



**CENTRE FOR WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
NEW DELHI**

Final Technical Report of the Project on
**Gender and Migration: Negotiating Rights
A Women's Movement Perspective**

IDRC Grant No. 103978-001

Research Institution:

Centre for Women's Development Studies
25 Bhai Vir Singh Marg, New Delhi, India

Project Area:
India

Date
January 2012

Supported by:



CENTRAL RESEARCH TEAM

Project Director
Dr. Indu Agnihotri

Asst. Project Director
Ms. Indrani Mazumdar

Dr. Neetha N.

Research Associates

Ms. Taneesha Devi Mohan
Ms. Shruti Chaudhry

Administrative Assistance

Mr. Nandan Pillai

CONTENTS

1	ABSTRACT & KEY WORDS
2	FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT
3	BACKGROUND AND CONCEPT NOTES FOR REGIONAL CONSULTATIONS
4	REGIONAL CONSULTATION REPORTS
5	QUESTIONNAIRES & CODE SHEETS
6	RESEARCH TEAM PAPERS & NOTES

ABSTRACT

The new knowledge on the experience of women and internal migration in India that has been generated by this research project covers a vast terrain. A consultation process across seven regions has generated a rich resource of papers/presentations that map the gendered migration patterns in different parts of India. The project has devised a new method for assessing women's work/employment situation in the country through separation of paid and unpaid work in the official macro-data, which has in turn allowed for a construction of a picture of female labour migration, that was hitherto camouflaged by the dominance of marriage migration in the official data. A meso-level survey covering more than 5000 migrants and their households across 20 states in India has demonstrated that migration has led to the concentration of women in a relatively narrow range of occupations/industries. Diversification of employment through migration is more visible among men in comparison to women. The project has drawn out the links between increased levels of migration for marriage with the expansion of the practice of village exogamy and the devaluation of traditional forms of women's work and the expansion of dowry. Notes based on extensive field work cover experiences and developments in short term seasonal agricultural migration in West Bengal, circular migration of a longer duration by tribal families from Orissa for brick kilns in Andhra Pradesh, Circulating and tribal migration in male female pairs for sugarcane harvesting in western and southern India, migration by adolescent girls from Rajasthan to Gujarat for modern contract farming in cottonseed production, crisis based migration by erstwhile weavers from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, medium term migration of domestic workers from Jharkhand to Delhi, and of young women from Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh to textile product factories, etc.

At another level, the Project investigated the emerging phenomenon of cross region long distance marriage to explore the factors determining movement of young brides to distant and different cultural regions and the issues arising thereof.

The research has shown how migrant women workers are excluded from a range of citizenship rights, as migrant workers, as migrant women and as migrating citizens. Apart from engaging with the legal rights regime and particularly the shift from universal rights to so called targeting of those officially declared as living below the poverty line, the project raises several questions and dilemmas for policy. These include the complex gendered experiences of labour processes and recruitment of migrant women wage workers in units of families or male female pairs that do not fit easily into

the individual based labour law regime. Corporate led high growth in services and industry has not generated commensurate employment growth, and agriculture remains the majority employer. Lineages of bondage linked to a ubiquitous contractor based recruitment and management pattern that can be traced to colonial times appear in modified form in migration to even the modern industrial segment of the contemporary economy.

Keywords: India, Gender, labour migration, marriage migration, women's movement, citizenship rights.

Report of the Project on

Gender and Migration: Negotiating Rights
A Women's Movement Perspective

The Research Problem

This research project on gender and migration in India was conceived in a context of declining attention to internal migration that had accompanied the ascendance of supra national discourses and institutions, the drive towards liberalization and deregulation of national markets, and the projection of unregulated global markets as being the most efficient instrument of distribution of goods and people. At the national level in India, the policy movement away from dirigistic economic development towards a market dependent liberalization strategy of growth, had eroded the approaches of early development economics and other structural perspectives on migration. In its place, a more individualist framing of questions in relation to migration appeared to have gained ground. Where attempts were made to understand migration patterns of particularly the poor in India, the approach had increasingly inclined towards simply viewing migration as a livelihood supporting, risk mitigating activity undertaken by individuals or family units. Anthropological research had indeed provided detailed micro-field descriptions of some segments of labour migration by women. However, a macro-level analytical focus on gender in migration remained underdeveloped. On the one hand, changing policy contexts as well as 60 years of post independence development experience had opened new sets of questions and problems that standard migration theories and models were unable to address. On the other, despite more recent focus on the gender composition of migration flows, its historical direction in terms of social mobility or advance for Indian women remained a grey area even with

reference to international migration, which was the field upon which most of the contemporary writing on gender and migration had been concentrated.

In relation to internal migration, where the situation was far more dense and complex in a populous and diverse country such as India, paucity of both data as well as gender based social analysis marked the field. Definitional limitations that had led to an underestimation of women's work contribution to the economy and in the employment data of the NSSO and Census had long been critiqued by the women's movement and women's studies scholars in India. Such limitations were reflected in the data on migration in India as well, where an additional problem was that social tradition rather than socio-economic factors in women's migration appeared to be overemphasised. Given the population movement focus in the migration data, the predominant practice of village exogamy had led to a situation where the majority of married women in India were recorded as migrants by virtue of their having married into another village. There was thus a disjunction between the data on women's migration and theories of migration in relation to development, which are all essentially based on economic or labour migration. Definitional limitations in relation to women's work, an overemphasis on traditional and non-economic reasons for migration in the macro-data on female migration, ensuing difficulties in relating the data with the theories of migration in the development field, had all combined into a distinctive tendency to dismiss female migration and rely only on the data for male migration as the key indicator for labour market oriented thinking and analysis.

The central research problem thus related to the need to augment knowledge and analysis of the nature of the links between gender, labour migration, and development in India. The questions were located in a framework of citizenship rights from a women's movement perspective. Its parameters included attention to the civic, legal and political frameworks that led to exclusion of migrants from several rights and entitlements and the specific dimensions and forms of discrimination and exclusion

experienced by women migrants in the labour market with some attention to the role of unpaid labour in micro-management by migrants. Research was directed at collecting detailed and more comprehensive information on the forms, outcomes and experience of labour migration with a focus on women, on developments at source, destination and circulation points for the purposes of improving the information base on which policy necessarily relies. The gender impact of migration, whether for labour or other social reasons, individual based or associational in nature, was to be studied with an eye to the contextual processes that mould and shape circulation, and also how differentials in social status related to labour and economic mobility. Among the most significant contextual factors were the contemporary agrarian crisis and patterns of growth in post liberalization India. The interaction of such processes with the ability to access and develop democratic and equal citizenship rights for women was to be investigated.

The project was designed to address the disjunction between the gender bias in the macro-data sets (on marriage migration for females and economic migration for males), and the ground level reports of significant and increasing labour migration by women that came from micro-studies, as well as from the direct experiences of some mass based organizations of women. Although the magnitudes of women's migration in the macro databases commanded attention, it was felt that serious analysis of gender concerns and issues related to migration required a more diverse range and forms of field research to challenge the existing male bias in understanding the economics of migration. As such the research process involved three broad elements, 1) a critical analysis of trends in macro-data sets, including an interrogation of the limitations of its definitional regime, 2) a meso-level field survey/study that focused on gender in labour/employment migration, and 3) special interest case studies of some new developments and features of marriage migration.

Project Objectives

The overall objective of the Project was to generate new feminist knowledge on the experience of women and migration with reference to their citizenship rights and enable methodological advance in making data collection more sensitive to capturing the gendered nature of migration processes with a purpose of addressing official blindness to the rights of women in the labour market and promoting policy change.

The specific **objectives** of the Project were as follows:

- Exploration of the motivations, compulsions, and women's experiences of internal migration; analysis of the direction of changes effected in their personal and work lives; and identification of the new possibilities and tensions generated by migration processes including its impact on family relations, economic structures, and a broad range of citizenship rights.
- Bringing into focus the forms of labour migration by women; highlighting the characteristics of the select sectors where women migrant workers are concentrated and the issues and policies that affect them as workers, as women and as citizens.
- Highlighting the gaps in data and reasons for the same and re-interpret existing data from a women's movement perspective.
- Concretely identifying the issues where policy intervention is required to safeguard the rights of women migrants; evaluate and suggest policy measures specifically directed at migrants and facilitate purposeful dialogue with government agencies and lawmakers towards bringing migrants within the ambit of "inclusive growth".

In meeting the objectives of the project, the initial research questions focused on:

- a) the changing contours/ social outcomes of migration for marriage, its relationship with demographic changes, caste, class and occupational dynamics, with special attention to the expanding forms of non-traditional marriage migration in sex ratio deficit regions,
- b) the gender impact and socio-economic contexts of labour migration by both men and women from source to destination and onwards with an eye on the changes in these patterns in recent times;
- c) economic rights, including employment relations and conditions of work and the rights (or lack thereof) of women in the labour regimes in which migrant women workers are concentrated;
- d) features, characteristics and trends in associative migration by women in rural to rural as well as rural to urban migration streams,
- e) the response of the law, citizenship and policy framework to the problems and needs of women as migrants at source, destination and circulation points.

Methodology

The research plan for this project involved 1) a gender based critical interrogation of the macro-data systems and their methodologies that had led to invisibilisation and marginalization of employment oriented migration by women, 2) a structured meso-level survey on gender and migration that could engage at an upscaled level with the issues raised by micro-level studies and observations on female labour migration, and 3) Case studies with a focus on cross regional marriages and women left behind by male migration. The methodology evolved accordingly.

Interrogation of the macro-data systems : In the project proposal, our approach to the macro-data had drawn on a) the standard feminist critiques of the methodologies of data collection in India, that had shown that a substantial part of women's work in the production boundary failed to get counted and was rendered invisible, b) the related

view that this entailed underestimation of work/labour migration by women, aggravated by what we considered an overemphasis on marriage as the reason for female migration, and c) the critiques of the definition of migrants on the grounds that it failed to capture short term and circular labour migration where micro-studies by social anthropologists pointed to a substantial presence of women. We began with the proposition that these weaknesses in the macro-data had all contributed to the convention of dismissing the data on female migration in approaches and analysis of economic migration, despite the fact that in the national data sets women always constituted the majority of migrants. A preliminary view of the migration tables of census 2001 had highlighted two features – one that women constituted more than half of migrants who were workers, and secondly that women constituted close to half of migrants for reasons other than marriage. As such, the implicit method we were expecting to follow in our approach to the macro-data, was to continue to mainly examine female work participation rates of all categories of migrants and cross reference with analysis of general employment trends. However, possibilities for applying a different approach to the macro-data opened out following the release of 2007-08 migration survey by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSS), which actually became available only in June, 2010, when the project was already in midway. The NSS had responded to some of the criticism in relation to lack of attention to short term migration. Apart from the general category of ‘migrants’ defined as those who had changed their usual place of residence (UPR) that had been followed by preceding surveys, **the 2007-08 round of NSS had introduced a separately defined category of ‘short-term migrants’ for employment.** The new focus on short term migrants considerably improved the possibilities of extracting from the data, a more grounded picture of labour migration in India, particularly among women.

At the same time, our project team also developed a more refined process of disaggregating and differentiating between paid and unpaid work/employment in the NSS data, making it more amenable to analysis of gender in the labour market.

