Technical Report

The role of small cities in shaping youth employment
outcomes in India and Indonesia

February 2019

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Table of Contents

1. SYNTHESIS

This research project focuses on exploring the role of small cities in shaping the employment outcomes of migrant youth, both men and women, in India and Indonesia. The two countries where our inquiry takes place – India and Indonesia – compare well (see Table 1) in terms of scale, regional diversity and governance challenges. Moreover, both nations are undergoing rapid structural transformation and face the imminent opportunity of a much-anticipated "demographic dividend" – which can only be realized if pathways to economic opportunity are forged for their youth.

The aim of the project is to investigate the kinds of employment pathways small cities are creating for non-metropolitan[1] youth (aged 15-29) in India and Indonesia. Specifically, it examines the role of small cities in (a) facilitating internal migration, and (b) providing an accessible entry point into employment. The project investigates economic opportunity and job pathways, in particular the ways in which gender shapes the nature of these opportunities. Women's employment outcomes and labor market access is a particular concern in both countries, especially in India where female workforce participation is very low and in decline. Further, the project seeks to understand whether current governance and policy frameworks support these small city functions and to offer concrete recommendations for reforming policy toward that aim.

Combining the study of internal migration, urbanization and labor markets, the project focuses not on metropolitan cities, which are imagined to be the major recipients of migrants in both popular and academic writing; instead, we choose to study secondary and tertiary urban locations that are experiencing rapid demographic and economic growth and may be playing critical functions in facilitating internal migration as well.

We began with the working assumption, built around an increasingly large body of literature, that migration is not necessarily – rarely, in fact – a linear source-destination journey. In a complex migration landscape, we see secondary and tertiary cities functioning simultaneously as origins, destinations, and transit points for migrants.

During the course of our enquiry, as we have delved deeper into the data and chosen field sites for our case studies, our thinking has been further nuanced and we have incorporated other forms of mobility, including commuting, circular migration and return migration, into our research (see Box 1).

The first year opened up new lines of inquiry. Our review of existing literature, engagement with secondary data, and interactions with academics, policymakers and development organizations indicate that patterns of economic, social and physical mobility are shifting. Small cities (and once-rural areas) are transforming rapidly, confirming that we must think beyond the rural-urban dichotomy. In both India and Indonesia, we observe that urbanization, mobility and labor markets are deeply intertwined and the notion of "the city"

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[1] By non-metropolitan, we mean youth whose origins are in villages and small towns. We consider a settlement with over 1 million people to be 'metropolitan'.

as well as ideas of what constitutes internal migration are in flux. We began the project with an investigation of 'migrant-intensity' aimed at locating migration junctions - places witnessing high levels of in- and out-migration. We find that a range of geographies, including small cities and 'rurban' geographies lie at the intersections of migrant pathways.

In our second year, the project focused most heavily on gathering primary evidence from case sites in India and Indonesia. In these investigations, we focused on the linkages between physical and economic mobility in the lives of migrant youth in non-metropolitan geographies, especially on the ways in which outcomes and influencing factors are gendered.

In the last ten months of the project, we focused on analyzing the collected data, going back to the field and field partners where necessary to fill gaps in information. Our efforts centered on generating insights into how governance frameworks and policies can be reformed to maximize the potential of small cities to positively shape employment outcomes for youth, especially migrants and women.

The research team has also attempted to leverage the cross-country nature of the project to examine these questions through a comparative lens (see section 3.4). In particular, the differences between India and Indonesia in their respective processes of decentralization – and consequently the powers and functions vested in urban local government – contribute to specific policy insights.

Table 1: Select comparative statistics India and Indonesia

	India	Indonesia
Population (2015), in Thousands	1,311,050.53	257,563.82
Population growth, Annual %	1.2	1.2
Population density (per sq. km.)	441	142
% Female population	48.2	49.6
Male unemployment rate for age group 15-24, 2016	9.5	17.8*
Female unemployment rate for age group 15-24, 2016	10	20**
Male youth literacy rate (15-24), 2015	92	100
Female youth literacy rate (15-24), 2015	87	100
GDP per capita (PPP), 2017 (current USD)	7,059.32	12,283.62
GDP Growth (annual %)	7.9	4.8
% of GDP contributed by Agriculture	17.45	13.52
% of GDP contributed by Manufacturing	17	21
% of GDP contributed by Services	53	46.5
Percentage employment in agriculture (2018)	41.6% in 2010 (37.2% male, 55.4% female)	30.2% (31.4% male, 28.3% female
Percentage employment in services (2018)	34.5% (36.9% male, 27.0% female)	48.2% (43.2% male, 56.1% female)
Urban population, 2015	33%	54%
Annual growth rate, urban Population	2.4%	2.6%

Sources: World Bank,
*In 1991, this figure was 6.6 for Indonesia
 - ** In 1991, this figure was 7.5 for Indonesia

Box 1: Varying types of mobility

Migration and the administrative boundary: Internal migration occurs within and across sub-national administrative boundaries, with specific implications on access to labor markets, social security, social assimilation and legality. These movements might be within or across sub-national entities — states in India and provinces in Indonesia. They might also occur within or across sub-provincial entities— districts in India and *kabupaten*s (regency) and *kota*s (city). In both countries, towns and cities could fall within a district or even transcend district boundaries. Therefore, mobilities of three types are seen: Inter-provincial/Inter-state migration, Intra-kabupaten/Intra-district and Inter-kabupaten/Inter-district. Researchers also often use this information as a proxy for distance.

Migration streams: Much of the migration debate is framed in the rural-urban dialectic. This gives rise to four streams of migration: rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban.

Circular migration: A pattern of regular movement between two (or more) locations – for example, a village and city – which is commonly seen in societies where sending some members of the family out for non-farm work is used as livelihood diversification strategy.[1]

Seasonal migration: For families that are engaged in agricultural work, migration is linked to the seasonality of the cropping cycle. The overlap between circular and seasonal migration is significant for countries like India and Indonesia. Jan Breman famously called them "footloose labor."[1]

Commuting: Commuter migrants are workers who travel over long distances to work on a daily or weekly basis. This means they live and work in distinct geographies. They may also have temporary living arrangements in their place of work.

2. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

From its conception, the research project has sought to investigate the role of small cities in creating employment pathways for non-metropolitan youth (in the ages of 15-29) in India and Indonesia – i.e. young people from small and medium-sized cities and rural areas. This research draws from the specific expertise of the involved organizations. Researchers at the Centre for Policy Research have investigated small towns, especially Census Towns[2] in India, as part of a collaborative international research project called SUBURBIN on 'subaltern urbanization'. They find that small towns often function as independent growth centers, significantly benefit from remittances sent back by migrants, and lack adequate governance capacities and investment[i]. At JustJobs Network, researchers have focused on the relationship between urbanization and labor market trends throughout the global South, seeking to understand what policy frameworks are necessary to leverage rapid urbanization for the creation of more and better jobs[ii]. JJN's work more broadly focuses on questions of economic opportunity in developing countries.

2.1.   The context: structural transformation and mobility

Both emerging economies, India and Indonesia are experiencing structural transformation, a shift from a predominantly agrarian society to an urban society organized around industry and services. They are pinning their hopes for economic growth on a much-anticipated "demographic dividend," a period of time experienced in most emerging economies when dependency ratios fall as the working-age populations expands relative to children and the elderly. These countries hope to leverage the significant numbers of young people entering the working age cohort at this time—about 12 million a year in India[iii] and 2.5 million in Indonesia[iv]—to increase productivity and boost economic output.[3]

The search for productive employment amidst the process of structural transformation induces not only a movement from farm-based to non-farm work. It also stimulates the large-scale movement of workers to geographies where new forms of economic opportunity are being created. This raises questions not only about how many and what types of jobs are being created, but also the spatial distribution of work. What paths – physical and economic – do workers travel in the context of rapidly changing societies like India's and Indonesia's?

Theories of agglomeration economies propose that cities, where dense economic activity promotes high levels of productivity, draw rural workers through rural-urban wage differentials[v]. While recent scholarship has emphasized that the process of urbanization is not driven exclusively by rural-urban migration, the movement of people along multi-directional pathways is undoubtedly a central feature of urbanization and structural transformation more broadly.

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[2] Census towns are classified 'urban' by the Census of India but continue to be governed by rural mechanisms.
[3] Note that in Indian media there is frequently confusion between "workforce" and "working-age population." The statistics cited here refer to the latter. The former refers to people employed or actively searching for work.

Because of these dynamic linkages, this project is located at the intersection of urbanization, internal migration and labor market transformation. These issues are made urgent by the pace of demographic transition in India and Indonesia and the relatively narrow window of opportunity for realizing their demographic dividends. India's Economic Survey 2017[4] points out that the country's working-age population will reach its peak in 2022, followed by a plateau, after which the dependency ratio will increase gradually. In Indonesia, the dividend similarly peaks around 2025[5].The latest Development Plan (RPJMN 2015-2019) of the Government of Indonesia focuses on a range of policies to ensure continued decline in fertility, increase skill competencies among workers, create employment, increase savings, and expand infrastructure[6].

Such policies often lack meaningful recognition of the spatiality of structural transformation. Priorities around growth and job creation must be linked to policies that can manage the many kinds of mobility that emerge in the context of economic development. In countries like India and Indonesia, this requires evidence of how structural transformation and the quest for jobs is playing out on the ground, how opportunities are spatially distributed, and what challenges young people – especially vulnerable populations like migrants and women – face in trying to achieve physical, social and economic mobility.

2.2.   Why small cities are important

We locate our research in a non-metropolitan context[7]. Despite the pervasive policy dialogue on the demographic dividend in countries like India and Indonesia, relatively less attention has been paid to the "where" of this demographic bonus. Our claim is that a major development opportunity that lies in spaces that have been overlooked: a diverse collection of non-metropolitan urban places. Small towns, secondary and tertiary cities, 'rurban' settlements, and corridors of urban transformation – which we collectively refer to with the shorthand "small cities" – lie on the front lines of the demographic dividend opportunity and challenge. These urban and urbanizing spaces are diverse in character but share the fate of neglect in policy and academic debates. They are places that scholars Denis and Zerah might call "subaltern" urban geographies[vi] and that Robinson might consider "off the map."[vii]

Data highlights that small cities are indeed at the front lines of the demographic dividend. First of all, a high share of youth working in non-farm occupations live in these non-metropolitan urban

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[4] Economic Survey 2016-17, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs Economic Division, Government of India, January 2017

[5] UNFPA Policy Memo (2015), 'Taking Advantage of The Demographic Dividend in Indonesia'.

[6] Bappenas, 2015. Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional (RPJMN) 2015-2019. Jakarta: Bappenas

[7] The Government of India has included smaller towns in its Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT[7]) and is upgrading dense rural areas (through the RURBAN mission[7]). In Indonesia, President Jokowi's policies intend to develop Indonesia "from the periphery," including an emphasis on the development of new growth centers through major infrastructure investments

settlements: In India, about 23.9 percent[8] and in Indonesia 38.5 percent.[9] In other words, many of the young people powering the structural transformation process – transitioning out of agriculture and into industry and services sectors – live in urban areas beyond the metropolis. Their journey in finding productive employment is unfolding in neither rural villages nor major metropolitan areas – a binary that is over-emphasized in policy debates on economic development – but rather in small cities.

Further, these places are exhibiting an economic dynamism that is attracting a major share of youth migrants who are on the move in search of economic and educational opportunities. As Bell and Jayne observe, small cities are sometimes depicted as "bit-part players, 'not [yet] cities' or would-be cities."[viii] But empirical realities of smaller and secondary cities in today's India and Indonesia tell a very different story. First of all, many have witnessed faster economic growth than large cities in recent years. For example, small cities in India averaged local GDP growth rates of 7.5 percent per year between 1999 and 2006.[ix] In Indonesia, medium-sized cities of 500,000 to 1 million people have proved most effective in recent decades at harnessing the benefits of agglomeration economies.[x]

As a result, many non-metropolitan cities are becoming important destinations for rural-urban migrants. In Indonesia, urban cores of major cities are losing more young people through migration than they are gaining, and even the peri-urban areas around cities like Jakarta, Surabaya and Medan have roughly equal rates of in- and out-migration of youth. In contrast, small cities in Indonesia witnessed 3 percent growth of their youth populations through migration alone in the 2010-2015 period. In India, where rural-rural migration is significant, 24.6 percent of migrant youth move to non-metropolitan cities as compared to only 12 percent into metropolitan cities, where migration rates are falling.

What's more, many rural youth live in villages that are soon to become small towns.
An important driver of non-metropolitan urban growth in these two countries is the process of *in situ* urbanization. Mukhopadhyay and colleagues have described this as urbanization led by "the morphing of places" as opposed to "the moving of people."[xi] This process is well documented in India[xii, xiii] but is also occurring to some extent in erstwhile rural parts of Java and Bali – the most densely populated of Indonesia's major islands. These islands are witnessing an expansion of the *desakota* settlement pattern that McGee identified almost 30 years ago in the periphery of Jakarta – characterized by high population density, a mixture of land uses, and both rural and urban activities.[xiv]

Given these intersecting trends, the importance of small cities for the labor markets and urban systems of India and Indonesia appears to be growing. The share of non-farm youth workers living and working in non-metropolitan urban areas is poised to grow further due to population growth and rural-urban migration to smaller secondary and tertiary cities, as well as *in situ* urbanization.

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[8] Metropolitan area is not a census term in India, but million-plus cities are separately recognised in the census. For the purposes of this report, we understand non-metropolitan urban as referring to all settlements classified as urban with fewer than 1 million inhabitants.
[9] Indonesia's nine major metropolitan areas are defined in a 2012 report prepared by the World Bank (Ellis, P. (2012). The Rise of Metropolitan Regions: Towards Inclusive and Sustainable Regional Development in Indonesia. Jakarta: World Bank. Retrieved from: http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/08/13/towards-inclusive-and-sustainable-regional-development). They are defined as the urban core and peripheral suburbs that surround the following cities: Balikpapan/Samarinda, Bandung, Denpasar, Jakarta, Makassar, Manado, Medan, Semarang, and Surabaya.

Beyond holding large populations of youth, small towns and cities are important because they tend to have high levels of interaction with rural geographies. The young people who live in villages in India and Indonesia are more likely to interact on a regular basis with a proximate small town than they are with a major metropolis. Nearby small towns function as centers of temporary employment for households seeking to diversify their income sources; they act as market centers for agricultural produce; and they typically provide services like secondary education and health outreach to rural dwellers. [xv],[xvi] Scholars have also shown that small cities can be vital in reducing poverty through migration, as they are more likely to lie within the 'action space' for rural youth – i.e. the range of destinations and livelihoods that are perceived as feasible.[xvii] Hence, they are potentially strategic points of intervention for policies aimed at enhancing the productive capacities of India's and Indonesia's working-age populations, for example, through effective skill development or social protection policies implemented in such places.

Small cities pose particular challenges and opportunities for India and Indonesia in terms of their development goals. The massive **labor market transition** required to harness the demographic dividend will require major policy challenges in small cities. For young people to transition from agricultural work to employment in industry and services, they must acquire not only new technical skills but also new soft skills; this transition is social and cultural as well as economic. Labor market institutions and skill development policies must be sensitive to this reality. Moreover, these policies and institutions must not only smooth the transition from farm to non-farm work; they must also forge employment pathways for young people so that they experience genuine and sustained economic mobility.

With so much migration to (and from) small cities, governance challenges with respect to **mobility** abound. Beyond creating productive employment opportunities, small cities will face other challenges too with respect to migration, which must not be overlooked. Some of these are related to conventional urban planning issues: housing, water and sanitation, and transportation. Other challenges are more linked to the social, cultural and political negotiations that migration entails. How can new migrants to small cities be supported in their efforts to integrate – in the labor market but also socially – and find a sense of belonging?

Particularly for India and Indonesia, countries that struggle in deep, systemic ways with women's marginalization, these policy challenges must be viewed through the lens of **gender**. How will the transitions unfolding in small cities affect men and women differently? To what extent will the structural transformation occurring in non-metropolitan India and Indonesia enable women's economic empowerment? Will women simply confront new, reconstituted forms of patriarchy and marginalization in small cities—and if so, what sorts of institutions will support their efforts to negotiate or push beyond those limitations?

Given their rapid pace of growth and transformation, it is within small cities that many of the greatest policy challenges around **urban governance** will be confronted. In Indonesia, 85 percent of future urban growth is predicted to occur in urban areas whose 2010 populations were less than 750,000 people; defined thus, small and medium cities in Indonesia are projected to add 23.8 million people between 2010 and 2025.[xviii] In India, the importance of non-metropolitan centers to urbanization cannot be underestimated. Between 2001-2011, while the population in million-plus

cities grew by 6.7 percent, census towns – those settlements that became from reclassification – grew by 6.4 percent as well. Critical governance questions will include: What are the right administrative structures for governing spaces that are neither rural nor urban? What are the ecological challenges associated with rapid urbanization in erstwhile rural settlements? How can local revenue be generated for critical investments in people and infrastructure in small urban settlements where nearly the entire economy is informal? How can rural-urban linkages be harnessed to the benefit of both small towns and rural villages? Urban planners, policymakers, the private sector and civil society groups will be forced to grapple with these and many other urban governance questions in the decades to come.

Panel 1: Built up areas in India and Indonesia in 2015
Source: Global Human Settlements Database

2015

No Built-up
Rural Areas
Low Density Urban Clusters
High Density Urban Clusters

2015

No Built-up
Rural Areas
Low Density Urban Clusters
High Density Urban Clusters
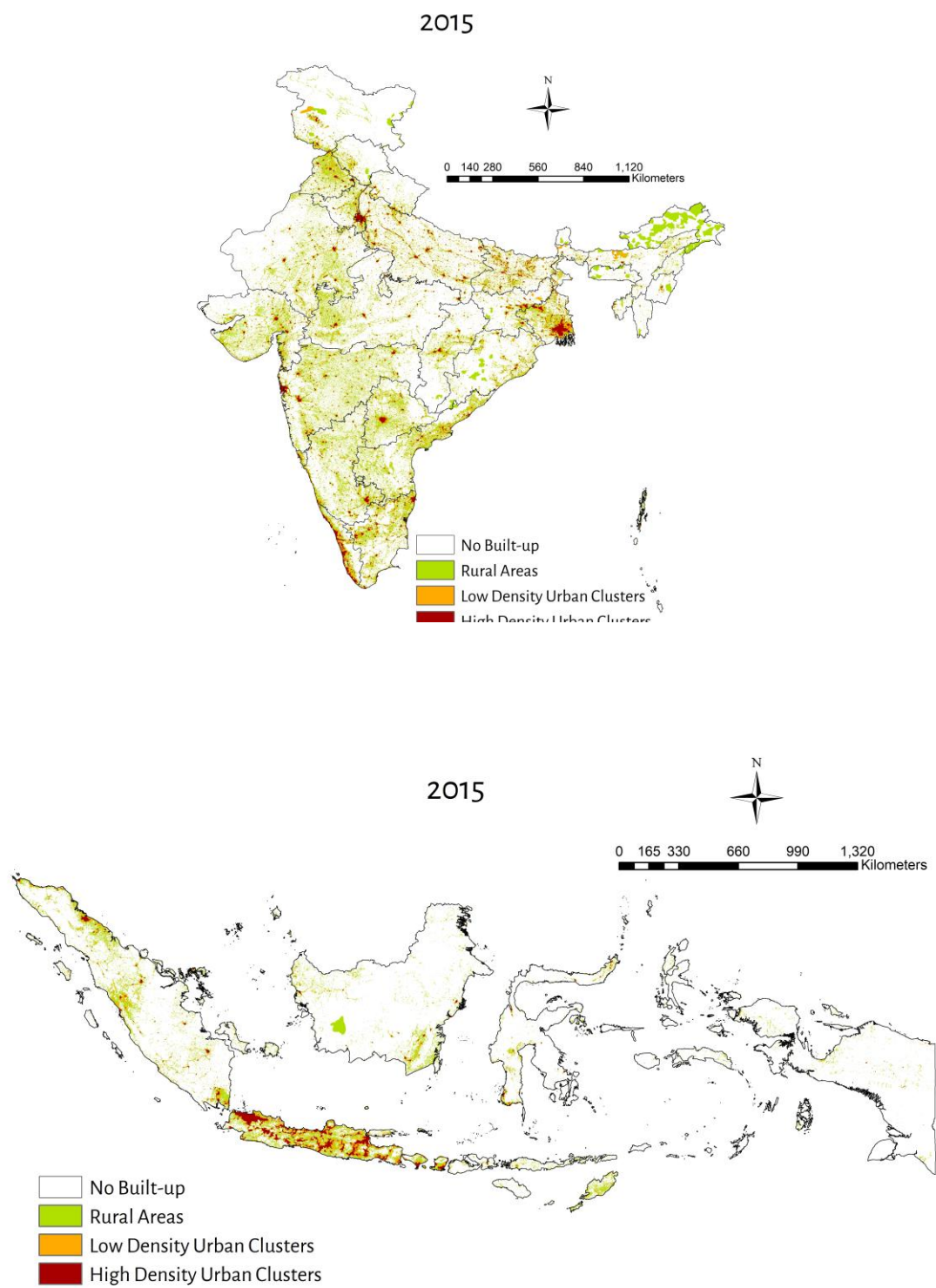
2.3. Research questions

In this context, our research project asked the following questions:

1. What roles do small cities, acting as origins, destinations and transit points, currently play in facilitating internal migration of youth?
    a. What is the nature of vocational training and employment opportunities that small cities offer young people, both men and women? What employment outcomes do migrants witness? Do migrants find entry in low-paying precarious jobs, with limited scope for economic mobility? Or do their outcomes include better wages, increased and more stable employment, skill acquisition at work and improved quality of work?
    b. How do the patterns of migration as well as the employment opportunities and choices of women differ from those of men?

2. How do current policies shape the development of small cities, influencing the way they impact youth employment outcomes?
    a. In what ways does the current management of small cities benefit or hinder youth who move from rural areas to access better jobs and education?
    b. Do these policies impact men and women differently?
    c. How does the policy landscape differ between India and Indonesia, where urban local bodies possess different amounts of authority, and how do these variations impact youth migration?

3. How can governance frameworks and policies be reformed to maximize the potential of small cities in shaping employment outcomes for migrant youth?

3. METHODS

The project used a combination of secondary and primary data to explore the research questions. While our secondary data analysis looked at available government data and literature, we utilized a case study approach to delve deeper into particular places and add texture and granularity to our research questions.

3.1. Secondary analysis using national level datasets

Our secondary data analysis aimed first to understand what kind of geographies are receiving and sending internal migrants, and particularly to examine the role of non-metropolitan urban geographies in the internal migration landscape. This analysis addressed our question of what function small cities are playing in the internal migration

landscape and in the context of generating employment opportunities. We relied primarily on census data in both countries to conduct our secondary analysis (in Indonesia we have access only to a sample of census data), in addition to other data sources. In India, these sources include the NSS (National Sample Survey) and Economic Survey, and in Indonesia we have used the SUPAS (inter-census survey), SAKERNAS (labor force survey), SUSENAS (socio-economic household survey akin to NSS in India), and PODES ("Village Potential" statistics, which track local governance indicators).

