a crucial role in ensuring poor people's access to good quality education and health care facilities.

Majority of participants had not migrated in search of better livelihood and life but because there was no work available at their native place. Availability and accessibility of livelihood options at local level could check migration substantially. Many labour participants of this study were compelled to live and work in vulnerable condition, often with very limited and even no access to basic facilities like toilet and safe drinking water. This context calls for government's intervention through policy measures. Some recommendations and policy measures for the purpose have been mentioned below:

Short Term Recommendations

- ▶ Effective implementation of MNREGS and generating livelihood options at local level
- ▶ Ensuring farmer's access to seeds, fertilizer etc. at subsidized rates and also availability of loan at lower interest rate
- ▶ Ensuring easy access to credit to small entrepreneurs and petty traders
- ▶ Stringent law/policies to counter monopoly of unregistered contractors who charge commission from migrant workers of almost all study sites

- ▶ Effective implementation of redressal mechanism
- ▶ Strengthening bodies and cells meant for protection of women workers' rights and ensuring their safety at work place
- ▶ Creating provision for organizing regular training workshops to educate workers' about their rights
- ▶ Creating provision for organizing workshops on gender sensitization

Long Term Recommendations

- ▶ Adequate measure to generate employment at local level
- ▶ Enhancing awareness about Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA)
- ▶ Convergence of MNREGA with other developmental programmes/projects at local level
- ▶ Ensuring easy access to good quality health care services and education for children (specially in other states as most of the migrant labours of Karnataka were appreciative about the quality and accessibility of education and health care services at their native place)
- ▶ Effective implementation of welfare policies, specially pertaining to income generation, health and education
- ▶ Stringent policies to discourage child labour
- ▶ Stringent policies to stop gender based wage discrimination

- ▶ Effective implementation of policies for protection of rights of migrant women and children
- ▶ Effective role of anti-sexual harassment committees

Policy Changes

- ▶ Ensuring registration of migrant workers and issue them identity cards
- ▶ This identity card should also ensure their access to:
 - PDS shop at migration destination
 - Public health care institutions
 - Government schools
- ▶ Formulation of policies to ensure migrant workers' easy access to basic services such as health, sanitation and also other necessary welfare services
- ▶ Stringent policies to discourage violation of migrant workers' rights; exploitation of women migrant workers; wage discrimination; and child labour
- ▶ Formulation of policies/laws to regulate unregistered contractors
- ▶ Provision to organize training workshop on rights of migrant workers at work sites for workers, employers and management staff
- ▶ Provision to organize gender sensitization workshops at work sites for both male and female workers as well as employers and management staff

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Annexure 1
Questionnaire

for

Evaluation Study of Migration of Labour to and From Karnataka

	Village/City	Block	District	State
Migration Destination				
Native Place				

Section A: General Information about Study Participant

Name of informant	
Age	
Gender (1-Transgender; 2- Female; 3 Male)	
Marital Status (1- Married; 2- Not married)	
Occupation (1- Farmer; 2- Self-employed; 3- Daily Wage Worker; 4- Factory Worker; 5- Other) If Other, please specify.	
Annual Income (1- Less than Rs 15000; 2- Rs 16000- 25000; 3- Rs. 26000-50000; 4- Rs 51000-75000; 5- Rs 76000-100000; 6- Rs 100000-125000; 7- More than Rs 126000)	
Landholding Size (1-No land; 2- Less than 1 Acre; 3- Less than 2 Acres; 4- Less than 3 Acres; 5- More than 3 Acres) Please specify landholding size: _____ Acres	

<p>If you own land, please mention the size of irrigated land</p> <p>(1-None; 2- Less than 1 Acre; 3- Less than 2 Acres; 4- Less than 3 Acres; 5- More than 3 Acres)</p> <p>Please specify the size of irrigated land you own: _____ Acres</p>	
<p>Educational status</p> <p>[1- Illiterate; 2- Primary Education (Class 1 to 5); 3- Middle (Class 6 to 8); 4- Secondary Education (Class 9 to 10); 5- Higher Secondary Education (Class 11 to 12); 6- Technical Education/Diploma; 7- Graduation; 8- Post Graduation; 9- Others (Specify)]</p>	
<p>Caste (1-SC; 2-ST; 3-BC; 4-OBC; 5-Others)</p>	
<p>Religion (1-Hindu; 2-Muslim; 3-Christian; 4-Sikh; 5-Others)</p>	
<p>Family type (1-Joint; 2-Nuclear)</p>	
<p>No. of children</p>	