Hitherto, the standard analysis of employment trends have been accustomed to using work participation rates (i.e.,work within the production boundary) for estimations of employment without distinguishing between paid and unpaid work. Prior to the commencement of this IDRC supported project, members of the project team had indeed started looking more closely at the sub-category of 'unpaid helpers' as part of an attempt to draw out a better picture of trends in women's employment and their implications. However, it was only in the course of relooking at the employment data following the release of the results of NSS' migration survey for 2007-08 that a completely **new method was devised of constructing a distinct category of paid or income earning workers for independent analysis.** The method was actually quite simple and based on the separation of unpaid workers from the rest of the workforce data for arriving at an understanding of expansion or contraction of actual employment opportunities for women. The fact that even the need to make such a distinction had so far evaded us, perhaps shows how overwhelming has been the habit of following standard and gender neutral methods/procedures in analysis of the data. By following only such standard methods, a more realistic analysis of the political economy of women's employment and migration has been held back. Where gender perspectives have been incorporated, the focus has largely been on the underestimation and invisibility of the full spectrum of women's work that is often masked by domestic boundaries and biases (eg. in the ordering of questions), and this indeed still remains an issue. However, for analysis of gender, migration or mobility in the labour market, there is a need to also specify and count paid employment among women, a fact that has been largely ignored in macro-data based analysis of women's employment. The ability to actually specify and count paid work has of course only recently been made possible through technological advances made by the NSS in the form of unit level data in analyzable formats, without which conception and application of such a new method would have been impossible.

The construction of a distinct category of workers who are paid or earn income from the employment and migration data, is we believe a significant methodological advance for analyzing employment and labour migration trends based on NSS data. It allows for a clarified approach to employment opportunities of women in particular, by distinguishing between their labour for wage/income from other forms of women's work in their capacity as 'unpaid helpers' in largely family based petty production. The use of this method has been shown to substantially alter the conventional statistical picture of the scale of women's employment that is commonly used by planners in the country. More importantly, for this project, it has been of great use in making it possible to for the first time extract a fairly accurate macro-picture of the sectoral composition and gendered features of the migrant workforce. While the method followed for separating paid/income earning has been outlined in an article on gender dimensions of employment trends in India published in 2011, and appended to this report, the outline of labour migration enriched by the data on short term migration, is presented for the first time in the main research report of the project.¹

To extract a reasonably accurate macro-view of female labour migration, we were of course faced with the additional necessity to exclude migrants for marriage from the frame. This had to be done, despite our own view that some labour migration is indeed camouflaged under marriage migration. Nevertheless, as argued in the main study report, the error of underestimation of female labour migration by such exclusion, is of a lesser degree than the gross error of overestimation, if all women 'migrants' who are workers including those who have given marriage as their reason for migration are conceived of as labour migrants.

¹¹

Evolving a Typology of Migration

As indicated earlier, the macro-data had been found to be wanting in view of its orientation towards more permanent or settled destinations of migration, while micro-research had been highlighting circular and short term migration. Micro-research, on the other hand tended to focus on one or other type of migration and, had not generated a more universally applicable typology of migration. Drawing on a range of micro-studies and issues raised by activists in the women's movement, and following a pilot exploration of the field in West Bengal, Bihar and Tamil Nadu, a typology of migration that gave particular space to duration and circularity was evolved for application in the field surveys of this project. An initial underlying hypothesis that temporary migration was the more significant in labour migration, had been based on the understanding that 1) contemporary employment patterns were characterized by an increasing weight of intermittent and temporary employment that followed from the shrinking of relatively more protected employment in the organized sector through casualisation/contractualisation (NCEUS, 2007, Ravi Srivastava, 2011); 2) with the crisis in longstanding traditional artisanal industries (such as handloom), and with a massive scale of closures affecting some of the major employers in small and medium industries (such as textiles, including small scale power loom), the relatively more durable forms of employment of an earlier era were clearly on the decline; and 3) agrarian crisis driven distress migration was also perceived by us to be largely of a temporary nature, both from the subjective point of view of the migrants as well as based on our understanding of the overall objective conditions of low employment growth and limited potential of durable employment for fresh waves of migrants. Such an understanding underlay a greater focus on the temporary in evolving the typology of migration.

In constructing the typology, an initial broad division was made between temporary and more permanent and settlement oriented migration, with those falling in the latter category termed as *long term migrants*. However, the fact that temporary and even circulatory migration encompassed more than one type of migration had become immediately apparent during our pilot exploration of the field. Based on these initial observations, temporary migrants were then further subdivided into:

- *Medium term migrants* defined as those who migrate for work in any pre-determined occupation/industry for a broadly fixed period that may range from more than six months to a few years but do not establish a family or permanent residence at destination. Medium term migrants were broadly conceived as those migrating for factory work, paid domestic work, for services, for trade, for construction, etc and generally their destination was urban areas or industrial estates or corridors that stretch into rural areas.
- *Short term seasonal migrants* defined as those who migrate for work of a seasonal nature for a period ranging from a few days to a few months not exceeding 3-4 months. The conception of such short term seasonal migrants drew on the patterns of migration for short periods, for rice transplanting, or harvesting paddy and wheat, potatoes etc. that had been observed among tribals and dalit caste/communities in eastern India during the pilot investigation. This type of migration had been documented earlier by Banerji and Ray (CWDS Mimeo) in the source districts of Bankura, Purulia and Medinipur, West Bengal (the eastern reaches of the Chotanagpur plateau with a significant tribal population) and later by other studies (Rogaly, et al), covering a larger radius of source areas and including other communities for whom such migration was less of a long standing tradition. The destinations were typically the more agriculturally developed pockets and districts in the irrigated alluvial plains of the region. Usually this form of migration takes place in repeated spells of short duration and migrants remain in their villages of origin for the major part of the year.
- *Irregular short term migrants* defined as those who go out for work for short periods ranging from a few days to a few months not exceeding four months, with no normal pattern but where their migration is largely determined by contingencies at the household rather than any particular form/type of employment/occupation or seasonal demand for labour. Women's organizations had been drawing attention to such distress driven migration from 2003-04 in the context of agrarian crisis, experienced in a particularly heightened form in Andhra Pradesh (AP). In AP such migration was reportedly for even a few days,

and it was undertaken by women in conditions of extreme vulnerability (without money for fare making them hitch rides, sleep on the roadside, etc.). Activists had been arguing that this type of migration was neither recognized nor given due attention by policy makers or even the women's movement (Karat, Punyawati).

- *Circulatory migrants of longer duration* defined as those who migrate for a major part of the year (more than 4 months) without any long term workplace/residence at any particular destination and return to base for more than a month per year and again go out. This may be for work of a seasonal nature (brick kilns, salt pans, sugarcane harvesting for mills, etc) or non-seasonal work in unorganized forms of self employment or wage work in factories, transport, construction, other services etc. During the pilot investigation, this type of migration, particularly for brick making in the kilns that had mushroomed across the countryside, appeared to us to be of much greater magnitude than was generally realised. It has been documented by several studies (Varma and Kumar, Swati Ghosh, D.P. Gupta, etc). It is known to be a distinctive type of migration for work in the salt pans of Gujarat, while the very detailed studies of such migration for sugar cane harvesting in Gujarat and Maharashtra in western India have been highly influential in foregrounding circular migration in the general debates on informality and labour migration in India (Bremar, Rensje Teerink, Mosse et al).
- *Circulatory migrants of shorter duration* defined as those who migrate periodically for short periods (not exceeding 4 months in each trip) without any long term workplace/residence at destination and return to base for more than a month per trip and again go out. Preliminary observations in the urban context inclined us to the idea that this type of migration was predominantly for various types of self employment and more of a male phenomenon. We nevertheless felt that it was important to distinguish it from the longer duration because of a qualitatively different experience and problems of shorter spells of migration in comparison to longer.
- *Daily/weekly/other commuters* defined as those who commute across long distances of at least 50 kms, normally travelling to another district/state. They may travel from villages to towns/cities, from town/cities to rural areas, from one town/city to another town/city or from rural to rural areas, but should be moving outside the perimeter of normal day to day movement for work within or around any village/town/city. Some women's studies scholars have argued that long distance daily commuting needs to be included as a form of migration that should command the attention of policy makers. Nirmala Banerji, for example based her argument for such inclusion on the strikingly dense daily flow of women (and men) in the trains from the rural areas around Kolkata to

the city. In the case of women, it was seen as primarily for employment as domestic workers, but also included migrants for construction work, petty trade and other services. P. Sainath, on the other hand, has described such commuting by women from urban centres in Maharashtra, involving long hours away from home so much so that mothers leave before children wake up and return after they have gone to sleep.

- ***Migrants for family care (associational):*** Those who may not themselves have any fixed or paid employment for/around which they migrate but may move in association with others, i.e., travel with or go to join other labour migrants. Many women migrate in this way, and although they may not have paid employment they are expected (implicitly or explicitly) to perform various forms of care work for others as well. The inclusion of this as a type of labour migration, despite standard definitions not including it within the production boundary, was based on contemporary discussions on the emergence of a care economy, with care services entering the paid economy as well.

Two additional categories of *migrants for marriage* and *return migrants* were also included, with a stress on possibilities of overlap with the other types of migrants. The typology given above was designed for application/testing in the meso-level survey in order to take experiences that have been acquired from region specific micro-studies to a broader plane. Apart from medium term migration, most of the other temporary types of migration would broadly be in line with the more omnibus category of short term migrants followed by the latest NSS migration survey, which is however, constricted by what we would consider an erroneous ceiling of six months. for household members

Meso-level survey on gender and migration : While the central questions addressed in the project related to work or labour based migration, several methodological dilemmas had to be confronted before any survey could be undertaken. That a common structured questionnaire was necessary for meso-level survey was self evident. The first question then related to whether the questionnaire should be directed at households or individuals. An initial pilot survey with a single questionnaire directed at households had made it quite clear that such a method could not yield much meaningful information on the conditions of work of individual migrants, their personal (including

autonomous) motivations or experiences of migration. On the other hand, if individual migrants alone were surveyed, respondents would have to be identified primarily at destinations leaving source area sites, particularly in villages, practically outside the purview of the survey. Some members of the Advisory Committee were of the opinion that individual women migrant workers should be the focus of the survey. Others concurred with the idea of a household questionnaire. The issue was finally resolved by using two questionnaires in tandem, one for collecting household details and characteristics, and one for collecting information on experiences and other individual features from individual migrant workers. The household questionnaire was designed to focus on the social, economic background of households (both migrant and non-migrant), the broad types of migration from and to these households and the occupations/sectors involved in such migration plus some questions regarding marriage practices. The individual migrant questionnaire contained six sections. I. General Information; II. Details of the last/latest round of migration including conditions of work, residence and other experiences; III. migration history; IV. Migration based family separations; V. Citizenship rights; VI. On issues of return to base area. Other definitions followed are explained in a document that was prepared for the field investigators and is appended to this report.

The second question related to how the pitching of the survey at both source and destination of migrants could be worked out. The need to include both in order to develop a better understanding or comprehension of migration processes, including its compulsions, trajectories, outcomes was fundamental to the conception of the survey. While in rural villages, a stratified sampling method following a household census was relatively easy to apply, the same was not the case for urban cities and towns, where types of settlements varied greatly across towns and cities and within each. Further, to our minds, one of the weaknesses of the macro-data collection methodology was that migrants who stayed onsite and not in village or urban residential settlements tended to fall out of the net of village or city based household surveys. As such, two categories of

sites were taken for the questionnaire based surveys. One category comprised of 'village sites', which were broadly considered primarily as source areas of migration, with a little room for including in-migrants to the village. The second site category comprised of a range of 'sector sites' targeting industries/occupations in both rural and urban areas, where prior or locally gathered information indicated concentration of women migrant workers. The conception of sector sites was not necessarily work sites. Indeed it is most difficult to conduct detailed interviews during work hours. Workers could be surveyed in their residences or outside anywhere. But the sectors/occupations of their employment was the basis on which respondents were identified.