The secondary data analysis contains two primary components:
1. A detailed examination of "migration-intensity," aimed at identifying migration junctions, where high levels of in- and out-migration are occurring. This analysis sought to understand what kinds of geographies are receiving and sending internal migrants, and particularly to examine the role of non-metropolitan urban geographies in the internal migration landscape – addressing our question of what function small cities are playing in the internal migration landscape. This analysis has been published as an academic journal article in *Environment and Urbanization Asia* and as a free-access policy report entitled "Migration Junctions: Reimagining Places, Reorienting Policy." (See **Section 4.1** below.)
2. A comparative analysis of non-metropolitan urban geographies (small and medium-sized cities, 'rurban' places) as compared to large cities, rural areas, and national averages. This encompasses a broad range of indicators that relate to the key themes of the project: migration, work, gender, and urban governance. Its primary aim was to contextualize the places where the research project is geographically focused.

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3.2. Case city analysis

In the absence of granular city-level data, we collected both survey data and qualitative primary data in four case cities – two cities in India and two in Indonesia. Our aim in both countries has been to identify case cities that exemplify important patterns and trends related to our key research areas of urbanization, migration and labor while maintaining a certain size range. The case cities were therefore chosen based on a comprehensive review of literature, available data, and informal qualitative interviews with experts.

Table 2: Glance at case cities

Indicator	Kota Kupang	Kab. Semarang	Kishangarh	Mangalore
Population	40228 (2016)	961016, Year 2016	154886, Year 2011	499487, Year 2011
Main Economic Sectors	Services and Trade	Manufacturing	Manufacturing	Services and Trade
Human Development Index	78, Year 2017	73.2, Year 2017	N/A	N/A
GDP per capita	12986, Year 2016	2971, Year 2016	N/A	N/A

3.2.1. Selection of case studies

Indonesia

Based on the insights offered by secondary data, the process of selecting case sites in Indonesia started with Mukta Naik's (PI) travel to Surabaya, Indonesia in July 2016 to attend Prepcom3, a large preparatory meeting in the run-up to the UN Habitat III conference in Quito, Ecuador in October 2016. During Prepcom3, Mukta made connections with several urban planning professionals, policymakers and civil society organizations in Indonesia. Using relationships built by Mukta, as well as JustJobs Network's relationships in Indonesia, Gregory Randolph (PI) and Mukta Naik spent two weeks in Indonesia in September 2016 with the objective of identifying and visiting potential case cities for the research project. The idea was to use trends identified from the analysis of migrant-intensity, supplemented with economic and demographic indicators like GDP, sector-wise growth and employment, population growth, etc, as a starting point in this selection.

On this trip, the PIs spent two days in Jakarta meeting with academics, research organizations, international organizations (such as the Asian Development Bank) and government officials to understand their perspectives on urbanization and labor market trends. Further, interviews with migration experts conducted in Yogyakarta helped identify the two prominent urban and labor market trends that the research ought to capture: (1) The growth of provincial capital cities outside of Java, driven in large part by major investments by the government in developing peripheral regions of the country; and (2) The rapid urbanization and industrialization of "rurban" geographies in Java, especially those proximate to larger urban centers and new infrastructure investments. The former trend had been exposed in our analysis of migrant-intensity, but the latter was less perceptible in these data, partly because it is reflected in migration trends that are more seasonal, circular and commuter in nature – thus less likely to be recorded in census data.

The research team decided that case city selection in Indonesia should seek to capture these two trends. Kupang, the capital of Nusa Tenggara Timor in eastern Indonesia, was the most convincing candidate as an illustration and case site of the first trend. On the same island as Timor-Leste, it is far removed from the population density and industrial development of Java and Sumatra, but it has received large

amounts of state-led investment in recent years, with the central government trying to develop the city as an economic and trading hub of eastern Indonesia. The principal investigators made a recce visit to Kupang – which involved meetings with government officials, academicians and civil society organizations as well as a tour of migrant neighborhoods in the city – during which we were able to conduct a number of informal interviews. We met with a respected local institution, Perkumpulan Pikul, which has already done research on local rural-urban migration in the city. This organization became the local partner for data collection in Kupang.

In seeking to capture the second trend, the principal investigators' qualitative interviews with a range of stakeholders pointed to Central Java, and more specifically the peripheral districts surrounding Semarang, a port city on the northern coast of the island. This geography was confirmed to be the center of an emerging and important trend in Java – the movement of industry and jobs from West to Central Java owing to lower wages and new infrastructure investments. We selected the Semarang Regency – a 'rurban' district south of the city with ribbon industrial development – based on advice from the urban planning department (UNDIP) at Semarang's leading university, Universitas Diponegoro. We also learned that women migrants constituted a large portion of the workforce in the new industrial establishments of this regency, which further served our research aims.

Our recce visit to Semarang Regency involved meetings with UNDIP's urban planning department as well as other academics in the university, government officials and industry representatives. These meetings confirmed that Semarang Regency was witnessing a complex combination of migration, urbanization and industrialization. The meeting also established our relationship with UNDIP, which became our data collection partner in Semarang Regency

Panel 2: Select images from Kupang, Nusa Tenggara Timor, Indonesia

Panel 3: Select images from Kabupaten Semarang, Central Java,, Indonesia

India

In India, owing the availability of detailed data on migration from Census 2001, we shortlisted case cities by using weighted distributions of those districts that exhibited high levels of rural-urban in-migration and urban-urban out-migration. In this analysis, we focused on districts where the urbanization was driven by small cities by eliminating the districts that contained metropolitan areas as well as districts that bordered these; the idea was to identify relatively independent small cities and not suburban locations. We found 38 districts, spread across the country: 11 districts from the Southern Peninsula, 9 districts from the Western part of India, 6 districts from Northern Plains, 4 districts from Northern Hills, 4 districts from the East, 3 districts from Central India and 1 from North East. In order to select the case, we focused on cities within these districts that were in the population range 100,000-500,000. We used a combination of secondary data and qualitive information gained through recce visits to make final selections, opting for cities where migrants featured prominently in the workforce.

Keeping the literature on gender in the Indian context in mind, which shows substantive differences between northern and southern parts of India in terms of the participation of women in public life, the research team chose one case city, each in north and south India. From our shortlist, Kishangarh in Ajmer district of Rajasthan, a city of about 170,000 people (2011), was an obvious choice for a north Indian city. A recce visit to Kishangarh in July 2017 demonstrated to us that, as the world's largest marble market, it employs a large number of workers including commuters and inter-

State migrants. It is a market town for the region and is located on the Dedicated Freight Corridor. Other major infrastructure investments like a new airport were coming into the city at the time of the visit. Finally, we interacted with Manthan Sanstha Kotri, a rural NGO based in Kotri, about an hour away from Kishangarh. They were looking to work in the city because they felt that "the issues of the village are no longer inseparable from those of the city." Manthan's credibility was impeccable, with its strong affiliation with the globally recognised Barefoot College in Tilonia, and we felt confident of having a strong local base to work in Kishangarh.

Table 3: Distribution of migrant-intensive 'way station' districts across States

States	No of districts	Districts
Karnataka	9	Bellary, Davangere, Dharwad, Uttar Kannara, Shimoga, Chikmagalur, Dakshin Kannara, Kolar, Mysore
UP	4	Ghaziabad, Lucknow, Kanpur Nagar, Meerut
Rajasthan	3	Ajmer, Jaipur, Kota
Maharashtra	3	Pune, Thane, Nagpur
MP	3	Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal
Punjab	2	Jalandhar, Ludhiana,
Bihar	2	Munger, Patna
HP	2	Shimla, Solan
Odisha	2	Khorda, Cuttack
Goa	2	North Goa, South Goa
Tamil Nadu	1	Coimbatore
Telangana	1	Rangareddy
J & K	1	Srinagar
Uttarakhand	1	Dehradun
Assam	1	Kamrup
Gujarat	1	Ahmedabad
Total	38	
Source: CPR analysis basis Census 2001 'D' tables		

Table 4: Proportion of migrants in workforce across sectors in shortlisted cities

City	Manufacturing	Construction	Traditional Services	Modern Services
Ajmer UA	7.3%	13.9%	6.7%	6.1%
Beawar UA	16.6%	14.7%	12.1%	10.2%
Bellary (CMC)	13.9%	11.9%	12.9%	14.2%
Bhadravati (CMC)	26.8%	11.5%	16.6%	20.7%
Chikmagalur (CMC)	18.4%	14.8%	14.6%	14.8%
Davanagere (CMC)	18.6%	12.9%	17.6%	18.9%
Hospet (CMC)	11.3%	9.7%	13.6%	11.3%
Khanna (M Cl)	17.5%	22.8%	16.1%	12.5%
Kishangarh (M)	30.9%	37.7%	20.7%	18.9%
Mangalore UA	39.7%	43.6%	29.4%	28.8%
Munger (M)	3.7%	3.7%	3.6%	5.4%
Shimoga (CMC)	20.5%	17.3%	22.6%	23.7%
TOTAL	21.7%	20.9%	16.7%	16.5%

Highlighted rows indicate cities where migrants feature prominently in the workforce.

Source: CPR analysis basis Census 2001, 'B' series tables

Panel 4: Select images from Kishangarh, Rajasthan
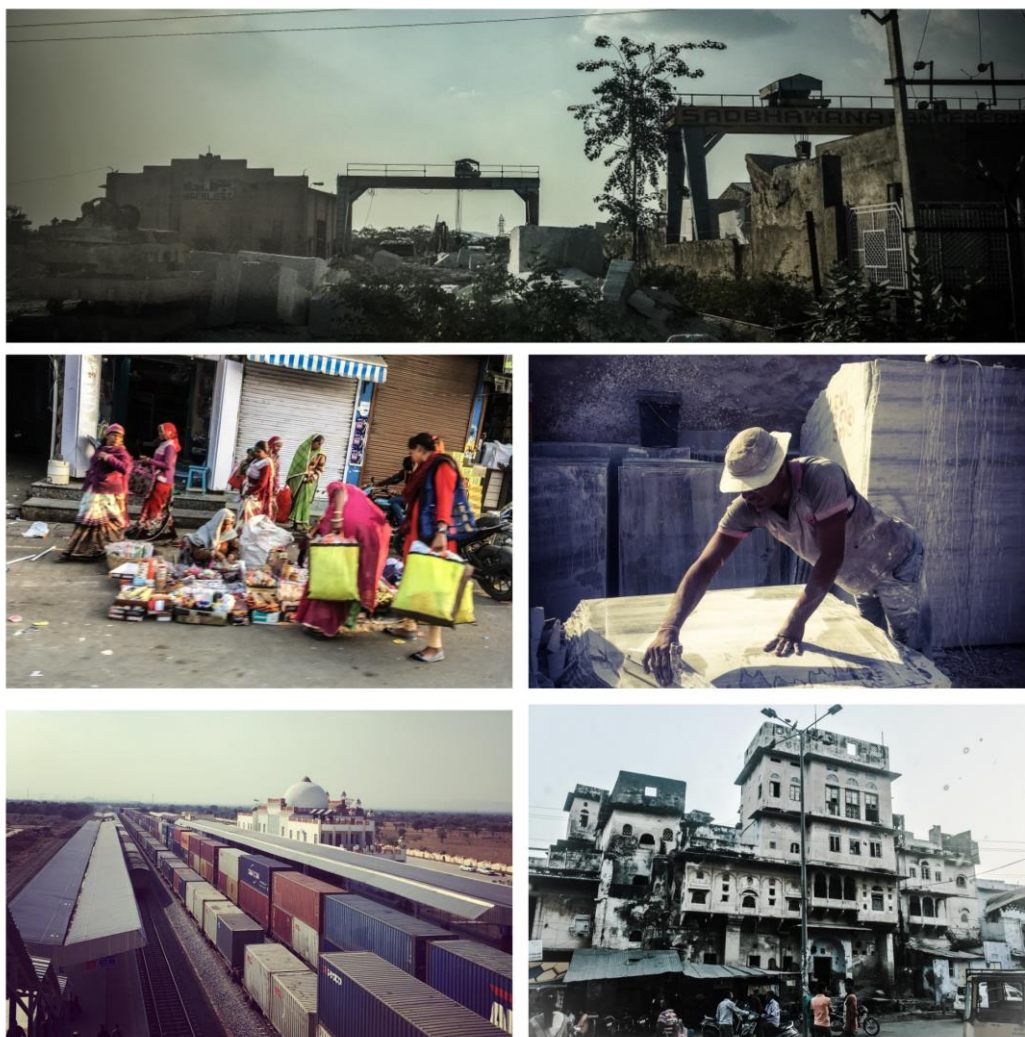
Of the three shortlisted cities in Karnataka, the team eliminated Bhadravati and Shimoga because, like Kishangarh, they had a specific dominant industry of steel and metal. In contrast, Mangalore is an old port city of about 500,000 people with a much wider economic base, comprising traditional industries related to fisheries and cashew processing. The Mangalore Refineries and Petrochemicals Ltd, is a special economic zone with petroleum processing but also a wide range of services including IT, healthcare and a vibrant private education sector. A recce visit to Mangalore in August 2017 further revealed that the region around Mangalore is highly developed, with both rural and urban geographies exhibiting robust human development indicators, and is home to several business communities from Hindu, Muslim and Christian backgrounds. Mangalore sees considerable commuting from northern Kerala and smaller towns around it, like Kateel and Moodbidri besides in-migration from northern Karnataka and other States like UP, Bihar, West Bengal, Odisha, Assam, etc. and out-migration to Bangalore, Mumbai and Gulf countries is common.

In Mangalore, we decided to partner with the Citizens' Forum for Mangalore Development, a group of committed citizen volunteers who have been engaged in multiple activities related to the city's environmental and social improvement.

Panel 5: Select images from Mangalore, Karnataka

3.2.2. Quantitative Survey

Our survey focused on working youth between the ages of 15 and 29. It captured social and economic information of respondents, details about their migration history, work and educational/vocational experiences—past, present and future—as well as their relationship with the city. In order to focus on the current experience and future aspirations of young and mobile workers, we did not conduct a household survey, though some questions about household members were included. Each survey lasted approximately 45 minutes.

In both countries, the sample was stratified according to type of settlement/neighborhood (defined by a variety of variable as per availability of data with a general idea of gauging economic activity, population density, and urban character), gender, age, and migration status.[10]

We sampled 500 respondents in Semarang Regency, Kupang and Mangalore and 400 in Kishangarh, given that the population is considerably smaller in the latter.[11] We stratified our sample based on migration status, age and gender. We sought a sample of half migrants and half non-migrants. Because we were interested in working youth migrants,

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[10] We sought a sample of half migrants and half non-migrants. Because we are interested in working youth migrants, we defined a migrant as someone who arrived in the case city when they were 15 years or older.

[11] Note that the overall population of Semarang Regency is close to 1 million, while the urban population is only about 400,000 – within the range for our case cities.

we defined a migrant as someone who arrived in the case city when they were 15 years or older. We stratified across three age groups – 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 – seeking to ensure the proportion of these groups roughly mirrored their representation in the local labor force. We also ensured that men and women were well represented in the survey, given that we are interested in gendered patterns in mobility and employment. In the Indonesian cities, this only required a sample that corresponded with men's and women's share in the labor force, whereas in India it required oversampling for women, given their underrepresentation in the workforce. Additionally, acting on the recce visits that showed commuting as a significant mobility pattern, we sampled purposively for commuters.

In both sites, since respondents (except commuters) would be interviewed at home, we further drilled down to settlements within the city. In Indonesia, locations for sourcing respondents were chosen after developing a typology of *kecematan*s - or sub-districts - based on characteristics like density, youth population, and economic activity. To achieve a balanced samples across different types of locales within the cities, *kecematan*s were selected from across the typology, and within them, we used random selection to choose *Rumah Warga* - or neighborhood councils - from which to source respondents.

In India, we used ward level data on a variety of variables including population density, female workforce participation, literacy, asset ownership (2-wheelers), service provisioning (in-house drinking water, in-house latrines, bank facilities, and quality of housing, to build a composite score (Z-score) for each ward that signified its economic status and service levels. Against this we pitted its social vulnerability, as indicated by the percentage population of vulnerable groups (schedules castes and scheduled tribes). Thus, we divided Kishangarh's wards into four types as per low and high Z-scores and low and high levels of vulnerable populations. The survey team was asked to pick samples evenly from all four types. This was done mainly to ensure that we conduct the survey in dissimilar areas of the cities in order to get as diverse a sample a possible.

For information regarding the team of enumerators and ethical considerations, see **sections 5.3 and 5.1.3**, respectively.

3.3.   Qualitative fieldwork

Building on secondary sources like settlement-level census information, local planning documents and municipal records, we conducted 47 focus group discussions with young working migrants and non-migrants and 95 semi-structured interviews with key local stakeholders like local and provincial government, employers, educational institutes, skilling centers and NGOs. Qualitative methods allowed us to understand dimensions of our research that are not well captured by quantitative surveys – such as perceptions, aspirations, decision-making, and non-material concerns of young people – and enabled a deeper investigation of the ways in which gender informs experiences of migration, work and urban life.

While in Indonesia, the qualitative enquiry followed the survey, allowing the team to build on broad trends gleaned from the quantitative analysis, in India the qualitative and

quantitative aspects of the project have happened simultaneously, feeding into each other concurrently rather than chronologically.

Broadly, the key informant interviewsfocused on the following themes:
1. Perceptions of migration/migrants
2. Skill development / employability of workforce, especially youth, migrants, women
3. Economic conditions / business climate
4. Economic potential / assets in community
5. Economic mobility and employment pathways for youth
6. Relationships between state and non-state actors around issues of economic development
7. Industrial relations
8. Policy for employment and management of migrants
9. Vision for the ciy's economic development
10. Governance conditions and operational realities

The KIIs targeted the following stakeholder groups:
• Government officials (various departments/agencies)
• Business development services
• Civil society organizations
• Trade unions
• Training institutes
• Private sector representatives

Focus group discussions (FGDs), all conducted with working youth, addressed the following themes:
1. Factors driving the decision to migrate (economic and non-economic push and pull factors)
2. Perceptions on migration – opportunities, challenges, etc.
3. Experiences of the city (lifestyle/non-economic opportunities, economic opportunities, services/relationship with the state, relationships (co-workers, friends, boarding house owner, etc.))
4. Experience of the workplace (working conditions (physical/safety), working conditions (emotional/social), wage/benefits, skill development, mobility, commute, relationships with co-workers and boss)
5. Perceptions of different economic opportunities/work (types of work available, value placed on different types of work, perception of what's required to access different types of work)
6. Finding work, use of networks, discrimination and struggle
7. Perceptions and experiences with skill development (access, value, types)
8. Perspectives on the future (migration, work, skills and education, family/relationships, and challenges faced)
9. Perceptions of gender gap (gender roles in households, occupational segregation, wage/provisions inequality/work quality and diversity)
10. Expectations from employers, government departments

The FGDs includes 4-6 respondents each and were organized with the following demographic/occupational groups, which varied by city:

- Employed young female migrants (15-19 years old)
- Employed young male migrants (15-19 years old)
- Employed older female migrants (20-30 years old)
- Employed older male migrants (20-30 years old)
- Employed female non-migrants
- Employed male non-migrants
- Self-employed female entrepreneurs
- Self-employed male entrepreneurs
- Youth from specific sectors/occupations
- Youth from specific identity groups, by gender

3.4.   Comparative research: India and Indonesia

International comparisons are challenging and few have been attempted across these two specific countries. However, scholars like Jan Breman (sociologist studying labor) and Heiko Schrader (sociologist studying financial landscapes) have done so; others, like Kripa Ananthpur, have done multi-country comparisons (on governance and civil society) that include India and Indonesia. Recently, political scientists like Ward Berenschot have begun to look at processes of citizenship and governance in the two countries[xix].

The paucity of India-Indonesia comparisons is despite the many important parallels between the two countries: Both are plural, complex and diverse in terms of culture, language and economy. Both are physically vast, which presents challenges in terms of delivering opportunities and services to underserved regions. Both are proudly democratic but face endemic challenges related to corruption and elite capture. And both countries are at a stage of economic development that is, on the one hand, defined by a positive narrative associated with rising, emerging economies, and, on the other hand, filled with a great sense of urgency in terms of realizing a demographic dividend before it is too late (see Table 1 for comparative statistics).

This project endeavored to create a body of knowledge that enables India-Indonesia comparisons on urban governance systems, labor and employment, and migration using secondary data as well as primary case studies. In particular, our approach sought to develop India-Indonesia comparisons along the following axes:

- **The experience of young women who migrate to small cities.** Given the imminent demographic dividend and the low rates of women's workforce participation in both nations, there is a lot of potential for cross-country learning in this regard.

- **The political economy of decentralization.** While India and Indonesia have both taken major steps toward decentralization, they have done so in different ways and to different degrees. This variation in governance establishes ripe ground for important comparisons with policy implications.

- **The economic and employment drivers in secondary and tertiary cities.** India and Indonesia have large, diverse economies. It is relevant to examine how their secondary and tertiary cities compare in terms of economic composition and main sectors of employment.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1   Secondary data analysis

Analysis of census migration data from India[12] at the district level and from Indonesia at the kota/kabupaten level[13] offered important insights into the kinds of places that are experiencing high levels of in- and out-migration. In our project plan, this analysis was conceived as preliminary analysis to help select case sites. However, we found that (a) the considerable gaps in existing literature, especially in Indonesia, could be addressed by publishing some of our findings from this exercise, and (b) the range of experiences of urbanization in secondary and tertiary cities could not be captured in an analysis of migration data alone. Due to (a), we published the results of our migration data analysis in a journal article. And due to (b), we delinked our case city selection from this analysis of census data, broadening that selection process to include other inputs, such as those from literature, other data sources, and interviews with experts. The broad process for selecting case cities has already been discussed in section 3.2.1.

4.1.1. Migration junctions in India and Indonesia

Leveraging the gap in existing literature – which generally looks at migrant origins and destinations as two distinct places – we pushed conceptual boundaries by developing the idea of migration junctions, measured through an empirical tool we call 'migrant-intensity'. Migration junctions are places that experience high levels of in- as well as out-migration, measured in terms of the concentration of migrants rather than absolute volumes. At a district (India) or kabupaten/kota (Indonesia) level, we examined in-migrants as a share of the total population and the ratio of out-migrants to total population. We apply the term "migration junction" to those locations that rank high on both metrics – in other words, places that are functioning as both origins and destinations of migrants. Part of our aim was to see whether small cities feature prominently on this list of migration junctions. As a broader consequence, we also developed an empirical tool – migrant-intensity – that can be used by our team and by other researchers in many different contexts.

Our findings were recorded in a scholarly article (March 2017) titled "**An Analysis of 'Migrant-intensity' in India and Indonesia: Seeing Internal Migration Patterns through a Place-based Lens**" published in the peer-reviewed journal *Environment and Urbanization Asia*. Separately, we disseminated this work through a more accessible free-access report written for a general audience and connected more directly to policy implications: **"Migration Junctions: Reimagining Places, Reorienting Policy"** (March

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[12] Detailed migration tables from the Census of India are not yet available for 2011, hence data from 2001 has been used.
[13] Districts in India and Kota (city)/kabupaten (regency) in Indonesia are the units of governance and administration below the provincial level.