2	Have you settled here with your family? (1-yes; 2- no)		
3	If yes, since when you are living here with your family? (1- less than one year; 2- less than 3 years; 3-less than 5 years; 4- more than 5 years)		
4	If answer to second question is no, then do you come to this city/village only or go to other towns/villages also in search of work? (1- only this city/village; 2- migrate to other cities/villages also; 3- this is the first time I have migrated for work)		
5	Is migration a common or regular phenomenon in your native place? (1- yes; 2- no; 3- don't know)		
6	If yes, please share the most common reason behind outmigration from your native place. [1- No work available; 2- Crop failure; 3-Drought; 4- Debt Repayment; 5- Better wages; 6- More livelihood options; 7- Other (please specify)]		
7	Are there specific months/seasons when people migrate in general from your native place? (1-Yes; 2-No; 3-Don't know)		
8	If yes, please share names of those seasons/months.		
9	Is labour migration more common in some specific Taluks of your home district? (1-Yes; 2-No; 3-Don't know)		

10	If yes, please share the names of those Taluks?		
11	What is the reason behind more labour outflow from these Takuls? [1- No work available; 2- Crop failure; 3-Drought; 4- Debt Repayment; 5- Better wages; 6- More livelihood options; 7- Other (please specify)]		
12	Is labour migration more common among any specific caste? (1-Yes; 2-No; 3-Don't know)		
13	If yes, in which caste outflow of labour is most common from your native place? [1-SC; 2- ST; 3-OBC; 4-General/Other (please specify)]		
14	Do you think inflow of migrants from other states have affected livelihood options for local people in Karnataka? (1-Yes; 2- No; 3: Can't say)		
15	Do you think inflow of labour from other states has impacted the status of crime and law in Karnataka? (1-Yes; 2- No; 3: Can't say)		
16	Did you migrate alone? [1- Yes; 2- No]		
17	If no, with whom did you migrate? [1- with wife and children; 2- other men of family; 3- with other men of village/city; 4- with friends from other village/city; 5- Other (please specify)]		
18	How frequently do you return to your hometown/ native village? (1-Once in a month; 2- Once in a year; 3- two to four times in a year; 4- Once in 2-3 years; 5-Havent return even once after coming here)		

19	Are there any specific seasons/months when you migrate? If yes, please name those seasons.		
20	Do you save money? (1-Yes; 2-No)		
20	Do you send money to your family? (1-Yes; 2-No; 3-Not Applicable)		
21	If yes, how often do you send money to your family? (1- as often as required; 2- Monthly; 3 –Bi-monthly; 4- whenever go home)		
22	How do you send money to your family? (1- personally; 2- through friends/relatives; 3- money order; 4- deposit in bank account; 5- other)		
23	Do you think migration could be checked through specific policies? If yes, what could be those policy measures? (1-generating more livelihood options; 2- skill training programme; 3- social security benefits; 4- access to easy credit; 5- other)		
24	Have you heard about MNREGS? (1-Yes; 2-No)		
25	If yes, did you ever get work through this programme? (1-Yes; 2-No)		
26	How many days of work are usually available under MNREGS?		

27	Do you think there have been discrepancies in implementation of MNREGS? (1-Yes; 2-No; 3- Can't say). If yes, please explain.		
28	Do men usually get more days of work than women under MNREGS? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)		
29	Do men get higher wages than women under MNREGS? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)		
30	Do privileged caste people get more days of work under MNREGS than marginalized caste people? (1-yes; 2- no; 3-can't say)		
31	Are there child care facilities like crèche available at MNREGS work sites? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)		
32	Availability of safe drinking water at MNREGS work sites (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)		
33	Availability of sanitation facilities at MNREGS work sites (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)		
34	If yes, do you find these facilities clean and hygienic? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)		
35	Do you think effective implementation of MNREGS can help in		

	checking migration? (1-Yes; 2-No)		
36	How do you think MNREGS could be made more effective? (1- by providing more days of work; 2- by ensuring proper remuneration; 3 - by ensuring supportive work condition for women (eg. equal wages, crèche/day care facility etc.); 4- by ensuring allocation of work through Panchayat; 5- all of these)		