The sample selection process was different for the two categories of sites. In the village sites, households were selected following a village census and selection of a stratified sample. For such selection, caste categories were made the primary axis, perceived economic status as the secondary, a major bias towards households with migrants was emplaced and also a minimum one third quota for scheduled castes or tribes as the case may be. From these selected households individual migrant workers were then selected with a minimum quota of one third of women. The reason for making caste rather than income as the primary axis was twofold. Firstly, caste as an ascriptive form of social stratification is an important foundation of the village social order in most parts of the country, and caste acts as an initial differentiator of social values that allow or restrict women from taking employment. Secondly, on a more practical note, responses on income are notoriously inaccurate (which is why even the NSS focuses on consumption expenditure rather than income). Further, information on income would require several probing questions which would be unnecessary and difficult to include in the census questionnaire, since the census was after all mainly a preliminary exercise before a more detailed questionnaire. The reasons for a bias towards selection of households with migrants for the detailed questionnaire and the minimum quota for women, is of course self evident. The minimum quota for Scheduled Castes and Tribes was introduced both

because of our understanding that they constituted the more deprived sections of society as well and tended to have higher levels of female work participation.

In urban areas, only sector based surveys were conducted. While broadly speaking the sector sites were considered as destination sites, some circulatory migrants identified at the sector level were followed to their home villages and interviewed there. In the identified sectors, no particular sampling method was used, other than gender specific purposive selection, in that the targeted individual migrant worker respondents were to be all female. Thus, while several male migrants were individually covered by the surveys at village sites, in general they were excluded from the sector based surveys.

As would be evident, while the questionnaires remained common, the survey adopted differentiated methods of selection of respondents. Details of male and female members of all households were of course gathered for all respondents. However, whereas at the village sites, individual migrants were identified from the stratified household sample, at the sector level, the household followed the selection of individual migrant worker respondents. Further, both village sites and sector sites were selected, only with an eye to dispersion among several states and prominent catchment areas of migrant labour recruitment, and not on the basis of agro-climatic zones. It would be obvious that such a combination of selection processes and method of survey could not generate statistically validated information. However, we believe that the utility of such a meso level survey lies in filling opacities or gaps in the macro-data, while simultaneously introducing spatially more expansive and representative data in comparison to micro-surveys. As such flexibility and combinations of methods is perhaps necessary in any attempt to study labour migration.

Finally, while the structured and coded questionnaire based survey provided the anchor to this study, our analysis and interpretation of the data so generated relies heavily on and is supplemented by a range of qualitative observations and more

unstructured discussions with a range of individuals located in and associated with the field. These included migrant workers themselves, their family members, whether left behind or accompanying, and a whole range of local informants including importantly the several locally grounded organic intellectuals among workers, organizers, teachers, and generally interested observers of the historical, cultural and economic conditions and processes around them who abound across this vast country. The terrain covered by such qualitative field work went beyond the specific areas and sites where questionnaire based surveys were conducted and in fact raised some fundamental questions that were not able to be satisfactorily addressed and perhaps could not be fully addressed through the structured survey. Several such questions that have been discussed in this study pose significant dilemmas for policy, for premises of law and citizenship, and for labour and development theories.

v) Project Activities

The outreach to different parts of the country and the vast area covered by different levels of activity has been one of the special qualities of the project. Prof. Indu Agnihotri (Project Director), Indrani Mazumdar (Asstt Director), and Dr. N. Neetha were the principal members of the central project research team members at the CWDS. Dr. Sabiha Hussain, who was initially part of the team, could not continue after she moved out of the CWDS. Research assistance for the major period was provided by Shruti Chaudhry and Taneesha Devi Mohan, administrative assistance by Nandan Pillai and the accounts were maintained by K. Lalitha and supervised by C. Prakash.

The core activities of the project proceeded at two levels. The first level consisted of a range of consultative processes/activities that had been inbuilt into the project proposal in the form of constitution of a Central Research Advisory Committee and the organization of a series of regional consultations with commissioned papers/presentations. The second level comprised of primary research at whose centre was the meso-level field survey on gender and migration.

Consultative Processes/Activities

A 13 member multi-disciplinary Central Research Advisory Committee (CAC) was constituted within a few months of commencement of the project. Its members were eminent scholars in economics (Prof. Jayati Ghosh, JNU, Prof. Ravi Srivastava, JNU, Dr. Indira Hirway, CDA), regional development and urbanization (Prof. Amitabh Kundu, JNU), history (Prof. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, chairperson ICHR), statistics, (Prof. K. Nagaraj, MIDS), demography (Dr. Satish Agnihotri, Jt. Secy, Cabinet Secretariat), sociology (Prof. Virginius Xaxa, NEHU), women's studies (Dr. Kumud Sharma and N K Banerji, both former Directors, CWDS, Dr. Ratna Sudarshan, Director ISST), literature (Prof. Malini Bhattacharya, also chairperson State Women's Commission, West Bengal) and a Magsaysay Award winning journalist (P.Sainath). The CAC included a member of the National Commission on enterprises in the Unorganised Sector, a member of the National Statistical Commission and a former member of the National Commission for Women. Although only one formal meeting with the CAC was held in October, 2008, the project team continued to informally consult with CAC members at various stages of the project. CAC members participated in the regional consultations and also aided the central research team in organizing field surveys in some areas. It was at the instance of the CAC that two significant changes were made in the project design. The first was in relation to the regional consultations which had initially been conceived of as to be organized around clusters of states. On the advice of the CAC, the basis of conception of the region for the purpose of organization of consultations was altered to a focus on mobility patterns, rather than administrative state units. The second related to the survey method. The initial plan had been to use a single questionnaire for the surveys directed at households which would include migration details of household members. Following discussions with CAC members, a separate questionnaire directed at individual migrants was used to complement the household questionnaire and vice versa.

Regional Consultations

Organisation of regional consultations on gender and migration, which were designed to gather together several levels of regionally grounded expertise, exchange information and ideas, and motivate broader collective thinking on the subject, was one of the key activities of the project. 7 regional consultations were organized over a period of 14 months from January 2009 to February 2010,

1. The first consultation for the southern region was held at Chennai, on 5th - 6th January, 2009. In consultation with CAC members, it had been decided to take the states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala and southern Karnataka as a region of shared/common mobility patterns rather than simply follow the administrative boundaries of all the southern states. Participants included scholars, activists, journalists, a member of the Kerala State Commission for Women, a former chairperson of the Tamil Nadu Commission for women, a member of the Kerala state legislature, and a well known film/media director/anchor who ran a series focused on experiences of migrants. Across the two days, 24 presentations were made covering 1) a review of the trends and patterns of migration in the secondary data (NSSO), 2) the historical dimensions of migration, particularly in Tamil Nadu, developments and 3) some specific sectors - plantations, seasonal agriculture, fish workers, construction, brick kilns and quarries, women workers in the textile/garment industries of the country's largest concentration of export oriented garment industries, i.e., Tirupur in Tamil Nadu, migration of nurses from Kerala, and women domestic workers in Chennai, 4) the features of the agrarian crisis in the region and experiences of NREGA particularly in Kerala, and 5) emerging trends in cross cultural/long-distance marriage migration from Kerala and also some issues related to international migration from Kerala to West Asia.

2. The second consultation for the eastern region comprising of West Bengal, Orissa and upper Assam was held at Kolkata on 17th -18th January 2009. This consultation was organized in collaboration with the Women's Studies Centre of Calcutta University. It was inaugurated by the chairperson of the West Bengal State Women's Commission. Apart from scholars, activists, journalists, lawyers, etc. from all three states, participants included leading officials of the Planning Board, Panchayat & Rural Development Department and Small Industries Development Corporation of West Bengal. The consultation focused on historicising the social, political and legal context of migration, agrarian relations in the region, urbanisation patterns, community, class and gender in the regional context, major sectors of migrant concentrations, and displacement induced migration. 25 presentations were discussed.

3. The third consultation, for the Deccan region, was held at Hyderabad on 25th, 26th, 27th June, 2009. It covered a region comprising of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and northern Karnataka. Given the overlap of regional questions and urban related issues and some logistical difficulties, the central research team had decided that some of the urban related issues of southern and Deccan states would be covered in the Hyderabad consultation and an extra day was planned accordingly (normally the consultations are two day affairs). The keynote paper/presentation was delivered by Prof. D. Narasimha Reddy, University of Hyderabad. The chairperson of the National Commission on Denotified Tribes, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes who is based in Sholapur, Maharashtra also made a presentation adding a new and hitherto ignored dimension to the project. Across three days there were 25 presentations. Discussions covered the agrarian context of migration in great depth. For Andhra Pradesh, attention was drawn to the enormous movement of peasants including women within sub regions of the state (i.e., within coastal Andhra) following a pattern of peak season demand in consecutive periods across districts. For Karnataka, the dimensions of regional disparity within the state of Karnataka and the short term circular pattern of migration in the more backward regions of northern Karnataka, and the high proportions of women in

agricultural labour were in focus. For Maharashtra, much of the discussion centred around the large scale migration of women in family labour migration for sugar cane harvesting. Trafficking of women and the experience of actually dealing with cases and the law were among the other issues discussed for districts such as Anantapur, A.P., where it is an endemic phenomenon. Histories of migration and its role in caste and community formation in the Deccan, the role of the state from mediaeval through the colonial to contemporary times in promoting and restricting migration were also presented in the consultation. Other sector and industry based presentations covered migration from Orissa to brick kilns in Andhra, from various parts of the country to new industrial areas in the region, for domestic work in some of the important towns and cities and experiences and issues of women in the functioning of the rural employment guarantee scheme.

Given the overlap of regional questions and urban related issues and some logistical difficulties, the central research team had decided that some of the urban related issues of southern and Deccan states would be covered in the Hyderabad consultation and an extra day was planned accordingly (normally the consultations were two day affairs). Presentations and discussions in the special session, critically assessed the urban development policy under liberalization and its implications, the complex of issues confronting settlements of migrants, their access to basic facilities and services, and some of the administrative processes that were undermining democratic decision making in cities like Bangalore, Chennai and Hyderabad.

4. The fourth consultation for the northern region comprising of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Haryana, and the small Himalayan states of Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh, and Delhi was held on September 22-24, 2009 at Delhi. The keynote address was by Prof. Ravi Srivastava, member of the National Commission on Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) and there were 27 other presentations. Discussion focused on mapping migration in north India as well as on understanding the north

Indian terrain, while at the same time looking more closely at the actual experiences of its component regions and states, sectoral issues and rural urban linkages. The context of north Indian labour markets being characterised by women's immobility with the larger percentage of women in the economically active age groups not undertaking economically gainful activities, was highlighted. Another aspect was the enormous disparity across the regions and the differences across castes, across communities and across types of work. There was a well informed discussion on the long history of out migration from UP and Bihar which together contribute almost 40% of interstate migration in India including its reflection in folk songs and literature. Despite a general weight of immobility, the larger propensity to work among women who migrate was made evident. One view was that scheduled caste families migrate not only for economic advance but also to escape local oppression.