2018). This report was also presented at a round table at the IDRC office in Delhi in July 2018.

We find that migrant-intensity is highest in a diverse set of non-metropolitan spaces, including secondary and tertiary cities and 'rurban' geographies. In Indonesia, we find that small cities, especially those with populations between 100,00 and 500,000, are often migration junctions. Junctions are largely located outside of the island of Java, where over 60 percent Indonesians live, providing a rather different picture than earlier studies that had examined migration only in terms of absolute volume and suffered from a significant "Java bias." Further, provincial capitals of outlying provinces and centers of extractive industry also feature as migration junctions.

In India, we find that a large number of migration junction districts are not highly urbanized, highlighting India's diverse migration patterns in which rural-rural migration remains an important feature. Districts located in outlying areas and small provinces as well as those corresponding to intermediate and small-sized cities feature prominently on the list of migration junctions. Therefore, the two countries compare well in terms of the types of places that are revealed to be migration junctions, reinforcing the logic for comparing them in the broader context of the project. See Annexure 2 for maps and list of migration-intense districts.

In the article, we argue that migrant-intensity as an empirical tool can advance scholarship on migration patterns by identifying the places at the crossroads of migrant pathways. In the policy report, we emphasize that this sort of analysis can help planners and policymakers to address unique challenges, opportunities and constraints of highly transient places that function as both origins and destinations for internal migrants. We identify the unique challenges that migration junctions are likely to experience, particularly around policy issues like housing, workforce development and the scale of urban governance, and make policy suggestions. For instance, governance systems need to work out ways for administrative entities at source and destination locations to work with each other – for instance, in order to execute savings and loan programs for rural migrants whose engagement with urban areas might be short-term. These are also important locations for resource-stretched governments to locate skills training interventions and for developing rental housing strategies. With pressures on land relatively lower than metropolitan centers, for example, small cities that are migrant-intensive could focus on extending basic services to self-constructed areas like *kampungs* and urban villages where rental options for a mobile workforce are likely to be created.

4.1.2. Comparing subnational urban and rural geographies on migration, work and urban governance

Beyond the specific analysis of migration-intensity, the aim of our secondary data analysis was to identify broad trends in non-metropolitan urban geographies across the three major themes of the project: work, migration and urban governance. While much of the research design of this project is aimed at developing comparative case studies of small cities, here our particular purpose was placing small cities in a broader context – i.e. comparing them

with large cities and rural areas. In both countries, we developed a typology of subnational geographies to facilitate these comparisons.

In Indonesia, the typology included five kinds of places: metropolitan city cores, peri-urban areas (those on the peripheries of metropolitan cities), 'rurban' areas (those comprised of a mixture of urban and rural activity, not within a metropolitan region), small and medium-sized cities, and rural areas. We classified all of the over 500 cities (*kota*) and regencies (*kabupaten*) within Indonesia into one of these five categories. Several interesting and important findings emerged. All of these relate to the 2010-2015 time period (for migration data) or else reflect 2015 data.

We find that small and medium-sized cities that are not part of Indonesia's major metropolitan areas have the highest rates of youth net in-migration of any geography in the country. It appears that educational opportunities are one of the key driving factors behind this migration. Approximately 50 percent of youth in-migrants to small and medium-sized cities come for educational opportunities. Four in 10 of these migrants come from rural areas and another 22 percent are from "rurban" geographies. Of all the geographies in the typology, small and medium-sized cities also witness the most skilled female youth in-migration in total share of migrants. About 23 percent of the young women who migrate to small and medium-sized cities have technical education. Technical education levels in the overall youth population are slightly higher in large cities than small cities – 29 versus 26 percent.

There are two distinct processes of rural-to-urban transformation happening in Indonesia: one process of 'peri-urbanization' happening on the edges of large metropolitan areas, and another process where places are becoming urban *in situ* despite being beyond the shadow of major metropolitan cities. Labor market outcomes are very different in these two places, even though they are at similar stages of urbanization. While peri-urban areas, which include suburbs of large cities, look similar to their large city cores in terms of employment structure, labor force participation and unemployment levels, and NEET rates (youth "not in employment, education or training"), urbanizing areas away from the metros perform much more poorly on these metrics. "Rurban" areas – those with a mix of rural and urban settlements that lie outside the periphery of major cities – have the lowest rates of female workforce participation, the highest rates of female unemployment, and the highest female NEET rates. This suggests that these places are witnessing a structural transformation process that is not particularly empowering for women. These trends stand in contrast to the outcomes among women in small and medium-sized cities and peri-urban areas.

For India, using data from Census 2001 and 2011, we divided districts in India into four types. For those districts whose urbanization rates are higher than the national average, we create two typologies: those whose urbanization is driven not by small towns but by larger urban areas, and those whose urbanization is driven by small cities under 100,000 in size. Similarly, for rural districts, we categorized by districts where the urban population was in a large city (with very few observations in this category) and districts where urban population is in small cities. A few trends pertaining to urbanized districts are important to point out.

Fig. 1. Share of total workforce by industry in urbanized districts driven by small cities (HH) and large cities (HL) in 2001 and 2011
Source: Project team based on Census data
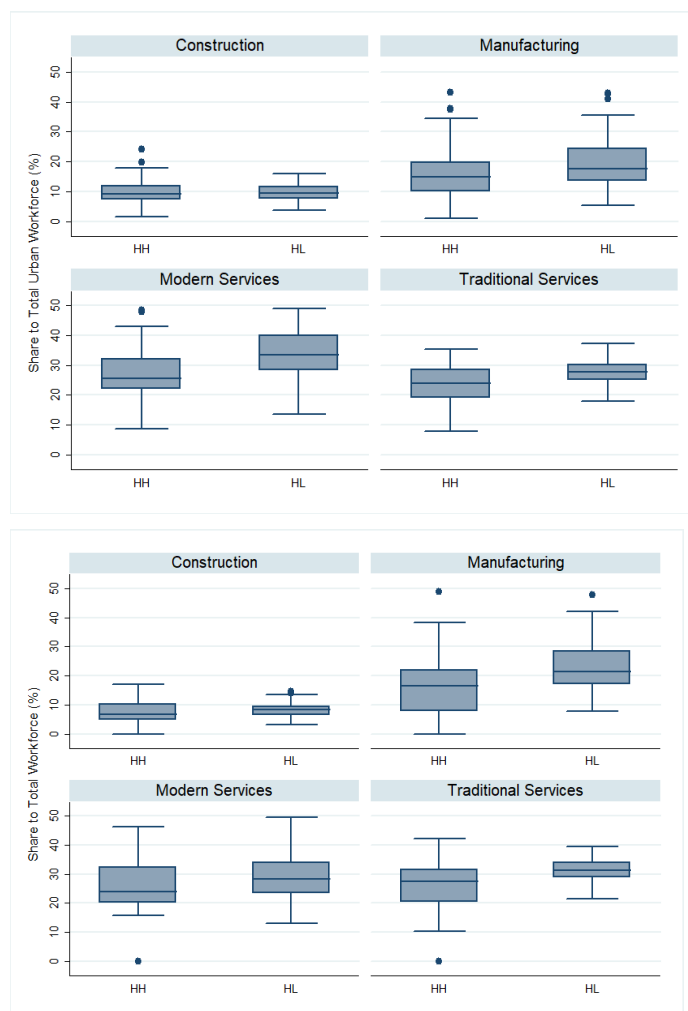
Analyzing the workforce data, we find that whether urbanized districts are dominated by small or large cities, they have a similar distribution of workforce in construction and traditional services, which involves retail trade, transport, electricity, gas and water supply, small and large city districts are performing similar. However, while construction workers are a dominant share of the total workforce in large city dominated urbanized districts, migrants in construction workers are not a prominent feature of the migrant landscape of urbanized districts; this demonstrates that migrants work in a diverse range of jobs across urbanized India. In case of manufacturing workforce, in 2001, urbanized districts driven by large cities had a greater share of workers compared to small city districts; however, this gap is closing and 2011 data shows that the share of migrants in manufacturing is growing faster in small city districts. This appears to be in line with studies that note the manufacturing in India is located in peri-urban spaces and is moving into rural areas.[14] Small city districts have a lower share of the workforce engaged in modern services as compared to large city districts, but this has grown in the 2001-2011 period in both types of urbanized districts.

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[14] See Ghani etal. (2012) 'Is India's Manufacturing Sector Moving Away From Cities?', NBER Working Paper No. 17992

In terms of services, in 2001, the large city districts fare much better than the small-city districts on public goods like household water connections and closed drainage, as well as in the ownership of two-wheelers, which indicates private asset ownership. Nevertheless, overall service provision seems to have improved by 2011. Notably, in-house toilets bucks the trend with small city districts faring almost as well as large city districts owing to the widespread use of septic tanks in the absence of piped sewerage. Where urbanization is driven by small towns, therefore, private consumption is rising rapidly but public investment is not keeping pace. This is corroborated by city-level data as well.

Findings from this exercise in secondary data analysis served to ground our case city research ain a broader context of national and sub-national trends, and these have been conceptually intergated in our final thematic report.

Fig. 2. Consumption spending in small towns (under 100,000) as a share of consumption spending in million-plus cities
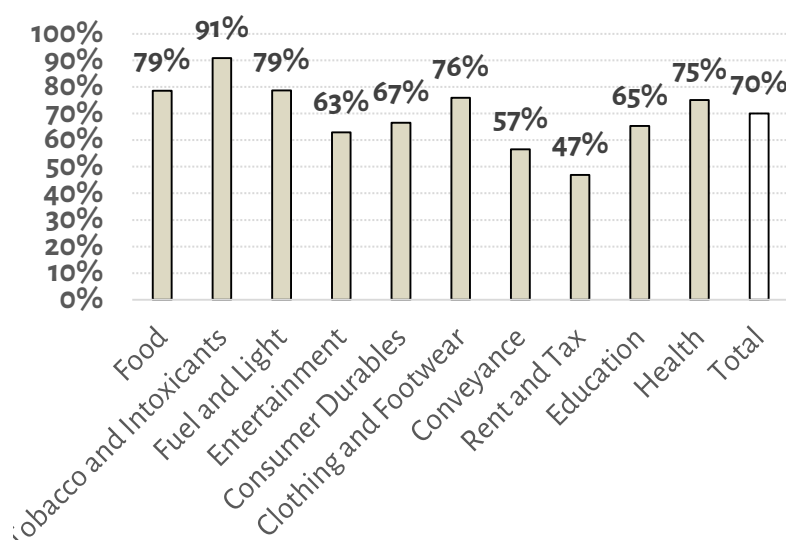
Source: CPR presentation at WUF9 on Small Towns, Big Gains, basis Census/NSSO data

4.1.3. Limitations posed by data and the importance of field-based enquiry

The results from our study of migrant-intensity validated our understanding that small cities are indeed playing a significant role as origins, destinations and transit points. Having said this, our investigations – through interviews of experts and scholars in both countries as well as on-ground visits in Indonesia during the reporting period – revealed the limitations of secondary data work.

Limitations of existing datasets provide the first obstacle. In Indonesia, unit-level data is very expensive, not to mention laborious to obtain. In early stages of the project, we worked with a freely available sample of 2010 Census data, until deciding that a fuller secondary analysis would require us to reallocate some project resources in order to purchase data. Even then, the high cost enabled us to purchase only a single year of data across indicators of interest; this enables an interesting cross-sectional analysis of different kinds of geographies, but not

a trends analysis. In India, detailed migration tables for the 2011 Census have not yet been released, compelling us to work with 2001 data. Second, census data does not take into account short-term and seasonal migrants as well as commuters. Further, there are complexities around what constitutes a city in both India and Indonesia. While we felt it important to consider, for example, urban areas of *kabupaten*s in Indonesia, these are functionally and administratively different units of analysis than *kota*s, which are almost entirely urban and much smaller geographically.

4.2. Insights from Primary Data

Building off our case cities, this section presents thematic findings for small cities based on the primary data collected from the case cities and is organized as per the key research questions of our research project – migration, employment, gender and governance.

4.2.1. Migration and mobility

At the cusp of multiple mobility pathways

Migration patterns in India and Indonesia are complex and diverse, resisting the simple conflation of structural transformation with rural-urban migration. Multiple mobilities and pathways exist simultaneously. Migration is not limited to one-time movements, but includes a range of mobilities like commuting, short-term and seasonal migration. In this context, several scholars in migration studies have argued against the older understanding of migration in dichotomous terms like internal and international, long-term and short-term, permanent and temporary, legal and illegal, origin and destination.[xx,xxi, xxii]

Within this landscape of movement, we find small cities in particular lie at the cusp of multiple mobilities, acting as migration junctions in several different ways. A rural young person might migrate to a small city, acquire skills and further migrate to another location for employment, in the manner of 'step-migration'.[xxiii] Or she might move to the small city for work and then return to her place of origin eventually. A small city might see young people leave for better opportunities elsewhere, perhaps in a metropolitan area, while another group of migrants come in to replace the labor deficit thus created.

We observe this variation in our case cities. In Semarang Regency and in Kishangarh, we largely observe that migrants plan to return to their communities of origin in the future, viewing the city primarily as a place to enhance their incomes as opposed to a place of broader social and cultural possibilities. Kupang is viewed by migrants more as a destination – with young migrants, especially men, describing it as "the city that has everything." In Mangalore, we observe considerable out-migration among locals, while the city is an attractive destination for migrants from nearby rural and 'rurban' areas as well as far-away states like Uttar Pradesh and Odisha. While many low-skilled workers from rural backgrounds plan to return to agriculture in the future, Mangalore offers multiple employment prospects that enterprising young people can tap into. As young people negotiate the labor market in particular ways, their migration decisions are influenced as much by household level decisions—it is not uncommon for young men and women

to be 'sent' to the city to diversify the income of rural households—as by individual aspirations to economic opportunity.

Who comes to the small city? Local, regional and national migration pathways

In terms of the scale of the area from which they attract youth migrants, our case cities show considerable variation. While the Indonesian case cities draw workers primarily from within the same province – and especially from neighboring cities and regencies – we find that the Indian case cities host internal migrants from distant locations.

For instance, Kupang's prominence as a provincial capital of a predominantly rural and impoverished province makes it a long-term destination for many rural migrants. While many youth come for education, the majority are attracted by the availability of wage work at a distance that is financially feasible. In our survey, we find that 93.9 percent of migrants to Kupang come from within the province of East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). Within this, the larger share of migrants are from areas in Timor Island, on which Kupang is located and from which road access is possible, rather than from other islands in the archipelago that are not well connected. A much smaller migration pattern in Kupang involves high-skilled Javanese migrants who work on short-term contracts for infrastructure companies or national retail and hospitality brands establishing locations in Kupang.

Kishangarh plays a similar role for youth moving off unproductive farms in rural parts of Rajasthan – which like East Nusa Tenggara suffers from a dry climate that makes for difficult conditions for farmers. While many migrate from within Ajmer district and from adjacent districts, high-quality road and rail infrastructure also encourages commuting rather than long-term migration into the low-paid industrial work available in marble, transport and related sectors. The proximity and good connectivity of Kishangarh with Ajmer and Jaipur, larger cities nearby, make it possible for elite youth to move out of the city in pursuit of higher education and high-skilled jobs.

As in Kupang, in Kishangarh the development gap between source and destination areas drives migration. The zone from which the city draws migrants, however, is much larger. In contrast to Kupang, nearly about 60 percent migrants in our Kishangarh sample are inter-state migrants from a group of underdeveloped districts in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and other north Indian states.[15] This migration is also part of a larger trend of caste-based occupational networks: most of those migrating from beyond Rajasthan come from caste groups that engage in semi-skilled industrial work and whose networks stretch across the country, enabling circular migration patterns.[xxiv]

Semarang Regency also draws commuters, especially given its location along an important highway connection and on the periphery of the province's largest city, Semarang. This interconnectedness and its consequent *desakota* settlement pattern also shapes the nature of migration to and from the regency. Migrants commute in daily from a mixture of rural, urban and 'rurban' locations. In fact, 80.4 percent of commuters in our survey are from Semarang city, and

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[15] Our sample has a higher proportion of inter-state migrants compared to Census data, cited in the case city introductions. This is likely because the Census does not count short-term migrants who spend less than six months of the year at destination. Also, Census data available is for 2001 and inter-state migration might have increased since then.

secondary data suggest that a large number commute in the reverse direction as well. Among migrants, over 40 percent are from urbanizing regencies[16] and 28.1 percent from rural regencies within the province. It is not a major gap in development between source and destination—the 'push' factor—that drives migrants to Semarang Regency. We find that origins and destination do not differ significantly on key metrics of social and economic development, as measured by the Human Development Index (HDI). Rather, it is the abundance of labor-intensive manufacturing firms – offering formal economy jobs that generally pay the mandated minimum wage – that attracts young workers here.

Mangalore, located in a region with historically networked small towns and productive agriculture, similarly attracts commuters and migrants from villages and smaller towns in the region – comprising about 14 percent of our sample. However our survey results indicate that its diverse economy, comprising industry, trade and services, attracts migrants from more diverse locations than in the case of Kishangarh. About half of the migrants in our sample come from districts in north and east India; these include not just Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, but also Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Assam and Odisha. Skilled workers, often educated in Mangalore's robust higher education sector, do not find sufficiently exciting opportunities and migrate out to larger cities in India and abroad.

Small city mobility pathways reflect broader economic geographies

The differences we observe between India and Indonesia are partly born of national differences in the geography of development. In India, the largest labor pool resides in north and eastern India, where economic development levels are low; as a result, large volumes of workers in these states search for economic opportunity elsewhere. Tumbe refers to out-migration from poor regions of north and east India as the Great Indian Migration Wave,[xxv] which comprises largely circulatory male migration from rural origins to destinations that have changed over time. Whereas British colonies across the world might have been destinations for indentured labor from these north Indian districts during colonial times, the present-day destinations include — but are not limited to — the Gulf countries for international emigrants and more prosperous states in western and southern India for internal migrants. Therefore, Kishangarh draws commuters from surrounding districts as well as migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, where the vast majority of India's top "sending districts" are.[xxvi] Mangalore, located in relatively prosperous southern India draws poor migrants from the region, but it is not unique among south and west Indian cities in drawing a large number of workers from north and eastern India, too.

On the contrary, in Indonesia, the relationship between population density and economic development is reversed: about six in 10 Indonesians live in Java, where industrialization has also been concentrated since colonial times. The least developed parts of Indonesia also tend to be the most sparsely populated, which has in the past prompted the Indonesian government to resettle people to these areas through 'trans-migration' programs. Migrants from poor provinces like East Nusa Tenggara have historically built pathways to Jakarta and Malaysia, but not in large enough volumes to be visible in newly developing secondary and tertiary cities of Java – in contrast to the
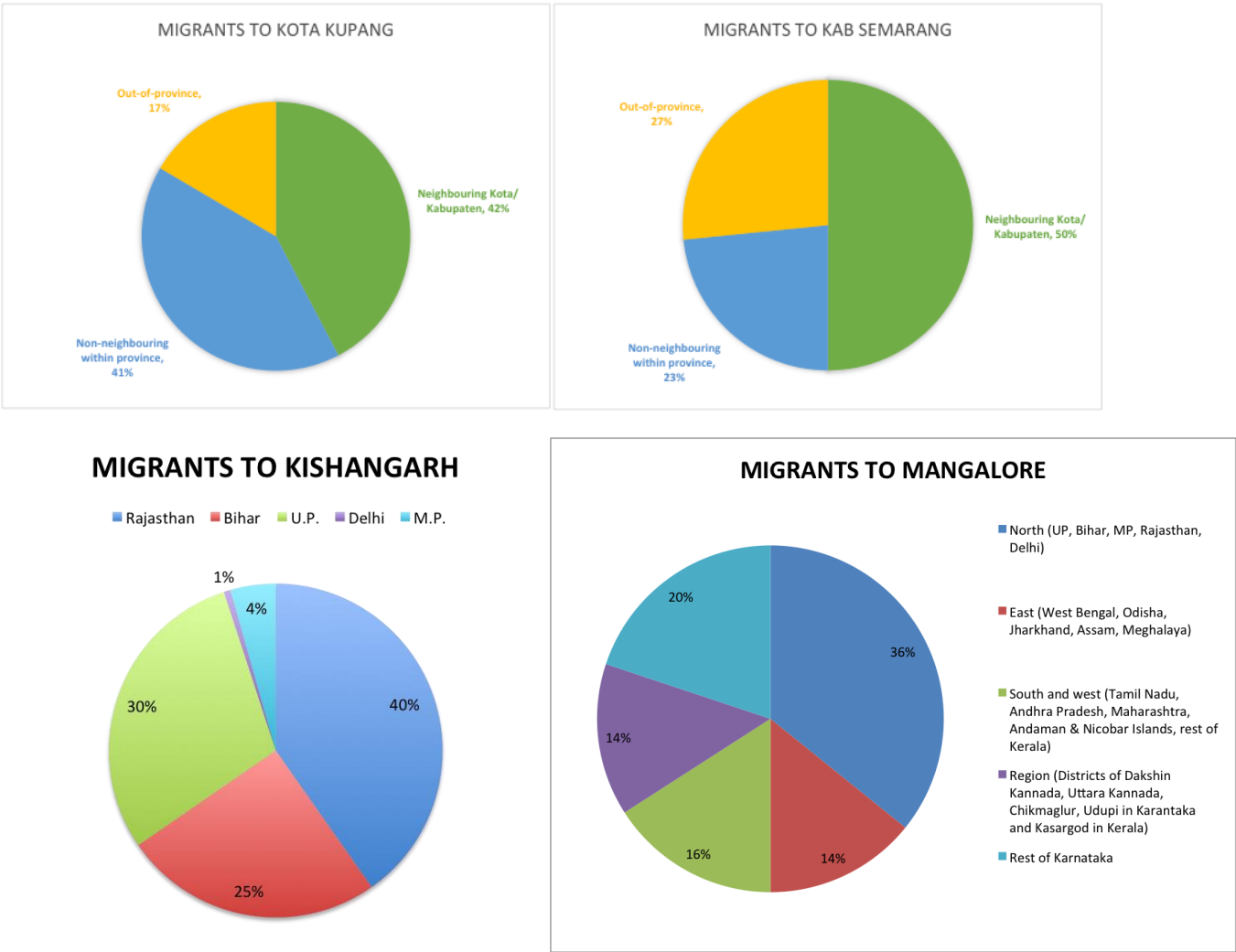
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[16] We classify an 'urbanizing regency' as a *kabupaten* which is at least 27 percent urban – half as urban as Indonesia as a whole.

high-volume out-migration from densely populated north Indian states. Especially in the context of decentralization in post-Suharto Indonesia and current efforts by the central government to "develop Indonesia from its peripheries," cities like Kupang have received increased investment, offering a nearby migration destination for the rural youth of poorer outlying provinces. This means that smaller urban geographies in Java, such as Semarang Regency, host a primarily Javanese migrant population.