Section D: Living and Working Condition at Native Place and Migration Destination

No.	Indicators	Native Village/City	Migration Destination	Remarks
1	Monthly family income (1-Less than Rs. 6000; 2-Rs 6000- 15000; 3- Rs. 16000-25000; 4-Rs. 26000- 35000; 5- More than Rs 35000)			
2	What do you do for living? Please mention the exact work if possible along with the code number of options given below. (1- Farmer; 2- Self-employed homeworkers; 3- Daily Wage Worker; 4- Factory Worker; 5- Business; 6- Service; 7- Other)			
3	What is the most common work people migrating from your native place do? Please mention the exact work if possible along with the code number of options given below. (1- Farmer; 2- Self-employed homeworkers; 3- Daily Wage Worker; 4- Factory Worker; 5-			

	Business; 6- Service; 7- Other)			
4	Do you have a Ration Card? (1- Yes; 2-No)			
5	Do you have access to PDS? (1- Yes; 2-No)			
6	If yes, is the quantity of ration you get from PDS sufficient for you and your family? (1- Yes; 2-No)			
7	How is the quality of ration you get from PDS? (1-Good; 2- Satisfactory; 3- Bad)			
8	Do you have BPL Card? (1- Yes; 2-No)			
9	Type of House (1-Kutchra House; 2-Pucka House)			
10	Nature of accommodation (1- Rented; 2-Own; 3- Hostel)			
11	Do you have electricity in the house? (1- Yes; 2-No)			
12	Do you have your own source of drinking water? (1- Yes; 2-No)			
13	Do you have toilet in your house? (1- Yes; 2-No)			

14	What type of stove is used in your house for cooking? (1-Gas; 2-Kerosine; 3-Wood; 4-Coal)			
15	Distance of nearest government hospital from your residence. (1: Less than 2 Km; 2: 2-5 Km; 3: 5-7 Km; 4: 7-10 km; 5: More than 10 Km)			
16	Quality of health care facilities you could access and afford. (1-Very good; 2-Good; 3-Satisfactory; 4-Poor; 5-Non-functional)			
17	Distance of nearest school from your residence. (1: Less than 2 Km; 2: 2-5 Km; 3: More than 5 Km)			
18	Do your children go to school? (1- Yes; 2-No; 3- NA)			
19	Till what grade usually children in your community/neighborhood attend school/college? (1-Primary level; 2- Middle level or 8 th grade; 3- 10 th grade; 4- 12 th grade; 5- Graduation; 6- PG and above; 7- Can't say)			
20	Quality of accessible and affordable education for your children. (1-Very good; 2-Good; 3-Satisfactory; 4-Poor; 5-Non-functional)			
21	Have you heard about any law or policy that protects your right as migrant labour? (1-yes; 2- no)			

22	If yes, do you find those laws/policies effective or useful? (1-yes; 2-no; 3- can't say)			
23	Is there any provision or redressal mechanism in case of these laws' violation? (1-yes; 2-no; 3- can't say)			
24	If yes, how effective these mechanisms are? (1-very effective; 2-effective; 3-ineffective)			
25	Do children also work as labour? (1-yes; 2-no)			
26	If yes, do you see any discrimination against children at work place in any form? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)			
27	Do you see any form of violence against children at work place? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)			
28	Do women and men get equal wages? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)			
29	Do women eat after men at your home? (1-yes; 2-no)			
30	Do you see any discrimination against women at work place in any form? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)			

31	Do you see any form of violence against women at work place? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)			
32	If yes, what kind of violence do you experience/ see at work place? [1-Verbal; 2-Physical; 3-Sexual; 4- All three; 5- Other (please specify)]			
33	Is there any provision to address issues of violence against women at work place? (1-yes; 2-no; 3-can't say)			
34	If yes, how effective that provision/mechanism is? (1-Very effective; 2- Effective; 3-Not effective at all)			
35	Living condition (1-Very good; 2- Good; 3- Bad; 4- Extremely bad)			
36	Working condition (1-Very good; 2- Good; 3- Bad; 4- Extremely bad; 5- NA)			
37	Please suggest five actions/initiatives that you would like the government to take immediately for improving your living and working condition.			



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Karnataka Evaluation Authority

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