Interestingly, a study on family units migrating to brick kilns estimated that 80,000 family units migrated from the district of Rae Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh (the constituency of several Prime Ministers) alone. Further estimates included 90% of family migration in this entire region being from among scheduled castes. It was stressed that otherwise, the dominant feature of the political economy of the regions was of male migrants leaving women behind. It was also stressed that among those migrating into the urban informal sector, patterns of sub-contracting have led to the co-opting of women's labour within the household so that they tend to be part of value-chains at very low level. A discussion took place on the limitations of conventional categorisation of households as agricultural labourer's household, farmer's household, shopkeeper's household, etc. since several such categories could be rolled into one household. Interestingly, while reports from Punjab seemed to indicate that migrant workers from Bihar were coming in smaller numbers suggesting that perhaps the 100 day rural employment guarantee law was keeping them at home, reports from Bihar were of a continuing and expanding migration, albeit across a wider range of destinations including Delhi and Gujarat. Ecological dimensions of migration were introduced by the reports from Himachal

Pradesh and Uttarakhand. In this consultation, there was a special session on 'faraway marriages' where studies focusing on this phenomenon in Punjab and more so in Haryana, were presented.

5. The fifth consultation for the western region covering the states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, parts of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and northern Karnataka was held at Ahmedabad, on 24-25 November, 2009. In a keynote address, Sudarshan Iyengar, Vice-Chancellor of the Gandhian university, Gujarat Vidyapith initiated the discussion by raising some fundamental philosophical questions in relation to the development model in Gujarat and its effect of degradation of land and water resources that support agriculture, posing questions regarding permanent (including cultural) losses incurred by migration under corporate capital driven growth. 22 speakers in the consultation provided an overview which largely focused on Gujarat having emerged as one of the major destinations for migrants over the last two decades. In discussing regional and contextual issues, some new areas were opened out by presentations on an important specific regional feature of pastoral communities who are in significant numbers in this region, particularly moving from Rajasthan through Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. The conversion of women from some of these communities into domestic workers in urban areas as pastoral livelihoods are becoming more circumscribed by changing patterns of land utilization was pointed out. The sessions on mapping migration covered migrants from Rajasthan and Maharashtra coming to Gujarat for work in commercial crops such as sugarcane, cotton, groundnut, etc. as well as the situation in Gujarat's long industrial corridor from Vapi in the south through Surat to Ahmedabad in the north. A session on social dimensions of migration focused on the effects of policy regimes on social correlations along the lines of caste, class and tribe, with a special focus on policies towards tribals in southern Gujarat. Sectoral experiences focused on urban informal industries, construction, brick kilns and salt pans in the region.

6. The 6th consultation covering the North Eastern region was held on 11th and 12th of December 2009 at Guwahati (Assam) covering the states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Manipur and Mizoram. Due to some last minute exigencies, no one was able to come from Nagaland. Issues around displacement led migration due to ethnic conflicts as well as natural land erosion were dealt with extensively at the north-eastern regional consultation. The tension between a long history of collective/communal forms of property, laws protecting tribal lands, the development of more private forms of property and related differentiation within tribal communities was also discussed. A similar tension between customary rights of tribal women in the northeast and constitutional rights became a matter of debate. Discussions pointed to some identifiable cross currents of migration. While in-migrants from other parts of the country, who are largely male, have become an important part of the development project based labour force in tribal areas, and in some areas as part of agricultural labour force, significant numbers of young tribal women from the region have been migrating to far away cities in other parts of the country in search of education followed by employment. The special problems faced by women migrants from the northeast because of ethnic and cultural distinctiveness, was one of the issues that came up in this consultation.

7. The last consultation focusing on tribal migration in the central region (Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa) was held on the 12th and 13th of February, 2010 in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh. Over 2 days, a total of 22 speakers discussed a range of themes. These covered demographic and historical perspectives on tribes; the contours, routes, directions, and modes of tribal women's migration as identified by field observations and micro-studies; regional features of the contemporary agrarian context and rural employment, the gender characteristics of the NREGA and its impact on tribal women's migration; industrialisation policies and displacement. The civic, social and political rights of tribal migrants, regional characteristics of sectors/industries/services (domestic work, agriculture and mines)

with concentrations of tribal women migrant workers; and operation of labour laws in relation to migrant tribal women workers were areas of special focus.

The involvement in the consultations of more than 500 scholars, administrators, members of various state and central commissions, activists of the women's movement, generated a rich resource of information on regions and their diverse features, experiences, and perspectives for the project. The resource is particularly useful for mapping regional dimensions and variations in the gendered patterns of migration, only some of which have been mentioned in this report. The papers and presentations are appended. So far they have been used as an internal resource for the project. They are to be compiled into a consolidated collection and placed in the CWDS library. Further, even though the consultations were conceived of as a preliminary exercise, and papers presented were also of a preliminary draft nature, we intend to publish a selection of the papers (after due revision) and a consolidated discussion on some of the important interventions, in the form of an edited volume over the course of the next year.

The consultations also played the role of generating interest in the project and in taking its concerns to a wider audience. In each of the consultations a presentation was made on the project and its developing ideas, which evoked much positive response. The fact that the region rather than the states was the underlying principle of the gatherings also added interesting dimensions to the discussions and comparisons between regionally variant experiences and issues. In several areas, the consultations enabled the research team to identify sites for the surveys and facilitators for conducting them. Although most of the consultations were organized directly by the central research team of the project, the Kolkata consultation was held in collaboration with the Women's Studies Research Centre (WSRC) of Calcutta University and the northeast one in collaboration with the OKD Institute of Social Change and Development (a sister ICSSR institute) in Guwahati. While overall the consultations enriched the project, it must be said that the

grilling schedule began to be perceived by the central research team as in some senses deflecting energy from other secondary and primary research work which was equally necessary for the project. The number of consultations was thus reduced from the initially planned ten to seven.

Primary Research Activities

Primary research activities covered an extraordinarily wide field in this project. They began with a series of pilot investigations in 2008.

Over a period of 24 months commencing January 2009, surveys with a pair of detailed and structured questionnaires have been conducted across 20 states covering 5,007 individual migrants and 5,558 households. These were drawn from village surveys as well as sector based surveys.

Comprehensive village surveys were conducted in 35 districts across 17 states. Preliminary censuses covered 16,010 households in 42 village sites, eliciting information on caste, relative economic status, and on the number of economic migrants. These were followed by detailed questionnaires covering a total of 673 households without migrants and 2,564 individual migrants and their households. Of the individual migrants covered by the village surveys, 1,903 were males and 661 were females.

Sector based surveys directed at women migrant workers were conducted in 20 states in rural as well as urban areas, of which the urban areas comprised of 7 large cities and 10 medium and smaller towns. Sector based surveys covered 2,443 individual migrants and their households.

In all, 3,073 female migrant workers and 1,934 male migrant workers and their households were covered by the survey. Of the 3,073 women migrants, 1,623 were

surveyed in rural areas and 1,479 in urban. In combination, the village and sector based migrant workers were accessed across more than 75 districts, apart from the 7 large cities.

The data so generated has been analysed using the SPSS Programme.

Extensive travelling and field work across the country by the central research team was a continuous activity through the project. Its objectives were to gain preliminary information/understanding regarding patterns of migration in different parts of the country, to locate sites for survey, assess possibilities – identify local facilitators and connect them to field investigators, negotiate and prepare them for the survey work, and generally to get a first hand sense of the wide field of migration in India through direct observation of conditions and interaction with a range of migrants. Some of this has been captured in a vast resource of field notes. In some areas revisits were required as part of the survey monitoring and review processes, particularly when there were difficulties, delays or problems in survey activities or when fresh field personnel had to be inducted.

Pilot Survey, Finalization of Questionnaires and Training of Field Investigators

Primary research activities in the first six months of the project were concentrated on the initial pilot investigations. Members of the central research team went to the districts of *Bankura, Purulia, Medinipur, Bardhaman* in West Bengal, the first three a catchment area for male and female seasonal migrants for agriculture and the last a major destination, *Balangir* in western Orissa, again a catchment area for thousands of migrants to the brick kilns of Andhra Pradesh and coastal Orissa, *Chhapra and Siwan* in Bihar, both districts part of erstwhile Saran, which was termed the country's 'greatest outmigrating district' in India by a census commissioner in the 19th century, and *Salem, Namakkal, Erode and Dharmapuri* in Tamil Nadu, a region that is both source and

destination for migrant workers in industry. These initial encounters with a larger field were followed by a pilot survey with a structured questionnaire.

The structured pilot questionnaire was based on formulation and finalization of a typology of migration and a definitional and sampling framework. The consensus in the project team was that the same questionnaires should be used for the village and sector sites, and accordingly a detailed and wide ranging questionnaire, mostly pre-coded, was drafted. The pilot questionnaire addressed households and contained questions related to out-migrants, in-migrants, types of migration, socio-economic conditions and characteristics of the household, marriage patterns of household members, occupations of migrants and non-migrants, occupational details at origin and destination for migrants as well as their access to civic facilities, other citizenship rights and with some specific questions in relation to children's care and education. A short census questionnaire was also drafted along with guidelines explaining the sample selection method for the village sites.

The actual pilot survey was conducted by the two research assistants of the central team in village *Baoli*, district Baghpat located in western Uttar Pradesh. The typology of migration, the definitional framework, the questionnaire and the pilot survey report were then discussed with the CAC. Following the discussion, the household questionnaire was revised and reduced to basic socio-economic features of the household including assets, a profile of household members including the type of migration undertaken by any of them, questions on marriage practices. A separate questionnaire for individual migrants was drafted along the lines given in the methodology section of this report. While most of the questions had pre-coded answers, some additional questions of a qualitative nature were also included in the questionnaires for individuals.

The sequencing plan for the project had conceived of the actual surveys in a region following the consultation for that region. Identification of survey sites, facilitators and field personnel, had also been conceived of as growing out of the consultation process. The questionnaire based surveys were thus first initiated in the southern region in January 2009, when following the southern regional consultation and training of field investigators, village and sector surveys were initiated in Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Mysore. A training workshop was held immediately after the consultation and the field investigators were sent to pre-identified sites. Similarly, following the Kolkata consultation, field personnel were trained and the surveys in West Bengal were initiated in February, 2009. However, by this time, it had become clear that complete synchronization of identification and training of field personnel for an entire region with the consultations was not completely working nor always possible.

There were several reasons for the inability to synchronize completely. For one, in many areas, field personnel had to be identified locally near the actual sites of survey and were either employed there or involved in other activities and could not all be gathered together at one regional centre. Secondly, areas/regions/sites and field personnel that were identified through the formal and organized consultation process were inadequate and did not reflect the experience brought to the table in the consultation discussions. Thirdly, the consultation process involved a free exchange of ideas and experiences rather than a controlled collaboration process for the organization of the survey, which meant that while participants did indeed contribute with advice and facilitate through contacts and connections, the responsibility for actual organization of the surveys rested with the central research team. Indeed it would have been incorrect to impose a pre-conceived common frame onto leading scholars and commentators who had had no part in the initial process of conception. Fourthly, there were limits to the capacity of the central research team to completely harmonise the activities and networking required for organizing the consultations with the activities required to identify field sites and personnel in areas where they had yet to gain familiarity with the field. Fifthly and

perhaps most importantly, while there were many who facilitated direct contact with the field and with investigators, despite initial provision for regional/state level coordinators, we were unable to find competent/experienced/mobile personnel, who would necessarily have to work almost fulltime, but only for a short period. For competent regional coordinators, the budgeted amount was also inadequate.²

As a result, while the broad plan of following consultations with training workshops and field surveys region by region continued to be roughly followed, the sequencing from initiation to completion of the surveys region by region could not be maintained, and the central research team had to directly co-ordinate with a range of more localized facilitators/coordinators. This, in turn meant that the timelines for the surveys in each region also became far more stretched out, apart from delays caused by unforeseen hiccups in conducting the surveys in some areas. Among the principal difficulties that led to delays, was availability of student investigators for only specific times of the year rather than throughout the year, and transfer of facilitators/coordinators as well as investigators to new jobs before completion of the project tasks and targets.