Migration patterns in small cities are also shaped by other factors, which we elaborate further below. The economy of a small city influences the types of jobs it offers, sectorally and in terms of the quality of work, thereby shaping the types of migrants who come. A city's place within the regional and national economy has a bearing on the mobility pathways that intersect there – with transportation infrastructure playing a major role. Finally, the ability of young people to leverage economic opportunities is mediated by the city's governance capacities and the extent to which migrants can feel safe, and access housing and services.

Fig 3: Source areas for migrants for 4 case cities

MIGRANTS TO KOTA KUPANG
- Out-of-province, 17%
- Neighbouring Kota/Kabupaten, 42%
- Non-neighbouring within province, 41%

MIGRANTS TO KAB SEMARANG
- Out-of-province, 27%
- Neighbouring Kota/Kabupaten, 50%
- Non-neighbouring within province, 23%

MIGRANTS TO KISHANGARH
Rajasthan ■ Bihar ■ U.P. ■ Delhi ■ M.P.
- Rajasthan 40%
- Bihar 25%
- U.P. 30%
- Delhi 1%
- M.P. 4%

MIGRANTS TO MANGALORE
- North (UP, Bihar, MP, Rajasthan, Delhi) 36%
- East (West Bengal, Odisha, Jharkhand, Assam, Meghalaya) 14%
- South and west (Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, rest of Kerala) 16%
- Region (Districts of Dakshin Kannada, Uttara Kannada, Chikmaglur, Udupi in Karantaka and Kasargod in Kerala) 14%
- Rest of Karnataka 20%

Fig 4 Built up density in Kupnag
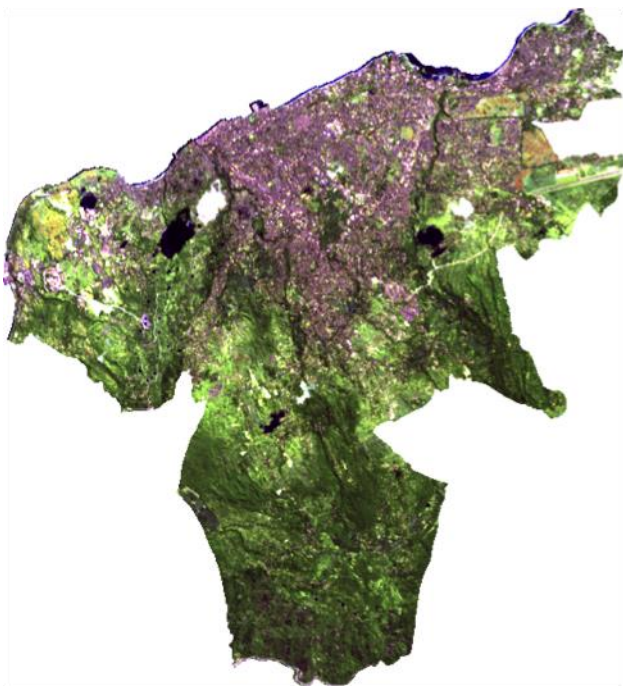
Fig 5 Growth of Industry in Semarang Regency (1997, 2007, 2017)
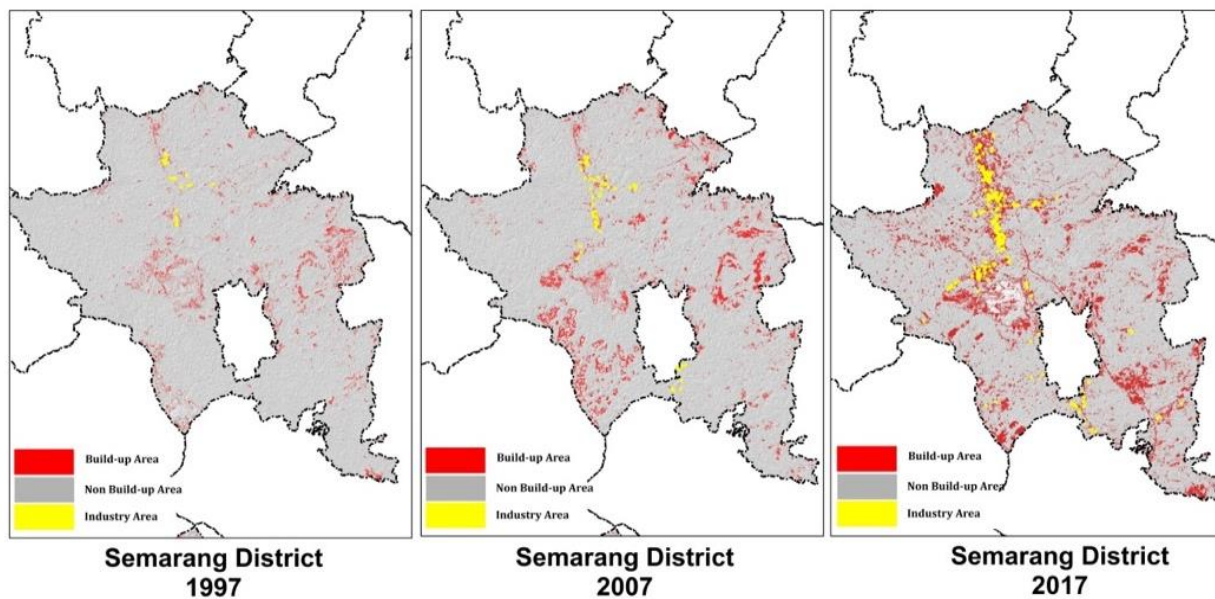
4.2.2. Labor markets in small city economies

Specialized economies, diverse labor markets

Our case cities demonstrate the wide variety of employment opportunities available in small cities – even while their economies rely substantially on particular sectors, such as apparel

manufacturing in Semarang Regency or marble processing in Kishangarh. In the former, while a high share of employed youth work in some form of industry (69.2 percent in our sample), the local economy also produces diverse kinds of informal work in retail, hospitality, and tourism. Many young people who take up a factory job eventually age out of industrial work, leaving to start their own businesses or take on additional care work at home. In Kishangarh, despite the dominance of the marble industry, only 27.2 percent of the youth workers in our sample are employed in a marble-related job. Again, jobs in retail and hospitality form the bulk on non-industrial and non-agricultural employment.

In both of these case cities, however, the employment options not directly tied to the leading sector—apparel manufacturing in Semarang Regency and marble processing in Kishangarh—tend to be indirectly connected. For example, in Semarang Regency, the high volume of factory workers has created demand for many other goods and services. Clusters of informal economic activity emerge around large factories—with small enterprises offering housing (*kosts*), laundry services, fast food (*warung*), secure parking lots, and motorbike repair. While workers in Kishangarh's marble industry tend to have less purchasing power, due to their lower wages, the food and accommodation establishments that employ other workers in the city cater to the steady stream of businesspeople that circulate in Kishangarh due to its marble-processing hub: foreign and domestic buyers, factory owners, and salesmen supplying inputs and raw materials to processing units.

This paradox—that seemingly diverse labor markets depend on highly specialized economies—is not unique to small cities. For example, the backbone of Bangalore's economy is information technology, though the growth of this sector has generated a relatively diverse array of employment opportunities in professional services. In general terms, this pattern of diversification through specialization can lead to vulnerability for an urban economy: if the backbone sector leaves or sees its competitiveness erode, the ripple effects extend throughout the labor market.

Fig 6 **Built-up density in Kishangarh**

Up to 1975	
1975-1990	
1990-2000	
2000-2014	
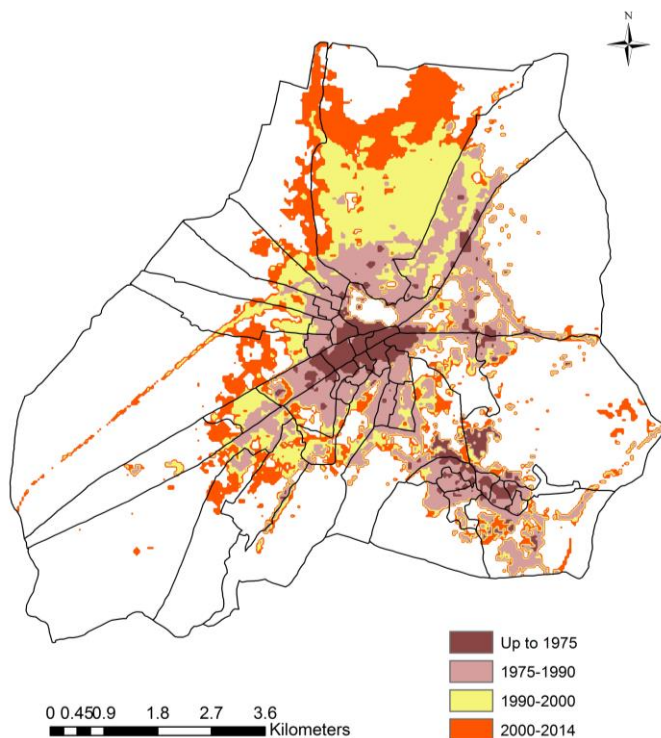
Fig 7 Built-up density in Mangalore
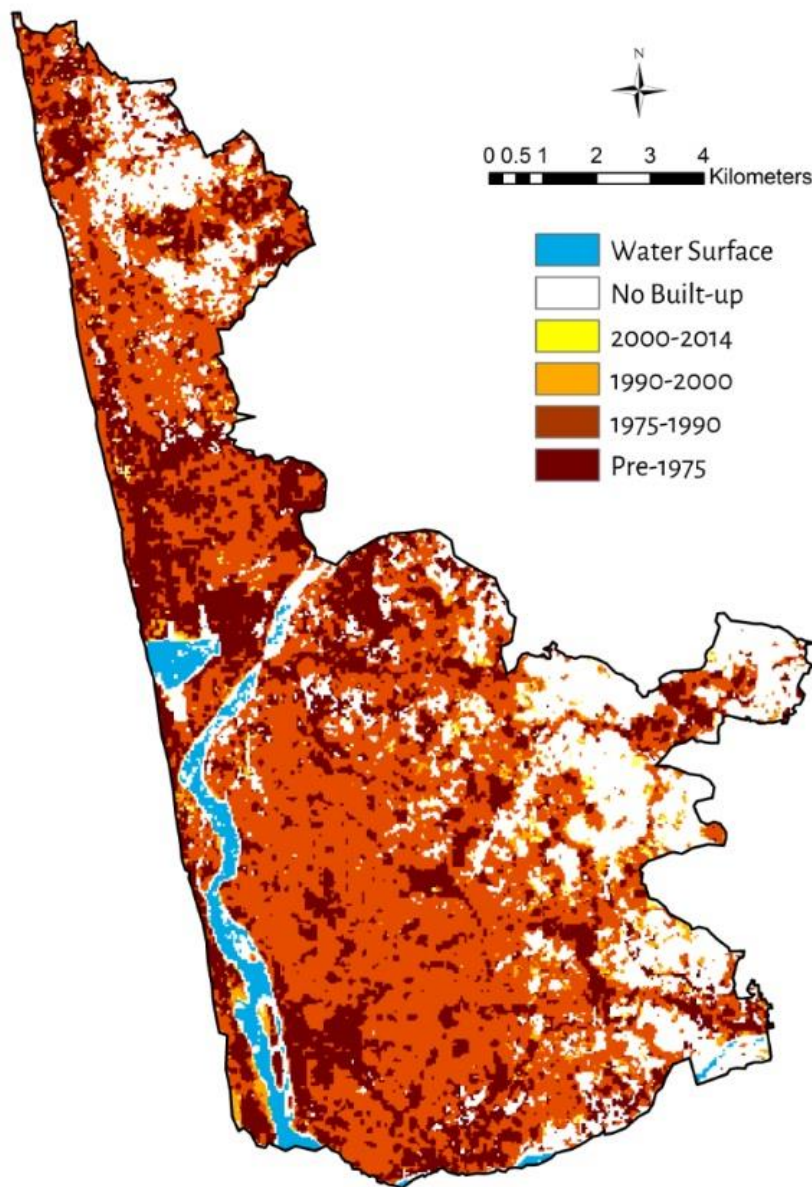
"Footloose" versus "sticky" sectors

Nevertheless, the vulnerabilities created by this dynamic may be different between large and small cities in emerging economies like India and Indonesia. Evidenced by the cases of Kishangarh and Kabupaten Semarang, small cities tend to specialize in lower-value-added sectors, where the vast majority of workers have basic education and are expected to perform a limited range of routine tasks. Only 6.8 percent of our sample of youth in Kishangarh and 1.8 percent in Semarang Regency have a university degree. This distinction could have significant consequences for specialized small-city economies. First of all, tradable lower-value-added sectors are often "footloose" – in the sense of being able to operate in a wide range of locations.[xxvii] These industries are capable of moving locations quickly in response to changes in local costs of land and labor, with the garment sector being a classic example.[xxviii] The kinds of workers these industries require can be found in a relatively large number of locations. In contrast, specialized sectors that cluster

in large metropolitan areas, not only in the global North but increasingly in the global South, tend to be rooted in the knowledge economy. They require highly educated workers who are more difficult to replace. As a result, these higher-value-added sectors are more likely to be "sticky" – i.e. relatively difficult to relocate. If the local costs of doing business rise, technology companies in Bangalore would find it relatively more difficult to relocate than would the apparel manufacturing firms in Semarang Regency.

Beyond the contrast between the "stickiness" of large-city specializations and the "footloose" nature of small-city specializations, the latter are also threatened increasingly by the specter of automation. While research exploring the potential impacts of automation in labor-intensive sectors of the global South remains fairly limited, general predictions suggest that routine-intensive tasks such as those performed by many workers in Kishangarh's marble industry face a high probability of automation.[xxix]

The future economic landscape

Taken together, these trends suggest that the vulnerabilities created by specialization are more threatening for small cities than large ones in 21st-century emerging economies. Structural transformation and urbanization are producing different kinds of opportunities and vulnerabilities for different kinds of urban economies. Until recently, the industries now attracted to locations like Kishangarh and Semarang Regency were located on the peripheries of large metropolitan areas in developing economies. As the cost of operating in cities like Jakarta has increased, and as these metropolitan economies have moved up the value chain – increasingly specializing in higher-value-added manufacturing and professional services – firms in lower-value-added sectors have sought out new production locations in small cities and erstwhile rural regions. For example, in India, almost half of manufacturing jobs are now located in rural areas.[xxx]

These trends have been further reinforced by decentralization and the deeper penetration of neoliberal modes of governance – where state and local governments in both India and Indonesia now see attracting investment and generating growth as an economic imperative.[xxxi] What emerges in countries like India and Indonesia may be a pattern of within-country inequality – of wealth, risk and vulnerability – that parallels the structural shifts in advanced economies over the last three decades.[xxxii]

The uniformity of these trends must not be overstated, and our case cities point to the diverse ways in which these differences in small-city and large-city economies may unfold over time. One dimension that could shape the future of small-city economies is the source of investment that sustains them. While the apparel sector in Semarang Regency is fueled by foreign capital, the marble processing industry in Kishangarh is primarily financed by domestic investors, many of whom have historic links to the city. This difference could influence the degree to which firms see their future wedded to the place in which they currently operate.

Another important variable is the nature and proximity of other inputs beyond land and labor; in contrast to the notoriously footloose apparel industry, the marble industry locates partly in response to the proximity of marble quarries. For both these reasons, Kishangarh's marble sector could prove more resilient to economic shifts or rising input costs. There are already early indications that the marble sector might outlive the finite supply of nearby marble: processing units

in Kishangarh are importing raw marble from elsewhere in India and even abroad. Contextual factors suggest, therefore, that marble in Kishangarh may be "stickier" than apparel in Semarang Regency.

4.2.3. Small city employment landscapes

One consequence of economic restructuring in the large cities of India and Indonesia is their increasing inaccessibility for rural youth seeking employment opportunities. As Mukhopadhyay and Naik show, the wage premium available to a rural-urban migrant in India is minimal in most sectors unless she or he has obtained higher education.[xxxiii] Moreover, persistent challenges with providing basic services, portability issues with social protection,[xxxiv] threats of eviction and demolition in informal settlements, and an anti-migrant undertone in the policy environment of large cities like Delhi and Mumbai, have produced what Kundu and Saraswati call 'exclusionary urbanization' – disincentivizing permanent migration to big cities.[xxxv] Alongside the diffusion of labor-intensive, non-agricultural sectors described above, these trends are making small cities increasingly important destinations for rural-urban migrants. To borrow a term from migration scholars studying rural youth in Tanzania, migration to small cities is more likely to fall within rural youth's "action space" in India and Indonesia.[xxxvi]

Is it the expansion of economic opportunity in small cities or the high barriers to entry in large cities that is more responsible for increased migration to small urban centers? While our project was not designed to measure the relative importance of push and pull factors, we offer some insights on the nature of economic opportunity for youth in small cities, and how factors like gender, education and social background influence and mediate access to those opportunities.

Fig 9 Skill levels across 4 case cities
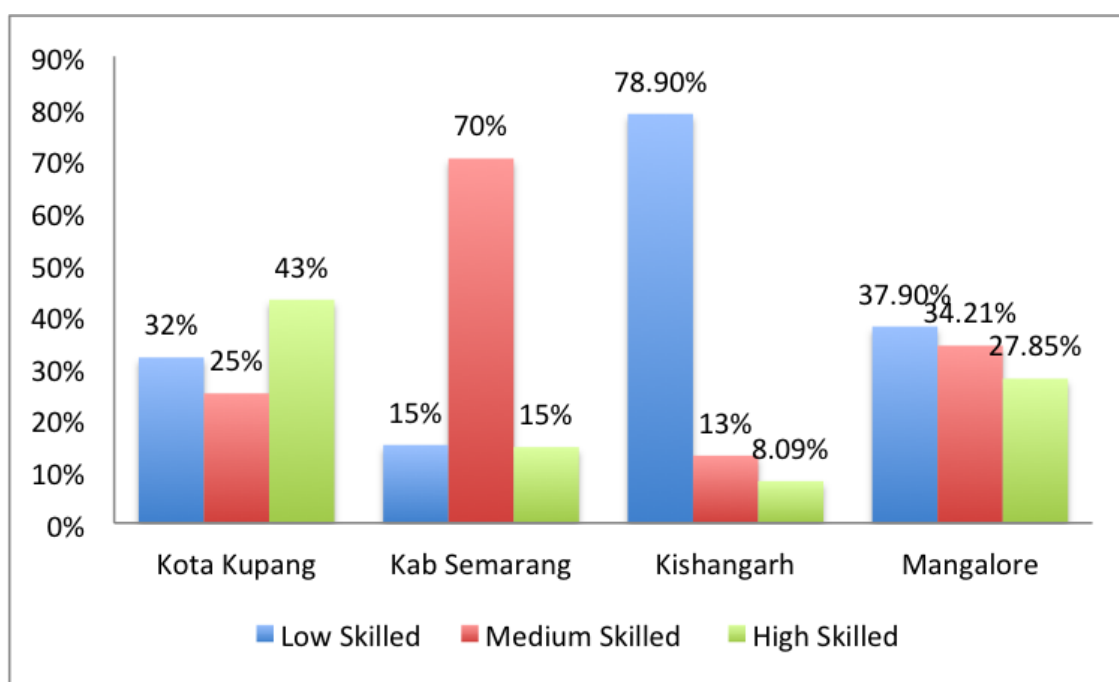
Moving one rung up the economic ladder

The case cities we studied in India and Indonesia are unlocking economic opportunities that would have previously been difficult for rural youth to access close to home. The nature of these opportunities depends on the city's economic character, the geographic setting in which it is located, and the socio-economic background of the migrant. Taken together, these opportunities suggest that small cities are crucial to lifting people out of poverty in India and Indonesia, and to meet the larger 21st century challenge of expanding these countries' middle classes.

Wage work

For rural youth with little education and from families engaged in subsistence agriculture, the nearby small city often represents a chance to escape poverty. In a remote, impoverished province like East Nusa Tenggara, for example, Kupang offers a very basic opportunity: earning cash. In qualitative research, many young migrants consistently cited "cash" as the major reason for their migration. These youth claimed that there is always work in Kupang for anyone who is not ashamed of doing manual labor. In such situations, receiving a wage – as opposed to working on a family farm or otherwise earning in-kind – may make the difference between living below and just above the poverty line. Similarly, for many of the youth performing manual labor in the marble industry in Kishangarh – carrying large marble slabs in factories, for example – the agriculture sector in their nearby community of origin does not enable an escape from poverty.

Depending on a variety of factors, such as the accessibility of a small city to its surrounding hinterland, the wage work it offers may or may not induce permanent migration. While in Kupang, even the lowest-paid youth migrants live in the city, Kishangarh witnesses a mixture of permanent migration and commuter migration from nearby villages, where workers travel back to their villages every evening. In Mangalore, migrants from impoverished regions of northern Karnataka are confident of finding work as manual laborers, in the port and on construction sites. These daily wage workers, as well as migrant workers from north and eastern India circulate across various destinations. In focus groups, they reported that Mangalore offers them higher wages with lower chances of employers reneging on wage payments, as compared to other potential destinations.

Regular work in formal firms

For young people who come from relatively more advantaged economic backgrounds and/or whose origin communities already offer opportunities for wage work, migration to a small city represents upward mobility of a different kind. For example, the areas that surround Semarang Regency are a mixture of rural, urban and "rurban" geographies; human development levels across these areas are both similar and relatively high. Moving to Semarang Regency does not represent a major leap in the quality of social and educational opportunities or public service provision. However, what distinguishes the origin and destination is the abundance of formal economy employment in Semarang Regency—jobs that pay the locally mandated minimum wage. The vast majority (79.5 percent) of the young people in our survey in Semarang Regency earn between IDR 1 million and 2 million per month (US$ 67-134), with most of these earning the

official minimum wage of 1.745 million (US$ 117).[17] Notwithstanding the hardships they face in their work, which will be discussed in detail below, these young people have reached lower-middle-class status through working in the industrial sector of Semarang Regency. According to our survey, about 53 percent of youth engaged in factory work come from families where one or both parents worked primarily in agriculture.

In Mangalore, where industry employs 10 percent of our sample, formal industrial jobs in the petrochemicals sector and agro-processing industries like cashew processing, fish processing and beedi rolling, have been available to locals until recently. However, in recent years, increasing casualization in industrial employment has brought in more migrants into industrial work. Our survey reflects this, with the 16 percent of migrants in our sample working industrial jobs compared to 6 percent of non-migrants. Moreover, relatively secure jobs in industry are in decline also because of automation or because they are moving elsewhere. Qualitative interviews indicate that local employees have relatively more secure jobs in terms of wage protections through negotiations with unions and social security benefits like pensions, while migrants find less permanent work and are dominant in non-agricultural industries related to petrochemicals, industrial sand, iron and steel processing, machine manufacturing and fabrication, among others.