Budgeted resources for a smaller number of time rated consultant/coordinators (for six months in each region) had to be dispersed among a larger number of task based contracts with facilitator/coordinators, although it must be admitted that the support, particularly from university and college teachers was largely gratis and of a voluntary nature. The extensive nature of the survey, the dispersion of sites separated by great distances and diversity of language and culture, led to experiments with diverse types of facilitators/coordinators and field investigators, many of whom could only be located directly in the field. Consequently, many more training workshops closer to the actual field sites also had to be organized in the course of the project. Over a period of some 24 months from January 2009 onwards, the central project team conducted 51

² (In only one state, Madhya Pradesh, was the survey across all sites coordinated by one organization within a compact time frame.)

training and review workshops with field investigators and facilitators, although not all achieved desired results for the survey. 155 field investigators were involved in the actual survey work, but more than 250 participated in the training workshops in the course of the project.

Training and Review workshops for field surveys		
Chennai , Tamil Nadu (3)	Chhapra, Bihar (1)	Rajkot, Gujarat (2)
Kolkata, West Bengal (2)	Ahmedabad, Gujarat (3)	Jokahara, Azamgarh, UP (1)
Calicut, Kerala (1)	Mallapuram, Kerala (1)	Varanasi, UP (1)
Tirunelveli, Tamil Nadu (1)	Guwahati, Assam (1)	Mumbai, Maharashtra (2)
Mysore, Karnataka (1)	Aizawl, Mizoram (1)	Pune, Maharashtra (1)
Bhubaneshwar , Orissa (1)	Imphal, Manipur (1)	Bangalore, Karnataka (1)
Bhadrak , Orissa (1)	Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh (1)	Hampi, Karnataka (1)
Hyderabad, A.P (2)	Ludhiana, Punjab (1)	Bellary, Karnataka (1)
Parbhani, Maharashtra (2)	Udaipur, Rajasthan (1)	Kadiri, Andhra Pradesh (2)
Patiala, Punjab (1)	Surat (1)	Raipur, Chattisgarh (1)
Katihar, Bihar (1)	Santrampur/Panchmahal, Gujarat (1)	Guntur, Andhra Pradesh (1)
Begu Sarai, Bihar (1)	Delhi (8)*	Amritsar (1)
*8 for teams covering field sites in Delhi, Western Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana		

Figures in parenthesis refer to the number of training workshops

Partnerships and organization of Primary Surveys

Organisation of the primary surveys involved networking with a range of institutions, organizations and individuals. Senior faculty from 15 universities across the country, 4 research institutes and 2 more informal research centres, helped organize the surveys in various states by mobilising field investigators and often supervising the survey work on a voluntary basis. 14 other organizations - NGOs, women's organizations, trade unions, farmers' organizations, also partnered in the organization of the field surveys. Without such support, it would have been impossible to conduct surveys across such a

wide terrain. Field investigators were required to be able to speak the local language as well as manage with questionnaires and concepts/definitions in English. Consequently, among the investigators, the majority were either post graduate students or M.Phil/PhD students. In only one state was the questionnaire translated into the local language at the initiative of the local coordinators. While in most areas, field investigators were drawn from the respective states, teams of investigators drawn from three central universities Delhi were sent for the surveys in Haryana, western Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand and the northern part of Chhattisgarh.

The organization of the surveys in the different states and districts, the facilitators and partner agencies/individuals/organisations, and the experience is presented in tabular form below. The districts marked in red are those where surveys were initiated but could not be completed. Whether regions/terrains should be classified into historical, ecological or agro-climatic zones for a survey on migration, is a question that has not been addressed in the project. But for a broad idea of the mix involved, we may note that the surveys were conducted in the Malwa³ and Doaba regions of Punjab, the semi-arid western zone and eastern trans-gangetic plains of Haryana, the upper Doaba , Rohilkhand and Purvanchal regions of Uttar Pradesh⁴; in north-western, north-eastern as well as southern alluvial plains of Bihar, the laterectic, red and gravely undulating region in the west (eastern reaches of Chotanagpur plateau) and coastal alluvial plains in the south of West Bengal, the hills and valleys of three northeastern states of Assam, Meghalaya and Mizoram, the arid inland western parts as well as the coastal regions of Orissa; in the arid plains of Bundelkhand, the underdeveloped parts of the Malwa plateau area and agriculturally developed upper plains of the Narmada basin in

³ Malwa refers to the parts of Punjab that lies between the Sutlej and Yamuna rivers, but more importantly is the regional cultural history including early mass conversion to Sikhism, that makes it a distinct region in Punjab.

⁴ In Punjab Doaba refers to the region between the rivers Beas and Sutlej, in Uttar Pradesh, between the rivers Ganga and Yamuna. Purvanchal is the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh, where Bhojpuri is the traditional language. Rohilkhand lies on the upper Ganges alluvial plain in northwestern Uttar Pradesh, made famous by the previous settlement of the Rohilla Pathans.,

Madhya Pradesh,⁵ the southwestern reaches of the Aravalli Hills and sandy eastern plains in Rajasthan, the significantly industrialised south and the more backward north eastern parts of Gujarat; in the arid belt of Telengana and Rayalseema as well as the fertile coastal regions in Andhra Pradesh, the dry northern, fertile southern, and industrialized central parts of Tamil Nadu, and the Malabar coast in Kerala; in the fertile plains and slopes in the south as well as the northern arid regions of Karnataka, Marathwada (west-central Deccan Plateau), Khandesh (northwestern corner of the Deccan plateau with a significant tribal population) and the sugarcane belt in southwest Maharashtra.

⁵ Bundelkhand derives its name from its mediaval rulers (Bundela Rajputs) and is divided between Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

State	Districts/Cities	Facilitators/coordinators/partners	Comments and Experiences
Andhra Pradesh	1.Guntur, 2.Prakasam, 3.Hyderabad, 4.Mahboobnagar, 5.Anantapur	1. Rural & Environmental Development Society (REDS), [Anantapur] 2. Kula Vivaksha Porata Samithi (KVPS) [Guntur, Hyderabad, Mahboobnagar, Prakasam]	An initial batch of field investigators, primarily staff and volunteers of the two NGOs, was trained after the Hyderabad consultation (2009) and survey work was begun. There were several delays however. In Anantapur and Guntur, survey work lost momentum after village censuses and the first round of trained personnel became inactive or left their respective organizations. Fresh investigators were inducted and received training from the central research team (in 2010), this time separately in Guntur, Anantapur and Mahboobnagar, and only then were the surveys completed. In Guntur, the surveys were finally conducted by post graduate and PhD students specially recruited by KVPS for the survey. In Mahboobnagar the survey was directly conducted by local KVPS members, in Anantapur by REDS staff and supporters, in Hyderabad by a group of trade union activists. Although broadly the surveys covered the range, initial targets were not fully met.
Assam	1.Kamrup, 2.Nalbari, 3.Dibrugarh, 4.Guwahati	1. OKD Institute of Social Change and Development (ICSSR Research Institute)[Kamrup, Nalbari, Guwahati] 2. Women's Studies Research Centre, Dibrugarh University	For rural Kamrup and Nalbari, and the city of Guwahati, field investigators were experienced, drawn from among those who had worked for other OKD Institute surveys, and were supervised by a faculty member. All targets were met. For Dibrugarh, researchers at the university Women's Studies Centre were deployed, but there were delays and targets were not fully met. All investigators were trained in the central workshop that followed the Guwahati consultation, attended also by faculty of OKD Institute and the Director, WSRC, Dibrugarh University.
Bihar	1.Siwan, 2.Nawada, 3.Begusarai, Katihar, Chapra	1. Local School Teachers/Principal [Siwan, Begusarai] 2. UNICEF Polio Programme coordinator [Nawada]	Initial attempts to involve the ADRI Institute and university faculty in the survey did not meet with success. (ADRI had grown out of the once premier research organisation, but now crisis ridden AN Sinha Institute, Patna) Ultimately, three school teachers, one a retired school principal, helped to gather field investigators for village sites in Siwan, Begusarai, and Chapra and establish contact with the UNICEF coordinator in Nawada. Investigators were post graduates and some PhD level students in the three districts where the survey was completed. In Chapra, the investigators were less qualified and could not cope the survey. In Katihar, where a college teacher had facilitated contact with a local NGO (Bal Mahila Kalyan Kendra), the questionnaires were not filled according to the

			guidelines and had to be rejected.
Chhattisgarh	1.Rajnandgaon, 2.Raipur, 3.Korba, 4.Janjgir	1. Group of local NGO workers in individual capacity [Rajnandgaon, Raipur] 2. Public Sector employees	Preparations for the survey in Chhattisgarh started very late due to the difficult situation obtaining there. Initial investigation of possible sites in the central part of the state was facilitated through an NGO. The actual survey was conducted in Rajnandgaon, Raipur and Janjgir, by a group of experienced social workers familiar with the social terrain. One training workshop was held at Raipur. In Korba, BALCO employees were particularly helpful during the visit of the central research team members. However, no local investigators could be found and investigators had to be sent from Delhi for the actual survey work in Korba.
Gujarat	1.Dahod, 2.Panchmahal, 3.Ahmedabad, 4.Surat 5. Rajkot	1. Centre for Labour Research and Action [Ahmedabad, Dahod] 2. [Panchmahal] 3. Faculty members, Centre for Social Studies, Surat	In Gujarat too the survey began very late. Although faculty members of the CSS, Surat and Gujarat Vidyapeeth facilitated field visits by the central research team in the state, they were not in a position to gather field investigators or give enough time for supervising any. Initially even the CLRA was too preoccupied with other activities. Negotiations were then initiated with a research consulting organization. An initial agreement, following which investigators were trained and taken to the sites by the central research team, broke down at the stage of finalization of the contract. In the end, the CLRA was able to give some time and conducted substantive sectoral surveys in Ahmedabad, Dahod and followed some migrants to their places of origin in Rajasthan for the survey. CSS faculty members also were able to connect the project team with investigators for Surat, and a local group of students was located in Panchmahal to conduct the village survey in that district. 3 of the 6 training workshops in Gujarat did not yield any results as far as survey work was concerned. In Rajkot, a group of retired government officers along with some students offered to conduct the survey, but were unable to take it beyond the village census level.
Haryana	1.Panipat, 2.Rewari, 3.Hissar	Haryana state unit, All India Democratic Women's Association	Although contacts with sites and respondents was facilitated by AIDWA, Haryana, the survey work was carried out by three groups of M.Phil/PhD students from JNU and Delhi University, trained and led by the Research Assistants of the Central Team at CWDS.
Jharkhand	1.Dumka, 2.Jamtara, 3.East and West Singhbhum, 4.Lohardagga, 5.Gumla,	Individual contacts	In Jharkhand too, the survey was conducted by two groups of students from the three universities in Delhi (JNU, Delhi University, Jamia Milia Islamia). Arrangements were made for one team to connect with local facilitators for the survey work in Dumka,

	6.Simdegga, 7. Ranchi		Jamtara, and some of the nearby destinations in Asansol (Bardhaman), West Bengal. The other team concentrated on sector based surveys - at area of origin for domestic workers (Gumla, Simdeggga), brick kiln workers (Lohardagga) and destination for nurses and other services (Ranchi). Contacts and connections were arranged by the central research team.
Karnataka	1.Koppal, 2.Bangalore, 3.Mysore, 4.Kodagu, 5.Kolar . Bellary	1.Department of Development Studies, Kannada University, Hampi, 2. Women's studies Centre, Mysore University, 3. Activists of Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti	The sector based survey in Mysore and Kodagu was coordinated by the Director, WSRC, Mysore University, and an Executive Committee member of the Indian association of Women's Studies (IAWS). Field investigators were her students and were trained by the central research team. In Bangalore and Kolar, a group of investigators trained by the central research team were supervised by staff of the BGVS in their individual capacity. The Koppal village survey was conducted by PhD students at Hampi University, and supervised by faculty of the Department of Development Studies there. Attempts were made to conduct a survey in mining district of Bellary, and a large number of students attended a training workshop, but in the absence of effective coordination, the Bellary survey did not materialize.
Kerala	1. Mallapuram 2.Ernakulam Pathanamthitta Wayanad	Reader, Economics, University of Calicut	Three PhD students were initially trained in the Chennai workshop for the sector surveys in Kerala. They all got regular jobs and could not complete their targets. For district Pathanamthitta, an officer in the Kerala Government department of Economics and Statistics, who had facilitated the central team's tour of the district, had offered to coordinate the village survey in his individual capacity. In the Chennai consultation, the questionnaires were discussed in detail with him and reportedly he trained some students and conducted the survey in Kumbanad village. Unfortunately, despite several efforts, contact was lost, and the filled questionnaires have not yet been received by CWDS. For Wayanad, a group of students were trained for the survey in two adivasi hamlets, but as often happens with students, they scattered before the survey could get under way. For Mallapuram, initial attempts to involve teachers and students of Calicut University did not make much headway, and finally the village survey was coordinated by a College lecturer in Economics and the survey was done by his students.
Maharashtra	1.Parbhani, 2.Nandurbar, 3.Kolhapur,	1. Director. Centre for Community Development. Shivaji University,	The village survey in Parbhani was conducted by a group of gram rojgar sevaks, (who are employed by the govt. as assistants at the

	4.Chandrapur, 5.Beed, 6.Mumbai- Thane, 7.Pune	Kolhapur, 2.Maharashtra Rajya Gram Rojgar Sevak Sangathana, [Parbhani, Beed] 3.Agricultural Workers' Union [Nandurbar] 4. Democratic Youth Federation 5. Janwadi Mahila Sangathan, 5. WSRC, Pune University, 6. Snehalaya Vikas Kendra	village level for the implementation of the NREGA). In Nandurbar, the survey was conducted by an agricultural workers' union. Maharashtra was the only state where the questionnaire was translated into the local language by the facilitator/coordinators (voluntarily). And it was because of such translation that investigators not completely familiar with English could undertake survey work. For the city based sector surveys, in Mumbai-Thane, the survey was undertaken through members of a women's organization and a youth organisation and in Pune, through students of the women's studies centre and coordinated by a research group, Snehalaya Vikas Kendra.
Madhya Pradesh	1.Tikamgarh, 2.Raisen, 3,Jhabua, 4.Indore	Mahila Chetna Manch	Madhya Pradesh was the one state where an NGO, Mahila Chetna Manch took the responsibility of coordinating village and sector surveys in all identified sites in the state, meeting almost all given targets. Their field investigators were trained by the CWDS research team.
Manipur	Imphal	Readers in Economics and History, Manipur University	A training workshop was held in Imphal for student investigators mobilized by faculty of the university. However, the survey could not be completed.
Meghalaya	1.East Khasi Hills, 2. Jaintia Hills	PhD student	A Political Science PhD student in NEHU coordinated the sector based survey in the two districts.
Mizoram	Aizawl	Lecturer, Social Work, Mizoram University	Henry Zodinliana Pachuau, lecturer in Mizoram University initiated two M.Phil students for the sector based survey work in Aizawl. The CWDS project team trained them in Aizawl.
Orissa	1.Bhadrak, 2.Ganjam, 3.Balangir, 4.Khorda, Bhubaneswar	1. Institute of Socio- Economic Development, Bhubaneswar. 2. Fellowship, Bhadrak 3. College Lecturer, Ganjam	At the state level in Orissa, the Institute of Socio-Economic Development facilitated contact with students in Bhubaneswar for the sector surveys there, with a Bhadrak based NGO, Fellowship for the village survey there, and experienced NGO workers for the village surveys in Balangir. The Bhadrak and Bhubaneswar surveys met all targets and were completed within a short period. The Balangir survey was, however, interrupted by the moving to another state by the main investigator. Consequently, although one village survey was completed in the district, all other targets could not be met. In Ganjam, the survey was facilitated by a college lecturer in Political Science, one of the key organizers of a forum for social science research in Orissa. Two PhD students were the field investigators.
Punjab	1.Sangrur, 2.Bhatinda, 3.Patiala,	1. Professors and research officers, Economics Department, Punjabi	For village surveys in Sangrur, and sectoral surveys in Bhatinda and Patiala, research students from the Economics Department of

	4.Ludhiana, 5.Jalandhar Amritsar	University, Patiala [Sangrur, Bhatinda, Jalandhar] 2. Professors of Department of Economics and Sociology, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana	Punjabi university, Patiala were the field investigators, supervised by their professors. The survey was completed within the given time frame and all targets were met. For the sector surveys in rural and urban parts of Ludhiana, research students/assistants at Punjab Agricultural University were the field investigators, coordinated and supervised by a faculty member. In Jalandhar a PhD student and teacher in a local college did the survey in her own village. Research assistants at the Sociology department of Guru Nanak Dev University at Amritsar were also trained for the project survey, but ultimately could not find the time for it.
Rajasthan	1Udaipur, 2.Sikar, 3.Nagaur, 4.Dungarpur, 5Jaipur	1. Seva Mandir, Udaipur 2. Prayas, Udaipur 3. Kisan Sabha members, Sikar	In Udaipur, Seva Mandir, a long standing NGO coordinated and conducted the village survey. Prayas , another NGO facilitated the sector survey of young girls migrating to Gujarat for cotton seed farms, where the survey work was done by the central project research assistants and post graduate students from Delhi School of Economics (sociology). Nagaur and Dungarpur based sector surveys were part of the CLRA survey following migrants from Gujarat. For Sikar, a team of local undergraduate students contacted through the local Kisan Sabha (Farmers' Organisation), attended a training workshop in Delhi, but were unable to cope with the survey work. Finally the CWDS research assistants were sent from Delhi and conducted a more selective survey than was initially planned.
Tamil Nadu	1.Villupuram, 2.Tirunelveli, 3.Dindigul, 4.Tirupur, 5.Chennai	1. Prof. K. Nagaraj, MIDS, 2. Prof. K.A. Manikumar, Mananmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, 3. Dr.S.Sundari, Reader, Mother Teresa Women's University, Kodaikanal, Dindigul, 4.. Centre for Women Development Research, Chennai (CWDR)	Initial contacts with faculty in various universities, as well as with an initial group of field investigators in Tamil Nadu were facilitated by Prof. Nagaraj. This group of field investigators, trained in the first Chennai workshop, conducted the village surveys in Villupuram and sector surveys in Tirupur and Chennai. Prof. Manikumar enabled and initially guided the village survey in Tirunelveli that was undertaken by staff of a local NGO, but once he took over as registrar of his university, was no longer available for supervision. Central research team members reviewed the questionnaires from Tiruneleveli, where some resurvey had to be undertaken. Dr. S. Sundari organized the sector based survey in Kodaikanal. Among domestic workers in Chennai, research staff of CWDR, were trained by the project team and did the survey.
Uttar Pradesh	1.Azamgarh, 2.Badayun, 3.Baghat,	1. Shri Ramanand Saraswati Pustakalaya (SRSP), Azamgarh	Central teams of students from JNU and Delhi University along with the Project RAs were sent for the village surveys in Badayun and

	4.Varanasi	2. Gandhian institute of Studies, Varanasi	Baghpat. The responsibility for the village survey in Azamgarh was undertaken by the SRSP, following a training workshop held there. Sector surveys and a qualitative set of interviews of women left behind in Varanasi, were undertaken by the Gandhian Institute of Studes.
West Bengal	1.North24 Parganas, 2.South24 Parganas, 3.West Medinipur, 4.Kolkata Murshidabad Jalpaiguri	1. Women's Studies Research Centre, Calcutta University 2. CWDS Action Research Field Staff, West Medinipur	The village surveys in west Medinipur were conducted by the field staff of the action research project of CWDS at Jhargram in the district. For North and South 24 Parganas, as also Murshidabad, the WSRC of Calcutta University took the responsibility. Their field investigators (students) attended the training workshop after the Kolkata consultation. Unfortunately, the filled questionnaires of the Murshidabad village survey were lost in transit from Kolkata to Delhi. For the survey in Jalpaiguri, some initial discussions took place with faculty members from North Bengal University, but could not be taken forward. Some of the investigators mobilized by the WSRC, CU, who had acquired great expertise, then mobilized some more students, and were able to conduct the sector surveys in Kolkata on an independent basis.

Apart from the common questionnaire based surveys, a set of interviews of 39 cross regional brides have been collected, of which 20 were conducted in Kerala and 19 in the northern states of Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. A paper based on the interviews in Uttar Pradesh has been published and is appended. 30 interview based case studies of women left behind by male migration, were conducted in rural and urban areas of Varanasi. For these interviews, a common indicative set of questions were provided.

Secondary Research and Resource Building

Secondary research and building of a resource base on gender and migration has been an ongoing activity through the project period.

- News paper clippings from 4 national English dailies and 1 Hindi daily have been collected.
- Published and Unpublished mimeos and monographs from various regions and on development and migration have also been compiled.

- A bibliography on resources on migration available in CWDS library is available.

An important component of secondary research has been a creative and detailed engagement with and analysis of the macro-data on migration and employment from a gender perspective. The development of a new method for approaching the migration and employment data discussed in the methodology section grew out of detailed unit level analysis. An initial paper detailing the method has been published.

Reviews of literature have covered a range of areas to frame the issues and questions related to gender citizenship rights and migration – the legal framework and specific laws related to migrants and bondage, the agrarian crisis, the conditions of artisans, on how ideas of social justice are being approached in contemporary theory and practice, rights based approaches to development, historical studies on labour migration in India, etc.

Dissemination Activities

The project team and some partners in the survey activities have written papers and made presentations drawing on the findings of the project.

- At International Conference of the Association of Indian Labour Historians, Noida, 2008 , Indu Agnihotri and Indrani Mazumdar, 'Dusty Trails and Unsettled Lives: Notes on Women's Labour Migration in Rural India', published in Indian Journal of Gender Studies, Sage, Vol. 16 No. (3) Sept.-Dec 2009
- At South Asian Regional Workshop on Global Financial and Economic Crisis and its Impact on Women: A Human Rights Perspective organized by PWESCR with UNIFEM, August 22- 23 New Delhi. Indu Agnihotri chaired and made a presentation at Session on Crisis, Women's Food security and Migration .