Entrepreneurship and service sector work
While these incremental movements up the economic ladder are most common among our respondents, some youth manage to earn middle-class incomes by working in small cities. In the Indonesian case cities, 16.1 percent of the sample respondents earn more than 2 million IDR per month (US$ 267) – placing them in the Indonesian middle class. In terms of purchasing power (PPP), these young people earn close to US$ 500 per month. The Indian case cities perform considerably better; 41.2 percent of the sample earns more than 10,000 INR per month (US$ 137), which is roughly equivalent (over US$ 500) in PPP terms.

The two common pathways to higher wages appear to be entrepreneurship, often in the informal economy, or formal jobs in the professional services sectors. However, our case cities offer significant variations in this regard. In industrial cities like Kishangarh and Semarang, entrepreneurship in the informal services sector – especially in transportation, food and hospitality – is a possibility that some youth are able to leverage. In Kupang and to a lesser extent Kishangarh, those working in public and quasi-public sector jobs in education, administration and healthcare are better off.

In Mangalore, wholesale and retail trade offer opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship, in which certain communities have been dominant. Salaried service sector work is also available in the city's numerous hospitals, colleges, hotels and professional firms (17 percent of those surveyed), as well as in knowledge economy jobs in finance, software services, business process outsourcing and real estate (about 15 percent of our survey respondents).

Education is not necessarily a prerequisite for earning these higher wages. Of those earning in the income categories defined above, 27.3 percent and 37 percent in the Indonesian and Indian case cities, respectively, have less than a high school education.

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[17] The official minimum wage was raised to 1.9 million IDR in the beginning of 2018. However, our data collection took place in 2017.

Fig 10: Probability of Different Levels of Income Growth in Current Job for Graduates (Ages 15-29) in Kupang, Based on Years of Experience
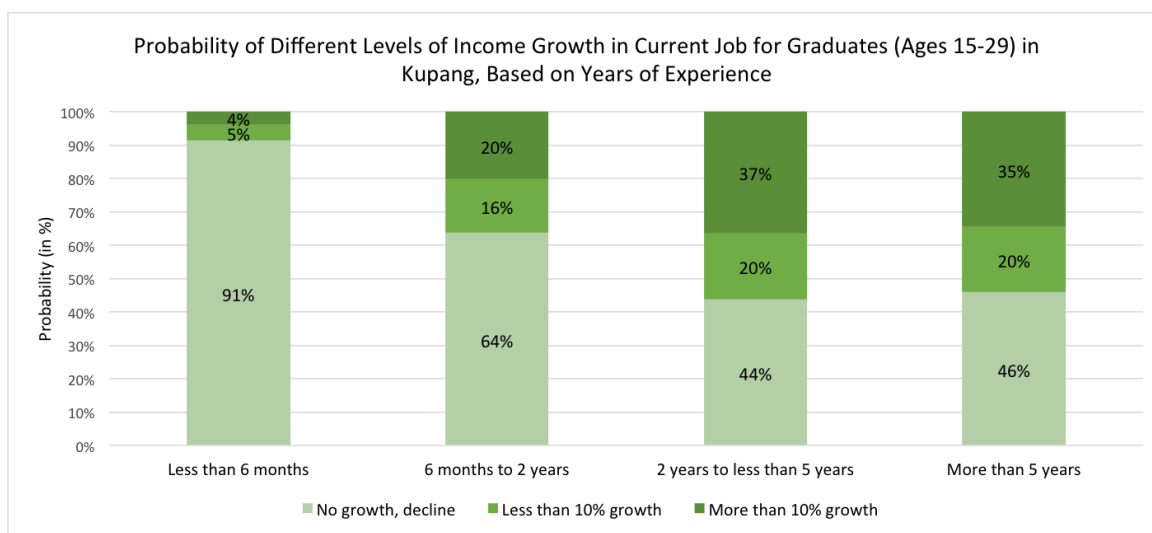
Education

In some small cities, particularly in Indonesia where the state has invested heavily in building universities in provincial capitals beyond Java, educational opportunities drive migration to smaller cities. About one-third of the youth migrants in our survey in Kupang stated that education was the primary reason they came to the city. In Indonesia overall, half of rural-urban youth migrants moving to non-metropolitan cities are in search of educational opportunity.[xxxvii]

In India, large private sector investments in education are turning small cities like Mangalore into education hubs that attract students from small towns and rural areas. Mangalore especially is known for pre-university colleges that prepare students to break into highly competitive professional colleges especially in engineering and medicine, the coveted occupations of the Indian middle class. Therefore, Mangalore does not retain the youth who come to study; they move on to higher education and job opportunities elsewhere.

As educational aspirations penetrate deeper into once-remote regions of these two countries, small cities are likely to become increasingly important destinations for education migrants, especially given the costs and exclusions often involved in seeking education in large metropolitan areas.

4.2.4. Getting stuck: Threats to economic mobility

Despite the opportunities for young people in small cities in the form of wage work, formal economy jobs, entrepreneurship and education, evidence from our case cities also suggests that these pathways are limited in important ways. Small cities offer scope for moving one rung up the economic ladder, but do they offer any mobility beyond this? And what quality of work issues do young people accept by working in small city labor markets?

Work without career pathways

One of the primary concerns among youth workers in small cities is the probability of winding up in a "dead-end job." This is particularly the case in small cities whose economies are built around industry. For example, in the apparel sector in Semarang Regency, young people perceive that there is "no future in factories," as one focus group participant put it. Youth in these jobs feel frustrated that their work comes with so few opportunities for advancement.

The production model in these manufacturing firms requires a large volume of semi-skilled workers—those with basic education and training—and relatively few supervisors and managers. Very few of the young people who enter factory work at these entry-level positions ever receive a promotion to a supervisory role, and according to our respondents, those that do often labor for five to 10 years before being promoted. For those waiting for a promotion, the minimum wage acts as both a floor and a ceiling.

Young people also lament the drudgery and boredom that comes with factory life, and it is little secret that the business model of labor-intensive manufacturing in the form found in Semarang Regency is designed to extract value from young workers who are physically capable of enduring long, difficult working days, with the expectation that they will leave the factory once they reach their early to mid-30s or before.[xxxviii] In our qualitative research, government officials in Semarang Regency acknowledge that the jobs being created through large-scale industrialization are not meant to provide lifelong careers.

In Kishangarh, where industrial jobs are largely informal and wages are lower than in Semarang Regency's apparel sector, young workers find themselves unable to plan for the future or envision a career pathway outside of the manual, routine tasks they perform in marble processing units. Industrial workers, mostly from rural backgrounds, do not articulate aspirations beyond the wage work they are already doing. Social capital, in which caste plays a significant role, is key to economic mobility via entrepreneurship or a break into the few better-paid, usually supervisory, jobs available.

While not a manufacturing-based economy, Kupang faces similar issues when it comes to generating career pathways for young people. Neither the impoverished rural migrants working as daily wage laborers, nor the educated young people who have earned their Bachelor's degree from one of Kupang's universities and now work in a formal retail or hospitality job, have a clear sense of their future employment prospects (in the Indonesian cities overall, 81.9 percent of respondents said they do not know when they might move to a different job). And while the city aims to promote entrepreneurship, its strategy for doing so primarily emphasizes the creation of micro-enterprises run by self-employed individuals, as opposed to focusing on the growth of viable small and medium-sized enterprises, which may create more and better jobs.

As mentioned before, Mangalore is unable to provide appropriate jobs for the young people who get educated in the city. Besides those stuck in low-skilled work in construction and as daily wage laborers, many educated young people are stuck in the retail sector as shop assistants, or in similar entry-level work in hotels, colleges and hospitals. However, as the city's economy restructures, a mismatch is emerging between the skills needed and those that youth have acquired. Youth are not able to take advantage of new kinds of opportunities arising as industries

pursue automation and service sector jobs grow, albeit slowly. Despite the paucity of good jobs for which young people have the right skills, employers struggle to retain workers – since salary expectations are high in Mangalore, a prosperous city.

The limited return on education

Surprisingly, regression analysis demonstrates that—after controlling for other relevant factors—education has no significant impact on earnings in both Semarang Regency and Kishangarh, the two industrial economies among our four case cities. The industrial economy in these two cities appears to have a "flattening" effect on the labor market, where factories absorb large volumes of young people with both low and medium levels of education and the wage distribution is narrow. In Semarang Regency, however, one outcome for which education level does matter is income growth. Those with higher levels of education are more likely to experience faster growth in their incomes—suggesting that they have more scope for growth either within the manufacturing sector or once they have exited factory work. Nevertheless, the impact is small enough that overall income levels are not significantly different across groups with differing levels of education. In Kishangarh, education is not a significant factor in determining income or income growth.

The picture is more nuanced in the service-oriented economies of Kupang. On the one hand, regression analysis shows that youth workers with higher levels of education tend to earn more, holding other factors equal. Education also predicts the skill level of the job in which a young person is employed, with more highly educated people obtaining higher-skilled occupations. On the other hand, however, youth with higher levels of education experience a slower pace of income growth. All other factors held constant, those with university degrees experience the slowest income growth. Those with less education are more likely to experience faster income growth, but only if they can break out of the cycle of daily wage labor or subsistence entrepreneurship (e.g. street vending), which few are able to do. These findings suggest that highly educated youth are likely to get stuck in jobs that offer them decent wages but little scope for growth.

In Mangalore, education positively influences income, but this impact is most significant for those with a university degree or above (nearly 40 percent of our sample). Some of the jobs that employ these highly educated youth include banking and professional services, business process outsourcing, nursing, retail and hospitality.

Precarious work

Aside from the threats to economic mobility that come from dead-end jobs and the limited return to education, labor market conditions for most of the youth across our four case cities are precarious—though in differing ways. In the industrial economies of Semarang Regency and Kishangarh, workplace accidents are commonplace. In our survey, 52.9 percent of industrial workers in Semarang Regency reported that they had faced problems with their work environment, with 66.9 percent of these experiencing hostility from co-workers or a supervisor and 46.6 percent facing a physical injury or health hazard.

In Kishangarh, with 11.6 percent reporting problems at work, of which 90 percent report workplace injuries or health hazards. The fact that the apparel sector jobs in Indonesia are in the formal economy does not necessarily mean they come with greater security. Most of the workers are on short-term contracts, effectively giving the employer flexibility to easily hire and fire, and only 49.7 percent actually have a written contract. And while the vast majority of workers in these formal enterprises do earn the legally mandated minimum wage, they work on a target-based production model. Workers must meet a certain target in the course of their workdays, and if they fail to meet this target, they must stay longer – i.e. work overtime without additional compensation. In qualitative research, most apparel sector workers reported frequently staying past their regular working hours in order to complete the daily target. About 9.7 percent of the industrial workers surveyed in Semarang Regency worked an average of 10 or more hours per day.

In Kishangarh, the working conditions of marble industry laborers are worse. In the marble industry, workers labor for long hours in extremely difficult conditions with low levels of mechanization. Less than 2 percent of the workers in Kishangarh have a written contract, and 37.3 percent work an average of 10 or more hours per day. High levels of manual labor are observed among loaders and unloaders—who carry cut slabs of marble on their shoulders with only a cement bag as back support and a cloth piece as head support. The marble industry's sole holiday in the month is on *amavasya*, or new moon day.

In both Semarang Regency and Kishangarh, it is important to note that the poor enforcement of labor laws is only partly a result of low capacity on the part of local government. In both of these locations, strategies to attract investment rely heavily on subtle promises by local authorities to turn a blind eye to exploitative business practices. In Semarang Regency, for example, this takes the form of euphemistic descriptions of the "friendly" business climate where workers are "disciplined." Part of the reason why labor costs have risen in the larger metropolitan areas of Indonesia is because of strong labor movements, and erstwhile rural regions like Semarang Regency see an opportunity in promising a business climate where labor unrest will not be a problem for employers.

The forms of precariousness found in a labor market like Kupang's are different – related less to exploitation at the hands a large employer and more to the insecurity that comes with self-employment or daily wage work. Some respondents during qualitative research reported skipping meals on days when they were not able to get enough work, and others reported sleeping on the street, in semi-permanent housing or in over-crowded shared rooms because of their extremely low and unpredictable incomes. Others, especially young women, find themselves in arrangements where their employers provide food and accommodation but then expect them to work long hours and place restrictions on their movement. Some of these young women are even engaged in unpaid work, paid in-kind through food and accommodation. Of the women in our survey, 11.5 percent reported working without pay, with over half of these being women under 20 years of age.

Of all the case cities, working conditions in Mangalore are marginally better. Many migrants working in the city report having tried out several different destinations before settling on Mangalore for its relatively high wages, fair treatment by employers and safe working conditions. Even occupational groups that tend to be the most exploited in other parts of India, such as

domestic workers, have achieved some degree of empowerment in Mangalore's labor market. For instance, 12.5 percent of the women in our sample who are in domestic work are part of formal worker unions.

4.2.5. The small city as a site of negotiated opportunities for women

Small cities hold considerable promise for young women seeking work. About 69 percent of Indian women in regular full-time salaried jobs in urban areas are in non-metropolitan locations, as per the India Human Development Survey. This fact should be of interest to the policymakers concerned about falling female labor force participation (FLFP): FLFP has fallen substantially from 34 percent to 25 percent in rural areas and stagnated at about 15-16 percent in urban areas between 1983 and 2011, as per the National Sample Survey. In Indonesia, 38.3 percent of women in non-farm employment live in non-metropolitan urban areas.

Our research demonstrates how education infrastructure located in small cities enables young women to study—Kishangarh, Kupang and Mangalore are all in varying degrees hubs for education—and how the emergence of manufacturing clusters in small cities has created jobs for women in peri-urban spaces like Semarang Regency. These cities provide the opportunity for non-metropolitan women, some from rural backgrounds, to work in diverse non-farm wage employment as well as tap into entrepreneurial opportunities closer to their places of origin – in turn enabling women to boost household income and aspire for greater autonomy and economic mobility. A few prominent trends in women's employment are outlined in this section.

Fig 11 Sectoral composition of women's work in 4 case cities
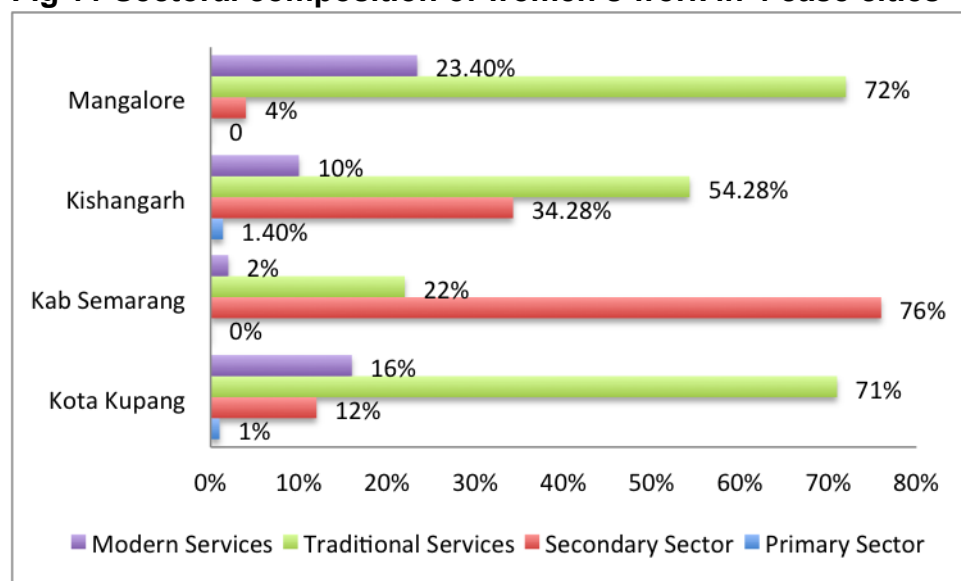
Feminization of work and migration

The predominantly female workforce in the industrial cluster of Semarang Regency exemplifies the feminization of work and migration that many scholars have described, which is linked with the functioning of global value chains in sectors such as garments.[xxxix,xl, xli] In our survey, 76 percent of women workers are in the industrial sector of Semarang Regency. Female migrants and commuters comprise a dominant share of this workforce. Women migrants in our sample are also

more likely to contribute to family income back home as compared to male migrants (57.2 percent versus 53.6 percent).

Even though identities like ethnicity and caste are common channels through which young people find jobs, families appear at the center of young women's working lives, more so than for men. In Kupang, our survey results suggest that women migrate into the city from parts of the province where women's claims to land are limited and their incentives to farm fewer. Though part of women's motivation to move may be the lack of opportunity afforded by conventions around land inheritance, they still report asking their parents for permission to migrate. One local practice involves rural families sending young women to live with relatives in the city – for whom they do household work in exchange for accommodation, meals and sometimes tuition fees to attend school.

In India, owing to the practice of brides relocating to their marital home after marriage, about two-thirds of migrant women in the 2001 census cited marriage as their reason for migration. This often masks the fact that migrant women are more likely to work after marriage than non-migrant women. In 2001, migrants constituted 69 percent of the rural female work force, while 50 percent of female workers in cities were migrants.[xlii] The trend of marriage migration is well reflected in Kishangarh, where nearly all the migrant women in our sample are married in comparison to 56 percent of migrant men.

Beyond the sphere of 'women's work'

Since the 1970s, feminist researchers have emphasized that work and employment are gendered and that notions of 'women's work' – i.e. work that is 'natural' for women to do – reflect the social construction of gender.[xliii] Jobs seen as *appropriate* for women are often associated with care work, like child and elderly care, domestic work, healthcare and education, work associated with domesticity, like housekeeping, design and décor, or with preoccupations considered feminine, like beauty and fashion.

In our case cities, we see these work roles prominently: industrial work in the garments sector in Semarang Regency, where 'nimble fingers' are a prerequisite, care work in nursing in Mangalore, and cleaning, home-based crafts and tailoring work in Kishangarh. However, the growth of the services sector has created new work opportunities for young women in less gendered occupations. In Mangalore, growing sectors like education, hospitality and healthcare have created specific work opportunities for women in teaching, front desk jobs at hotels and lodges and retail sales. In Kupang too, the retail sector is the major employer of women. Young women in Mangalore are also opting for jobs in the knowledge economy, working in the few IT software and business process outsourcing (BPO) companies that have recently started operations in the city. There are indications, therefore, that work opportunities for women with higher education and skills do exist outside of the gendered occupations.

In a city like Kupang, these openings for women in sectors like retail afford them greater social and economic mobility than is available to men from poor backgrounds. Of the migrants in Kupang who

report plans to return home in our survey, no female respondent plans to work in agriculture after returning, while 34 percent of men do. While this might be related to women's limited land ownership, it also reflects the fact that women's employment in Kupang is in relatively higher-status jobs, like retail and hospitality, whereas men from poor backgrounds are more often confined to manual labor in construction, transportation and warehousing.

Fig. 12: Occupation skill by gender in Kupang and Mangalore
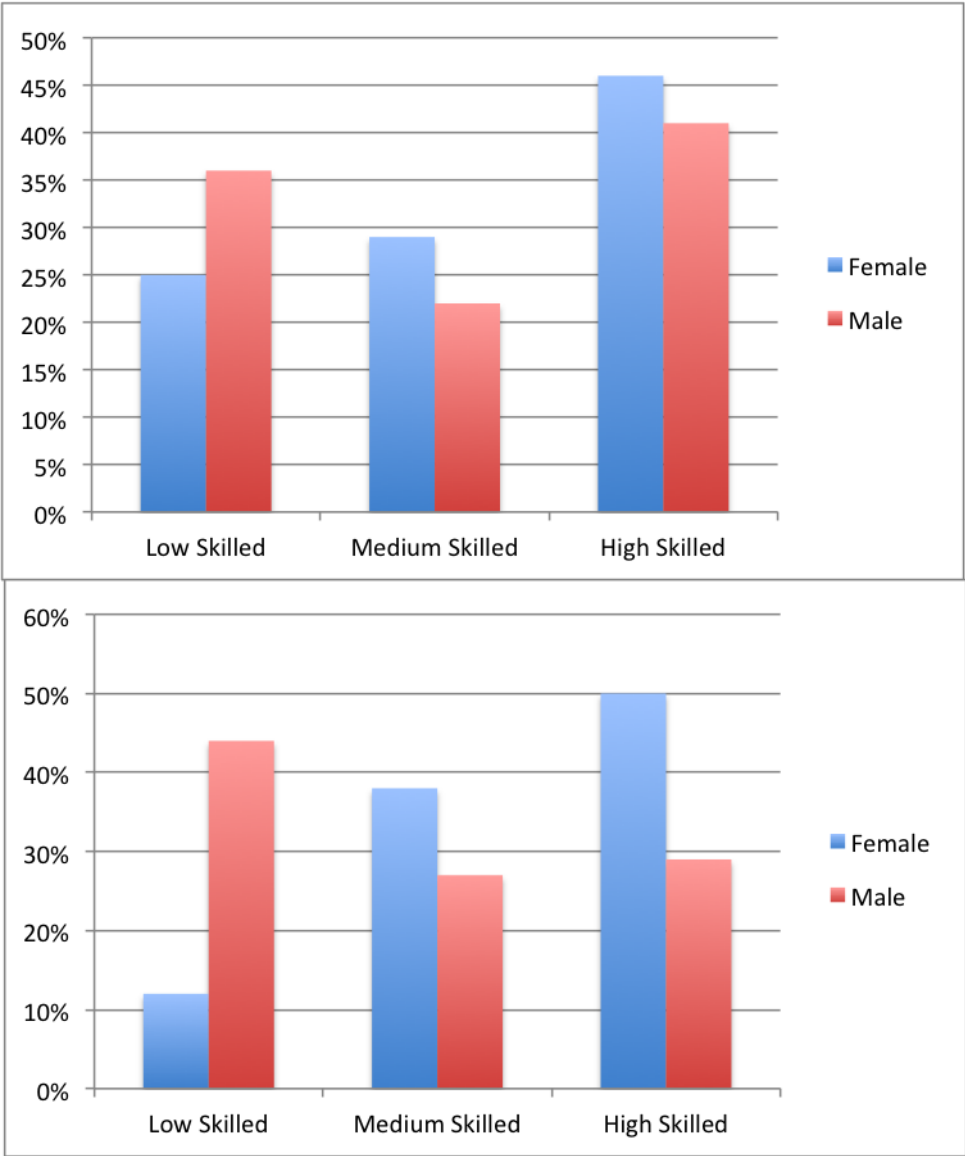
Work precarity within patriarchal structures

In Kupang and Mangalore, we find that many more men work in insecure jobs compared with women, often in low-wage, casual work, with frequent changes in employer. For example, 30 percent of the men in our sample in Mangalore are engaged in casual work, compared to only 5 percent of women. In Kupang, over 70 percent of the youth workers surveyed working in low-skilled occupations – such as manual labor or street vending – were men. Underemployment is also a key feature in male employment. In Mangalore, interactions with male workers at the labor

naka[18] reveal that finding work every day is not certain at all. However, the relative stability women find in their employment often comes at a cost; their experiences of precariousness stem from their work being circumscribed within powerful patriarchal structures.

In Kupang, many young migrant women work in retail shops where their employer provides a higher degree of security. According to our survey, migrant women are the group most likely to be given meals (50 percent) and lodging (20 percent) by their employer. But these employers also place restrictions on the mobility of these women workers and expect them to work long hours without additional compensation. In fact, during qualitative research, it was difficult to find young female migrants whose employers would *allow* them to be interviewed. As per our survey, these women are the least likely to receive overtime pay, as compared to non-migrants and male migrants. Where female migrants are provided food and housing, some do not receive a wage at all; in fact, nearly 12 percent of women in the sample reported that they were not being paid for their work.

In Mangalore, where unions of female domestic workers are active in negotiating wages and working conditions, women still reported limited financial autonomy within the home, with many of them handing their pay over to their husbands at the end of each month.

In Semarang Regency, labor practices like performance-based remuneration reduce the income potential women and compel them to work long hours. In focus groups in Semarang Regency, women articulate the need for improved minimum wages and social protection to deal with the combination of long working hours and care responsibilities at home.

Another form of precariousness for women workers is the specter of job loss due to automation. In our case cities, women occupy the type of routine-intensive jobs that have the highest probability of being lost to computerization and automation.[xliv] Labor officials in Mangalore expressed concern over increasing automation in agro-processing industries like cashew and fish processing, where workers are disproportionately women. In the Indonesian case cities, 48 percent of female respondents work as plant and machinery operators/assemblers in the industrial sector – routine-intensive jobs likely to be automated in the near future – against a much lower 31 percent for males.

The triple burden on migrant women

While women's opportunity has been expanded by the growth of labor-intensive manufacturing in places like Semarang Regency, the women who power these industries face repetitive work with limited options for skill development. In the manner of Wolf's 'Factory Daughters,'[xlv] these women have limited scope for individual agency despite their employment – given that their incomes are more likely to be remitted to parents at home. In this way, migrant women in Semarang Regency experience a triple burden. In addition to the pressure of supporting households 'back home', migrant women work difficult industrial jobs and also shoulder substantial responsibilities to family, both financially and in terms of care work. Despite working in the formal economy, short-term contracts, shrinking social protection, lack of maternity benefits and rising costs of living add to women's problems.

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[18] A public space in the city where employers and contractors recruit daily-wage manual laborers.

In Kishangarh, this triple burden works differently. First, in Rajasthan's rigidly patriarchal and caste-based social structure, they have to negotiate restrictions on mobility and stigma against women's work. Additionally, young women have to adjust to the city as 'marriage migrants,' often coming from rural backgrounds where they might have acquired skills that are not a good fit for work in the city. The few women in our sample who work do so in very low-paid, exploitative work – including sorting and cleaning jobs in the marble sector, domestic work, home-based work like tutoring, and small-scale retail, tailoring and craft. Most of these women are from the low-income households that cannot afford for them to exit the labor market. Women report that the additional income helps them support expenditure that is not prioritized by men in the household, like educating daughters. Additionally, social practices like *purdah* (veiling) and the control of young women's mobility by husbands and mothers-in-law restricts interactions with the world outside of the family. Without this exposure, women have little access to new information and skills, adding to their difficulty in accessing and performing remunerative work.

Limited career pathways

In some of our case cities, the issue of limited career pathways is especially pronounced for women. The problem of 'dead-end' jobs for industrial workers in Semarang Regency, for example, is particularly acute for women since they disproportionately work in these sectors. For those women who might seek to start their own businesses after exiting factory work, finding start-up capital may be an issue. Female entrepreneurs in our survey were less likely than male entrepreneurs to get their initial capital from financial institutions or relatives and more likely to rely on their own personal savings. The absence of career pathways makes them vulnerable and once their productivity falls or they become pregnant, many women end up in unpaid family work or low-productivity micro-enterprises.

Similarly, in Mangalore, women's unions and the local government's employment department expressed concern in interviews over the lack of skill development opportunities and capital for middle-aged women who are seeking to re-enter the workforce after having taken a break to raise their children.

Supportive institutions, formal and informal

Despite the challenges faced by women in employment, we do find some supportive institutions and practices that make it easier for women to manage precarious jobs or navigate patriarchal structures. Some of these institutions are market-led, others come through self-organization and social welfare mechanisms by national governments, but planning norms and urban design practices also have a significant influence. In that sense, we find that small cities might have particular opportunities to create conducive environments for people to work and be productive. In our case cities, we find such factors are relevant for women's work.

In Semarang Regency, migrant women rely on a system of boarding houses, locally known as *kost*s, which offer accommodation that is decent, safe, affordable, and in most cases proximate to their place of work. Over 70 percent of migrants live within five kilometers of their workplace and

23.5 percent walk to work. Due to the prevalence of *kost*s, 63.6 percent of female migrant workers aged 15-19 live with colleagues. The communities that form around *kost*s act as a support network for young women to navigate a new environment and labor market, especially given that only 55.7 percent feel safe leaving home at night – in contrast to nearly all migrant men. Similarly, in Mangalore, employers organize rental accommodation in the form of 'paying guest' hostels to attract young female workers and assure families of the safety of their daughters – though the significance of this housing system in India is far less, with only about 5 percent of the women in our Mangalore sample living in shared accommodation.

In Semarang Regency, the formal banking system is also highly accessible to women; a greater share of female migrants in our sample have bank accounts than male migrants (87.4 percent as compared to 57.5 percent).

Efficient and safe para transit and bus services, including motorcycle taxis, enable female commuters to move between home and places of work. In Semarang Regency, the share of migrant women using public transportation, while still low (12.3 percent), is twice as high as the share of non-migrant women and four times as high as the share of migrant men. Additionally, good road networks and cheap credit for motor scooters means that they have become affordable for the vast majority of young women, who can now commute home independently and at little financial cost.

Mangalore has for decades boasted a robust regional bus system that is managed by the government but run by private operators. This public transport system is important for women's mobility: 78.2 percent of our female respondents use it regularly. Interviews with transport authorities and the police revealed that safety and sexual harassment, prominent issues with women's mobility, are far less acute in Mangalore.

In Kishangarh, where women commute on foot, they report neighborhoods to be safe because of the smallness of the city, where people know each other. The *purana sheher*, the old city, where people have lived as neighbors over generations was often referred to in this context. But these conventions go both ways in terms of women's agency. Female respondents also discussed their over-dependence on extended family for childcare, pointing to the lack of public childcare services and high costs of private childcare.

In Kishangarh and Mangalore, self-help groups are instrumental in helping poor women operate savings and credit schemes to meet emergency expenses and even start new businesses. Local governments in both cities were supportive of such efforts, and enabled these entrepreneurs to reach out to appropriate markets where possible.

The role of unions and workers' organizations in supporting women is mixed. In Semarang Regency, women are more likely to be part of a workers' organization or union than men (37.8 percent of migrant women versus 8.5 percent of migrant men). Although unions in the regency are not generally considered effective advocates on issues of working conditions and wages – part of why the local government advertises a "conducive" business climate – the participation of women in these organizations still shows a degree of collective agency. Unions in Mangalore have been effective in articulating the demands of contract workers in the government's childcare program for regularization of their work, and in protecting domestic workers from wage irregularities.

In Kupang and Kishangarh, however, kinship networks based on caste, religion and ethnicity play a stronger role in facilitating both men and women's access to jobs and navigation of the city. The fact that these informal institutions are embedded in patriarchal social structures makes it unlikely that they would facilitate women's empowerment.

4.2.6. Carving out space: women's relationship with the small city

Despite the opportunities available, small cities can also be restrictive, only different in degree from the social norms of the village. Whether it is young women pushed into precarious work in Kishangarh because of social stigma against working women or girls working under family-appointed patrons in Kupang, women's work in small cities remains circumscribed within strong patriarchal structures. We find that, much like Kandiyoti[xlvi] suggests in her thesis on 'bargaining with patriarchy', women negotiate within their households and communities in order to tap into the opportunities being offered by the small city.

Intra-household negotiations

In patriarchal societies like India and Indonesia, women's future prospects are closely tied to marriage. Therefore, it is not surprising that young women negotiate and strategize around marriage in order to improve their prospects for work.

In Kishangarh, where north Indian patriarchal norms severely stigmatize women's work outside of the home and restrict the mobility and agency of women as well, young women are under considerable parental pressure to marry, sometimes very early, even in their teens. Despite the city's conservative social context, young women across social class are preoccupied with delaying and negotiating marriage. Their first strategy is to place pressure on themselves to perform well at school and college in a bid to delay marriage, a strategy that parents often support in the hope that educated girls will get better husbands. Their second strategy is to appease parents and bargain for time. One respondent in our focus group succeeded in studying away from the city, in a metropolis where she experienced less parental interference: her bargaining tactic was a promise to immediately acquiesce to any suitable match her family made during her time away.

A similar strategy in small cities is to seek work within family enterprises, like managing retail shops or starting new home-based businesses like tuition classes, using capital that parents or parents-in-law provide. For example, the same respondent used her education to make a soft entry into the workforce by first volunteering for an NGO, and later setting up a hospitality business with her father. Finally, a third strategy is to negotiate for marriage into what they perceive as a more progressive household, looking for educated spouses in desirable locations; for instance for rural girls, this could be a small town. From these 'better' marriages, they expect more exposure and the possibility of work outside the family.

In Semarang, Kupang and even in Mangalore, it is common for women to continue working after marriage. But marriage is still prominent in women's decisions about work. In Semarang, where

rural industrialization is not a new phenomenon, women's work in manufacturing declines when they are older. In general, women who get married in the city stay and continue to work, while those who do not find a husband return to rural homes once they stop working in the factory. In Kupang, where women marry later, being in the city away from the influence of the family gives them the freedom to delay marriage.

Finally, across case cities, young women's work is impacted by care responsibilities, which fall squarely in their domain with very little responsibility being taken by spouses. This creates over-dependence on extended family networks for women who continue to work. In Mangalore, women often leave the workforce when they have children, and struggle to re-enter afterward. Overall, the absence or inadequacy of affordable public childcare systems added to women's burden.

Exposure, risk taking to seize opportunities

The opportunities that small cities offer women depend not only on the nature of the local labor market, but also on the patriarchal context of the region where the city is located. In all four case cities, economic opportunity is influenced by the intersection of gender with economic class, religion, and caste or ethnicity.

In Semarang Regency, the homogeneity of religion and the minimal differences between the development levels of rural and urban areas allow women greater agency in spousal selection. However, migrant women maintain close ties to home (visiting 8 times on average per year) and are likely to plan to return home (59.5 percent), suggesting limited scope for establishing an independent personal and professional identity.

Rajasthan's restrictive patriarchal norms disallow freedom of spousal selection in Kishangarh. The control over women's bodies means that women hardly find themselves meeting new people or having new experiences. And while Kupang's diversity makes it a place of novel experiences and interactions, women are less likely than men to see the city as a place of social and cultural exposure; the notion of Kupang as "the city that has everything" among migrants is therefore a gendered perception.

In Mangalore, high human development indicators, sustained economic growth and emphasis on education have meant that young women are pushing the envelope, moving into new areas of work. Yet, the majority of young migrating abroad in pursuit of well-paying jobs are male, while young women often get parental consent to work in locations nearer home.

Overall, in order to succeed, young women had to exhibit risk-taking behavior and push back on patriarchal norms, whether the outcomes are the ability to participate in the labor market, as in Kishangarh, or find new opportunities in the other three cities.

4.2.7. Planning the small city

In the experience of most advanced economies, urbanization and prosperity have gone hand-in-hand because, in addition to productive jobs, cities have offered higher quality services and

infrastructure – sustaining prosperous and innovative economies. The extent to which small cities in India and Indonesia are thriving as urban centers is a matter of debate, but it is clear that the success of young people in these places depends on a wider set of factors than their employment prospects. Moreover, the quality of employment available to them will depend in part on the sort of services, infrastructure, and quality of life these cities offer.

In this sense, the structure, processes and capacities of government are key. In addition to these concerns, another vital question looms: Do small cities have a vision for their social and economic future? Can they articulate these goals and chart pathways to a future that balances concerns around employment, economic mobility, and equity? In other words, do small cities plan – and if they do, how well?

Agency a pre-condition for capacity

Before considering whether and how small cities plan, we must consider whether small cities have the agency to govern themselves. Both India and Indonesia have embarked on ambitious decentralization programs, but with different aims and different effects.

Both countries initiated decentralization around the same time. In 1992, India passed the 73rd Amendment to the constitution – which enhanced the authority of a traditional rural governance institution, the *panchayat* – and the 74th Amendment – which created urban local bodies (ULBs) in cities. Indonesia introduced Laws No. 22/1999 and No. 25/1999 after the fall of Suharto in 1998, transferring major political authority and financial resources to the third level of government, *kota*s (city) and *kabupaten*s (regency) – which are co-equal administrative units one tier beneath the province.

A key difference in these decentralization processes is that Indian states retained importance as the tier of government that receives and disburses central government grants and loans. In Indonesia, meanwhile, *kota*s and *kabupaten*s receive large fiscal transfer directly from the center. As a result, Indonesian urban areas – especially *kota*s – have much more control over their affairs than do Indian cities. According to law, local governments in Indonesia have been given several key governance functions – including health, education, public works, infrastructure, services, environment, transport, agriculture, manufacturing, industry and trade, land, labor and capital investment. In reality too, they do perform many of these functions, and they remain in charge of their budgets with significant authority over expenditure. As described above, much of the drive to build a manufacturing sector in Semarang Regency has come from local initiative in *kabupaten*-level agencies.

However, in the sudden transition away from centralized government, local governments in Indonesia lacked economic planning capacities.[xlvii] In India, the constitutional promise made to localities – authority over land use, urban planning, economic and development planning, water, health, and sanitation, among others – has not been delivered. Municipalities are effectively reduced to managing solid waste and providing sanitation and have neither the agency nor the capacity for effective local governance. In Kishangarh and Mangalore, industrial and infrastructure development is driven entirely by state and national government.

In both countries, however, the ability for local governments to collect taxes is limited. Cities, regardless of size, have been by and large unable to tap the potential of land and property taxes, though leasing and auctioning land to private developers is a common form of revenue.

Service delivery

While decentralization appears to have met its key goal of improved local service delivery in Indonesia, this remains a major concern in Indian cities. However, given the neoliberal context in which our case cities function, there is pressure to think beyond public sector models for service delivery and to develop frameworks to manage private sector participation in the provision and improvement of services.

Housing

In Indonesia, residents of *kabupaten*s (regencies) are less likely to live in high-quality housing[19] as compared to residents of *kota*s (cities). In peri-urban and rurban areas,[20] 64.4 percent and 70.4 percent of the population, respectively, live in housing with plastered or concrete walls – the Indonesian government's definition of decent housing. There is not a substantial difference, however, in quality of housing between non-metropolitan *kota*s and metropolitan *kota*s – 83.7 percent versus 91.2 percent, respectively.[xlviii]

The relatively high quality of housing in non-metropolitan Indonesia is reflected in our case cities; 95 percent of respondents in Semarang Regency and 94 percent of respondents in Kupang live in housing they consider to be high-quality.

Despite service delivery issues, Kishangarh fares relatively well on housing: only 7.1 percent of non-migrants and 13.2 percent of migrants live in housing with non-permanent materials. Differences are stark between migrants and non-migrants in terms of housing quality in Mangalore, and migrants are more likely to live in dilapidated homes (11.7 percent of the migrants in our survey) as compared to migrants (only 2.5 percent).

Sharing arrangements, usually enforced through oral contracts, are common for youth across our case cities and are particularly vital for migrants. Among our survey respondents, over half the migrant renters in Kishangarh and 71 percent in Mangalore shared their space with other migrants. The boarding-house system (*kost*) – with private rooms and shared toilets and kitchens – provides a large share of migrant housing in both Indonesian cities: 59 percent in Semarang Regency and 48 percent in Kupang. Some migrants across both countries also live in employer-provided rental accommodation – 5.8 and 12.8 percent, respectively, in Mangalore and Kishangarh, and 4 and 10 percent in Semarang Regency and Kupang.

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[19] Housing is considered high-quality if it has plastered or concrete walls.
[20] Peri-urban refers to *kabupaten*s (regencies) that are urbanizing (at least 27 percent urban, half as urban as Indonesia) and lie within major metropolitan areas. Rurban refers to *kabupaten*s that are urbanizing (at least 27 percent urban) and do not lie within major metropolitan areas.

Fig 13. Housing arrangements for migrants in 4 cities

Housing Arrangements Of Migrants, Kupang (primary data)
- Accomodation Owned By Employer/Client, 4%
- Public/Private Dorm, 1%
- Own/Friend's Accomodation (no rent), 39%
- Rented Accomodation, 57%

Housing Arrangements Of Migrants, Semarang Regency (primary data)
- Accomodation Owned By Employer/Client, 10%
- Public/Private Dorm, 3%
- Own/Friend's Accomodation (no rent), 41%
- Rented Accomodation, 46%

Housing Arrangements Of Migrants, Kishangarh (primary data)
- Informal (Jhopdi), 13%
- Own Accomodation/ Relative's Place (No Rent), 15%
- Accomodation Owned By Employer/Client, 34%
- Rented Accomodation, 38%

Housing Arrangements Of Migrants, Mangalore (primary data)
- Informal (Jhopdi), 13%
- Public/Private Dorm, 1%
- Own Accomodation/ Relative's Place (No Rent), 9%
- Accomodation Owned By Employer/Client, 29%
- Rented Accomodation, 49%

Transportation

The multiple forms of mobility that small cities experience not only impact the kind of housing they require, but also influence their transportation needs. In Kishangarh, the majority of workers — about 53.6 percent of our sample— walk to work because they live in close proximity to their places of work, or work and live in proximity (10.3 percent). Both Kishangarh and Mangalore are important destinations for commuters, however, who tend to travel significant distances to their place of employment by motorcycle (11.3 percent) and public bus (24.8 percent). In Mangalore, 35.6 percent of respondents live 5-10 kilometers away from work, while 1 in 5 lives 10-29 kilometers away, and 5.2 percent live 30 or more kilometers away.

In Semarang Regency too, motorcycles are the ubiquitous mode of transport among workers (81 percent), though some use shared mini-buses and vans, which are usually privately operated. In both Semarang Regency and Kupang, migrants are more likely than non-migrants to use shared transport options.

Water and sanitation

While in India, there are dramatic differences between metropolitan and non-metropolitan urban settlements when it comes to water and sanitation, virtually no differences are observed in Indonesia. For example, when it comes to improved drinking water, non-metropolitan urban areas

actually fare better in Indonesia; while only 40 percent of households in metropolitan cores have access, the figure is 55.7 percent in small cities.

In Indonesia, in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan urban areas, the share of households with an in-house toilet is above 80 percent, and over 90 percent in both metropolitan and small *kota*s. In both our Indian case cities, by contrast, the problem of open defecation is significant: about 20 percent of respondents in our survey in Kishangarh and 7.6 percent in Mangalore. Only 4 percent of metropolitan households in India rely on open defecation.

But even in cases when households have access to toilets, those facilities may be creating a hidden sanitation crisis. In small cities like Kishangarh, private investment in toilets and non-networked sewer systems is growing rapidly – alongside (often illegal) borewells for underground water. In Kishangarh, 70 percent of our survey respondents depend on septic tanks, and of these, 80 percent reported that their septic tanks were not regularly cleaned. This lines up with the situation in Indonesian cities. A startling 83 percent of respondents across the Indonesian case cities have a septic tank that is rarely or never emptied. The ecological consequences of such poor sanitation infrastructure could be disastrous in the long run.

The situation is relatively better in Mangalore, where the Karnataka Urban Development and Coastal Environmental Management Corporation project availed a loan from the Asian Development Bank in 2003 to improve the city's water and sewer infrastructure. About INR 36 million (US$ 500,000) was spent on the city at the time, and in our survey 46 percent of respondents had access to sewered sanitation. Now a second tranche of money from the ADB of US$ 75 million is being invested in 24-hour water supply in four coastal towns, including Mangalore.[xlix]

Healthcare

In Indonesia, peri-urban and rurban areas are least served by hospital facilities, but metropolitan and small *kota*s are on par in this regard. We see this reflected in peri-urban Semarang Regency, where only 31 percent of our respondents turn to government-run centers – either hospitals or clinics (*puskesmas*) – to access health care. With women and non-migrants least likely to use public health facilities, there is still much room for improvement in improving access among these groups. This stands in contrast to Kupang, where 73 percent of our respondents access public health facilities and access among women and migrants is highest.

Access to public healthcare is low in Kishangarh, where the only functional hospital is a charitable one run by the Kishangarh Marble Association. In Mangalore, 68.6 percent respondents use a private clinic or hospital as compared to 30.8 percent who go to a government hospital.

Planning within a multi-level governance framework

Our case cities reflect the differences in the agency of local governments in India and Indonesia, but they also demonstrate the varying ways in which local and higher levels of governments interact, with specific consequences for employment and migration.

In Kishangarh and Mangalore, urban local bodies are understaffed and overworked. Their key function is limited to organizing sanitation and waste disposal services, while important functions like planning and infrastructure development are executed by district- and state-level government. Local governments are not generally consulted before top-down investments are made, though they are expected to deal with the problems that result from poorly planned development. For example, recent infrastructure projects including industrial parks, a new rail freight corridor, a private sector logistics park and a new airport have positioned Kishangarh to become a transportation and logistics hub, but the municipality was not involved in planning these projects nor does it have the capacity to estimate the impact of these new developments on land prices, housing demand or demographics.

Since the planning department of the Rajasthan state government drafts the master plan for Kishangarh, the municipality has no instrument for articulating future visions for growth and development. These top-down processes appear efficient, but are vulnerable to the influence of powerful factions among local and regional elites. This is evident in the lack of implementation of labor laws by the district labor department and the ceding of control over labor issues to the Kishangarh Marble Association, which represents the interests of employers. In Mangalore too, the municipal corporation's work is embedded within the district's functioning and overseen by the district commissioner, who manages even city-focused projects under the Smart Cities Mission, with a smaller role for the municipality.

The top-down governance model plays out differently in Kupang, where economic development is powered by central government infrastructure investments and the powerful influence over urbanization and development trajectories that accompanies them. Local government is not disconnected, like in Kishangarh, but as in Mangalore, higher levels of government set the tone. For example, Kupang's vision of itself as a 'transit' city for the tourism sector is mostly a local echo of provincial and central government policies aimed at enhancing the tourism potential of East Nusa Tenggara.

In Central Java, where Semarang Regency is located, local governments are actively involved in attracting investment to set up manufacturing firms in urbanizing regencies. The local government's main goal, therefore, is to achieve an investor-friendly business climate, which underlies a focus on keeping labor affordable and compliant and land costs low. In this context, regencies compete with each other for the same pool of investors, a competitive scenario encouraged by provincial governments who benefit from the taxation of enterprises.

In peri-urban locations like Semarang Regency as well as in rurban locations – i.e. urbanizing regencies further from metropolitan areas – local governments also struggle to balance the needs of rural and urban development, especially since their capacities for planning and management are less robust as compared to *kota*s. Here too, national schemes shape the power of local governments to strategize and plan. The *Dana Desa* program, which provides block grants for rural development through direct transfers from central government to villages – many of which are within urbanizing regencies – bypasses *kabupaten* governments and places extra power in the hands of village authorities who may or may not be interested in an integrated, regional approach to urban planning. Such programs, which affect the ability of urbanizing regencies to adopt appropriate urban governance frameworks, are reminiscent of India's lucrative rural development

schemes that effectively encourage state governments to retain rural *panchayat* government in settlements that have already urbanized in order to obtain more central government funding.