- At Workshop on Addressing Urban Poverty: Opportunities and challenges, Oxfam, New Delhi, 29th-30th July 2009. Indu Agnihotri and Indrani Mazumdar – Presentation at Session on Tackling Concerns of Migrant Workers .
- Presentation on Gender and Migration by Indu Agnihotri in symposium on Impact of Migration on Families, UNIC-UNFPA and Development Welfare and Research Foundation, New Delhi, 14 May, 2010.
- At Rajasthan State Workshop on Protection of Seasonal Migrant Labour, Institute of Development Studies, October 25th and 26th 2010 Indrani Mazumdar- chaired and made a presentation at session on Action Agenda for Protection of Migrant Labour .
- At seminar on Recent Research in Social Trends and History of Colonial and Contemporary India, IIC New Delhi, December 4, 2010, Shruti Chaudhry presented paper - Of Marriage and Migration: Bengali and Bihari Brides in Badaun, Uttar Pradesh (published in Indian Journal of Gender Studies).
- At National Conference of Indian Association of Labour Economics, Dharwad, 17-19 December, 2010 , Indrani Mazumdar , One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Gender and Migration in Contemporary India.
- At Inception Workshop: Migration, Gender and Social Justice, ISS-IDRC, The Hague, 10th-12th January 2011, Indu Agnihotri and Indrani Mazumdar – Presentation on initial research findings of the IDRC supported project, Gender and Migration: Negotiating Rights, A Women’s Movement Perspective.
- At 13th National Conference of the Indian Association of Women’s Studies, Wardha, Jan 2011, project team members initiated and conducted panel on migration under sub theme on Women, Labour and questions of Marginalisation, to bring out studies conducted for the IDRC supported project. This panel session was chaired by Indu Agnihotri.

Presentations were as follows:

1. N. Neetha - Situating Female Migration in Times of Economic Transformation
2. Vasanthi Raman - The Crisis in the Banarasi Sari Industry and its implications for Migration of Weaver Families - -
3. Manasi Mohanty -Gender and Migration, Oriya Female Workers in Kerala
4. Archana Prasad – Tribal Women’s Migration

5. Shruti Chaudhry - Of Marriage and Migration: Long Distance Brides in Rural Haryana and Uttar Pradesh
 - Gender dimensions: Employment trends in India, 1993-94 to 2009-10, Indrani Mazumdar and Neetha N., CWDS Occasional Paper No.56, 2011
 - *Economic and Political Weekly*, Oct. 22, Vol XLVI, No. 43, 'Gender dimensions: Employment trends in India, 1993-94 to 2009-10' Indrani Mazumdar and Neetha N.
 - At UNESCO-UNICEF organized National Workshop on Internal Migration in India, Delhi, 7-8 December, 2011, Paper and presentation on Gender and Migration. Paper selected by the organizers for proposed publication.

Project Outputs

The principal output of the project is of course the final study report - Gender and Migration: Negotiating Rights, A Women's Movement Perspective. A summary with the key findings of the study is appended (Appendix I). Following presentation and discussions at the national colloquium, it will be revised and prepared for publication.

Other outputs generated by the project include a series of published and unpublished studies/reports prepared by the central project team, papers and presentations in the regional consultations, and transcripts of the consultation discussions. The collection of these various documents is attached. The list is given below. These are all direct outputs of the project, were written or presented at the various consultations. They are thus draft papers or notes rather than publishable level papers. But taken together, they constitute a valuable and new resource on several dimensions and regional contours of migration in India. (See Appendix II).

Perhaps the most significant output of the project is the capacity that it has generated at several levels. The principal research team has of course gained immensely in experience and understanding. Without IDRC support, the wide exposure to the different facets and actual operation of diversity in India would have been difficult to conceive of. For the central bureaucracy (Indian Administrative Service), there is an institutional mechanism for what is called 'Bharat Darshan' that probationers undertake in the course of their training. No such mechanism exists for the world of social science researchers. The exposure of the Gender and Migration research team to the immense

and varied physical and social terrain in which women work and live, will no doubt add to our understanding and quality of future research. The research assistants also benefited from a similar exposure, carrying it forward in their own research. Both have registered for Ph.Ds involving field work that draws on their experience with this project. The database generated by the meso-survey is itself an immensely rich resource, which will be drawn on for future research at the CWDS. The field notes are also a rich resource to be drawn on not only for this project, but also for future research. Networking with faculty members across 15 universities and training of 250 field investigators may also be considered and output of the project.

Project Outcomes

The Project involved analysis of macro data, field visits and field surveys on an extensive scale.

- In course of the work undertaken, members of the team engaged with existing macro-data emerging from national data collection agencies, such as the Census and the NSSO in a continuous manner. This engagement, which started with some skepticism as to what this data tells us with regard to the Gender aspect on migration, given the limitations with respect to availability of gender disaggregated data, proceeded to appreciation of new sets of reports and data made available in the course of recent years. Despite this many issues persist.
- This continued engagement yielded results in the form of deeper analysis of this data to cull out trends as well as issues with regard to women and employment-- including issues of paid and unpaid work-- which can be seen to contribute significantly to the current discussion on women's work, the perceived feminization of work and emerging issues with regard to the impact of macro-policy frameworks.

- The need to focus on internal migration emerged from a sense of disquiet with regard to the prevalent discourse at the international level with regard to migration studies. It is felt that this is significantly determined by experiences, theories and concepts emerging from first world (mainly North-centred) experiences of migration. These involve a) the experience of advanced capitalist countries; b) which also figure as receiving states and c) are often based on insufficient familiarity with issues of production regimes and social formations in countries such as India.
- This was borne out by experience shared and questions posed by the Project team from India and by issues raised by the team from China, based on their study on internal migration, at the IDRC-ISS Initiative on Migration and Women's Rights, on the occasion of the Workshop on Migration held in The Hague, in January 2010.
- This study, it is felt, will significantly contribute to taking discussion on these issues forward in migration studies.
- The Project team gained considerable experience in conducting extensive field research and questionnaire based survey. This is significant due to the fact that reservations were expressed from several quarters with regard to both the need and the ability of the team to undertake such an exercise.
- This experience also underlined the need for more extensive field surveys to fill a persistent gap in field based research which is felt by researchers, such as we ourselves, in trying to address issues which emerge from macro-data sets and trends delineated by these, in the absence of any representative country based empirical studies which may never match the official data but which are required

to address issues arising from these and to address which the huge range of micro-studies available are insufficient.

- The vast survey, data analysis and discussion generated has certainly contributed to the building of a considerable amount of confidence at the institutional level and its ability to intervene in current debates from a position of strength based on research capability built/ refurbished in course of this Project.
- This capacity it is hoped will add strength to the CWDS' existing and visible capacity to intervene in debates on contemporary issues and policies within the women's movement from a stronger position of research base.
- The Project team's interaction and continued dialogue with a range of partners with whom relationships of different degrees of collaboration, facilitation and interaction were built in course of the study is a notable feature.
- These involved dialogue with NGOs; including networks involved in devising concrete interventions to assist migrants, such as Ajivika, Prayas and etc., working with migrants ;
- Inter-action with academics from an inter-disciplinary background, who brought their combined skills, which were required to study a phenomenon as complex as migration and its social outcome in a country as diverse as India; activists from the women's movement some of who had highlighted the issue of women and migration in the first place; activists from peasant, agricultural workers' and workers' organizations ;
- Productive engagement with policy makers including members of the NCEUS, the National Statistical Commission; members of the National and State

Women's Commissions, including the then Chairperson West Bengal State Women's Commission.

- This dialogue addressed a gap in terms of knowledge generation based on emerging trends, also specifically by facilitating interaction amongst people involved with migrants or studying /observing migration from different and differential locations as well as with different objectives.
- Facilitation of this dialogue also filled a much felt gap as activists and networks working with migrant workers voiced the need for them to be updated on issues being debated in the social sciences, while social scientists and policy makers were continuously exposed to the rich store of knowledge that the former had given their location. The project team in turn felt enriched by this interaction and benefitted from the accumulated knowledge coming from the ground, often in states and regions with which they were not necessarily familiar except through academic entry points.
- The Research Assistants –two of whom worked with the Project team over a period of more than two years- developed considerable capacity for writing, reporting, conducting search for bibliographic sources and, above all, skills required in field work and field investigations. This included being trained and then conducting training for other field investigators, leading teams of field investigators in diverse locations, specially across North India; presentation of field data and reports and analysis including examining conceptual frameworks with regard to their field research. This was particularly visible when presentations were made based on field information, specifically with regard to cross- region long distance marriage at a Seminar in Delhi and in the National Conference of the Indian Association for Women's Studies, in January 2011 in Wardha. The Research Assistants developed a capacity to conduct field studies

even as they developed an eye for detail and sensitivity to listen when in the field, all of which they are now putting to use through their own doctoral pursuit.

- In course of conducting field studies undertaken as part of the Project, a large number of students at the graduate but mostly post-graduate and doctoral level were contacted for village level and sectoral surveys. These involved reaching out to students in diverse locations across different states in India. This also involved training and upgradation of their skills in undertaking field studies.
- At the same time many of these students brought their first hand experience of their home villages/ towns into the study along with their familiarity with the locale and language given the diversity in India. This facilitated entry into the different locations while adding strength to the investigators' teams.
- In view of the above, the Project team would like to put on record the contribution that these different sets of activists, NGOs and students as well as academics made to the understanding that the team developed across regions and different locations cutting across the vast expanse of this country.
- It may also be noted that the above inter-action and support enabled the Project team to convert what many had seen as a limitation imposed by the size and diversity of the country into a strength, by drawing upon this rich source of knowledge and information base which is often denied to academics who follow straitjacketed patterns of conducting research.
- New networks are in the process of being built by organizations actually engaging with the issues and demands of migrant workers in different parts of the country and in particular demanding a special focus on migration in the

policy framework of central and state governments. The project has been able to contribute to such activities and particularly to highlight and integrate specific gender concerns.

Overall Assessment and Recommendations

This project has highlighted the need for a policy focus on internal migration given the scale on which such migration is undertaken, from diverse social and regional locations and, to a multitude of destinations in a vast range of sectors. Based on data of the National Sample Survey's latest migration survey 2007-08, we have estimated that there were around 67 million labour migrants that year, of which 15 per cent were women. Today, the scale on which migration is taking place in India is indicative of deep rooted changes occurring in contemporary Indian society that policy frameworks have yet to take note of. At the same time, an understanding of the nature of migration in India and its gendered features, involves moving away from a discourse that has been dominated by concerns emerging from a focus on international migration.

While the broader policy recommendations that emerged from the Project are outlined in the main research report, some specific points are focused on in this technical report. There is firstly a need to address methodological issues with regard to data collection and the conceptual framework within which categories to capture migration are embedded. This project has shown that the approach of identifying a single reason for migration, followed by macro-surveys, hides more than it reveals about migration, particularly in relation to women. Incorporating a multi-layered reason for migration no doubt poses difficulties, but is necessary if the data is to reflect the actual contours of female migration or the degree of gendered immobility, as the case may be. Many of the female migrants recorded in the macro-data are women immobilized by marriage rather than migrating to destinations for other economic reasons. At the same time a significant number of female labour migrants and the gender based patterns of labour migration are missed out because of failure to incorporate circulatory forms of labour

migration, which this project has shown to be an enormously significant pattern of both male and female labour migration. Clearly, agencies responsible for collection and generation of macro data need to move away from and beyond single, mono-causal approaches followed by the Census and NSSO. We emphasize this because these remain the main / chief source of macro-data available to analyze and understand trends with regard to employment and growth in India.