4.2.8. Envisioning economic futures

How do these governance arrangements impact the ability of small cities to set mid- and long-range goals for youth employment and the complex forms of labor mobility they experience?

A combination of weak state capacity at local levels and top-down governance results in the inability of schemes to respond to local needs, as we discovered during interactions with officers in charge of the National Urban Livelihoods Mission in both Indian case cities. Interventions were limited to the guidelines of the scheme, stymying innovative localized approaches to provide targeted skills development, entrepreneurship assistance or scaling up of small enterprises. In this regard, the efforts of the district commissioner and local chambers of commerce to set up incubation centers for IT entrepreneurs and skills centers for industry in Mangalore are a good start, but these too have been implemented without the involvement of local government.

In Kupang, top-down governance with low levels of coordination between tiers of government and among government departments has led to a number of disconnected programs related to jobs – each one too small and siloed to have a real impact on the local labor market. In Semarang Regency, local government does not appear to have a strategy for economic development that grapples with the risk of losing the 'footloose' garments sector currently located there.

Local governments in small cities also struggle with understanding the complex mobilities they experience. While anti-migration viewpoints that advocate the protection of local jobs are sometimes expressed, the depth of anti-migrant sentiment is not as great as in the political cultures of metropolitan cities. For example, regional political parties in India frequently campaign on anti-migrant platforms in cities like Mumbai and Bangalore, and Jakarta's government recently revived its *Gerakan Kembali ke Desa* (Return to the Village Movement). Sentiments have not reached this point in small cities; nevertheless, as with long-term economic futures, local governments have little vision for what it may mean to integrate or cater to migrant populations.

5. PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION AND MANAGEMENT

This section describes the activities undertaken during Years 1, 2, and 3.

5.1.   Research tasks

5.1.1. Secondary data analysis

The first year of the project was utilized in obtaining and analyzing migration data from the official census of both countries. In Year 2, the research teams conducted a detailed analysis of non-metropolitan urban geographies, analyzing data for indicators related to labor market conditions and urban governance. The results of both these analyzes are presented in Section 4 above.

5.1.2. Primary data collection

Quantitative Survey

Surveys and qualitative data collection in both countries happened over years 2 and 3. The main activities related to primary data collection preparation are detailed below.

The last two months of Year 1 were devoted to the intensive exercise of building an effective questionnaire that would address all the dimensions of the project. Broadly, the questionnaire collected, for each individual respondent: (a) a basic socio-economic profile, (b) employment history and future plans, (c) migration history and future plans, and (d) information about the respondent's relationship to the city in terms of quality of life. The questionnaire was developed with extensive feedback from partners in Indonesia as well as economists and demographers in India.

During Year 2, the survey was successfully deployed in Indonesia with the support of two partner institutions – Universitas Diponegoro in Semarang and Perkumpulan Pikul in Kupang. Beginning January 2018 and until March 2018, survey data was collected from Kishangarh by a survey firm. The collection of survey data from 397 samples involved extensive testing of the survey instrument as well as customization. In Kishangarh, emphasis was placed on finding women respondents, which was a challenge owing to very low women's workforce participation in this part of the country. In Year 3, in April and May 2018, the same firm collected data in Mangalore. All surveys and data checks were completed by July 2018.

The survey methodology is detailed in **Section 3.2.2**.
For more information on the composition of the research team involved in data collection, see **Section 5.3**.

Qualitative Interviews and FGDs

During October-December 2017, approximately 20 qualitative interviews and 10 focus group discussions were conducted in both Kupang and Semarang Regency.

Following the KIIs and FGDs, partner organizations transcribed and coded the data with support and assistance from Denny Firmanto and other team members at JJN. A coding tree was derived based on the themes outlined above and the core questions of the project, but partner organizations were given liberty to adjust it on the basis of the data itself - a common, iterative strategy in qualitative research approaches. To ensure intercoder reliability, multiple transcripts were coded by both researchers at partner organizations and the JJN consultant.

The transcription and coding process was completed in Kupang in March 2018 and July 2018 in Semarang. Following this, the partner institutions and research team worked collaboratively to develop an analysis matrix – looking at how different respondent and stakeholder groups understand different issues. The aim of this exercise was to synthesize the findings of the qualitative data.

In collaboration with NGO Manthan, the research team started collecting qualitative data from Kishangarh from December 2017 onwards. Since Kishangarh is a smaller city, with a large number of youth employed in the marble processing industry, about 8 FGDs and 15 interviews were conducted. Key informants included employers, the CEO of the marble association, politicians and entrepreneurs. We also conducted six additional interviews in Ajmer, the district capital, and well as in Kotri village to understand the mobility patterns and economic linkages between Kishanhgarh and its surrounding areas. In terms of process, CPR and Manthan co-created protocols for FGDs and KIIs with high levels of customisation, the main lines of enquiry being the same as in Indonesia case cities.

In Mangalore, one qualitative researcher and one intern were hired by Vidya Dinker, who has been engaged on a consulting contract on behalf of the Citizens' Forum for Mangalore Development, which is not a commercial entity. Additionally, a member of the project team from CPR spent one month in Mangalore to supervise data collection. Similar to Kishangarh, protocols are customised for each interaction. The data was collected between May and October 2018. The data collections in Mangalore was extensive, with 19 FGDs and 30 interviews supplementing the survey.

5.1.3. Ethics protocols

Once the questionnaire was prepared and internally tested for the Indonesia case sites, we assessed the risks to the participants of the survey. In our judgment, the probability of harm in answering the survey is no less or greater than those encountered by the participants in their daily lives. The survey does not ask for sensitive information and the participant has the right to refuse to answer anything that might make her or him uncomfortable. At the outset of the survey, the surveyors read out a script that invites the respondent to participate, explains the purpose of the research and the identity of the researcher and funder in plain and clear

language. The nature of participation expected and the risks and potential benefits are explained. The respondent is assured that they will have the right to receive information about the results of the survey in the future and that their identity will be protected by complete anonymization of the data. Additionally, the surveyor explains that this is a non-commercial survey being conducted for research purposes and that we expect to disseminate the results to government officials and wider audiences. We did not offer any incentives to participants during this survey. Moreover, the outreach within the community has been done through local mobilizers. Verbal consent has been taken for each respondent by the enumerator. The respondent agrees to the following statement: "*Herewith I declare that I am willing to become a respondent in this study of the local economy and enterprise development in (Location of Survey).*"

This explanation was carried out in local languages: Bahasa Indonesia across the two Indonesian cities; Hindi or Marwari in Kishangarh; and Hindi, Kannada, Tullu, Konkani or Malayalam in Mangalore. This ethics protocol has been approved through an internal review process at JJN and CPR by the project advisors, Partha Mukhopadhyay (CPR) and Sabina Dewan (JJN).

Other ethics-related decisions had to be taken during the project. For example, the data collection in Mangalore happened before Assembly elections in the State of Karnataka. Mangalore is a sensitive city owing to intense rivalries between political groups. The active presence of right-wing Hindutva groups engaged in active moral policing in the city has made national headlines in the past and continues to be an issue of concern. In this context, we had to be very cautious about data collection efforts, ensuring multi-regional, multi-religion and mixed gender survey teams, and tighter supervision with systems for periodic check-ins and emergency protocols. In Kishangarh also, the safety of women surveyors was a matter of concern, especially because many surveys had to be done at night which was the only time when workers were free to talk. Alcoholism is common in the city, which added to the risk. This was mitigated by maintaining different shifts for male and female surveyors as well as ensuring larger teams work together when late nights were unavoidable.

5.1.4. Documentary film: Small City Dreaming

From the outset of the project, one of the goals of the research process was to produce not only a research report but also a documentary film that could capture through an alternative medium the life experiences of working youth in small cities in India and Indonesia. Year 2 also involved the pre-production and filming components of this process.

The research team engaged celebrated filmmaker Amit Mahanti as lead filmmaker in this project. The first quarter of Year 2 was spent onboarding Amit and explaining the aims of the project, the research themes being investigated, and the case sites selected for deeper investigation. In August 2017, Amit and his assistant, Nundrisha Wakhloo, traveled to both Indonesian case cities, Kupang and Semarang, for filming. In each location, and supported by the research team, he worked with our local partners in identifying young people whose stories spoke to the key themes of the project and who were willing to share their daily lives, including their work, on camera. In the same filming trip, Amit conducted interviews with local

leaders who shared their perspectives on migration and economic opportunity in the case cities.

In January and February 2018, Amit and Nundrisha conducted a recce trip and made a filming visit to Kishangarh. Again they worked with the research team as well as local partners to identify stories and important sites around the city. **Small City Dreaming** was completed and released in October 2018 at a JJN-CPR-FES conference titled *Building Jobs Ground Up, Forging Place-based Solutions to the Jobs Crisis.* It is freely available for streaming on the JJN and CPR websites.

5.2. Advisory committee

In the months of July and August 2016, we put together a small advisory committee of four members, two men and two women, to guide us during the project. Collectively the advisors are from both countries with an expertise in gender economics, sociology, migration studies and political science. They are listed below:

- Dr Meenu Tewari, Associate Professor, Department of City and Regional Planning, University of North Carolina
- Dr Sukamdi, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta
- Dr Indrani Mazumdar, Centre for Women's Development Studies
- Dr Tariq Thachil, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University

Consultations with the advisory group have been limited owing to constraints on their time, but we have had individual interactions and check-ins with them and informal updates about the project. Particularly, Dr Sukamdi was instrumental in advising us about Indonesia migration trends and Dr Thachil advised us on interview protocols for local government officials in India. Dr Mazumdar encouraged us to look beyond the phenomenon of 'marriage migration' while studying women's migration in India. Her guidance came as a response to a paper that PI Mukta Naik and CPR team members Eesha Kunduri and Shamindra Nath Roy presented at the Indian Association of Women's Studies Conference in January 2017. We plan to send them a final update with our collated outputs.

5.3. Team composition and management

Besides the PIs, both qualitative and quantitative researchers have been engaged with the project at both CPR and JJN. Working as a collaborative team with clear divisions of work, the two organizations have been able to build capacity in analyzing new and large datasets, interpreting quantitative data and understanding an unfamiliar international context. JJN has been able to lean on CPR's expertise in quantitative data processing and interpretation, while CPR has been able to draw on the keener understanding of labor issues available at JJN. Particularly in the development of the questionnaire, teams collaborated intensively to emerge with a synthesized output that stood the test on the field.

The CPR core team for the project is comprised of Mukta Naik, PI, Dr Partha Mukhopadhyay, project advisor, Eesha Kunduri, who is a development studies expert whose previous work has focused on gender and migrants, particularly domestic and industrial workers and Pranav Kuttaiah, who is trained in journalism and recently completed a one-year urban fellowship. Shamindra Nath Roy, a geographer, and Sama Khan, a sociologist, have assisted the team with the analysis of secondary datasets over the duration of the project in Year 1 and 2. Further, Deepaboli Chatterjee, Rimjhim Saxena and Babu Lal, have worked on the analysis of survey data in Year 3. The team is well balanced in terms of gender.

While in Year 1, the capacities of all team members to understand and interpret quantitative data was improved, in Year 2, team members learnt new skills in GIS mapping and qualitative fieldwork. An internal training on 'How to take Excellent Fieldnotes' by anthropologist Dr Ranjita Mohanty conducted at CPR greatly benefited the team members. Work on this project has also brought a gender focus to other migration-related work. Eesha Kunduri, Shamindra Nath Roy and Mukta Naik, for instance, presented a paper titled 'Marriage migrants in the workforce: Moving past a blind spot in migration statistics' at the IAWS Conference held in Chennai in January 2017. In December 2016, Riha Sinha, an intern from Ambedkar University's School of Design worked on the project helping identify relevant literature on gender and migration from India and abroad. In summer 2017, Niti Deoliya, a researcher with considerable experience working on rural development issues with various NGOs spent two months at CPR on this project learning quantitative analysis in preparation to join a Master's Program in Development Studies at the Graduate Institute, Geneva. In the summer of 2018 as well, Harish Sai, Sparsh Agarwal and Zainab Firdausi, students from Ashoka University's liberal arts program interned on the project, specifically picking up quanitative skills and learning to program on 'R'. Deepshi Arya, a public policy student from Jindal Global University, helped collate literature on women's work in India.

At JJN, the team is comprised of Gregory Randolph, the PI, Sabina Dewan, project advisor, and additional staff involved in research support. These staff have included Irfan Sofi, labor economist, Prachi Agarwal, project manager, Dhruv Jain, Divya Prakash and Zaeem Hossain, research associates, and Abhishek Sekharan, research intern. Sabina Dewan, along with extensive experience on labor issues, has brought an expertise on gender issues as well as skill development. Irfan Sofi is a technical expert who supported quantitative data analysis and advised on aspects of labor market regulation and reform. JJN also engaged the communications team that produced the project documentary: Amit Mahanti and Nundrisha Wakhloo. JJN team member Ruchika Joshi, JJN's knowledge management associate, assisted Amit and Nundrisha.

We would like to highlight that both PIs embarked on PhD programs at prestigious universities during the period of the project. Gregory F Randolph is enrolled for a PhD in Urban Planning at the University of Southern California, Mukta Naik is pursuing a PhD in Urban Development and Governance at the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Her PhD is built around this project and she has completed Year 1 at this time.

Data collection in Indonesia was coordinated by Ms Nurvitria M Kristofikova, a consultant who was responsible for training of enumerators, coordinating activities across the two field

sites and contributing ground-level insights to the data analysis process. She has worked extensively with international and multilateral organizations, especially on issues of labor and employment. She also assisted with obtaining secondary data. In the qualitative data collection and analysis process, she was assisted by Denny Firmanto, a seasoned qualitative researcher based in Indonesia.

Under supervision and coordination of Nurvitria and Denny, data collection was undertaken by faculty and students at the participatory planning unit of Universitas Diponegoro (UNDIP) in Semarang Regency, and by Perkumpulan Pikul, a civil society organization, in Kupang. (See **section 5.4** for more detail.)

In India, the survey data was collected by a small private firm called Indus Information Initiatives Pvt. Ltd. The firm's principal, Baladevan Rangaraju, has strong research interests in education and is a contributor to a book on the Delhi NCR being brought out by the Centre for the Advanced Study of India (CASI) at University of Pennsylvania and co-edited by CPR Fellow Neelanjan Sircar. Indus had successfully executed for CASI the large survey of Delhi NCR on which the edited volume is based. Our project has built on this experience and engaged Indus to conduct surveys in Kishangarh and Mangalore. In both case cities, local partners—an NGO called Manthan Sanstha Kotri in Kishangarh and a citizen's formation named Citizens' Forum for Mangalore Development in Mangalore, via their co-founder Vidya Dinker—were engaged in collecting the qualitative data.

An offshoot of the famous Barefoot College Tilonia, Manthan has a rich experience on engagement and outreach in the area of water management, decentralised infrastructure development especially solar energy, and on youth development efforts through partners like Delhi-based NGO Pravah. Citizens' Forum for Mangalore Development is a group of concerned citizens that has worked for several years chiefly on environmental concerns on citizens, related to the development of the port and expansion of the special economic zone, regulation of polluting industries, etc. The project has engaged its co-founder Vidya Dinker as a consultant. Vidya is a well-known social worker in Mangalore with a history of community engagement work in areas environmental protection, gender and anti-corruption. As co-founder of the citizen's forum, she has litigated extensively to seek justice on various environmental violations. CPR's research team has been working closely with Manthan and Vidya in order to collect qualitative data as well as make relevant connections in our case cities. We have also been advised by scientist R C Bhatta, a member of the Citizen's Forum for Mangalore Development, who retired recently from the Fisheries College and has extesive knowledge of the city and its environmental concerns.

5.4.   Capacity-building among partners and local civil society organizations

At each field site, we took a conscious decision to bring on partners who would be invested in the research project and genuinely interested in the outcome of the study. We have also seen that this collaboration has built capacities and provided exposure to research teams located in these small cities.

In Kupang, Perkumpulan Pikul is a civil society organization with strong research capacities and experience. During their work, they have engaged with the issue of rural-urban migration from within the province and the relationship between migration and agrarian distress and poverty. They sought to explore this further and were motivated to participate in this project in order to inform and deepen their advocacy efforts in the city and province. Torry Kuswardono from Pikul is deeply engaged in local activism and citizen mobilization in Kupang. Through this project, Pikul has gained additional capacity to interpret and analyze data through the lens of policy. PI Gregory Randolph held a day-long workshop with the organization's leadership at the conclusion of the project, talking through the data findings and how they could be translated into policy recommendations.

In Semarang, UNDIP has an academic interest in the project and its faculty have already been working closely with provincial government, particularly on the issue of economic investment and planning. Equipped with a GIS laboratory and interested Masters students, UNDIP has been engaged with participatory planning projects in the area. They are strong local partners who contributed significantly in dissemination and advocacy efforts. Holi Bina Wijaya from UNDIP has strong linkages within the urban planning profession in Indonesia, especially within academia. Holi and his colleagues have already published academic articles in Indonesian journals utilizing the findings from the research, and students in the planning program at UNDIP are already making plans to use the data collected under this project in their own theses.

The trainings on methods and ethics protocols conducted with the research teams at both case sites has also enhanced their capacities. Moreover, both organizations have expressed that skill-building was involved in supporting the documentary filmmaking process, and they plan to deploy those skills in future institutional projects.

In Kishangagh, this project has allowed NGO Manthan Sanstha Kotri to venture into the urban space. They are interested in the increased dependence of the rural communities they work with on small towns in the area for employment, education and market supplies. While the project team has learnt immensely from Manthan in the areas of community engagement, Manthan's engagement in the project helped build their capacities in the areas of project planning, as well as protocol design and analysis techniques for qualitative research. Further, they have been exposed to new spatial techniques like GIS-based mapping while contributing their local knowledge to developing ward descriptions in the city profile for Kishangarh. Members of the research team also spent time at their campus in Kotri village, interacting with volunteers and staff and offering insights on other projects, participating in team meetings and local field visits. CPR has been invited to remain engaged and, in the future, conduct an independent audit of the NGO's effectiveness in the surrounding communities.

In Mangalore, the research project expanded the work of the Citizens' Forum for Mangalore Development into areas of urban development and governance that were previously unexplored. The integration of the CPR and local teams created a process of co-learning that considerably enriched the project.

Both JJN and CPR have engaged research interns from the Indian Institute of Human Settlements (IIHS) Fellowship Programme in this project. These interns gained hands-on experience in data collection and analysis, and their learning is yet another capacity-building component of this project. CPR has had similar engagements with interns from Ambedkar University Delhi as well as Ashoka University on this project. In each case, the effort has been to give interns tasks that add to their skill sets, which they execute under close supervision from project researchers and PIs.

6. PROJECT FINANCIALS

Both JJN and CPR have fully utilized the allocated budgets for the project. While the expenditures lagged behind in Years 1 and 2, the activities substantially picked up in Year 3 of the project.

There have been variations between the planned and actual implementation processes during the project period. For instance, hiring a one-stop survey partner for in India drove costs for surveying in India above the original budget and funds from additional heads were drawn in to meet these. Similarly, additional data was required to be purchased on the Indonesian side, requiring minor adjustments in the line items. These changes have been intimated during the respective budget periods.

In Year 3, a small portion of the research funds were utilized to support dissemination activity. These include the creation of a website to collate all outputs, the creation of additional short clips following the positive reception of the film *Small City Dreaming* and the production of additional outputs like the Migration Junctions report and translated versions of the city profiles. Unspent research funds we also spent on the design and printing of outputs, as well as the production of additional video clips profiling working youth in case cities, in the larger interests of getting our research findings out to a wider audience. In this way, we were able to partially compensate for the lack of funds for dissemination activity.

7. PROJECT OUTPUTS AND DISSEMINATION

7.1.　　Journal articles

Randolph, G. F., & Naik, M. (2017). An Analysis of 'Migrant-intensity' in India and Indonesia: Seeing Internal Migration Patterns through a Place-based Lens. Environment and Urbanization ASIA, 8(1), 40–58. https://doi.org/10.1177/0975425316683861

Mukhopadhyay, Partha and Naik, M. (2017). Giving Migrants Their Due. *Shelter*, October 2017. Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO)

Randolph, G. F., & Naik, M. (2018). Book review: Subaltern Urbanisation in India: An Introduction to the Dynamics of Ordinary Towns. Urban Studies 1-3, Published online December 20, 2018

7.2. Policy Reports

Naik, M. and Randolph, G. (2018). Migration Junctions in India and Indonesia: Reimagining Places, Reorienting Policy. New Delhi: JustJobs Network & Centre for Policy Research.

Randolph, G and Naik, M. (2018). The shift to small cities in emerging Asia: Young people's quest for economic opportunity beyond the metropolis. JustJobs Network & Centre for Policy Research.
- Executive summary (English) – in design/layout
- Executive summary (Hindi) – in design/layout
- Executive summary (Bahasa) – in design/layout

7.3. Policy Briefs

Small Cities, Urbanizing Regencies: The Front Lines of Indonesia's Migration, Employment and Urban Challenges [City Profile: Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara]. JustJobs Network and Centre for Policy Research.
- English version
- Bahasa Indonesia version

Small Cities, Urbanizing Regencies: The Front Lines of Indonesia's Migration, Employment and Urban Challenges [City Profile: Semarang Regency, Central Java]. JustJobs Network and Centre for Policy Research.
- English version
- Bahasa Indonesia version

Small Cities on the Front Lines of India's Migration, Employment and Urban Challenges [City Profile: Mangalore, Karnataka]. JustJobs Network and Centre for Policy Research.
- English version
- Kannada version
-
Small Cities on the Front Lines of India's Migration, Employment and Urban Challenges [City Profile: Kishangarh, India]. JustJobs Network and Centre for Policy Research.
- English version
- Hindi version

Women's Work and Migration in Small Cities: Policy Opportunities in India and Indonesia (to be released in February 2019)

7.4.   Opinion pieces and blogs

Gregory F Randolph and Mukta Naik. 'India, Indonesia Should Craft Bilateral Partnership Around Urbanization, Job Creation', *The Wire*, 17 December 2016, link

Gregory F Randolph, 'Factory workers turned entrepreneurs', JustJobs Network Blog, 7 February 2018, link.

Gregory F Randolph. 'Promise and peril of rapid rural-urban migration'. *Jakarta Post*. July 28, 2018 (see below).