The study highlighted the need to factor in gender and to evolve typologies, methodology and categories to capture the impact of current development processes and their specific gender based impact.

This is necessary if the full impact of the current paradigm of developmental policy is to be assessed through means and methods available to us within the macro-data sets. Failure to do so will result in continued under-estimation of the social impact of these policies and trends emerging from these.

While there has been a marked improvement in roads and infrastructural facilities in some parts, the lack of investment in agriculture and the need to reach supportive measures specifically aimed at the vast majority of poor and marginal rural farmers/ households stood out at in all site locations across states.

The lives of women, particularly from dalit and tribal families, were deeply and visibly impacted by the lack of support and resources.

The need for greater public investment in the agrarian economy was felt at every point in course of field work. The non availability of work in rural India, and its specifically gendered constraints were another notable feature.

The lack of diversification of women's employment in rural India is a notable feature. There is a clear need for greater investment in rural India, with a special focus on

women's employment. While this has been reported and noted in several government reports and publications in recent years, it remains ignored in planning process, as can be seen from the inadequate recognition of such a significant aspect, including in proposals for the Twelfth Plan. This concerns both rural women as well as the urban poor, many of who are / maybe fresh migrants.

Even more glaring is the fact that women continue to face these constraints even after migration. The concentration of women in a few sectors is clearly visible and underlines the fact that despite migration, conditions are not favourable for them to break the barriers imposed by growth patterns in the economy, as well as the weight of social prejudice.

The strengthening and proper implementation of the NREGA featured in many regions in course of field visits and the surveys conducted. This includes the expansion of the definition of work under the NREGA.

The need for an Urban Employment Guarantee and of schemes for providing work within such frameworks emerged from sector based studies and in interviews with women left behind, as well as women who would form part of the associational category as per existing definitions in macro-data sets.

The subject of conditions of work emerges as a singularly critical factor with regard to work, migrant workers' lives and conditions, and specifically that of women migrants, who feature in the job market in the most insecure occupational groups and sectors.

The issue of protection of migrants and regulation of the terms and conditions under which they migrate emerges as a major issue. This is both with regard to existing laws and their non-implementation, as well as the need felt for new forms of regulations required in view of a changed context.

One of the main issues that needs addressing is the existence of agents, contractors and sub contractors at all and different levels of migration and in different stages and locations with regard to migration. Despite legislation which exists with regard to contract labour, their role in recruitment, mobilization and transportation of migrant labour, and supervision, discipline and control of migrant labour needs to be specifically taken on board.

The issue of implementation of regulatory provisions covers a range of aspects:

- a) firstly these pertain to wages, terms and payment of wages, timing, leave (or its denial), hours and conditions of work etc;
- b) provisions related to the terms and conditions under which actual movement of migrants takes place; these concern the journey, payments involved and conditions under which the journey is undertaken;
- c) provision of amenities at the destination.
- d) the responsibility of different players/ tiers of contractors and their agents/ representatives;
- e) given that the migrants constitute a significant critical mass within the regime of production and labour, the responsibility of implementation of regulatory mechanisms and provision of amenities, including civic amenities also rests with employers as well as the administrative authorities at the point of destination. Presently the migrants are no one's responsibility, even as it is clear that they perform a significant function by contributing their labour to ensure production as also to the GDP rates of these regions.

The matter of children's needs and, more specifically, child care needs, remains one of the most neglected.

There is considerable scope and a need for Panchayats to play a role in tracking the flow of migrants from areas under their jurisdiction. This would involve ensuring that existing regulatory mechanisms are implemented and also keeping track of families at

destination, particularly with a view to keeping in check forms of migration which virtually border on trafficking.

Appendix II

Power Point and Papers Presentation

S. No.	Particulars of Documents/Presentations	Author(s)
	By Research Team	
	Published	
1.	Gender Dimension, Employment Trends In India, 1993-94 To 2009-10, CWDS Occasional Paper No. 56; & Economic and Political Weekly, Oct. 22, 2011	Indrani Mazumdar and Neetha N.
2.	Of Marriage and Migration, (Published in Indian Journal of Gender Studies, Sage, New Delhi, 2011	Shruti Chaudhary Taneesha Mohan
3.	Dusty Trails and Unsettled Lives: Women's Labour Migration in Rural India	Indu Agnihotri & Indrani Mazumdar
4.	Unpublished	
5.	PILOT SURVEY REPORT: Baoli village, Baghpat District, Western U.P.	Shruti Chaudhry & Taneesha Mohan
6.	Of Marriage and Migration: Long-distance or Cross-Region Brides in Rural Haryana and Uttar Pradesh	Shruti Chaudhry
7.	Power Point Presentation	
8.	IJLE Presentation gender and migration	Indrani Mazumdar
9.	Situating Female Migration in Times of Economic Transformation	Neetha N
10.	Field Notes Bengal Bihar and some other States	Indu Agnihotri and Indrani Mazumdar
	REGION-WISE REPORTS/PEPPERS/PPT. PRESENTATION	
I	Southern Consultation (Chennai, 5&6th January 2009)	
1.	Limitation as Opportunities: Feminisation of labour and access to employment.	S. Sajikumar & S. Mohammed Irshad
2.	Discussion on Tirupur	
3.	patterns of migration in Tamil Nadu and Kerala (Table)	Nagaraj
4.	Intra-Regional Differences in Agrarian Systems and Internal Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malaba: 1930-1950,	P.K. Micheal Tharakan,
5.	Labour Migration in Kerala: A study of Tamil Migrant Labourers in Kochi,	Surabhi K.S. & N. Ajith
6.	Income Security and Hidden Care Issues- Female Care Workers Emigrating from Kerala (India) to the Middle East,	Vidya Ramji,
7.	Migrant Labour Makes an Impact	R. Ramabhandran Pillai,
8.	Migrant Labourers from Kerala and the impact on	P.S. Nair,

	Household Economy,	
9.	Female Gulf Migrants,	P.T. Kunjimohammed
10.	Agrarin Issues of NREGA	S.Neelakantan
11	Migration of Women	S.Neelakantan
	Power Point Presentations	
a.	Paid Domestic Labourers : A Pilot Study of Women Migrants from Tamil Nadu	T.K. Anandi
b.	Women Migrants	Neelakanthan
c.	On Domestic Workers	Renuka
d.	Migration Issue of Nurses	Seenath K.P
e.	Trends and Issues of Female Migration: A Macro and Micro Study of Tamil Nadu	Dr. S. Sundari
II	Eastern Consultation (Kolkata, 17-18 January, 2009)	
1.	Labour Market Segregation and Gender-bias.	Pampa Sen Gupta
2.	Evolution and Growth of Municipal Towns in Kolkata Metropolitan Area,	Mahalaya Chatterjee,
3.	Commuting Women Domestic Workers in Kolkata: A Study.	<i>Parichiti and Shapla Neer</i>
4.	Contrasting Urban Patterns: West Bengal, Punjab and Kerala,	Biplab Dasgupta,
5.	Metropolitan Growth and Demographic Changes in Calcutta,	Pabitra Giri & Sukla Bhaduri,
6.	Urbanisation and Agricultural Change in North-East India,	J.B. Ganguly,
7.	The Growth Experience of the Small Scale Industries of North 24-Parganas and Mednipur Districts, West Bengal,	Nandita, Basak,
8.	Functional Classification of Urban Areas in India, 1961, 1971, 1991	Mahalaya Chatterjee & Pabitra Giri,
9.	Eastern Zone Data Trends,	Ishita Mukhupadhyay
10.	Basic Issues in the Study of Migration: An Anthropological Overview.	Abhijit Guha,
11.	Some observations on rural migration in three villages in West Bengal,	Aparajita Bakshi,
12.	CWDS Action Project in Jhargram area, Medinipur	Ashutosh Pradhan
13.	Migration in Orissa	P.S. Thakur
14.	Migration and Morality : Sovereign Finance and Dehumanized Immigrants	A.K. Bagchi
15.	Without His Consent? : Marriage and Women's Migration in Colonial India	Samita Sen
16.	An overview of three Immigrant Communities of Kolkata	
	Power Point Presentation	
a.	Women affected by forced migration in Assam,	Ratna Bharali Talukdar
b.	Migration- the Situation in Assam	Sushanta Talukdar,
c.	An Overview of Two Immigrant Communities of Kolkata,	Gopalkrishna

		Chakrabarti,
d.	Migration in Balangir District of Orissa,	Sanjay Mishra,
III	Deccan Consultation (Hyderabad, 25-27 June 2009)	
1	Female Labour Migration in the Slum city of Pune	
2	A Case Study	G. Vijay
3	Migration, Vulnerability and Insecurity in New Industrial Labour Markets	G. Vijay
4	Contract Labour and Bondage in Andhra Pradesh	Wendy Kay Olsen and R.V. Ramana Murthy
	Power Point Presentations	
a.	TYPOLOGIES/CONFIGURATIONS OF RURALITY IN INDIA	A.R. Vasavi
b.	Shifting water governance frameworks - an overview	
c.	Development Deprivation Aspects in Northern Karnataka	T.R Chandrasekar
d.	Characteristics and Magnitude of Seasonal Labour Migration in a Drought Prone Village of Andhra Pradesh	Vijay Korra
e.	Female child labour in cottonseed farms	Davuluri Venkateswarlu
f.	Migration of Female Labour	
g.	Sugar Migration in Kolhapur District	Manjusha Deshpande
IV	Northern Consultation (New Delhi, 22-24 November 2009)	
1	Skilled Labour Migration in Pre-Colonial India from 16 th to 18 th Centuries	Shireen Moosvi
2	Cross Regional Brides in Mewat, Haryana (Executive Summary)	Manjit Singh
3	Gender Migration in Uttar Pradesh	Subhashini Ali
4	De-Industrialisation, Population Change and Migration in 19 th Century India	
	Power Point Presentations	
a.	ENVIRONMENT, INDUSTRIAL(/DEVELOPMENT PROJEC	
b.	Migrants the Development Agents - Case of Migrants in Delhi from Bihar	Rashmi/Balwant
c.	Women Workers under NREGS: Some Observations	Ashok K. Pankaj & Rukmini Tankha
d.	Rural Settlements of Northern Haryana	
e.	Urban policies & migration	

V	Western Consultation (Ahmedabad, 24-25 November 2009)	
	Securing Dalit Livelihoods Through Common Property resources: Collective Strategies for Adapting to Changing Institutional and Environmental Conditions in Western Rajasthan	PK. Kavoori, and Hitendra Chauhan
	Power Point Presentation	
a.	Sample Study of Migrant Rabaari Community in Bhuj (Ganeshnagar	Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan
b.	Organising Seasonal Migrants in Gujarat	
c.	Gender and Brick kiln Workers	Manjula
VI	North Eastern Consultation (Guwahati, 11-12 December 2009)	
1	Women and Political Participation in Meghalaya - Some Insights	Amena Nora Passah
2	Matriliney in Meghalay : At the Crossroads? - Some Insights	Amena Nora Passah
3	Role of Khasi-Jaintia Women of the Meghalaya Plateau in Pre-Colonial Society and Economy	Amena Nora Passah
VII	Central Consultation (Bhopal, 12-13 February 2010)	
	Paper Presented	
1	Seasonal Labour Migration from Central India (a Comparative Field- based Study of Jhabua and Chattisgarh)	Y.G. Joshi
	Tribal View of Migration	Joseph Barah
	Power Point Presentation	
a.	Education program for migrated Children	
b.	Seasonal Labour Migration from Central India	Prof.Y.G.Joshi