Mukhopadhyay, Partha and Mukta Naik. 'For equitable growth India must unthink the urban', Hindustan Times. 17 December 2018, link here

[Reflection blogs by team members Prachi Agarwal and Zaeem Hossain are in the process of editing and will be published in February 2019]

TheJakartaPost   SATURDAY July 28, 2018

Promise and peril of rapid rural-urban migration

Gregory Randolph
JAKARTA

Since colonial times, migration policy in Indonesia has sought to respond to Java's overpopulation and Jakarta's struggle to manage waves of rural migrants descending on the city in search of a better life. The transmigration program continued long after the Dutch left the Indonesian archipelago, and successive administrations in Jakarta have pursued restrictive migration policies seeking to discourage new migrants from coming. In 2016, Jakarta's government even revived its *Gerakan Kembali ke Desa* (Return to Village Movement).

But recent migration data show that Jakarta's leaders need a new scapegoat for the problems of poorly managed urban growth. Small cities — not Jakarta — are now on the front lines of the country's migration, urbanization and employment challenges.

Today, a young person is more likely to be leaving than coming to a big city. Taken together, Indonesia's nine largest metropolitan areas saw more youth out-migration than in-migration between 2010 and 2015. Meanwhile, the country's small cities are swelling with young migrants. During the same period, in-migration increased the youth population (ages 15 to 29) of non-metropolitan cities by about 3 percent. In some small cities, such as Padang Panjang, West Sumatra and Bli-

tar, East Java, population increase due to in-migration was greater than 15 percent.

Greater Jakarta's youth population is growing by less than 0.2 percent annually due to in-migration. South, Central and East Jakarta all lost far more young people to migration than they received. And while peri-urban areas like Bekasi saw high numbers of in-migrants, most were urbanites from Jakarta seeking more space in the suburbs — not rural migrants fleeing villages in search of big city life.

These figures show that young Indonesians today are still leaving home in search of better opportunities, but the "hotspots" of migration are no longer concentrated in and around Jakarta. In fact, they are no longer clustered in Java. Out of the 50 cities and regencies that saw the highest rates of net youth in-migration between 2010 and 2015, only 10 are in Java and none are part of Greater Jakarta (Jabodetabek).

What kinds of opportunities do smaller towns and cities in Indonesia offer migrants? Are these vibrant economic cen-

ters, or are they places of last resort for migrants rebuffed by the hurdles of living and working in bigger cities? The data point to a mixed story.

About half of the young rural migrants coming to small cities are in search of educational opportunities — suggesting an aspirational quality to this increasingly important migration pattern. Small cities are also enterprising: youth are more likely to be entrepreneurs — business owners employing at least one other person — than their big-city counterparts.

Beyond this, small cities feature prominently in a new report published this month by the JustJobs Network and the Center for Policy Research, which highlights places acting simultaneously as origins and destinations for migrants. These "migration junctions" are hosting many circular migrants, who use small cities as an employment hub to diversify household income beyond farm work.

On the other hand, a young worker in small-city Indonesia is about 50 percent more likely to wind up in a precarious job — as an own-account, unpaid or casual worker — as compared to one in metropolitan Indonesia. The data also suggest that skill-intensive jobs are still more likely to be found in big cities.

The story in Indonesia's small cities is one of both potential and

peril. If young people in these burgeoning places are afforded the chance, they can carve pathways toward productive employment and prosperity. Indonesia may even transition from a country of deep spatial inequality — with opportunity concentrated in Jakarta and a few other large cities — to one with more balanced economic development. This aim is certainly at the heart of President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo's promise to "build from the peripheries".

Meanwhile if small cities continue growing, absorbing migrants in search of economic opportunity but failing to deliver those opportunities, they may become new centers of urban poverty and even social unrest.

Jakarta politicians can no longer blame rural migrants for urban governance problems; Jakarta is not the center of Indonesia's rural-urban migration story anymore. National politicians must join forces with leaders in places like Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara, Kendari in Southeast Sulawesi and Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, to forge a prosperous future for small cities — one that affords aspiring young Indonesians high-quality jobs and economic mobility.

The writer is founding partner and executive vice president at the JustJobs Network, a global think tank on employment challenges.

7.5.   Media

- Film: ***Small City Dreaming*** (30 mins)
Directed by Amit Mahanti, Script by Groegory F Randolph, Mukta Naik and Amit Mahanti
Screenings:
    - 25 October 2018 at St Aloysius College, Mangalore
    - 31 October 2018 at JJN-CPR-FES Conference in New Delhi
    - 1 December 2018 at Alliance Francaise Delhi (Gurgaon campus)
    - [Additional screenings are planned for Semarang, Indonesia; Yogyakarta, Indonesia; and Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara]

- 3 character profiles are being produced using the same footage (to be released in February 2019)

- Podcast: Takeaways from the project (to be released in February 2019)

7.6.   Website

While the original plan did not include a website, we felt that the impact of the project would substantially improve if all our outputs were available on a single, well organized platform. With this in mind, we have built a website that is in the final stages of testing and will be launched in February 2019.

8. IMPACT

8.1.   New directions in research and policy

From our interactions with academics and policy makers in India and Indonesia over the last three years, we are confident that the project is already pushing the boundaries of policy discussions on employment, migration and urbanization.

For example, our reading of migration data in Indonesia – as illustrated in the published journal article – is challenging assumptions about the geographies in Indonesia that are experiencing migration most profoundly. By introducing the concept of "migrant-intensity" we have addressed a long-standing "Java bias" in interpretations of migration data, which have only analyzed inter-provincial migrations and volume of migrants, as opposed to share in population and inter-district migration. Our conversations with policymakers, academics, and civil society in Indonesia have illustrated that shining a spotlight outside of Java on the issue of internal migration holds great potential for impacting the way the government plans for and strategizes around human mobility and employment issues. The Migration Junctions paper

further presents directions policy directions for places that are at the intersections of multiple migration flows.

In India this research is well timed, corresponding with an increasing interest in migration among policymakers. The Economic Survey 2017 dedicated a separate chapter to migration, which took innovative data approaches to shine a light on increased mobility in India while a subsequent chapter on competitive sub-federalism brings the focus on cities. Further, in January 2017, a report of Government of India's Working Group on Migration – which project advisor Partha Mukhopadhyay led – emphasized issues that are essential for the well-being of migrants in cities, like portability of social benefits, housing and extension of services to informal settlements. The ground is well prepared for the outputs of this research to influence discussions on city-level capabilities to plan and provide for migration.

Overall, we believe that the project will significantly advance the understanding of the links between migration, employment and urbanization. In particular, emphasizing the idea of the demographic dividend as *located* in small cities in these two countries holds significant potential for turning policy attention toward the challenges and potential of the cities we studied under this project. Guiding this discussion will be the empirical evidence from small cities we have developed. We plan to continue to disseminate our findings through publications, seminars and workshops using the data and insights from our research work, as and when opportunities emerge.

8.2.   Impacting local government and civil society action

By targeting our conversations and our outputs (city profiles) towards local governments, we have encouraged conversation around the idea of building resilient local economies with a keen eye to employment creation, skilling and migration management. The findings offer inputs to local governments on how to remove labor market barriers for migrants and address quality of life issue through planning and policy interventions.

Our partners in each of the four case cities are critical to our strategy for achieving research impact. In Kupang, Perkumpulan Pikul has already convened a dissemination event with local government and other stakeholders, where the findings and policy recommendations from our research were presented. The seminar was attended by the head of city's regional development and planning agency (Bappeda), who received positively the recommendations of the report and committed to advancing the recommendations in local government policy discussions. The seminar was followed by a workshop where participants discussed ways to concretely implement the policy recommendations.

In December 2018, the partners from UNDIP collaborated with the planning agency of the provincial government of Central Java to host an international conference on regional development, which convened over 100 participants. Representatives from all local governments of the province were in attendance as well as high-level government officials from several central government ministries. Research findings and policy recommendations from our project were placed at the center of this conference; PI Gregory Randolph presented findings from Semarang Regency on the plenary panel, emphasizing the themes of economic resilience and long-term planning for young people's and women's economic

mobility. The findings and recommendations were delivered in written format directly provincial and regency-level government officials.

Partners in India have presented findings and recommendations in one-on-one meetings with district and city level officials. We are seeking specific strategic opportunities for policy intervention, however given the limited agency of local governments in India, these would likely be more effective at State government level. Appropriate communications are being made in this regard.

As mentioned in **section 5.4**, the project has had considerable impact on the capacities of the research team and the two collaborating organizations, CPR and JJN. The project is challenging the skillsets of researchers in both organizations. Besides upgrading abilities to work with complex secondary datasets, the project also pushed researchers to reconcile data with primary observations, to design relevant and pragmatic survey instruments, and to coordinate with data collection teams in multiple locations. Further, local research teams from case sites were not just involved in data collection, but in framing outputs and policy conversations. Part of our decision to partner with local academic and civil society institutions in addressing our research questions was to extend the capacity-building element of the project. The experience of working on this project develops a comparative perspective and offers international exposure to local researchers in small and secondary cities.

Moreover, our local partners are already working on ways to dovetail the project's themes with their existing outreach efforts, and are collaborating with local governments and other local organizations. For example, in Kishangarh, Manthan Sanstha Kotri is discussing ways in which their vast experience with youth engagement in rural Rajasthan can be leveraged to provide safe discussion and action spaces for urban youth. In Mangalore, the district commissioner is interested in having the project team evaluate the progress of the Centre for Employment and Learning, a local incubation center for IT start-ups, and vet the potential for expanding such an enterprise. In Semarang Regency, UNDIP is working closely with the provincial government on issues related to rural and urban development and planning for long-term sustainability beyond the current phase of industrial expansion. In Kupang, Pikul is advocating for closer rural-urban linkages, with an economic development strategy based on agro-processing.

8.3. Summary of policy recommendations

Our thematic report, which brings together all our findings, also elaborates on policy directions for small cities based on our primary research. We have highlighted these measures in our direct conversations with local governments and influencers, as well as via our partners. The policy briefs produced for each case city highlight and particularize the recommendations most relevant to those contexts.

Here is a summary of our recommendations:

8.3.1. Building future-oriented economies

Creation of productive employment opportunities is an immediate concern for small cities, especially those like Kupang and Mangalore that produce far more educated young people than they have the scope to employ in skilled occupations. On the other hand, "quick-fix" job creation solutions – like large-scale self-employment schemes and attracting large firms in footloose sectors – are unlikely to produce future-oriented economies. In order to succeed, small cities ought to balance neoliberal imperatives with locally grown economies. They need to consider the imperatives of economic competitiveness and specialization, while also devising their development strategies thoughtfully, with an eye to cultivating and unlocking local potential and embedding economic activity in strong local networks that will stand resilient against an ever-changing global economic landscape. In this, small city governments and other local leaders must resist the temptation to achieve short-term gains by relying only on cheap land and labor in their strategies to spur economic growth and job creation. To build economies braced for future shifts in economic and employment dynamics, with the capacity to sustain and create "just jobs", small cities must:

(a) *Develop targeted, locally relevant programs to facilitate labor market transitions, skill development and economic mobility that harness their 'migration junction' role.* For example, skilling institutions in a single place could cater to rural migrants who intend to return to their villages, skilling them in advanced farming and agro-processing techniques; sales and service workers seeking employment in small towns and peri-urban areas; and workers in sectors like business process outsourcing (BPO) and IT who seek to migrate to large metropolitan areas. Governments with limited resources could invest in physical facilities in migration junctions that serve multiple workforce development needs.

(b) *Refine entrepreneurship strategies to focus on building a local private sector.* Instead of "quick fix" entrepreneurship programs that do little more than create micro-enterprises of single, self-employed workers, small cities must pursue the vital goal of expanding and formalizing a locally rooted private sector, through supporting viable enterprises that have the potential to grow and create productive jobs on a meaningful scale. In this, small city governments should collaborate with state/provincial government and national authorities to coordinate larger interventions aimed at long-term support for the most promising businesses. To help entrepreneurs grow locally viable initiatives, local governments could create awareness about the requirements of emerging business that include affordable and flexible workspaces and shared services in areas like accounting, human resource management and legal services.

(c) *Harness the potential of rural-urban linkages through collaborative governance.* Many small cities have a unique economic advantage when it comes to their intimate relationships with the rural regions in which they are embedded. However, much of the potential for mutually beneficial economic development and job creation remains unrealized. For example, Kupang is the natural location for an agro-processing sector that utilizes the niche agricultural products from the East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) province. In Kishangarh, the recently expanded market (mandi) for agro produce must be better connected with new investments like the dedicated freight corridor and the logistics park built primarily to serve the marble and granite industry. Facilitating these linkages requires a higher degree of coordination among local governments and a new policy imagination at the national level that does not see rural and urban as distinct, but encourages the interconnections. On this issue, Indian small cities and Indonesian regencies may actually find the power residing in district- and kabupaten-level officials to be an advantage, given their mandate to

implement economic policies across both rural and urban areas; but for certain kinds of initiatives, coordination across districts/regencies will be necessary.

(d) *Pursue economic niches that are "sticky," adaptable and upgradable.* To generate productive employment and scope for upward mobility in their local labor markets, small cities will need to develop economic niches that are viable in non-metropolitan locations. Where they exist like in Kishanagrh and Semarang, these niches need reinvention in order to enable better working conditions and economic mobility for the workers in these cities. In building an economic development strategy for the long run, small cities ought to build on their assets rather than seeking outside investment at any cost. For example, Kishangarh should energize its dying tradition of skilled craftsmanship in miniature paintings and carved marble products, even as it moves up the value chain in marble processing.

(e) *Combine top-down investment with strong community-level leadership.* The transformative potential of large-scale, top-down investment could be greater if combined with a stronger culture of participatory planning and locally driven economic development. Local leadership can help ensure that major infrastructure projects are carried out with an appropriate and genuine form of local consultation. Moreover, by cultivating leadership in local government, the private sector and civil society, small cities can ensure that diverse communities of producers are positioned to benefit from new investments. For example, a thriving flower market in Bandungan, a sub-district of Semarang Regency, could see its own potential expanded with new road construction – more so if the producers and retailers in the market are given the space to contribute to planning efforts. In Kishangarh too, had the local government been involved in the development of the freight corridor and the related highway upgrades, a wider set of local entrepreneurs might have benefited from the increased opportunities in emerging sectors like hospitality and logistics.

8.3.2. Managing migration and mobilities

In emerging economies like India and Indonesia, in the midst of structural transformation, the free movement of workers enables their search for opportunity in a growing economy. Supporting youth in finding productive, non-farm opportunities requires facilitating migration. Small cities, which are at the cusp of multiple mobilities, can play a significant role in supporting labor mobility by practicing:

(a) *Practice inclusive land regulation and urban design.* Small cities have a chance to reshape land markets and recognize multiple forms of land and housing tenure beyond the formal-informal binary. More localized regulation in small cities can conserve traditional and mixed-use neighborhoods, thereby protecting traditional occupations and small business that are especially important for women's work, which is likely to be in home-based occupations or family-owned businesses.

(b) *Improve services to attract and retain migrants.* Approaches that support traditional livelihoods through creative and inclusive urban design can also be a way to support emerging forms of city-making. Small cities can also extend services to informal settlements where many migrants live, and select appropriate technology for delivery of services to make their relatively small budgets go further. They must also leverage the investment potential of residents. Small cities that attract workers from the surrounding region must also make appropriate investments in transportation and connectivity with the rural and small-town location from where workers commute or return regularly.

(c) *Develop a robust rental housing market with appropriate forms of rental housing for young workers.* To continue acting as accessible migration destinations, small cities must develop robust rental markets by articulating clear rental housing policies, which build on traditional – and often informal – practices, themselves forms of livelihood as well. These rental markets offer the benefits of being co-located with places of employment, thereby cutting down travel time and transportation costs and provide proximity to a host of support services.

(d) *Embrace diversity to foster innovation.* Local residents and governments often perceive migrants, and the diversity of cultures they bring, as a threat to social cohesion. However, for small cities, diversity can also be an opportunity to enhance the possibilities of innovation through serendipitous interactions. Small cities must evolve local policy frameworks and, through awareness campaigns, signal an acceptance of diverse cultures, languages, traditions and ways of life. Provincial and national governments can augment these approaches by moving towards universal forms of social protection rather than employment-linked social protection, and also by introducing portability in location-linked social welfare schemes..

8.3.3. Increase women's workforce participation and economic mobility

Small cities need to think beyond 'women's work' and encourage women to enter a diverse range of occupations; to plan and govern cities in ways that ensure women's safety; and to foster encouraging environments at work and home.

(a) *Adopt a life-cycle approach to women's work.* Moreover, because women in countries like India and Indonesia shoulder the major share of household care responsibilities, policies need to keep in mind the life cycle of women's work and the threats to economic mobility that arise as a result. Increased flexibility and the ability to control the intensity and hours of their work allow women to meet care needs while remaining employed. Policies that focus on affordable credit for women entrepreneurs through formal institutions like banks and microcredit institutions are key. To retain young women, policies must hold employers accountable for ensuring equal opportunity hiring, women's safety and compliance with sexual harassment regulations. Affordable public childcare and employer-run childcare is essential to enable women to work productively. The role of skilling and reskillg programs, made available flexible, can also not be underestimated.

(b) *Practice gender-inclusive urban design and governance.* From ensuring the representation of women in city councils and citizens groups, to encouraging mixed-use neighborhoods that promote walking and street-level activity, small cities must explore local solutions that make women feel safe going out alone so that they can expand their opportunities to work beyond daylight hours and have increased street interactions that give them access to social networks and labor market information that is currently unavailable to them. Similarly, clear rental housing policies that would encourage homeowners to rent out homes and rooms, as well as incentives for entrepreneurs to set up hostels for young women, would go a long way in enhancing young women's ability to migrate independently for higher education, skill development and work.

8.4.   Conference presentations

The principal investigators and team members have presented research findings at a number of conferences over the period of the project. Some of these presentations are listed below:
- Eesha Kunduri, Shamindra Nath Roy and Mukta Naik presented a paper titled 'Marriage migrants in the workforce: Moving past a blind spot in migration statistics' at the IAWS Conference held in Chennai in January 2017.

- Mukta Naik presented preliminary findings from Kishangarh at a conference on 'Urban Rural Entanglements in India' on 27 April 2018. The conference was organised by University of Washington, Ambedkar University Delhi and United States-India Education Foundation (USIEF). Her presentation on 'The city means work, the village means home: Narratives of struggle and aspiration from Kishangarh, Rajasthan' was well received and eminent scholars at the workshop made several specific suggestions on how the findings could contribute to knowledge on intersectionality of caste, gender and labor with relevance to youth.
- Presenting at the 4th South Asian Cities Summit 2018 organised by the All India Institute of Local Self-Government on 4th May 2018, Mukta Naik brought project insights to an audience of local government representatives and civil society organizations in Delhi and stressed the need for improved public expenditure and empowered local bodies in the small city context, especially emphasizing the need for a policy conversation on migration and mobility in small cities.
- Mukta Naik and Gregory F Randolph presented their report titled 'Migration junctions in India and Indonesia: Reimagining Places, Reorienting Policy' at a round table held at the IDRC office in New Delhi on 18 July 2018
- Gregory F Randolph presented research on Indonesian case cities at the Royal Geographic Society's annual conference in Cardiff, Wales in August 2018. His presentation was titled 'Urbanization beyond the metropolis: Trends in the global South, cases from Indonesia.' This conference is one of the largest and most international conferences of geographers, and offered the opportunity to connect the project findings to a broader set of discussions taking place among researchers in the global South about the nature of urbanization, urban systems, social and economic opportunity, and the gendered dimensions of these processes.
- Mukta Naik presented on 'Women in migration data: A case study of data blindsides' at the National Consultation on Feminist Urban Futures: Cities for Women and Girls held on August 30, 2018
- Mukta Naik was invited to present on 'Migration in non-metropolitan cities' at a conference on *Life in India's Slums* organized by the University of Chicago Center in New Delhi, on 6 December 2018.
- Gregory F Randolph presented findings from the Semarang Regency case study at a conference organized by Universitas Diponegoro and the Government of Central Java in December 2018 in Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia. The conference was based on the theme of regional sustainable development.
- On 12th January 2019, Mukta Naik, Eesha Kunduri and Pranav Kuttaiah presented on 'Networks, mobilities and segmentation in small city labor markets' at the Indian Institute of Human Settlement's annual research conference *Urban Arc*.
- A conference paper by Mukta Naik and Eesha Kunduri titled 'Navigating work, bargaining with patriarchy in India: Understanding women's work in the small city' has been accepted for the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Geographers to be held in April 2019 in Washington D. C.
- In August 2018, co-PI Gregory Randolph will present findings from the Indonesian case cities at the Annual Conference of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS). This is one of the largest and most international conferences of geographers, and offers the opportunity to connect this project's findings to a broader set of discussions taking place among researchers in the global South about the nature of urbanization, urban systems, social and economic opportunity, and the gendered dimensions of these processes.

8.5. International platforms

We also find that our work has been relevant at international platforms. Building on a network set up by CPR drawing focus to small cities at Habitat III, UN Habitat's mega-conference held in October 2016, CPR and JJN co-hosted, alongside other partners, a side event at the World Urban Forum 9 in Kuala Lumpur, entitled "Big Gains in Small Towns." The side event drew attention to the role of small cities in implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the New Urban Agenda (NUA) ratified by UN member countries at Habitat III. One of the primary aims of the panel discussion was to highlight the work being done in India and Indonesia under this project and to share preliminary findings with a global audience concerned with urban development. The event aided in stimulating a discussion on the importance of small cities in driving forward the broader aims of inclusive growth and job creation in emerging economies.

9. PROBLEMS & CHALLENGES

Some of the problems we faced and overcame during the research process include limitations with secondary datasets, finalizing case cities and strategies to operationalize the project. Solutions to these ranged from substitution to evolving completely new approaches to collecting and analyzing data. These challenges have been discussed in the respective sections above. Broadly, we learnt that a lot of flexibility needs to built into how to staff projects, on the kind of data sources to be used and in the management of partners. Having the nimbleness to change track has been a learning, it has also enabled us to create a richer set of findings and outputs.

In terms of the grant itself, we allocated insufficient funds for some of our planned activities. e.g. the film, which we managed to complete only by finding a passionate filmmaker who reduced cists to work with us. A product like a film, we have learnt going forward, requires a lot more technical expertise, but we are glad to have been able to pull it off.

We also needed to alter our financial expenditures to new operational strategies. We have also been challenged to find the resources to finance the dissemination of our outputs. Originally we had planned to raise additional funds for this, but this proved a daunting task. Also, our field partners have been eager to organise dissemination activities alongside project completion, giving us little time for fundraising. We have therefore addressed this by utilising unspent funds from other heads in the budget to enable some modest levels of dissemination. Both the principal investigators have draw attention to the project and its findings in the local and national conferences as well as international forums through the project period. We have, however, been unable to convene a workshop or conference to disseminate and get critical feedback on our work. We would have also liked to be able to involve our advisory committee in such a dissemination activity.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering the vast experience that IDRC and TTI have with grantmaking, it would be beneficial to plan some sessions with first time PIs on budgeting for and managing grants. Though we had able advisors to help us with these, we would have benefited from some guidance on smart budgeting, specifically from the funder's perspective. We would also advise a more concrete plan for dissemination be a part of research projects like ours, which are relevant to contemporary policy discourses. This would be mutually beneficial to IDRC/TTI as well as the grantee institutions.

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